

# TYCHE

## Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer  
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 16, 2001

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WOLFFENBÜTTEL



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**Band 16**

**Hermann Harrauer  
zum 27. 4. 2001**

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Tafel 1–12	

## Donations of Slaves and Freeborn Children to Deities in Roman Macedonia and Phrygia: A Reconsideration

Tafel 7–12

*This study is dedicated to the memory of  
Fanoula Papazoglou (1917–2001)*

Thirty-five years after their chance discovery, the long-awaited publication of inscriptions from the temple of the Indigenous Mother of Gods in Lefkopetra has appeared<sup>1</sup>. The importance of this source-material for the study of religion, society, economy and legal practices of Roman Macedonia cannot be overstated. Various adverse circumstances have long delayed the final publication of some two hundred texts unearthed in 1965. We are very grateful to the editors for their patient work and perseverance on the difficult path that led to the *Corpus* we now have before us.

The *Corpus* of inscriptions from Lefkopetra contains an informative *Introduction* (pp. 19–78) on the discovery of the sanctuary and its legendary, historical, geographical, social, religious and economic background. It is followed by the *Catalogue of Inscriptions* (pp. 81–206, 194 numbers), developed *Indices*, *Concordances* and excellent photographs of all the preserved stones.

The temple of the Indigenous Mother of Gods was discovered by chance in 1965. The find-spot was in the vicinity of the village of Lefkopetra, thirteen kilometres southwest of Beroia. A salvage excavation directed by Ph. M. Petsas uncovered a small tetrastyle prostyle temple (14.70 × 9.25 m)<sup>2</sup>. Most of its marble architectural parts (three columns, architrave, doorposts of the entrance to the *sekos*) and diverse movable objects (three marble sacrificial tables and their supports, four altars, several *stelae* and plaques) were covered with inscriptions. The complete find was transferred to the Museum of Beroia. The first publications by Ph. M. Petsas appeared in the late 1960s – early 1970s, and they immediately attracted the attention of the scientific community. In the following years twenty-seven texts from the sanctuary were published completely, and about seventy became partially known. Obviously, this was very far from what was needed for a reliable assessment of the nature of legal transactions conducted at this small but important sanctuary in the territory of Beroia.

More than ninety per cent of all the inscriptions from the temple of the Indigenous Mother of Gods<sup>3</sup> record donations of slaves and freeborn family-members<sup>4</sup> by their

<sup>1</sup> Ph. M. Petsas, M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. Gounaropoulou, P. Paschidis, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtone de Leukopetra (Macédoine)* (Μελετήματα 28), Athens 2000 (= *Inscriptions Leukopetra*).

<sup>2</sup> Only three columns were found *in situ*.

<sup>3</sup> The rest are votive inscriptions on statues, altars, slabs with reliefs, jars and other objects.

<sup>4</sup> There is only one such case, involving the son of a female donor (inscription no. 47).

masters and relatives to the Goddess. Naturally, not all of the texts are equally well preserved — about two-thirds of them (some 127) are in a satisfactory state of preservation. The texts that have suffered the most are those engraved on individual slabs and altars. Furthermore, one of the three columns found *in situ* is preserved to a little over half of its original height (1.87 m)<sup>5</sup>, so that it contains only eleven inscriptions compared to twenty-nine on column no. I and sixteen on column no. II. The lost fourth column, which stood in contact with the southern wall of the *pronaos*, probably contained roughly the same number of texts as column no. II, which occupied the same position on the northern side.

Inscriptions registering consecrations of slaves to Macedonian deities attracted my attention in the early 1980s. In 1993 I published the final results of my research, partially based on the then-available inscriptions from Lefkopetra<sup>6</sup>. My conclusion was that the act of donation conferred a limited form of freedom on the donated slave, in so far as, in addition to the obligation of residing with the former proprietor throughout the life expectancy of the latter (the so-called *paramone*-provision), he was burdened with the duty of serving in the sanctuary of his divine patron(ess) on the so-called „customary/festival days“ (ἔθιμοι/εἰθισμέναι ἡμέραι/ἑορταί). The editors of the new *Corpus* share the same view<sup>7</sup>. Today, after the publication of the whole dossier from Lefkopetra, one feels obliged to test the validity of the original hypothesis and to modify it if needed.

In 1993, six Macedonian inscriptions registering donations of slaves and featuring the adjective/noun ἐλεύθερος -α and the verb ἐλευθερώω played a decisive role in my deliberations<sup>8</sup>. None of these inscriptions comes from Lefkopetra, where, it should be stressed right from the beginning, the freedom of the donated slave is nowhere mentioned<sup>9</sup>.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the clauses encountered in inscriptions from Lefkopetra, a note on the nature of these texts should be made. The texts are of unequal value for our study — many are simple and straightforward, lacking details, while others offer abundant data on the whole donation procedure. Acts engraved on stone are without doubt just longer or shorter excerpts from the original documents deposited by the proprietors of slaves in the archives of the temple. Referred to as

<sup>5</sup> The other two are both 3.48 m high without the base and the capital, their diameter varying from 0.41 to 0.47 m.

<sup>6</sup> *Ziva Antika* 43 (1993) 129–144.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Inscriptions Leukopetra*, pp. 33–35 on the whole controversy on the origin and the nature of this practice.

<sup>8</sup> Actually, there are only five such texts, since, as M. B. Hatzopoulos has kindly informed me, the letters in one of the inscriptions on the partially published altar from Metochi which, reading from a photograph published in *Ancient Macedonia* III, Thessalonica 1983 (fig. 13 appended to Ph. Petsas's article), I deciphered as ἐλευθ[έραν] οὐσαν, should be read as Ἀρεθοῦσαν.

<sup>9</sup> In the partly broken and very effaced inscription no. 143, engraved on the support of the sacrificial table no. II, at the end of line 4 the editors read ΑΕΛΕΥ and propose to recognize in these letters the beginning of the word ἐλευθερία or ἐλευθέρα. If their conjecture were correct, this would be the only inscription from Lefkopetra mentioning the freedom of the donated slave.



στηλ(λ)ογραφαίαι, the inscriptions were not required to make the deed of gift legally valid. As a result of this, we cannot form any reliable estimates on the number of slaves donated to the Goddess during the whole period of her sanctuary's functioning. From the preserved texts we know of 178 persons donated in the 150-year period from c. AD 170 to AD 313<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, the language of these inscriptions is that of poorly educated individuals<sup>11</sup> who are often incapable of giving clear and unequivocal expression to their thoughts. Furthermore, after AD 212/3, when the proconsul of Macedonia, Tertullianus Aquila, intervened by an ἀπόφασις to regulate the custom of donating slaves and children to local deities, most of the provisions contained therein and probably repeated in the tablets deposited at the temple were left out in the shortened versions on the stone. As a result, we are confronted with texts composed by persons of lower social standing and inadequate education who omit many important facets of the transaction taken for granted, referring us instead to the ubiquitous but not very revealing phrase κατὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ἀκύλα.

Nearly a quarter of all the inscriptions pertinent for our purpose (thirty out of 127), the majority of which were engraved after AD 212/3, are unremarkable „protocol“ statements of the fact containing the following elements: 1) the name(s) of the donor(s); 2) the name(s) of the donated slave(s); 3) the names of the priest and/or the temple curator; 4) one of the verbs or nouns commonly used in Greek deeds of gift (χαρίζω, δωρέω, δῶρον, δωρεά); 5) the clause stipulating that only the Goddess will have power over the donated slave. These texts are consequently of very limited use for determining the real nature and the consequences of donation-acts. What they do suggest is that, at least in these cases, we are dealing with regular conveyances of slaves to the Goddess performed with a view to supplementing the regular temple personnel<sup>12</sup>. These conveyances probably took immediate effect, transferring unrestricted ownership over the donated slave during the lifetime of the former owner.

The act performed by the 175 donors whose names feature in Lefkopetra is invariably defined as a gift or an offering of a slave (once, of a son) to the Goddess,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Inscriptions Leukopetra*, p. 62. The years represented by more than one datable inscription (there are 118 such inscriptions all together) are 171/2 (possibly six inscriptions), 173/4 (two), 184/5 (two), 191/2 (four), 192/3 (six), 193/4 (six), 203/4 (possibly two), 208/9 (two), 210/11 (six), 212/3 (three), 229/30 (four), 238/9 (four), 239 (four), 241/2 (two), 244 (two), 252/3 (possibly four), 254/5 (four), 311 (possibly two). The remaining sixty-four inscriptions contain no dates, but they would in any event not alter the situation significantly.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Inscriptions Leukopetra*, pp. 63–73.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. no. 11: Ἐρμάς Ἐρμαδίωνος χαρίζομε νεανίσκον ὀνόματι Οὐάλητα, ἱερωμένου Αὐρηλίου Σ[ω]πάτρου; 32: Λεύκων Λεύκωνος Μητρί Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονι χαρίζομαι παιδάριον Ζώσιμον ἐτῶν ε', ἱερωμένης Κομινιάς Φιλίστης; 38: Τιτιανῆ Ἀλεξάνδρου δωροῦμαι Μητρί Θεῶν παιδίσκην Γερμάναν, ἐπὶ ἱερεία Αἰλία Ὀρестεῖν, ἔτους εκς' σεβαστοῦ, τοῦ καὶ αμτ'; 54: Λύκα Ἀδύμου Μητρί Θεῶν δῶρον Ἀγαθέαν, ὃ παρ[έ]δωκεν ἱερεῖτεύοντος Κασσάνδρου, (μῆ) ἔχοντος [μηδενός ?] ἐξουσίαν ΑΠ[ - - ] θεοῦ; 67: Κλεωνυμιανός Ἀπολλόδωρος Μητρί Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονι Μακεδόνα δοῦλον ἐχαρισάμην ἐν τῷ ημσ' σεβ(αστῷ) ἔτι; 80: Ποπιλία Ἡράκλεια Θεᾶ Αὐτόχθονι κοράσιον Κράτειαν χαρίζομε, δι' Ἐλίου Ἐπιγένουτος προνοοῦντος, ἐν τῷ δξσ' σεβαστῷ ἔτει, Δείου κ'; 109: Ἐτους φπσ' (σεβ(αστῷ), τοῦ καὶ βυ', Δείου λ', Διονύσιος ἱερόδουλος Θεᾶς Αὐτόχθονος, δωροῦμαι τῇ δεσποίνῃ μου θρεπτόν μου Ἀλεξάνδρον, ὡς ἐτῶν β'.

never as a manumission. This is expressed by the verbs χαρίζω (sixty-two occurrences), δωρέω (thirty-two times) and ἀνατίθημι (eight times). The „neutral“ verb στηλ(λ)ογραφέω is found in six inscriptions (22, 26\*<sup>13</sup>, 35, 44, 78\*, 83). Other verbs are used rarely — δίδωμι in three texts (106, 131, 143) and ἀποδίδωμι and ἀποκαθίστημι each once (65, 9). The noun δῶρον referring to the object of donation is attested eight times (13, 16, 17, 25, 41, 54, 146, 158). The deed of gift itself is five times called δωρεά (6, 7, 31, 60, 104), four times πιττάκιον (103, 106, 108, 115) and once πιττάκιον δωρεᾶς (99)<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, in two cases the donated slaves are said to have been „handed over“ (the verb used is παραδίδωμι) to the Goddess (54, 90\*), and the only freeborn person offered to the Goddess, Paramonos, the son of Ladoma (47), „gave himself up willingly“: ὁ προγεγραμμένος Παράμονος παρήν καὶ συνεπέδωκεν αὐτόν.

As I have already indicated, the words formed from the stem ἔλευθ- are conspicuously absent in inscriptions from Lefkopetra, where we look in vain for a πιττάκιον (ταβέλλα/γραμμάτιον) ἐλευθερίας (ἐλευθερώσεως/ἀπελευθερώσεως). Clearly, due importance must be attached to this fact.

The purpose for which the slaves are offered to the Goddess (it does not appear in the earliest preserved acts) is one and the same in all cases, albeit differently phrased: to serve the Goddess. The verb used here is nearly always ὑπηρετέω<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> An asterix next to the number of inscription marks the text commented upon in App. I.

<sup>14</sup> On the mandatory public exposition of these πιττάκια, cf. my article *The Phrase καταχθείσης τριακονθημέρον in an Inscription from Macedonian Lefkopetra*, *Τεκμήρια* 5 (2000 [2001]) 155–160. Upon conclusion of the prescribed period of public exposition deeds of gift were deposited at the temple together with all the documents proving the owner's title to the donated slave. Other technical terms appearing in inscriptions are ὠνή (3, 28, 33, 45\*, 55, 69, 73, 93\* — here, seemingly, a synonym for πιττάκιον δωρεᾶς, 98, 129), καταγραφή (94), χεῖρ (51\*, 90\*) and χειρόγραφον (12\*, 45\*).

<sup>15</sup> The ambiguity of this verb and of the corresponding noun ὑπηρετής was stressed by W. Westermann (PAPhilosS 92 (1948) 58: „The Greek noun, *hyperetes*, with its corresponding verb, *hyperetein*, ... express ... the indefiniteness of 'servant' and 'lowly services' ... non-slave services“. They appear in cult documents of diverse periods and regions, designating, as a rule, the activity of lower cult personnel or, in the cult of Mithras, initiates of the second rank. A confession-inscription from north-east Lydia (TAM V 1, 460; G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens*, EA 22 [1994] 68–69, no. 57; M. Riel, *La conscience du péché dans les cultes anatoliens à l'époque romaine*, Belgrade 1995 (in Serbian, with a French summary), 187–188, no. 50, AD 118/9) informs us that the freeborn lady Trophime was summoned by the God to serve in his sanctuary (κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰς ὑπηρεσίας χάριν). Disregarding the order to present herself swiftly in the sanctuary, she was punished by madness (μὴ βουληθούσα ταχέως προσελθεῖν, ἐκολάσαστο αὐτὴν καὶ μανῆσαι ἐποίησεν). Turning for advice to the Gods, Trophime received the order to erect a stele with a report on her punishment and to inscribe herself in the service to the Gods (ἠρώτησε οὖν Μητέρα Ταρσηνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Τάρσιον καὶ Μῆνα Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοτηνὸν Κορεσα κατέχοντα καὶ ἐκέλευσεν στηλογραφεῖσθαι νέμεσιν καὶ καταγράψαι ἑμαυτὴν ἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῖς Θεοῖς). This inscription is in many ways of interest for our study. It is a product of a religious mentality kindred to the one reflected in inscriptions from Lefkopetra and Macedonia in general, where deities likewise punish disobedient worshippers (*Inscriptions Leukopetra* no. 35: ὄχλούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Θεοῦ; 65: πολλὰ δινὰ κακὰ πάσχοντες ἀπὸ Μητρὸς Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονος; IG X 2, 2, 233 (Pelagonia): ἐνωχλημέν[η ὑπὸ] Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐφεσίας). It seems that each member of village communities in north-east Lydia could expect a summons to serve in the local sanctuary; for this reason,

For the sake of clarity and the systematization of the vast amount of evidence originating from the temple of Lefkopetra, we can, by applying as the main criterion the presence or absence of a clause specifying the purpose of the donation, organize nearly all of the donation-acts in three large groups. The first and the largest one (fifty-six texts)<sup>16</sup> contains the acts in which the purpose for which the slave was donated to the Goddess is not specified. The fullest of these texts contain the following clauses, not always in the order outlined here:

1. the date, according to the Augustan and/or provincial Macedonian era (no. 3: (ἔ)τους ἐν(δ)ς διακοσιαστοῦ σεβαστοῦ, (τ)οῦ καὶ ιτ', Ὑπερβερταίου κε');

2. the name(s) of the donor(s) and, occasionally, details on his/her/their legal status, profession, place of residence or citizenship (Εὐάρεστος Νεικολαΐδος Βεροιαῖος);

3. the verb or noun that defines the nature of the legal act (ἐχαρισάμην);

4. the complete (in most cases) name of the Goddess to whom the slave(s) is/are offered (Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἀυτόχθονι);

5. the name(s) and other data regarding the donated slave(s), such as his/her/their age, origin, etc. (κοράσιον ὀνόματι Φιλίστην, ὡς ἐτῶν ε');;

6. the details of the public exposition and deposition of title-deeds to the donated slave accompanied by the deed of gift itself, in the archives of the temple (οὐ καὶ τὴν ὠνὴν κατεθέμην εἰς τὰς ἀν[κάλας τῆς Θεοῦ]);

7. the clause ensuring the protection of the donated slave(s) and his/her/their appertenance to the Goddess alone (no. 5\*: τοῦτον παρὰ τόπον μὴ ὑπρισσθῆνε· ἂν δὲ ὑβρεῖση τις παρὰ τόπον, δώσει Μητρὶ Θεῶν -x, αφ');

8. the names of the priests and/or curator of the temple who might later be in a position to testify to the fact of donation (no. 7: ἐ[γράφ]η ἡ δωρ[ε]ῖα αὐτῆς ἱερωμένου Ἀρηλίου Σωπάτρου);

9. the mention of the ἀπόφασις issued by Tertullianus Aquila, proconsul of Macedonia in AD 212/3.

The purpose of all these donations is never explicitly stated, most probably because it was self-evident to all interested parties and already inherent in the main verb of the donation. The protection clause, however (15, 27, 40: μηδένα κυριώτερον εἶνε

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temple officials kept lists (καταγραφαί) with the names of these temporary ὑπηρέται. The same conditions prevailed in the Phrygian sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos (Petzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–131, no. 111 = Riel pp. 229–230, no. 110: κολασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπεὶ ἤθελα μείνε μετὰ γυνεκός; Petzl p. 126, no. 108 = Riel p. 236, no. 118: Γ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀπελ[λᾶ]ς Βλαυνδεύς, κολασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πολλάκις καὶ πολλοῖς χρόνοις διὰ τὸ μ(ῆ) βούλεσθε ἑαυτὸν προσελθεῖν καὶ παρεστάναι τῷ μυστηρίῳ καλούμενον εκ - - - ; Petzl pp. 133–134, no. 113 = Riel pp. 238–239, no. 123: διὰ τὸ ὑστε[ρηκέαι] καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[έαι - - - ]. It should also be stressed that the verb προσέρχομαι, present in Trophime's inscription and in the one dedicated to Apollo Lairbenos by G. Antonius Apellas, reappears in an unpublished donation of a slave from Metochi in Macedonia (*Ancient Macedonia* III, Thessalonica 1983, fig. 13: ... ἐφ' ᾧ προσέρχῃτε τὰς ἐθίμους ἡμέρας). In Lefkopetra itself, the verb συνέρχομαι is used in the same meaning (46\*, 58\*, 61, 62).

<sup>16</sup> Nos. 3, 5\*–7, 9–11, 13, 15, 26\*, 27, 30, 32, 38–42, 44, 45\*, 53\*, 54, 57, 60, 63\*, 65, 67–69, 72, 73, 80, 82, 85, 87, 89, 90\*, 92–94, 99–101, 103, 108–112, 115, 119, 123, 134, 137, 138, 146.

ἢ τὴν Θεόν; 30, 45\*, 54: μηδενὸς ἑτέρου ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος ἢ τῆς Θεοῦ; 90\*: τούτων δὲ τῶν σωμαμάτων οὐδεὶς ἔστε κύριος ἢ μόνη ἡ Θεός), clarifies at least the effect produced by the deed of gift on the slave's legal status. The impression left by these phrases, namely, that the slave is simply conveyed from one master to another, receives additional support from the clause prescribing the deposition of the donated slave's documents with the Goddess, as well as from other details which will be commented upon in the following discussion.

The acts of the first group, by virtue of their brevity and formularity, offer little information on the real nature of the legal procedure from which they stem. They simply state the master's decision to donate his slave(s) as a gift to the Indigenous Mother of Gods and to ensure his/her/their protection from abuse by transferring the ownership rights over the donated slave(s) to the Goddess, who will then take all necessary precautions to assure the well-being of the slave(s). Donors sometimes dwell on their motives for donating a slave to the Goddess, and these motives almost without exception belong to the sphere of religion<sup>17</sup>, exhibiting, for the most part, no connection with the slave itself, who features solely as the object used for furthering the relations between the Goddess and her worshipper.

The rare inscriptions presenting an irregular phrase again leave the strong impression that the donated slave was simply transferred from human to divine master. In one case (9), slaves (?)<sup>18</sup> are restored to the Goddess (ἀ ἀποκατέστησα), in another (41) they are listed as gifts after gilded greaves, on equal or even lower footing than those objects<sup>19</sup>, in a unique case (53\*) the Goddess is asked to track down a lost (stolen?, runaway?) slave (τὸ κὲ ΑΠΟΥΛΟΝΟΝ = ἀπούλων = ἀπόλωλα) and keep her to herself (τὸ αὐτῆ ἀτῆ ἀναζητήσεις), and, as already noted, in two inscriptions it is expressly stated that the donated slaves have been handed over to the Goddess (54, 90\*). Furthermore, two cases involve slaves dedicated to the Goddess in their early infancy (45\*: ὃ ἀπὸ παιδίου κατωνομάκι διὰ τὸ μὴ παραμείνει αὐτῆ ἄλλα τέσσαρα; 90\*: ἄς καὶ ἀπὸ βρεφῶν κατωνόμασα τῆ Θεῶ)<sup>20</sup>, and in another, already mentioned (57), the donated slave was bought for the Goddess. Inscription no. 134 registers a particularly clear case: one Glauka surrendered her slave Isidora to the Goddess διὰ τὸ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῆς δεδανῆσθαι παρὰ τῆς Θεοῦ καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀποδοῦναι. Isidora certainly did not acquire liberty by this act — she rather became property of

<sup>17</sup> Order received from the Goddess: 9 (?), 101; punishment sent by the Goddess: 65; fulfillment of a vow or a promise given to the Goddess: 45\*, 53\*, 87, 90\*; a slave bought expressly for the Goddess: 57 (τὸ καὶ ἠγόρασα Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονι; the editors have a different explanation: „la consécration est l'aboutissement du vœu fait lors de l'achat de l'esclave"); gratitude for help offered to the donor's husband: 69; a lost slave to be sought out by the Goddess and kept for herself: 53\*.

<sup>18</sup> It is not certain that slaves are the objects of restoration, since the text is damaged in that part.

<sup>19</sup> In no. 41 two slaves are likewise mentioned after . . . ὑ]πάρχ[οντα] πάντα which remain a mystery.

<sup>20</sup> Other similar cases are found in the inscriptions no. 16 and 52.

the Goddess in the full sense of the word<sup>21</sup>. In this case there is no doubt that the slave simply became the property of the Goddess.

As I have already noted, the donated slaves are treated as objects to be restored or offered and handed over to the Goddess in order to fulfil a vow or a promise, to express one's gratitude for help received, to comply with divine orders or to cancel an outstanding debt. Both contractual parties — the Goddess and the slave's proprietor — act according to their selfish interests in which the wishes or the fate of the donated slave seem to play an insignificant role.

The clause ensuring the protection of donated slaves, appearing for the first time in inscription no. 5\* (May 170: τοῦτον παρὰ τόπον μὴ ὑπρισσθῆνε· ἂν δὲ ὑβρεῖση τις παρὰ τόπον, δώσει Μητρὶ Θεῶν × ,αφ'), and in a more developed form in no. 10 (171/2?: αἰάν τις ὑπρέιση καὶ ἀποσπάση, δώσει × ,(α)φ'), is indicative of the slave's future status. The most explicit statement of this sort, found in no. 13 (October 173: μηδενὸς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος πωλεῖν ἢ ἀποαλλοτριοῦν κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον) discloses that the essence of this prohibition-clause was that the slave was not to be alienated from the Goddess, his sole master (cf. also no. 27, AD 191/2: κὲ μηδένα κυριώτερον εἶνε ἢ μὴ τὴν Θεόν), and that no one would be empowered to sell or alienate him in the name of the Goddess. This proviso, aimed more at protecting the rights of the Goddess than those of the donated slave, brings to mind Strabo's description of the condition of numerous ἱεροδουλοὶ in Ma's sanctuary in Pontic Komana (XII 3, 34, C 558): the priest is their master, except that he is not empowered to sell them [τούτων (sc. τῶν ἐνοικούντων) μὲν οὖν ἡγεμῶν ἦν (sc. ὁ ἱερεὺς) καὶ τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων ἱεροδοῦλων κύριος πλὴν τοῦ πιπράσκειν]<sup>22</sup>.

Donors lay particular stress on the irrefutability of the Goddess' power over the donated slave: not only do they deposit the title of ownership over the slave, accompanied by the deed of gift itself, in the archives of the temple (3, 45\*, 63\*, 73, 90\*, 93\*, 94, 99, 103, 108, 115), but they also often refer to their slaves as being immune from arbitrary seizure by third parties and not burdened by debt or mortgage (5\*, 44, 60: ἀνέ(πε)νκλητος; 6: ἀνεπίλημτος<sup>23</sup>, 10: ἀνυπόθηκος).

<sup>21</sup> The editors of the *Corpus* consider that Glauka mortgaged her slave to the Goddess in return for „la somme correspondant à son prix“; even this conjecture does not alter the indubitable fact that the slave was surrendered to the deity and not manumitted.

<sup>22</sup> Another parallel is found in the famous foundation of Antiochos I of Kommagene on Nemrud Dağ (IGLS I no. 1), in lines 171–189 referring to the *hierodouloi* consecrated by the King: μηθενὶ δὲ ὕσιον ἔστω μήτε βασιλεῖ μήτε δυνάστει μήτε ἱερεῖ μήτε ἄρχοντι τούτους ἱεροδούλους, οὓς ἐγὼ θεοῖς τε καὶ τιμαῖς ἐμαῖς κατὰ δαιμόνιον βούλησιν ἀνέθηκα, μηδὲ μὴν παιδᾶς ἐκγόνους τε ἐκείνων, οἵ[τι]νες ἂν ἐν ἅπαντι χρόνῳ τούτο γένος διαδέχωνται, μήτε αὐτῶι καταδουλώσασθαι μήτε εἰς ἕτερον ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι τρόπῳι μηδενὶ μήτε κακῶσαι τινα τούτων ἢ περισπάσαι λειτουργίας ταύτης, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελείσθωσαν μὲν αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς, ἐπαμνένωσαν δὲ βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντες ἰδιωταῖ τε πά[ν]τες.

<sup>23</sup> The same adjective features in a manumission from Kalymnos (M. Segre, *Memorie pubblicate a cura dell'Istituto Storico-Archeologico F.E.R.T. e della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per Rodi*, III, 1938, p. 55 no. 3): ἀνεπίλημτος πάσης ἀπελευθερωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς. In this case it signifies that the manumitted slave-girl was not to have the status of anyone's freed-woman after completing her *paramone*-period. Cf. C. B. Welles, *Manumission and Adoption*, RIDA 3 (1949) 507–520.

In two acts from the first group the future offspring of the donated slaves are offered to the Goddess along with the slaves themselves (30: δωροῦμε ... κοράσιον Νείκην, ὡς ἐτ(ῶν) ζ', σὺν τοῖς ἐπιγεννηθισομένοις; 123: κο[ράσιον ὄν]όματι ΛΥ[-σ]ῖν τοῖς ἐπι[γεννωμέν]οις). The same clause reappears in two more texts (14, 23). On the basis of this clause we infer that the legal status of donated slaves was not automatically inherited by their offspring<sup>24</sup>.

Attachment to the sanctuary and not manumission seems to have been the fate reserved for the children vowed to the Goddess in their early infancy or later (16, 45\*, 52, 90\*): to be raised in the name of the Goddess does not imply being earmarked for manumission, but rather for attachment to the Goddess under whose „auspices“ one grew up. Inscription no. 52 shows that such slaves were not sold, given as a gift or subjected to mortgage by their owners prior to consecration (ὄν κ[αί] ἀπό βρέφου κατωνόμασα τῇ Θεῷ, δι' ὃ οὐδὲ ἐπώλησα οὐδὲ ἐχαρισάμην οὐδὲ ὑποθήκην ἔθηκα).

To sum up, the first group of donation-acts from Lefkopetra, taken at face value, contains no indication that the aim of the procedure was to bestow freedom on the donated slave, unless we postulate an unstated motive and a serious dichotomy between the form and substance of the texts<sup>25</sup>. I shall come back to this in the following discussion. For the moment, I conclude that the largest group of donation-acts from Lefkopetra seems to register real transfers of slaves to the Goddess for religious or economic reasons. The deed of gift put the donated slaves (in two cases, including their future offspring, as well) under the authority of the Goddess, their new κυρία/δέσποινα. They were protected from abuse and separation from the Goddess and no one was empowered to sell or alienate them in any way. They obeyed only the Goddess and her power over them was uncontested. All the documents testifying to their origin and legal status (deeds of sale, birth-registrations, receipts of repaid loans for which they were used as a pledge, etc.), together with the deed of gift transferring them to the Goddess, were deposited in her archives (αἱ ἀνκάλαι τῆς Θεοῦ) by the proprietor in the presence of temple officials. The deed of gift took immediate

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the donation-act from Palatitsa (M. B. Hatzopoulos, BCH 111 [1987] 400 = SEG 37, 540, AD 216/7), where a slave-girl is donated to the Goddess together with her son, while her future offspring is declared free: ... χα[ρί]ζομε κοράσιον ὄνόματι Σεκούνδαν, κ[αί] ἐπεδίον ὄνόματι Ὀλυμπ[ι]όδωρον τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς γενη[θέν]· ταῦτα χα[ρί]ζομε τῇ Θεῷ τῶν βατράχων, τ[ὰ] δὲ ἐπίλο]ιπα τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπιγεννώ]μενα ἵνε [ἀπαντα ἐλε]ύθερα. An inscription from Edessa presents the opposite situation: the mother had been manumitted and the daughter dedicated to the Goddess Ma (A. K. Vavritsas, *Anc. Mac.* IV, 1986, 60–62, no. 13 = SEG 36, 620): ... καταγράφω Θεῷ Μᾶ Ἀνεκίτην κοράσιον ὄνόματι Ἑρμιόνην, τῶν ἐκ παιδίσκης Τερτίας, ἥ(ν) φθάνων αὐτὸς ἐλευθέρωσα. The relative pronoun referring to Tertia is mistakenly engraved as ΗΣ under the influence of the preceding genitive παιδίσκης Τερτίας.

<sup>25</sup> Delphic manumissions contain such a dichotomy, being fictitious sales of slaves to Apollo, but other clauses present in their texts and referring to the „sold“ slave as free to be his own master, „unseizable“, free to do what he wants („occupational mobility“) and go where he chooses („spatial mobility“) (ἐφ' ὧτε ἐλεύθερος εἴμεν καὶ ἀνεφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων, ποιέων ὅ κα θέλη καὶ ἀποτρέχων οἷς κα θέλη), put the real effects of the procedure defined as a sale and not a manumission beyond dispute. Cf. W. L. Westermann, *American Historical Review* 50 (1945) 215–217.

effect<sup>26</sup> and the slaves were handed over to the Goddess by their former owners. What became of them after the completion of the whole procedure is not disclosed by the inscriptions of the first group, beyond the fact that they were protected from abuse and arbitrary seizure by third parties and obeyed only the Goddess<sup>27</sup>. This is roughly the picture we shall see the other groups of inscriptions as well. The intention of the masters seems to have been to keep the donated slaves permanently under the authority of the Goddess, not to manumit them.

In addition to the elements present in the first group, the second group of inscriptions (thirty-five texts) contains a clause specifying the concrete purpose for which the slave was offered to the Goddess<sup>28</sup>. This group can be further divided into two sub-groups. The first one (seventeen texts)<sup>29</sup> contains the acts which specify that the service to the Goddess on the „customary days“ will be the sole obligation of the donated slave and, *ipso facto*, the purpose for his consecration by the original owner<sup>30</sup>. The service to the Goddess is expressed by the verbs ὑπηρετέω (14, 16, 29, 34, 46\*, 47, 52, 74, 128, 139), προσμένω (17, 20, 23, 34, 83, 98, 113) and συνέρχομαι (in conjunction with ὑπηρετέω) (46\*), as well as by the noun ὑπηρεσία (131). These texts, notable for the frequency with which they dwell on the reasons behind the donations (in six out of seventeen cases), exhibit purely religious motives, to the exclusion of all others. We find cases of vows and other promises (14, 47), divine orders (34, 131) and slaves consecrated to the Goddess in their infancy (16, 52). It comes as no surprise that the unique case of a consecration of one's own child

<sup>26</sup> In none of these acts is there any trace of a *paramone*-provision binding the slave to the former master for the latter's lifetime. Nonetheless, some of the slaves are of a tender age (in nos. 39 and 109 only three and two years respectively), which makes it hard to see of what use they could have been to the Goddess if handed over to her immediately and not at some point in the future after a *paramone*-period. I can envisage the following possibilities: 1. They could have been looked after in the sanctuary itself [cf. the cases registered in the following inscriptions: H. Wankel, I.K. 11, 1 (Ephesos), Bonn 1979, 18, edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus, c. AD 44: ὁμοίως δημοσίους δούλους, οἵτινες λέγονται βρέφη τοῦ τυχόντος διαφόρου ὠνούμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καθιεροῦν, ἵν' ἐκ προσόδων αὐτῆ(ς) τρέφονται οἱ δούλοι αὐτῶν, ἀρέσκει τοῖς ἰδίοις δούλοις αὐτοὺς παρέχειν τροφάς; M. Baran, G. Petzl, MDAI (1977-78) 307-308, no. 6 = SEG 27, 729, Teos: Πούδης παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐτρέφη; IGRR I no. 1310, Philae: τραφεὶς δ' ἐγὼ παρ Φαρία "Ἰσιδι ἐνθάδ' ἰκόμην - εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ Σερήνος, βοηθὸς ἀγακλυτοῦ Πτολεμαίου; E. Schwertheim, I.K. 33 (Hadrianeia), Bonn 1987, 132 = R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Bd. II: *Die Nordküste Kleinasiens (Marmarameer und Pontos)*, München, Leipzig 2001, 08/07/01: τὸν δ' ἔθρεψεν ἅ Θεά]... 2. They could have been sold again by the sanctuary if the protection clause was not applicable in all the cases; 3. A part of their family could have already been attached to the sanctuary or manumitted through normal procedures of manumission, which would put them in a position to take care of their offspring.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the general statement found in no. 93\*, ll. 21-22: ἔστω δὲ ἐπε(ι)τα κα(θ)ὼς ἡ ὠνή περιέχει, ἦντινα ὠνήν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔθικα εἰς τὰς ἀνκάλας τῆς Θεοῦ, κατὰ τὴν ἀπό(φα)σιν τὴν Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ἀκύλα. Ὡνή here probably stands for *πιττάκιον δωρεᾶς*.

<sup>28</sup> This type of conveyance is termed by R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. - 640 A.D.*, Warszawa 1955, 64: *donatio sub modo*, i.e., donation with directions on the use of the gift.

<sup>29</sup> Nos. 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 29, 34, 46\*, 47, 52, 74, 83, 98, 113, 128, 131, 139.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. conjunctions ἵνα and ὅπως introducing these clauses in some of the texts (34, 46\*, 58\*, 74).

(47) belongs to this group. This act performed by his mother obviously did not bring about Paramonos' manumission, since he was a freeborn person. Instead, it tied him to the Goddess, possibly making this tie official by assigning him the status of a *ιερόδουλος*.

Just as in the first group, the donated slaves of the second group are destined to serve the Goddess (in one case — no. 14 — with their offspring), their sole mistress<sup>31</sup>; they are also protected from sale, mortgage or imposition of financial obligations (20: οὐ πραθήσονται δὲ οὔτε ἀναφορὰν οἴσουσιν; 83: μηδενὸς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος τῷ ὀνόμα(τι) τῷ τῆς Θεοῦ μήτε πωλῆσε μήτε ἀναφορὰν ὀρίσε μήτε δανίῳ ὑποθέσθε). The period of their *ὑπηρεσία* is in most cases restricted to the so-called „customary days and/or festivals“, and the donated slave undertook the obligation to be present in the temple in order to assume his responsibilities there (46\*: ὅπως ταῖς ἐθίμοι[ς] ἡμέρες κ' ἐορτῆς αὐτῆς συνέρχητε κὲ ὑπηρετῆ). If we understand this evidence at face value, we conclude that the deeds of gift become effective immediately<sup>32</sup>, like the ones in the first group, with the probable exception of those registering donations of slaves too young to be able to perform any duties in the sanctuary<sup>33</sup>.

The eighteen acts of the second sub-group display a greater variety in their wording. Twelve of these<sup>34</sup> couple the mandatory service to the Goddess on the customary days (or the customary number of days) during every festival<sup>35</sup> to the service to the former owner for the latter's lifetime<sup>36</sup>. The masters who had made this type of contract reserved for themselves the life-long *usus* (χρήσις) of the slave and thereby retained a degree of *potestas* over his person. In one case, where a slave-girl was offered together with her son (56), only the latter was obligated to reside with a donor's relative: this clearly shows that *paramone*, i.e., continuing bondage service with the former owner, was optional and depended on the owner's wishes and needs.

The motivation-clause is conspicuously absent in this group, featuring only in no. 75, where we find a female donor executing the *ἐντολαί* of her deceased husband.

It is a reasonable expectation that the texts engraved in close proximity to one another on architectural members and composed at approximately the same time should contain similar or even identical formulations. This fact helped me solve the „riddle“ of inscription no. 59 engraved on column no. I in November 211. Lines 3–9 of this inscription read: Φλ. Σύμφορος μετὰ τῆς μητρός μου Διδύμης ἐχαρισάμην παιδίσκην Ζωπύραν ἐφ' ᾧ προσμείνη τῇ Μητρὶ Θεῶν τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον, the word ΘΕΩΝ having been squeezed in between the words ΜΗΤΡΙ and ΤΟΝ and en-

<sup>31</sup> In inscription no. 131 it is specified that the donated slave will serve the Goddess as a flute-player (*ὑπηρεσίαν τὰς ἐθίμους ἡμέρας ἀλύτην*).

<sup>32</sup> There is no doubt that this was the case at least with Paramonos (47).

<sup>33</sup> No. 20: one year old (note the future tense of *ὑπηρετέω* used in this case, as contrasted with the present forms featuring in other texts). The future form is also present in no. 52, where the age of the slave is not specified, and in no. 128, donation of a ten-year old slave.

<sup>34</sup> Nos. 19, 22, 33, 55, 56, 58\*, 59, 61, 62, 75, 79, 81.

<sup>35</sup> The verbs used are *ὑπηρετέω* (19, 22, 55, 79, 81), *προσμένω* (33, 59), *συνέρχομαι* (58\*, 61, 62) and *ἐξυπηρετέω* (75). In no. 19 the future offspring of three female and one male slave have imposed upon them the same obligation.

<sup>36</sup> The verbs used are *προσμένω* (55, 56, 62, 75, 79, 81) and *ὑπηρετέω* (19, 22, 33).



graved as  $\theta\theta$ . My previous supposition was that the phrase τὸν τῆς ζῶης χρόνον referred to the donated slave Zopyra, who would thus remain tied to the sanctuary for the rest of her life. Now that we have inscriptions no. 58\* (ll. 7–9: ὅπως συνέρχωνται ταῖς ἐθίμαις ἡμέραις τὸν τῆς ζῶης μου(N) [χρόνον]) and 61 (ll. 9–11: [ὅπως ?] συνέρχωνται [ταῖς ἐ]θίμε(ς) ἡμέραις [παρὰ τὸν τ]ῆς ζῶης [μου χρόνον ?]<sup>37</sup>), engraved on the same column in the same month and a year thereafter respectively (November 211 and November 212), I realize that the phrase in question actually refers to the former owner of the slave and not to the slave himself<sup>38</sup>. Thus the notion that the donated slaves were obligated to a life-long service to the Goddess is deservedly put to rest.

Six more explicit acts from the same second sub-group help us understand the fate of the slaves burdened with the obligation of *paramone* in their former master's house: the texts specify that after their master's death the slaves will belong only to the Goddess<sup>39</sup> (12\*: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν μηδένα εἶνε κύριον ἢ τὴν Θεὸν μόνην; 43: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν τελευτὴν μηδένα εἶνε κυριώτερον ἢ τὴν Θεὸν; 71: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν εἶνε αὐτὸν τῆς Θεοῦ; 132: μετὰ τὴν τελε[ε]υ[τὴν] αὐτῆς] εἶνε τῆς Θε[οῦ])<sup>40</sup>. I think we are justified in inferring that the same clause regarding the authority of the Goddess over the slave is implied in all the texts where it is not expressed, since it simultaneously provides protection from abuse for the donated slave.

Inscription no. 21 is short and awkwardly formulated, but it contains the same elements as the longer texts: *paramone* with the former masters — service to the Goddess on the „customary days“ — the Goddess as the sole mistress after the death of the former masters: ... [N]εῖκωνα τὸν θρεπτὸν χαρίζομε Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονι μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν κὲ τῆς συμβίου μου τὰς ἐθίμας ἡμέρας κατὰ πᾶσαν ἑορτήν<sup>41</sup>.

To conclude, the donated slaves in the second group receive the double obligation of remaining with their former master for the latter's lifetime and of presenting themselves in the sanctuary on the customary (number of?) days to serve the Goddess. After the death of their former master, they will belong to the Goddess. The deed of

<sup>37</sup> This is my restoration based on other inscriptions.

<sup>38</sup> Inscription no. 62 on the same column (November 212) offers the most explicit formulation and clarifies the whole picture (ll. 8–13): ὅπως (συνέρχωνται ταῖς ἐθίμαις ἢ(μ)έραις, ἐ(φ)' ᾧ π(ρ)οσμείνωσίν μοι παρ' ὄλον τὸ[ν] τῆς ζῶης χρόνον. There are other texts in which the possessive pronoun referring to the former owner is also missing in the *paramone*-clause (25, 31, 37, 55, 62, 75, 76, 79, 81, 84, 91, 95, 107, 116–118, 132, 133).

<sup>39</sup> Nos. 12\*, 21, 43, 71, 76, 132. The service to the Goddess is expressed by the verbs ὑπηρετέω (12\*, 71, 132) and προσμένω (43, 76), while their obligations toward the former master are expressed by the verb προσμένω (12\*, 43, 71, 76, 132).

<sup>40</sup> This would be a *donatio mortis causae*, where the apportionment is ineffective before the death of the donor (Taubenschlag, [note 28] 204ff.). In contrast to the situation in Lefkopenetra, manumissions from Delphi (and most other places) specify that after the former master's death the slave will be ἐλεύθερος, κυριεύων αὐτοσαυτοῦ καὶ ποιέων ὅ κα θέλη καὶ ἀποτρέχων οἷς κα θέλη.

<sup>41</sup> This is how the editors understand this text: „L'intérêt de ce texte réside dans le fait qu'il révèle le sort des personnes offertes à la déesse: ils ont l'obligation de se rendre au sanctuaire pour servir le culte des jours de fête, mais par ailleurs ils semblent être libres“.

gift in these cases did not become effective immediately, but was deferred until the death of the original owner.

Nineteen texts<sup>42</sup> of the third group, which I set apart solely because of their external form, although in substance they belong together with the eighteen texts of the second sub-group just analyzed, simply specify that the donated slave will remain with his former master<sup>43</sup> and omit all references to his service to the Goddess during the *paramone*-period. All the same, fifteen of these nineteen texts<sup>44</sup> contain the provision that the slave will belong to the Goddess after his master's death (cf. 129: εἶνε αὐτὰ τῆς Θεοῦ ἀναφέρεται). I think that there should be no doubt that the service to the Goddess on the „customary days“, if not always expressed, was always implied, for otherwise one does not see the purpose of donation-acts suspended for a long period of time by the *paramone*-requirements of the slave in his former owner's house. During the *paramone*-period the Goddess probably had authority over the donated slave only on the festival days, while after the former master's death she became his sole mistress<sup>45</sup>.

If we take a closer look at the position occupied by inscriptions on the temple building, we find a very disparate picture. On the column no. I, containing twenty-nine acts, seven from the later second century and twenty-two from the first half of the third century (AD 173–244), we see — side by side — acts from all three groups outlined above. Only inscriptions nos. 70, 84, 91 and 95, engraved high on the column between AD 220 and 241, and the texts no. 58\*, 59, 61, 62 and 75 (already discussed), engraved on its lower half between AD 212 and 229/30, show any consistency. The first four texts belong to the third category outlined above, while the second five form part of the second sub-group in the second category. Nearly a half of all the texts on this column (thirteen altogether) contains no details regarding the donation procedure, but merely record it.

On the column no. II, containing sixteen acts from the last two decades of the second century and the second, third and fourth decades of the third century (AD 184/5–238/9), we encounter the same situation, with a marked preponderance of texts simply registering the master's decision: no system for placing inscriptions on the stone is apparent, and it seems that each text was simply engraved on the available surface on each occasion. Only three acts close in date and position on the column (nos. 19, 22, 56, from AD 186, 189 and 210/1) exhibit the same structure.

Column no. III, the worst preserved of all the columns, contains eleven texts, four dating from the last two decades of the second century (185/6, 187, 188, 192/3), one dated to 254/5 and six without a date but probably engraved in the third century. Two

<sup>42</sup> Nos. 25, 31, 37, 51\*, 70, 84, 86, 91, 95, 96, 105–107, 116–118, 129, 130, 133.

<sup>43</sup> The verb used is invariably προσμένω, except in nos. 133 (ἔχουσα τήν) χρήσιν αὐτο[ῦ τὸν] τοῦ ζῆν χρο[νον - -] and 70 (ἄτινα δουλ(ε)ύσουσιν ἐμοὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ζῶ).

<sup>44</sup> All the texts except 37, 86, 117, 118.

<sup>45</sup> For the status of donated slaves during the *paramone*-period, cf. no. 26\* discussed below (Appendix I). Not included in my classification are eighty-four texts — sixty-seven fragmentary or otherwise problematic (nos. 1, 3, 8, 18, 24, 28, 35, 36, 48–50, 64, 66, 77, 78\*, 88, 97, 102, 104, 114, 120–122, 124–127, 135, 136\*, 140–145, 147–149, 160\*, 161, 163, 168, 169, 171–194) and seventeen votive ones (nos. 2, 150\*–159, 162, 164, 165–167, 170).

inscriptions close in date and position on the column (nos. 18 and 20) have the same structure.

The fragmentary state of the left doorpost permits no complete analysis of the disposition of inscriptions occupying its surface. It contains two acts securely dated to the last decade of the second century (nos. 23 and 33 from AD 190 and 192/3), three from the first half of the third century (nos. 55, 79 and 82 from AD 210/1, 230–232 and 234), and three without a preserved date (nos. 7, 77, 78\*). Of the five dated texts, three have the same structure (33, 55, 79).

The right door-post contains ten texts, three from the last two decades of the second century (nos. 24, 34, 43, from AD 189/90, 192/3, 195/6), four from the first and fourth decade of the third century (nos. 51\*, 52, 80, 85, from AD 208/9, 232, 234) and three without a secure date (nos. 11, 49, 130). Again, no system can be detected in the placement of the inscriptions on the stone.

The sanctuary of the Indigenous Mother of Gods, situated in the vicinity of the present-day village of Lefkopetra, belonged to the territory of ancient Beroia. It was managed by priests and curators chosen by the city from among its prominent citizens. Its normal functioning depended on the existence of a regular budget and temple-personnel. Some of the lower-ranked personnel were probably supplied by the city of Beroia itself from among its public slaves<sup>46</sup> and others by individual donors. Inscriptions engraved on the temple of Lefkopetra, on altars and steles dedicated to the Goddess, are meant to immortalize these private donors and their laudable decision to supplement the personnel of their Goddess by offering her a slave from their household or buying one especially for her needs. The purpose of the consecration was not to emancipate the slave but to subject him to the authority of the Goddess, his new mistress. In about thirty per cent of cases the consecrated slave was burdened with *paramone*-obligations tying him to the original master for the latter's lifetime, except on the festival days of the Goddess when he had to take up his duties in the sanctuary. Given all the infringements upon the consecrated slave's spatial mobility, choice of domicile and freedom of choice in general, his condition can hardly be considered to be that of a free person. Unfortunately, the legal status of the newly consecrated slave is never specified in preserved inscriptions. Instead, we find descriptive phrases εἶναι αὐτὴν τῆς Θεοῦ, μηδένα κυριώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὴν Θεόν, μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἢ τὴν Θεόν suggesting that the former owner abandoned all his claims to the donated slave. On the other hand, seven ἱερόδουλοι<sup>47</sup> and one Μητρός

<sup>46</sup> In a recently found inscription from the Roman colony of Sirmium in Pannonia Inferior we meet a former slave of the colony ceded to the local temple of *Mater Dea*, who after his manumission by the Goddess became a *Matris Deae libertus*. Cf. my article *A Matris Deae libertus at Sirmium*, ZPE 141 (2001) 287–296.

<sup>47</sup> Μαρία, ἱερόδουλος Μητρός Θεῶν καὶ λυχνάπτρια (no. 39, AD 193/4); Διονύσιος, ἱερόδουλος Θεᾶς Αὐτόχθονος (no. 109, October 254); [Ἐπαφ]ρόδειτος Φιλώτου, Μητ[ρ]ῆς Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονος (most probably a *hierodoulos*, no. 56, AD 210/1); Πασιθέα, ἱερ[ό]δουλος Μητρός Θεῶν Αὐτόχθ[θ]ονος (no. 112, AD 277/8); Τρύφερος, ἱερόδουλος Μητρός Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονος (no. 113, c. AD 277/8); Θεοδότη, εἱερόδουλος Μητρός Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονος, ἡ πρὶν Συνφόρου (no. 117, October 311); Ἀ[ρ]ιάγνη[ν], Μητρός Θεῶν ἱερόδουλος (no. 151). The classic work on the subject of (sacred) slaves is F. Bömer's, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, Teil II: *Die sogenannte sakrale Freilassung in Grie-*

Θεῶν ἀπελευθέρω<sup>48</sup> feature among the donors of slaves and dedicants of votive monuments, and it is a reasonable conjecture that all of them acquired their status by having been offered to the Goddess by their former owners — the city of Beroia or private citizens.

The legal and social status of slaves of gods in the Greek East varied considerably in accordance with the local traditions and periods, so that we cannot group under this same heading all the persons designated as ἱερόδουλοι, δοῦλοι Θεοῦ/Θεᾶς, ἱεροί in literary, epigraphical and papyrological sources. What they all share, whether freeborn or (former) slaves, is their link with their divine patrons. The nature of this link is not always easy to define but a religious element can be discerned in several cases<sup>49</sup>.

In the sanctuary of the Indigenous Mother of Gods in Lefkopetra we find ἱερόδουλοι and ἀπελεύθεροι of the Goddess, and in other Macedonian sanctuaries

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*chenland und die (δοῦλοι) ἱεροί*, Abh. Akad. Wiss. Lit. Mainz, 1960, I, 1–207; an earlier, but still useful study is Hepding's article in RE 8 (1913) s. v. hierodouloi. On ἱεροί, cf. P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*, (ÉPRO 88), Leiden 1982, 78–90.

<sup>48</sup> No. 43, AD 195/6: Κρισπίνα, Μητρόσ Θεῶν ἀπελευθέρω. Other cases of freedmen of divinities from the Graeco-Roman world known to me are the following ones: 1) *Agonis quaedam ... Lilybitana, liberta Veneris Erycinae*, from Eryx (Cic. *Div. Caec.* XVII 55); 2) *C. Iulius Optatus Veneris libertus* from Sicca Veneria, founded from Eryx and likewise renowned for its cult of Venus/Astarte (CIL VIII 27580); 3) a freedwoman of Diana by the name of *Rufa* (Dessau, ILS ad no. 3523: *M. Orfio M. f. Fal. Rufa Dianaes (liberta) sibi et coiuci (!) suuo (!) fecit*), originating from the community around the sanctuary of Diana Tifatina in the vicinity of Capua; 4) *Septimius Asclepius Hermes*, a freedman of Asclepius from Apulum in Dacia (CIL III 1079: *I. O. M. Iunoni Minervae et Aesculapio domino Septim(ius) Ascl(epius) Hermes, libertus numinis Aesculapi, habens ornamenta dec(urionalia) col(oniae) Apu(li) et aug(ustalis) col(oniae) e(iusdem) v(otum) p(osuit)*); 5) a freedman (?) (his legal status is not stated) of a Histrian deity venerated under the name of Minerva Polensis, *Minervius Epaphroditus* from Pola, (*Inscr. It.* X 1, 592); 6) *Flavius Constantius, Matris Deae libertus* from Sirmium (cf. note 46); 7) a slave-girl in an inscription from Macedonian Kozani (A. Rizakis, I. Touratsoglou, *Ἐπιγραφεὺς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας* I, Athens 1985, no. 59b, c. AD 108/9) consecrated to an unnamed local Heros, who προσμενεῖ τῷ Ἡρῶ καὶ εἶναι ἐλευθέρων ναοῦ; 8) *Dioskoros*, ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ με[γίστου/γάλου] Θεοῦ] Σαράπιδος, a weaver working for the Roman army (BGU VII 1564 = A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* II no. 395, September 9, AD 138, Philadelphiea in Fayum; cf. Taubenschlag, [note 28] 97; J. Bingen, REG 1967, p. 350); 9) *liberti* living in an unknown sanctuary and mentioned in *Dig.* XXXIII 1, 20, 1 as recipients of a *fideicommissum*: *Attia fideicommissum his verbis reliquit: „quisquis mihi heres erit, fidei eius committo, uti det ex reditu cenaculi mei et horrei post obitum sacerdoti et hierophylaco et libertis, qui in illo templo erunt, denaria decem die nundinarum, quas ibi posui“*. Of all these freedmen, C. Iulius Optatus, Septimius Asclepius Hermes and Flavius Constantius were former *servi publici* ceded to municipal sanctuaries: upon their manumission, they became freedmen of their divine masters, receiving simultaneously the *nomen* of the city that controlled the sanctuary where they served.

<sup>49</sup> The most recent study on Egyptian *hierodouloi* (R. Scholl, *Historia* [1985] 466–492) concludes that they were free Egyptians involved in agriculture, trade and handicrafts. This was already the conclusion of L. Delekat's study on *katoche* and *hierodouleia* (*Katoche, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung*, Münch. Beitr. 47 [1964] 98–99, 106). Scholl denies them any part in the cult, while Delekat makes an exception of *hierodouloi* who attained that status by an act of self-dedication to a deity.

δοῦλοι/δμωαί, ἱερόδουλοι and ἀπελεύθεροι of numerous local divinities<sup>50</sup>. In my study on the consecration of slaves in Macedonia<sup>51</sup> I expressed uncertainty about the differences in the social, economic and legal status of local δοῦλοι Θεᾶς, ἱερόδουλοι and ἀπελεύθεροι Θεᾶς. I would be inclined now to assume that the first two categories were identical: δοῦλοι Θεοῦ/Θεᾶς and ἱερόδουλοι<sup>52</sup> in Roman Macedonia and elsewhere, as well as contemporaneous ἱεροί in other Eastern provinces, were slaves and freeborn persons<sup>53</sup> consecrated by their masters and blood relatives and transferred to gods by dedication. By virtue of this act, they legally became slaves of divinities and were protected by their divine patrons; yet with respect to the public authorities and private individuals they were considered personally free<sup>54</sup>. With this in mind, it is only natural to find three cases in Lefkopetra where ἱερόδουλοι address the Goddess as their δέσποινα<sup>55</sup>. This ambiguous status — particularly since many of the consecrated slaves were simultaneously in continuing bondage service (*paramone*)

<sup>50</sup> Slaves of gods appear in a dedication-act from the temple of Artemis Gazoria in Skydra: τὰυτὴν εἶν(αι) δούλην τῆς Θεᾶς (cf. note 71) and in the temple of Ma in Edessa (cf. note 66). In the first sanctuary some consecrated slaves also acquired the status of *hierodouloi* (A. Plassart, BCH 47 [1923] 182–183). From a temple of Aphrodite in Pelagonia (IG X 2, 2, 178) comes an inscription mentioning δμωαί of the Goddess.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. note 6.

<sup>52</sup> As we have just seen (note 50), both terms were simultaneously in use in the sanctuary of Artemis Gazoria in Skydra.

<sup>53</sup> That freeborn persons could also become objects of consecration is confirmed by the case of Paramonos, from Lefkopetra (no. 47). Since his father is not mentioned in the donation-act, he might have been an illegitimate child, just like Ῥόδων Ἀρτεμεισιάδος ἱερόδουλος from Berket in Pisidia (G. E. Bean, AS 10 [1960] 82, no. 135). *Hierodouloi* Θεοδότῃ, ἡ πρὶν Συμφόρου, and possibly also [Ἐπαφ]ρόδειτος Φιλώτου (cf. note 48) from the sanctuary in Lefkopetra were either slaves or children of Symphoros and Philotas — in my opinion, children rather than slaves (*contra* the editors in their commentary of the relevant texts). *Hierodouloi* with names accompanied by what could have been their patronyms are on record in several Anatolian regions (TAM III 567, a particularly clear case: Κορόκη, Μουσαίου θυ(γάτηρ), ἱεροδούλη; SEG 19, 802; 829: Κλωδία Μάνου Ψεκάδος, ἱερόδουλος Πλούτωνος καὶ Κόρης; G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 102, 1970 (ETAM III), nos. 132 and 191 = J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1972, 514, 522; TAM V 1, 483a; 593). On the consecrations (καταγραφαί) of freeborn children and grandchildren in the temple of Apollo Lairbenos in Phrygia, cf. my article *Les ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΑΙ du sanctuaire d'Apollon Lairbenos*, *Arkeoloji dergisi* 3 (1995) 167–195; M. Mirković, *Mél. d'hist. et d'épigr. offerts à F. Papazoglou*, Belgrade 1997, 1–33; T. Ritti, C. Şimşek, H. Yıldız, EA 32 (2000) 1–88. The new legal status of freeborn children consecrated to Apollo Lairbenos is finally specified in one of the new inscriptions published by T. Ritti (K 49) as that of a ἱερός; slaves subjected to the same procedure acquired the status of ἱεροί (καὶ ἐλεύθεροι).

<sup>54</sup> Onesime, the slave-girl consecrated to Artemis Gazoria (cf. note 50) is δούλη τῆς Θεᾶς in relation to the Goddess and a free woman with respect to everyone else: πρὸς τ[οὺς] ἐκτ[ρ]ὸς ἐλευθέρα μέχρι ἰ ἀν ζῆ]. In her thorough study of the society of ancient Beroia, A. Tatakis expressed another opinion (*Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society*, [Μελετήματα 8], Athens 1986, 484–496): she regards *hierodouloi* in Lefkopetra as former private slaves donated under special conditions (e. g. μηδενὸς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος πωλεῖν ἢ ἀπ(ο)αλλοτριούν) or raised specifically to be offered to the Goddess; slaves donated without any of these conditions joined the ranks of δοῦλοι Θεᾶς and could be sold by the sanctuary to increase its income, or freed by the Goddess and acquire the status of ἀπελεύθεροι Θεᾶς.

<sup>55</sup> The cases of Pasitheia, Dionysios and Trypheros (cf. note 48).

with their former masters — was the reason why their legal protection was deemed necessary by public authorities: their arbitrary seizure and all other forms of alienation are forbidden already in the earliest dated inscriptions from Lefkopetra, while the right of *κυρεύειν* (= *possessio*, not *dominium*)<sup>56</sup> is relegated to the deity alone. As already noted, during the proconsulship of M. Ulpius Tertullianus Aquila (AD 212/3)<sup>57</sup> all the consecrated slaves in Macedonia were protected by his *ἀπόφασις*. By this intervention of Roman authorities, arbitrary seizure, imposition of financial obligations and mortgaging of dedicated slaves in the name of the Goddess were strictly forbidden<sup>58</sup>. A fine of 1000 *denarii* for adult slaves and 500 for children was provided for those who would dispute the right of the temple over the dedicated persons; it was also stipulated that after the death of the former master the consecrated slave would belong to the Goddess. All the relevant documents certifying to the lawful ownership of the donated slaves had to be deposited in the archives of the temple the day the donation was made and the mandatory public display of the donation-act itself was a pre-requisite for its legal validity.

As far as freedmen of gods are concerned, there is no reason why their origin should be less heterogeneous than that of (sacred) slaves of gods. Unfortunately, the sources at our disposal enable us only to make conjectures of varying ingenuity, much more than in the case of (ιερό)δουλοι. A good example is again the sanctuary of Lefkopetra, where the term Μητρὸς Θεῶν ἀπελεύθεροι must have been used for a reason, to designate a category of people distinct from Μητρὸς Θεῶν ιερόδουλοι. What particular quality made them distinct from the rest and, at the same time, far less numerous? I can offer the following explanation<sup>59</sup>. Ἀπελεύθεροι Θεῶς can be viewed as (ιερό)δουλοι who owed this status to their consecration by the original masters (regardless of whether the intention behind the consecration-act was to grant them a limited form of liberty burdened with *paramone*-obligations in the house of the former master and in the sanctuary, or simply to supplement the regular temple personnel), and who were subsequently released by the Goddess from the obligations imposed on them at the moment of the consecration. Even if we take the obligation of

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Taubenschlag (note 28), 230.

<sup>57</sup> On his family and career, cf. G. H. R. Horsley, S. Mitchell, I.K. 57 (Central Pisidia), Bonn 2000, commentary on inscription no. 44.

<sup>58</sup> The prohibition of these offences against dedicated persons suggests that they were a common phenomenon prior to Tertullianus Aquila's intervention.

<sup>59</sup> Another view is the one presented by the editors of the *Corpus* of Lefkopetra, who consider the word ιερόδουλος in Lefkopetra as synonymous with ἀπελεύθερος: from the view point of the sanctuary, dedicated slaves were *hierodouloi*, from the view point of their former masters *apeleutheroi* (cf. their commentary on no. 43). If that were true, wouldn't Crispina refer to herself as (e.g.) Αὐρηλίου Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀπελευθέρα and not Μητρὸς Θεῶν ἀπελευθέρα? Christian authors often play metaphorically upon the antithesis δούλος — ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου: 1 Cor. 7, 22: ὁ γὰρ ἐν Κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δούλος ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου ἐστίν; Ignat. Antioch. *epist. Rom.* 4, 3, p. 186: ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δούλος, ἀλλ' ἐάν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. Cf., on the same note, A. Cameron, HThR 32 (1939) 148, note 15: „the use of ἀπελεύθερος in that sense (i.e. for slaves manumitted by the sacred process) would presumably be due to the influence of the real status on the terminology; the term δούλος τοῦ Θεοῦ is more in keeping with the fiction of sale or dedication to the god“.

staying in the sanctuary on all the „customary days“ and serving the Goddess to be a life-long bond uniting the slave to the deity, it is at least conceivable that some (ιερό)δουλοι were granted exemption from this customary service (perhaps after their former master's death and in return for a payment to the sanctuary?), thus joining the ranks of ἀπελεύθεροι Θεᾶς and left free to worship their patroness without having the obligation to present themselves in the sanctuary on all the „customary days“<sup>60</sup>. A fragmentary stele from Lykian Oenoanda (second/first century BC) might be the result of such a procedure in the local temple of Leto, but it is unfortunately too mutilated to provide reliable testimony<sup>61</sup>.

The donated slave, who is not a free person in the eyes of the law until the Goddess decides to set him free, is nonetheless protected from abuse, sale, arbitrary seizure and all forms of alienation from the Goddess, the protection being additionally enforced by the threat of heavy fines against all possible transgressors. He formally and legally belongs to the Goddess who keeps all his documents in her archives as proof of her ownership. Although we cannot consider him legally free, no more so than prior to his consecration when he was bound to a human master<sup>62</sup>, we can fully understand how his new status constituted an improvement: it was inferior to that of slaves liberated through Greek or Roman forms of „secular manumission“<sup>63</sup>, but it meant having a milder master and being personally free with respect to the world outside the sanctuary. Finally, all the consecrated slaves could own and dispose of their movable and immovable property as they wished<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> This view is shared by F. Bömer (note 47) 92, n. 1: the consecrated slave-girl Onesime (cf. note 50 here) will first be a δούλη τῆς Θεᾶς, perhaps in a condition similar to that of persons in *paramone*, and then, after some time, finally free, and J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1977, 270: „la déesse prendra alors (i.e., after the death of the dedicant) l'enfant ou la fille, quitte à l'affranchir si elle veut et quand elle le voudra“.

<sup>61</sup> A. Hall, *AS 27 (1977) 197* no. 4 = SEG 27, 932; cf. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1978, 462: - - - | [ . . . ] ης δ[ . . . . . ] | [ . . . ] Λητ[ῶ] καὶ τ[οῖς] τέκνοις ? | [ . . . ] ἔ[σ]τω ἐπ[ὶ] ἀρατος | [ ? ἢ Θεᾶ] ἔλυσεν ἀ[πὸ] παρα[ί]ῃ? μονῆς] αὐτῆς διαφό[ρῳ] . | ] ΠΙ' καὶ μηθενὶ ἐξέ[σ]τω | συνκλισαι βία τρόπῳ | μηθενί· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔνοχος ἔστω Λητῶ καὶ |<sup>10</sup> τέκνοις. J. and L. Robert do not accept the editor's restoration at the beginning of line 4 because there are no parallels for the deity being concerned with *paramone*; this was the master's concern in freeing or consecrating a slave.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Appendix I, commentary on inscription no. 26.

<sup>63</sup> None of the *hierodouloi* securely dated in the period after AD 212 have the nomen *Aurelius*, and this means that they were not granted the Roman citizenship by the terms of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. In other words, they were not classed as free inhabitants of the Empire but as *dediticii*. *Hierodouloi* attested prior to 212 (nos. 39, 56) likewise have no citizenship, since we do not find city-ethnics attached to their names. The Ephesian ιεροί from 86/5 BC — personally free but not citizens of Ephesos (Le Bas-Waddington no. 136 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 742, l. 45) —, provide a parallel from 300 years before; closer in time to Macedonian ιεροδουλοι are the *hieroi* attested at the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos (see below) who also belong to no *civitas*.

<sup>64</sup> The status of (*amêl*) *šir(a)qu* „consecrated slave“ in Neo-Babylonian sanctuaries as outlined by A. T. Serventi (*Aegyptus* 34 [1954] 226) is reminiscent of the condition of slaves and freeborn children consecrated to the Indigenous Mother of Gods in Lefkopetra: „(*amêl*) *šir(a)qu* 'servo consacrato', che godeva di un certo prestigio morale e poteva essere agricoltore, pastore, portinaio, ecc. Come *širqê* i genitori potevano dedicare alle diverse divinità i propri figli e i padroni i propri schiavi, che però potevano trattenerne presso di sé fino alla morte, dopo la quale divenivano proprietà perpetua del dio e, come tali, erano contrassegnati a fuoco col marchio

For at least some of the donated slaves, serving the Goddess meant participating and helping in cult ceremonies,<sup>65</sup> but many were probably employed in menial jobs in and around the sanctuary, on temple estates<sup>66</sup> or in workshops<sup>67</sup>. Unfortunately, many important details regarding the consecrated slaves' future remain vague, the most interesting one being the duration of their mandatory ὑπηρεσία in the sanctuary. In any case, it seems to have been the Goddess' prerogative to determine their ultimate fate by keeping them under her authority or liberating them from the obligations imposed on them at the moment of their consecration.

It is well known that inscriptions registering donations of slaves to female and male deities are found in other regions of Lower and Upper Macedonia<sup>68</sup>. Addressed to local forms of Artemis (Gazoria, Agrotera, Digaia, Eilythia), to Enodia, Ma, Mother of the Gods, Nemesis, the Syrian Goddess, a local Heros and Dionysos, they come from Edessa, Skydra, Kyrrhos, Palatitsa, Blagana, Beroia, Elimeia, Eordaia, Lynkestis and Pelagonia. These legal acts are defined as donations, consecrations or conveyances of slaves to divinities. The most common verb defining their nature is χαρίζω, followed by δωρέω, ἀνατίθημι and στηλ(λ)ογραφέω. New are καταγράφω (only in Edessa) and ἀφίμηι (once in Skydra<sup>69</sup>), both absent from Lefkopetra. As already indicated, the future legal status of the consecrated slave is defined in three different ways, as that of a ἱερόδουλος, δούλη τῆς Θεᾶς and ἐλευθέρα ναοῦ respectively<sup>70</sup>. The deed of gift is termed καταγραφή, γραμματεῖον, πιττάκιον τῆς δωρεᾶς, ὦνή, again with no allusions to an eventual manumission of the slave, and

del dio, *šindu o šintu*". I have not been in a condition to consult R. P. Dougherty's monograph *The širkātu of Babylonian Deities* (Yale Oriental Series, Researches 5), New Haven 1923.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. no. 39: a female *hierodoulos* serving as a λυχνάπτρια, and no. 131: the donated slave is to serve as an ἀύλητις on the festival days.

<sup>66</sup> An inscription from the temple of Ma in Edessa registering a gift of two *plethra* of vineyard to the Goddess by her slave Stratto (A. E. Contoleon, REG 12 [1899] 172–173, no. 9; P. N. Papageorgiou, 'Αθηνᾶ 12 [1900] 73, no. B 10; cf. A. Cameron, HThR 32 [1939] 143–145; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1977, 270; A. Tataki, *Macedonian Edessa. Prosopography* (Μελετήματα 18), Athens 1994, PE 288, October 243): Στραττώ, δούλη Θεᾶς Ἀνικίτου Μᾶς, καταγράφω ἀμπέλων [πλ]έθρα δύο πλείον ἢ ἔ[λασ]σον ...] shows that parts of the immovable property possessed by Macedonian sanctuaries have their origin in gifts of individual worshippers. Likewise, an inscription from Elimeia (Rizakis, Touratsoglou, [note 48] no. 22) records the gift of two rows of vines to Zeus Hypsistos by a privately owned slave ἐκ τῶν πεκουλαρίων. To express the notion of giving away, dedicating, the slave in this inscription uses the verb ἀνονομάζω, which is reminiscent of the verb κατονομάζω used in Lefkopetra of slaves dedicated to the Goddess by their masters in early infancy.

<sup>67</sup> A workshop is given as a gift to Apollo Lairbenos in a newly published inscription from his sanctuary (see Appendix II below, commentary on inscription K43\*).

<sup>68</sup> At the moment, we have nearly eighty texts belonging to this category, of which some twenty-three remain unpublished. Of these eighty inscriptions, thirty-one (nine still unpublished) come from the sanctuary of Ma in Edessa. The same city boasts the oldest inscription registering a consecration of a slave to Parthenos, engraved between 200 and 150 BC (A. Panayotou, P. Chrysostomou, BCH 117 [1993] 360–362, no. 1 = SEG 43, 388).

<sup>69</sup> A. Plassart, BCH 47 (1923) 182–183: ... ἀφίμηι παιδίσκην ὀνόματι Ἀριάγνην Θεᾶ Ἀρτέμιδι Γαζωρίᾳ ἱερόδουλον ... The verb ἀφίμηι is common in the so-called „secular manumissions“.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. notes 50, 48.



the reasons motivating the donors are almost exclusively of religious nature<sup>71</sup>. The (mostly home-born) slaves are proclaimed undisputed property of their masters<sup>72</sup>, and they are protected from violence, seizure and reduction to slavery by threats of heavy fines. Compared with Lefkopetra, the percentage of slaves burdened with *paramone*-obligations in the house of their former owner seems to be lower — only some ten published acts contain this clause. Service in the sanctuary is even less frequently mentioned (about six times in the published inscriptions). In a couple of cases it is stipulated that (after the master's death) the Goddess will be the sole master of the slave (occasionally, with his offspring<sup>73</sup>), to the exclusion of all city officials and councillors<sup>74</sup>.

As already noted, the noun/adjective ἐλεύθερος, -α and the verb ἐλευθερώ feature in five donation-acts of slaves from Macedonia. If we take a closer look at these five texts, we realize that these words are used to contrast, not to supplement the effects of the deed of gift upon the legal status of the slave. Such seems to be the situation in the previously mentioned inscription from Palatitsa where a slave-girl is donated to the Goddess together with her son, while her future offspring is declared free: ... χαρίζομε κοράσιον [ὄνομ]ατι Σεκούνδαν, κ[ὲ] πεδίον ὀ[νό]ματι 'Ολυμπ[ι]ό-δωρον] τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς γενη[θέν]· ταῦτα χαρίζομε τῇ Θεᾷ τῶν β[ι]ατρᾶχων, τ[ὰ] δὲ ἐπίλοιπα τὰ ἐξ α[ὐ]τῆς ἐπιγεννώ[μενα] ἵνε [ἅ]παντα ἐλε[ύ]θερα<sup>75</sup>, and in an inscription from Edessa reflecting the opposite situation: the mother had been manumitted on another occasion and the daughter is now dedicated to the Goddess Ma: ... καταγράφω Θεᾷ Μᾷ 'Ανεικήτω κοράσιον ὄνοματι 'Ερμιόνην, τῶν ἐκ παιδίσκης Τερτίας, ἥ(ν) φθάνων αὐτὸς ἐλευθέρωσα<sup>76</sup>. In the previously mentioned inscription from Skydra the situation is the same: the consecrated slave-girl will be a slave of the Goddess from the view-point of Artemis Gazoria herself, and a free woman with respect to everyone else. It seems that this is how we should also understand the infinitive ἐλευθερῶσαι in the inscription from Beroia adduced above<sup>77</sup>, where the language of the original deed of gift (Il. 4–5) δῶρον ἔδωκεν Θεᾷ 'Αγροτέρῃ 'Αρτέμιδι, is paraphrased by the donor's brothers (Il. 15–17) as καὶ νῦν βουλομένης σοῦ τινὰς τῶν ἰδίων θρεπταρίων ἐλευθερῶσαι.

<sup>71</sup> Onesime from Skydra is the only slave that has „earned“ her consecration to Artemis Gazoria by being obedient to her masters (M. G. Demitsas, *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν μνημείοις σφωζομένοις καὶ λίθοις φθεγγομένοις*, Athens 1896, no. 126 = Dareste, Haussoullier, Reinach, *IIGr I* p. 250 no. 14): ... ἡξίωσαν οἱ θρέψαντες, καλῶς δουλευθέντες ὑπὸ θρεπταρίου ἰδίου ὀνόματι 'Ονησίμαν ... ἀ(να)τίθημιν Θεᾷ 'Αρτέμιδι Γαζωρίᾳ .... This formulation shows that the consecration, notwithstanding all the obligations it imposed upon the slave, was still considered as a reward and an improvement of his status.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Rizakis, Touratsoglou, (note 48) no. 116 (AD 265/6), ll. 10–12: τούτων οὐδὲς κυρ[ε]ῖν, οὐτ' ἐμοῦ κληρονόμος οὔτε δανιστής.

<sup>73</sup> Papageorgiou, (note 66) no. 11; IG X 2, 2, 233.

<sup>74</sup> Papageorgiou, (note 66) no. 11; P. M. Nigdelis, G. A. Souris, *Τεκμήρια 2* (1996) 69–81; IG X 2, 2, 35 (my readings of ll. 4–5); L. Gounaropoulou, M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας I: Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας*, Athens 1998, no. 49, ll. 6–8: μηθεὸς ἐτέρου αὐτῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος, μήτε ἀρχόντων μήτε βουλευτῶν.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. note 24.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. note 24.

<sup>77</sup> Note 74.

It should not be forgotten that the Macedonians were well acquainted with the procedure of the so-called „secular manumission“ (usually) involving paying a ransom by the liberated slave. In fact, the earliest Macedonian manumission-act of this type, preceding by about fifty years the earliest known consecration-act of a slave to a deity, is preserved in an inscription from Beroia set up in the reign of Demetrios II (239–229 BC)<sup>78</sup>, and we now have another less elaborate act from about the same time<sup>79</sup>. That the same practice goes back at least to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas is proved by a letter sent by the future king Demetrios II in 248 BC to Harpalos, the *epistates* of Beroia<sup>80</sup>. In this letter Demetrios prescribed the type of votive offerings required of new freedmen (ll. 9–13): οἱ [ἀπε]λευ[θ]ε[ρο]ύ[μ]ενοι πρότερον φαίνονται φιάλ[ας ἀνατιθ]ε[σθαι] | εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ οὖν [ἐστίν] πε[ριο]υσία εἰς τῆ[ν] | χρεῖαν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ (Herakles Kynagidas), ἀνατιθέτωσαν ἀντὶ | τῶν φιαλῶν κέρατα [κ]αὶ σκύφους. This type of manumission was in use in the Roman period as well. This fact is confirmed by several epigraphic monuments from various Macedonian regions that either preserve the actual manumission-act, refer to one or record the votive offering made by the newly liberated slave<sup>81</sup>. Further evidence is provided by the frequent appearances of ἀπελεύθεροι/ἐξελευθερικοί of private persons, both in the Hellenistic and the Roman period. We conclude that the two procedures involving slaves — consecration and manumission — were performed with different objectives, the first to supplement the temple personnel of prominent local deities and ameliorate the slave's position, the second to grant full freedom to deserving slaves. That the consecrated slave's new status was henceforth under official protection and his forced re-enslavement by private or official persons strictly forbidden, is due not so much to benevolence on the part of his former proprietor, as to his concern to protect the temple property from misuse and alienation. The consequence of this concern was the ambivalent status of consecrated persons as slaves within the sacred

<sup>78</sup> Gounaropoulou, Hatzopoulos, (note 74) no. 45.

<sup>79</sup> Gounaropoulou, Hatzopoulos, (note 74) no. 46 (third quarter of the third century BC). A Macedonian from Beroia, Asandros, son of Menandros, is found liberating his slave Euporia in Delphi in 178/7 BC in return for a ransom of 200 Alexandrian drachmae (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 848).

<sup>80</sup> Gounaropoulou, Hatzopoulos, (note 74) no. 3.

<sup>81</sup> Gounaropoulou, Hatzopoulos, (note 74) no. 31 (second-first century BC): Δημήτριος, Παρμονίδης, Εὐφράντα, Ζαῖς, Παραμόνα, Ὀνήσιμος, Ἐπικτήσις, Εὐφοροσύνη, Ἀφροδεῖσια, Βεῖθος, Ἀθηναίς, ἀπελευθερωθέντες ὑπὸ Κρίτανος τοῦ Εὐτυχίδου, Ἑρακλ[ . . . ]λῆ Κυναγίδαι σκύφον οὐ ὀλκή εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ δραχ. φν'; *ibid.*, nos. 32–33 (votive offerings to the same divinity, first century BC), 48 (possibly an act of „secular manumission“, second century AD?): [ . . . Ἀλε]ξάνδρα ἰέρια [Δήμητρος] καὶ Κόρης Νίκη[ν ἀφίσι]ν ἀπελευθέραν [εὐθύς ?] μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν [θά]νατον); SEG 27, 258 (Kyrrhos, votive offering); Rizakis, Touratsoglou (note 48), nos. 20, 30, 96 (votive offerings), 115 (manumission performed εὐχὴν Ἑρακλῆ Κυναγίδῃ), 124 (possibly a reference to a manumission); SEG 15, 415 (Amphipolis, AD 158/9): Ζειπυραν Ζειπυραντος καὶ Βουκουθης καὶ ἡ σύνβιος Δαντῶ Ζειβουρες ἐλευθέρωσαν δοῦλον Κερδολῶν, ἔτους τ'; N. Vulčić, *Spomenik SKA* 71, Belgrade 1931, no. 54 (Veles, third century AD): Αὐρ(ήλιοι) Ἰούλιος καὶ Ἰουλία Σατορνίνα τῆ μητρὶ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ [ . . . ] τῷ πατρὶ καὶ Αὐρ. Νικόλαος [τοῖς] πάπποις διὰ τοῦ συν[τρόφου] μνείας χάριν· ἀφῆκαν τε Συρίω[να τὸν] δοῦλον τῷ μνημείῳ καθὼς καὶ πρέπ[ει] ?· ἡ κυρία] ἐνετείλατο, ἐπεὶ ἔλαβεν λύτρα κα[ί]ρ' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τὰ καθήκοντα καθ' ἑνιαυτὸν ταῖς ἐθίμ[αις] ἡμέραις] ποιῇ τῆ θρεψάση, ὡς καὶ μέχρι νῦν πεποιήκει. A citizen of Beroia emancipated his slaves ξενικῆ in Thessalian Gonnoi (IG IX 2, 1042, c. 10 BC).

boundaries of the sanctuary and free men (but by no means citizens of any community) in the outside world.

## Appendix I

### Notes on some inscriptions from Lefkopetra

Appendix I contains notes on fifteen inscriptions from Lefkopetra, with new readings and/or commentaries.

**Inscription no. 5:** "Ἐτους βσ' σεβαστοῦ (τοῦ) καὶ θιτ', μηνὸς Δαισίου ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη· (May 171) | Ζωσίμη Δουληνος, Βελροιαία, οἰκοῦσα ἐν Κυνέοις, ἰ<sup>5</sup> χαρίζετε νεανείσκον ὀνόματι Ἑρμῆν ἀνένκλητον· | τοῦτον παρὰ τόπον μὴ ὑπρισσθῆνε· ἂν δὲ ὑβρεῖση τις παρὰ | τόπον, δώσει Μητρὶ Θεῶν <sup>10</sup> αφ'. The editors explain the phrase παρὰ τόπον in line 7 as synonymous with ἄτοπον and translate the sentence τοῦτον παρὰ τόπον μὴ ὑπρισσθῆνε as „que personne ne le moleste outrageusement“. I would suggest translating the phrase in question with „at a wrong place, out of place“. It refers to the sanctuary itself, whose holy territory brings inviolability to all the persons connected with it, particularly priests and other individuals engaged in temporary or permanent cult service, both free and slaves<sup>82</sup>. The phrase παρὰ τόπον is used in this meaning by several authors (Polyb. frg. ex inc. libr. 191; Str. X, 2, 21; Arr. *Diss. Epict.* III, 12, 13; Eusth. *Comm. Il.* I, p. 345, l. 25; Basil., *De baptismo libri duo*, p. 1600, l. 36).

**Inscription no. 12** registers a generous donation of fourteen/fifteen slaves made by one Flavius Eutrapelos around 171/2. After listing the names of all the slaves included in the gift, the donor continues (lines 10–13): καὶ χειρόγραφα (sc. χαρίζομε) τ[ὰ] ὑπάρχοντα ΙCA ὀφείλω δηνάρια χεῖλια ἃ ἀποδώσι ἢ Θεὸς κὲ αὐτὸν Φήλικα ὑπὲρ οὗ δέδωκα τὰ χεῖλια δηνάρια. The letters ICA in line 11 were not explained by Ph. Petsas, the first editor of this inscription. H. W. Pleket (SEG 27, 294) later proposed to read them as ις ἄ, and this proposal was accepted by the editors of the new *Corpus*. The whole phrase that starts with καί and ends with δηνάρια is translated by the editors as „et les reconnaissances de dettes, d'après lesquelles je dois milles deniers, que la déesse rendra, et Phélix lui-même, pour qui j'ai donné les milles deniers“. In their commentary they say: „Apparemment Phlaurus Eutrapélos avait emprunté 1.000 deniers pour acheter Phélix. Ne pouvant rembourser cette dette, il passa un accord avec le sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux, selon lequel ce dernier assumait l'obligation du remboursement, recevant en contrepartie la totalité des biens

<sup>82</sup> Cf. R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 175–176; A. T. Serventi, *Sul personale dei templi neobabilonesi*, *Aegyptus* 34 (1954) 226 (on Neo-Babylonian practice); A. Archi, *PP* 30 (1975) 338–339 (the Hittite period in Anatolia); IGLS I no. 1 (the foundation of Antiochos I of Commagene); Petzl (note 15), 58, no. 49 = Riel 185–186, no. 47 (north-east Lydia): [ ] ἱερόδουλον Τρόφιμο[ν Μη]τρὸς Ἰπτα καὶ Διὸς Σαβαζίου ποιήσας συρῆναι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας, κολασθῆς ἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνέστησα τὴν στήλην. An offence to the cult-personnel was considered as offence to the divinity and religion in general.

de Phlaurios Eutrapélos“. It seems to me that ICA in line 11 should be read as ὕσα and understood as referring to χειρόγραφα τ[ὰ] ὑπάρχοντα immediately preceding it. The donor is simply stating that he is depositing with the Goddess the number of documents equivalent to the number of the donated slaves. He obviously refers to the documents proving his title to the donated slaves. I would then put a full stop or a semi-colon after ὕσα and treat the following phrase as a separate clause dealing with the donor's debt of 1.000 *denarii* and its repayment by the Goddess. I am not quite sure how we should understand Felix's role in these financial transactions. Obviously, the original loan was made on his account (ὑπὲρ οὗ δέδωκα τὰ χεῖλια δηνάρια) and it seems that now, after the Goddess has accepted to repay his master's debt, Felix is surrendered to her together with the rest of the slaves. Perhaps the missing verb is again χαρίζομε (χαρίζομε κὲ αὐτὸν Φήλικα ὑπὲρ οὗ δέδωκα τὰ χεῖλια δηνάρια).

**Inscription no. 26:** Ἔτους γκς', ἐπιμελουμέ(λουμε)ἴνου Κομινίου Ἱερωνύμου· Κλ. | Πρόκλα στηλλογραφῶ παιδίσκην | μου Εὐγένεαν σὺν τέκνοις Φιλίῃ<sup>15</sup>τη, Ἀλέξανδρος, Φίλων, ἣν ἐχαρισάμην ἐν τῷ εσ' σεβ(αστῷ) ἔτει (173/4, 191/2). This is a case of a *stellographia* performed eighteen years after the proprietor of the slave drew up the original act of donation. The donated slave Eugenea — still referred to as παιδίσκην μου by her mistress — is now registered together with her three children — Philete, Alexandros and Philon. The children were most probably born after the original donation-act, since the wording of the deed of gift from AD 173/4 adduces only Eugenea as the object of consecration (ll. 5–6: ἣν ἐχαρισάμην ἐν τῷ εσ' σεβ(αστῷ) ἔτει). If this conjecture is correct, then we conclude that this specific donation-act which, in addition to the duty of serving the Goddess, imposed upon Eugenea the obligation of remaining with her mistress for the latter's lifetime, brought about neither her manumission nor that of her (then) future offspring. Instead, the children are now included in the *stellographia* as well, and Eugenea herself is still treated as a παιδίσκη whose offspring can be disposed of by her mistress as she sees fit. I cannot agree with the editors that the *stellographia* was performed „sans doute à la demande de cette dernière (sc. Eugénea)“. I would rather be inclined to look for the motives behind the *stellographia* in the mistress' wish to magnify her original gift by adding to it three children born to Eugenea in her *paramone*-period<sup>83</sup>. If we accept this conjecture, it is hard to detect any improvement in this particular slave's condition after her consecration, at least during her *paramone*-period with the original mistress.

**Inscription no. 45:** Ἰουλία Ἐνθαδίωνος, | Κυρραία, θυγάτηρ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἐνθαδίωνος, | Κυρραίου βουλευτοῦ, χα<sup>15</sup>ρίζετε Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονι παιδάριον ὄν(ό)μακι Σύμφορον, ὃ ἀπὸ παιδίου κατωνομάκι διὰ τὸ | μὴ παραμείνε αὐτῇ ἄλλα |<sup>10</sup> τέσσαρα· τοῦτου δὲ καὶ τὴν | ὡνήν παρέξομαι τῇ Θεῷ | καὶ χειρόγραφον ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν | ὁ ἀνήρ μου δεδανισμένος, | Ἀλέξανδρος Πυρρούλου, |<sup>15</sup> ἐπὶ \* ρκε', ἃ καὶ ἀπέδωκεν ἡ Ἰουλία τοῦ Ἐνθαδίωνος Καλλιτύχη σὺν τέκνωι, διὰ μηδένα δὲ ἔλιχ ἐξουσίαν τοῦ προ<sup>20</sup>γεγραμμένου παιδαρίου | ἢ τὴν Θεόν. Ἐγράφη ἔτους | αλς' σεβαστοῦ (199/200), προνοούσης τῶν τῆς Θεοῦ Αὐρηλίας | Σαφῶς. The phrase in lines 8–10, διὰ τὸ μὴ παραμείνε αὐτῇ ἄλλα τέσσαρα, is taken by the

<sup>83</sup> On the status of persons under a *paramone*-requirement, cf. Welles (n. 23) 512, note 20.

editors to refer to the death of four other slaves belonging to the donor („c'est parce qu'elle avait perdu quatre autres jeunes esclaves qu'Iouliia avait 'voué' Symphoros à la Mère des Dieux, dans l'esprit que la protection divine le préserverait“). I would suggest that Iulia's family was heavily indebted, and that the other four slaves had to be alienated, leaving only Symphoros with the mistress. Moreover, Iulia's husband used Symphoros himself as a security for a loan of 125 *denarii* repaid now by the unfortunate lady.

**Inscription no. 46** (Tafel 7) seems to register a case similar to the one presented in no. 45

[ ] | [Μητρί Θεῶν Αὐτό]χθονει | [χαρίζομ(?) ]αι [εἰ]διον πει[δίων ὀ]νόματι Κοπρύλον | [ . . . ] παρέμενέν μοι ΓΕΙ<sup>5</sup>[ . . ]Ν ὅπως ταῖς ἐθίμοι[ς] | ἡμέρες κ' ἔορτ ἔς αὐτῆς | συνέρχητε κὲ ὑπηρετῆ· ἱεροωμένης Ὀρροστεινῆς, ἐπιμελουμένης Σαφφῶς. In front of the π at the beginning of line 4 I see traces of an ο. I propose to read in lines 4–5 [ὀ μόν]ο(ν) παρέμενέν μοι πει[δίο]ν: the only slave remaining in donor's household was offered to the Goddess.

**Inscription no. 51** (Tafel 8): Αἰλία [Σ]οτηρίδης μετὰ τούτορος αὐκτορος Λικινίου <sup>15</sup> Φιλίππου Μητρί | Θεῶν Α[ὐ]τόχθονι χα[ρι]ζομε | παιδίσκην ὀνόματι Ὑγίαν, ἥ<sup>10</sup>τις προσμενεῖ | μοι τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου χρόνον· | μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτήν μου μη<sup>15</sup>δένα κυριώτερον εἶνε ἢ | μόνην τὴν Θεόιν· ταύτης δὲ τῆς παιδίσκης <sup>20</sup> καὶ ✕-IP ἀνατιθέμην μεμαρτυρωμένην, ἱεροωμένης Αἰλίας Ῥουί<sup>25</sup>φείνης, ἔτους | μσ' σεβαστοῦ | τοῦ καὶ Ϝντ' (208/9). The editors translate the text in lines 18–23 as „si quelqu'un tente d'établir sur cette servante des droits par témoignage, qu'il consacre 100.000 deniers“; they first „correct“ the participle μεμαρτυρωμένην to μεμαρτυρωμένης and then explain the personal verb ἀνατιθέμην as a dialectal form of the present infinitive ἀνατιθέναι used as an imperative. On the photograph of the stone in line 20 I do not see a *denarius*-sign, but a χ and an ε in ligature (X); likewise, I see a ν and an ε in ligature (NE) in the following verb ἀνατίθειμαι. Therefore, I propose to read καὶ χεῖρ' ἀνατιθέμην μεμαρτυρωμένην and I translate „I also deposited a witnessed / certified hand-written note (of purchase?)<sup>84</sup> of this slave“<sup>85</sup>. The form μεμαρτυρημένος is here attested for the first time, but the correct form (ἐκ)μεμαρτυρημένος with the same meaning appears in some inscriptions and papyri<sup>86</sup>. A parallel for this use is provided by inscription no. 90\* discussed below.

<sup>84</sup> For this meaning of the noun χεῖρ, cf. the omnipresent phrase ἡ χεῖρ ἥδη κυρία ἔστω πανταχῇ (BGU III 981; IV 1160; XV 2479; ChrMitt 35; P.Fouad 39).

<sup>85</sup> After an inspection of the squeeze of this inscription, M. B. Hatzopoulos kindly confirmed the reading proposed here.

<sup>86</sup> TAM II 247: τὸ ἡρῶν κατεσκευάσεν ... κατὰ συνχώρημα Ἰουλίαις Οὐρηανίας γεγονὸς ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Λικινίου Στασιθέμιδος, Ξανδικοῦ κη', διὰ τῶν ἐν Πατάραις ἀρχείων, ἐκμεμαρτυρημένου καὶ εἰς τὰ Πιναρέων ἀρχεῖα; BGU II 619, 1: [κα]τὰ χειρόγρ(αφον), τὸ καὶ ἐ[κ]μεμαρτυρημένον διὰ δημοσίας ὁμολογίας; BGU IV 1155: πιττακίου μεμαρτυρημένου δὲ δι' ὧν ἀνήνεγκεν ὁ Πρώταρχος συνχωρήσεων; P.Oxy. IX 1199: ὡς ἡ ἰδιόγραφος πρᾶσις περιέχει, ἧς ἐκμαρτυρηθείσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα μνημονίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους).

**Inscription no. 53:** 'Αλέξις Ἀλεξίου, Κυνάστης, ἔχαρισόμην κοράσιον ὀνόματι Συνφέρουσαν Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονι, τὸ κὲ ΑΠΟΥΛΟΙ<sup>87</sup>NON (= ἀπούλων = ἀπόλωλα). τὸ αὐτὴ ἀτῆ<sup>87</sup> ἀναζητήσεις. Ἐχαρισόμην εἰρωμένου | Βετουρίου Καλλίστου). A parallel to this text is found on a bronze tablet from Asia Minor kept in Geneva<sup>88</sup>: Ἀνατίθημι Μητρὶ {CC} Θεῶν χρυσᾶ (ἄ) ἀπόλεσε πάντα, ὥστε ἀναζητήσῃ αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς μέσον ἐνεκκεῖν πάντα, καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντες κολάσασθαι ἀξίως τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμε(ω)ς καὶ μήτε ἑαυτ[ὴν] καταγέλαστον ἔσεσθαι. The verb ἀναζητέω appears in a confession-inscription from north-east Lydia in an ambiguous context<sup>89</sup>. Closer to the meaning implied in Lefkopetra would be the verb ἐκζητέω „investigate“ present in another confession-inscription<sup>90</sup>. The lost slave-girl from Lefkopetra is dedicated to the Goddess just like the gold objects in the bronze tablet from Geneva. The expected divine intervention is in both cases a substitute for inadequate human justice and/or police intervention<sup>91</sup>. Obviously, if the slave-girl turns up, she will become property of the Goddess, not a free woman.

**Inscription no. 58** (Tafel 9): Ἔτους γμσ' (ς)εβαστοῦ, | τοῦ καὶ θντ', Ἀπελλαίου ἀ' (November 211), Αἴλιος Λούκιος | νέος ἔχαρισάμην τῇ <sup>15</sup> Θεῶ παιδίσκην Φιλοῦν | καὶ παιδάριον Λεοντᾶν, | ὅπως συνέρχωνται | ταῖς ἐθίμαις ἡμέραις | τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου {N} <sup>10</sup> [χρόνον], χωρὶς πάσης | [ - - ὄ?]πως ἔχαρισά[μην· ἱερητε]ύοντος Αἰλί[ου Κασσί]ου. At the beginning of line 11 the editors propose to supply [έορτῆς, ὄ]πως, concluding that, if their conjecture is correct, one needs to admit that the „customary days“ were not limited to the festival days of the Goddess. On the photograph of the stone I see the letters ΕΩC at the beginning of line 11<sup>92</sup>. The space available is too long to supply simply [ύβρ]εως. I propose either [ένοχλήσ]εως or [ύπερθέσ]εως, the first noun specifying that the donated slaves will not be molested in the sanctuary (cf. no. 111: ἐν]οχλείσι δὲ α[ύ]τή), the second one obliging them to appear promptly in the sanctuary without any delay<sup>93</sup>. The proposed reading of lines 7–11 is therefore ὅπως συνέρχωνται ταῖς

<sup>87</sup> I would prefer to write ἀτῆ.

<sup>88</sup> Chr. Dunant, *MH* 35 (1978) 241–244 = *SEG* 28, 1568; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1980, 45; H. S. Versnel, *LAMPAS* 19, 4 (1986) 82–83; M. Riel, *Živa Antika, Posebna izdanja* 9 (1991) 201–206. This tablet could be the only specimen of a πιττάκιον/πιννακίδιον/τάβλα — written complaint submitted by worshippers to various Anatolian deities to initiate a quasi-judicial process. In their wording, these complaints reflect the form and terminology of petitions and complaints in secular courts. Cf. M. Riel, *Asia Minor Studien* XVII, Münster 1995, 69–71.

<sup>89</sup> Petzl (note 15), 18–19 no. 10 = Riel 203–204, no. 75, ll. 5–6: κὲ ἀναζητήσας ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἰδίαν δυνάμιν.

<sup>90</sup> Petzl (note 15), 43–44, no. 35 = Riel 163–164, no. 21, ll. 14–15: καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐξεζήτησεν [καὶ] ἐκολάσето καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς [ἐπι]βουλεύσαντας αὐτοῖς. Note that this is also a case of discovering unknown perpetrators (if Alexis' slave was indeed stolen).

<sup>91</sup> This is the editors' comment on no. 53\*: „La même idée sous-jacente, à savoir que la donation à la divinité puisse réparer ou prévenir une perte, se retrouve dans le document no 45“.

<sup>92</sup> After an inspection of the squeeze of the inscription, M. B. Hatzopoulos accepts the reading proposed here as possible (e-mail message).

<sup>93</sup> The phrase χωρὶς πάσης ὑπερθέσεως is often found in papyri, where it refers to the prompt repayment of debts or execution of contracted works (ChLA XI 465 rp; P.Flor. III 381; P.Genova II 62; P.Köln III 151; P.Lund. VI 3).

ἐθίμαις ἡμέραις τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου {N} [χρόνον], χωρὶς πάσης [ὑπερθέσ-/  
ἐνοχλήσ]εως. Ἐχαρισά[μην ἱερητε]ύοντος Αἰλί[ου Κασσί]ου.

**Inscription no. 63**, Il. 3–5: κατὰ κ[έ]λευσιν τοῦ ἰ κρατίστου ἡγ[εμό]νος μου Τερ[ι]στύλλιανοῦ Ἀκ[υλάου] (AD 212/3). Contrary to the editors' opinion, I am inclined to accept the suggestion made by G. D. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell<sup>94</sup> to understand the letters MOY in line 4 as abbreviated from Μ(άρκου) Οὐ(λπίου) rather than as the possessive μου, all the more since the inscription was engraved during Tertulianus' proconsulship, when one expects to find his name written in full.

**Inscription no. 78** (Tafel 10): this text is certainly one of the most intriguing ones in the whole dossier. Unfortunately, it has suffered much damage, particularly in its middle and lower parts, together with the front side of the left doorpost on which it was engraved. Here is the reading proposed by the editors. Τῇ κυρ[ί]ῃ Μ[η]τρὶ Θεῶν Αὐ[τό]χθονι Κοδ[ρ]ᾶτος οἶκον[ό]μος ἰ τῆς Βεροιαίων πόλεως ἰ χαίριν· καθῶ[ς] ἐκέλευ[σ]σας ἀγοράσε με σω[μ]ᾶτια ἐκ τῆς Κλεων[. . .] τοῦ ἰ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ὀδ[υσεί]ως Ἐλπίδα κὲ τ[αύ]της θ[υ]γατέρα Πασιθ[έ]αν κὲ τῆς ἰ<sup>10</sup> Πασιθ[έ]ας παιδίων· [ταύ]την ὀμολογ[ῶ] χαρίζεσθαι (?) ἐπιδὴ ἐστηλογ[ράφη]το ἡ παιδίσκ[η] κὲ ἰ τὴν Τ[ - - ]<sup>95</sup>. In line 6 the editors propose to supply Κλεων[ύμης], but remain perplexed by the preposition ἐκ and the article. Here is their commentary on the whole text: „il semblerait que Kodratos avait reçu l'ordre d'acheter Elpis, ainsi que sa descendance, parce que celle-ci avait été consacrée et que l'acte afférant avait été gravé (l'absence du verbe de la principale s'explique sans doute par la confusion entre deux constructions: καθῶς ἐκέλευσας ἀγοράσε με et καθῶς ἐκέλευσας ἡγόρασα; ayant commencé par la première, le rédacteur de l'acte n'a pas répété le verbe ἀγοράζω à un mode personnel). Il s'agit sans doute de la fillette consacrée avec sa descendance éventuelle à une date imprécise, mais avant 212, par Démétrios et Pasithéa (no 130). Cette identification est confortée par le fait que la fille d'Elpis sur le présent acte porte le nom de la maîtresse d'Elpis consacrée par l'acte no 130. En outre, le fait que dans la consécration no 130 Elpis n'a pas encore d'enfants expliquerait pourquoi dans le présent acte, alors qu'Elpis est achetée avec sa fille et sa petite-fille (l. 5–10), plus loin, dans la référence à la consécration originelle (l. 10–13), il n'est question que d'une seule esclave (ταύτην, ἡ παιδίσκη). On ne peut que spéculer sur l'identité de la personne qui avait indûment réduit en esclavage Elpis et sa descendance et sur la raison pour laquelle le soin de son rachat a été confié à Kodratos“. I cannot agree with this interpretation of the document. First, in lines 6–7 I identify the name of one Kleonymianos Apollodoros, who already appeared as a donor of a slave in AD 216/7<sup>96</sup>. Accordingly, I supply Κλεων[υμια]νοῦ<sup>97</sup> ἰ Ἀπολλο-

<sup>94</sup> Op. cit. (note 57) 74–75.

<sup>95</sup> This inscription and the one engraved immediately below it by the same stonemason (no. 79), whose text contains a reference to the curator Publius Aelius Peligenes (present likewise in no. 75 securely dated in AD 229/30), are dated by the editors in AD 230/231/232.

<sup>96</sup> Column no I, no. 67: Κλεωνυμιανὸς Ἀπολλόδωρος Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθονι Μακεδόνα δοῦλον ἐχαρισάμην ἐν τῷ ημῶ· σεβ(αστῶ) ἔτι.

<sup>97</sup> The *tau* read by the editors at the end of this line lacks all the traces of a crossbar; it is most certainly the right oblique stroke of a *nu*.

δῶρο[υ. The letters υσεως preserved at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8 cannot belong to another name (the edd. supply 'Απολλοδῶρο[υ τοῦ 'Οδ]υσειως), but to a female noun agreeing with the article τῆς in line 6 and most probably referring to the funds used by Quadratus for the purchase of three slaves. These resources should have a connection with Kleonymianos Apollodoros, either as a fund bequeathed by him to the sanctuary or as the resources remaining at the end of his term of service in an official capacity in the city of Beroia. It is also possible that the slaves in question at one time belonged to him. In that case, we could supply ἐκ τῆς Κλεων[υμια]νοῦ 'Απολλοδῶρο[υ κυριε]ύσεως<sup>98</sup>.

In lines 9–10 the editors read κὲ τῆς Πασιθ[έας παι]δίων· [ταύ]την ... I would suggest that Pasitheia's child was not left nameless, since this is not the usual practice in these inscriptions. A possible reading could be κὲ τῆς Πασιθ[έας παι]δίων [Ἐ]ορέσ[την].

The three final lines of this inscription, commencing with ὁμολογῶ in line 10, remain puzzling to me, beyond the fact that the procedure of *stellographia* is mentioned in line 12. Perhaps the object of this specific *stellographia* was not Elpis, as proposed by the editors<sup>99</sup>, but the act of sale itself, through which Quadratus obtained the slaves for the Goddess, and which was engraved on another stone: ἐστηλογ[ράφητο ἡ ὠν]ῆ κὲ ἰ τῆν τ[ιμῆν ἔ]χει - - πᾶσαν?]

Acting upon a request issued by the Goddess<sup>100</sup>, Quadratus, the οἰκονόμος of the city of Beroia, probably a public slave, proceeded to purchase three slaves out of the funds left to the city (?) by Kleonymianos Apollodoros. This text shows that the Goddess was used to supplementing her personnel by purchasing slaves on the local market. I think that the story behind this purchase as outlined by the editors of the *Corpus* cannot be accepted: there is no reason to suppose that Elpis was consecrated at some point in the past, then unlawfully re-enslaved by an unknown person and finally liberated again, together with her children, by Quadratus at the Goddess' command. The slaves in question were simply bought by Quadratus out of the public funds of Beroia and handed over to the Goddess to supplement her regular personnel.

**Inscription no. 90**, ll. 10–12: ἄς καὶ διὰ χειρὸς μεμαρτυρωμέν(α)ς, ἡ ἴτις ἐδόθη Ἰουλιανῶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ. The editors translate these lines as „dont j'ai certifié mon droit de propriété de ma main, (attestation) qui fut donnée à Ioulianos Démétrios, le prêtre“. The two last letters of the perfect participle read by the editors as μεμαρτυρωμέν(α)ς are carved in ligature as NC. Since I understand the participle as referring to the noun χεῖρ in front of it, I propose the reading μεμαρτυρωμέν(η)ς. A main verb is possibly missing here, but the meaning of the phrase is clear — the mistress is proving her legal rights over the donated slaves by a χεῖρ μεμαρτυρωμένη, just like the donor of slaves in inscription no. 51. I translate „who (= whose legal status is

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Suidas, s. v. δεσποτεία: ἡ κυριεύσις.

<sup>99</sup> Their restoration of line 12 ἐστηλογ[ράφητο ἡ παιδίσκ(?)η] κέ is too long with its twenty-three letters instead of the average eighteen-nineteen letters per line.

<sup>100</sup> One would like to know how the order reached Quadratus (through priests or directly in a dream?). In any event, it is not easy to imagine a deity commanding her worshipper or dependant to buy slaves in order to proceed to their immediate emancipation, but such an order becomes understandable if she wanted those slaves for herself.



shown/proved) by a witnessed hand-written note given to Iulianos Demetrios, the priest“.

**Inscription no. 93:** in line 14, the editors print ἐτῶν N, while on the photograph of the stone I recognize the number as Λ<sup>101</sup>.

**Inscription no. 115** is badly effaced and difficult to read. In lines 4–5, where the editors read ... παιδία τὰ γεννηθέντα ἐκ [...]E[.] KA[.....]ΚΙΠ, I read παιδία τὰ γεννηθέντα<sup>15</sup> ἐκ θρεπ[τῆς μ]ου Ἀντιγό[νης].

**Inscriptions nos. 136 (Tafel 11) and 160 (Tafel 12)** seem to belong to the same upper part of a white-marble stele with incised pediment and acroteria, the first fragment (no. 136) (dim. 0.14 × 0.09 × 0.03; ll. 0.02, interl. 0.005) being the right third, the second one (no. 160) (dim. 0.13 × 0.18 × 0.04; ll. 0.015, interl. 0.005) the other two thirds of the stele. The letters in the second line of both fragments are bigger than the ones in the first line. As the text of the first fragment (no. 136) the editors print [Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθοι[νι - - -] προσέ[ν - - τὰς ἐθίμους] ἡμέ[ρας], and as the text of the second fragment (no. 160) they propose the reading Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθοι[νίτιδι Αὐρηλία [. . . .] | [- - -]. At the end of the second line of the fragment no. 136 I see on the photograph ΠΡΟΧ rather than ΠΡΟΧΜ<sup>102</sup>. Could this be the rare male name Προσήνης<sup>103</sup> belonging to the donated slave? Here is how I would read the combined text of both fragments:

Μητρὶ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθο-  
νίτιδι Αὐρηλία Προσή-  
[νη- . . . . .]IM . . .

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ll. 3–4 perhaps [νην δῶρον ἴνα τὰς ἐθίμ[ους] | [ἡμέρας - - -].

**Inscription no. 150 (Tafel 11)** is engraved on the partly preserved architrave broken in two fragments and damaged on both sides. The editors read [ - - - π]οιησάντων τῶν προπ[ύλων] τῆς θεο[ῦ - - -] and translate „... (un tel et un tel) ayant fait ... des propylées de la déesse“. I would suggest another interpretation involving the πρόπολοι of the Goddess, since on the original photo of the architrave made by Ph. Petsas and published as fig. XVI, I recognize the upper part of an *omikron* after ΠΡΟΠ: [ - - - π]οιησάτων τῶν προπό[λων] τῆς θεο[ῦ - - -]<sup>104</sup>. The

<sup>101</sup> In his e-mail message sent on January 9, 2001, M. B. Hatzopoulos informs me that the squeeze of the inscription shows a *nu*.

<sup>102</sup> Per e-mail message M. B. Hatzopoulos kindly informs me that he accepts my interpretation on nos. 136 and 160 as fragments of the same stele; however, he remains convinced that the last letter in line 2 is a *mu*.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Euseb., *Praep. Ev.* X 3. 1; IG II<sup>2</sup> 2124, col. II. l. 37; M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos I*, Athens 1993, ED 153, face A l. 5.

<sup>104</sup> In his e-mail message sent on January 9, 2001, M. B. Hatzopoulos informs me that he retains the reading published in the *Corpus*.

poetic word πρόπολος appears in several authors and inscriptions<sup>105</sup> with the general meaning „minister, *neokoros*, prophet, (temple) servant“, and usually referring to single individuals. It can also designate a group of people taking care of a sacred place. This should be the meaning implied here: the people featuring on the architrave as the dedicants were presumably the Goddess' curators and members of the cult-personnel, possibly including *hierodouloi* and freedmen of the Goddess. The closest parallels to this inscription are the dedicatory stele *IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 175* erected by five στρατηγοί who built the roof of Apollo's temple and restored other buildings around it, and who refer to themselves as σῶν σηκῶν πρόπολοι, and Strabo's passage where it is said that the people of Ardea take care of Venus' sanctuary in Lavinium through πρόπολοι (V 3, 5: ... τὸ Λαουίνιον, ἔχον κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης· ἐπιμελοῦνται δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ προπόλων Ἀρδεᾶται).

## Appendix II

### Notes on some of the newly published inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos

In *Epigraphica Anatolica* 32, T. Ritti published twenty-four new inscriptions from the Phrygian sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos<sup>106</sup>. These inscriptions were discovered by H. Yıldız and C. Şimşek at the site of the sanctuary, on the Asartepe hill. Together with the new finds, T. Ritti republishes twenty previously edited dedications (marked by her as D1–D20)<sup>107</sup> and forty-two conveyances (καταγραφαί) of slaves and freeborn children (marked by her as K1–K42)<sup>108</sup> from the same sanctuary, omitting the confession-texts originating from this site. New dedications comprise eight texts (D21–D28), of which four are engraved on bases (two only partly preserved) (D21,

<sup>105</sup> Hdt. II 63; E., *Hel.* 570; Str. V 3, 5; D.H. I 76; Gal., *In Hipp. Lib. III epidem. Comm.* III (Kühn vol. 17a, p. 253, l. 2); Eusth., *Comm. II.* III, p. 944, l. 7: *propoloi* defined as slaves walking in front of their masters; Suidas, s. v. *προπόλων*: θείων ἐρμηνέων; Hesych., s. v. *πρόπολοι*: ὑπηρέται, δοῦλοι, νεωκόροι, προφήται; Phot., s. v.; *Scholia in Aristophanem; Scholia in Oppianum; Scholia in Pindarum*; IG XII Suppl. 184; W. Blümel, IK 41 (Knidos I), Bonn 1992, 131; IG VII 2522; IGUR III 1150; SEG 27, 298; IGBulg. III 1, 920; IG V 2, 472.

<sup>106</sup> Op. cit. (note 53).

<sup>107</sup> Of these dedications, D14 and D20a are anepigraphic reliefs, D15 and D18 fragments of confession-inscriptions, D20 possibly comes from some other sanctuary in the same region, and D20b is a dedication to Zeus Trosou included because of its find-spot in Bahadınlar.

<sup>108</sup> Regarding the inscriptions first published in my article in *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 3 (marked by Ritti as K25–41), I have the following comments. I accept Ritti's readings and corrections of K25 and K26. In K27, instead of my original reading εἴ τις τούτοι[ς ἐπικαλέσει, θήσει] and Ritti's proposed correction εἴ τις τούτο ὑ[πο? - -, θήσει], I now prefer εἴ τις τούτου[ς καταδουλώσει, θήσει] or εἴ τις τούτου [ἐφάπεται ὡς δούλου, θήσει]. In K25 and K40, [θ]Ἐξι and Ψ are obviously printer's mistakes and not my readings. In K41 I myself later realized that the first word in line 3, which I transcribed as ..ΤΕΛΛΑΧΑΝ, should be read [κα]τέγραψαν.

D23, D26, D27\*<sup>109</sup>), one on a fragment of a column (D22\*<sup>110</sup>), two on fragments of monuments of unknown form (D24, D28), and one on the lower part of a block (D25). There are sixteen new *καταγραφαί* altogether (K43–K57*bis*). In contrast to the Macedonian sanctuaries, no inscriptions on architectural members from Apollo's temple have reached us, unless the preserved column fragments come from the temple building itself.

On this occasion, it is the second group of texts addressed to Apollo Lairbenos, the *καταγραφαί*, that attracts our attention. Recording a procedure similar or identical to that of Macedonian donations of slaves and children, these texts offer useful parallels and significantly supplement the information obtained from Macedonian inscriptions<sup>111</sup>.

In the previously published donations of slaves and children from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos the nature of the whole procedure was expressed invariably by the technical verb *καταγράφω* meaning, „to convey, transfer by deed, register under one's name“<sup>112</sup>. Three new texts published by Ritti supply significant additions to the legal vocabulary current on this site: in inscriptions K44\*, K46 and K52 we find the verbs *ἐκχωρέω*<sup>113</sup>, *παρὰχωρέω* and *χαρίζομαι* used in conjunction with *καταγράφω* (K44\*; K46, ll. 3–4: ἐξε[χάρω]ησα καὶ παρεχώρησεν [καὶ κατέ]γραψεν; K52, l. 4: ἐχαρισάμην καὶ κατέγραψα). The verb *ἐκχωρέω* and the correlative noun *ἐκχώρησις*

<sup>109</sup> This is how Ritti prints the text of D27: ----- | [-----] τελλο[-----] | [-----] τῶν ἐμῶν? [---] | [-----] ΟΙΣ ἐπιφερομένοις. In line 2 she proposes to read [ὑπερ] τῶν ἐμῶν, while in line 3 one she sees a reference to „personne o cose che soprannverrano o saranno trasportate“. I would supply ἐκ] τῶν ἐμῶν in line 2, and in line 3 [σὺν τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις. This text most probably contains a reference to a building erected by its dedicant together with all the accompanying decoration. Cf. [τοὺς στύλους σὺν τοῖς στύλοισι καὶ σπείραις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις λευκολίθοις καταλύφους (D. F. McCabe, *The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia*, Iasos doc. 164); τὸν νεῶν τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης θεᾶς Ἥρας [σὺν] τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις ἰς αὐτὸν πᾶσιν (*ibid.*, Panamara docs. 46; 132); καὶ τὰς πυλίδας σὺν τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις (*ibid.*, Aphrodisias, docs. 111; 121; 164); τὸν βωμὸν [σὺν τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις κίοσι καὶ κόσμ[φ - -] (Le Bas-Waddington 768, Akmonia); τὸ πρόναον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ἀνέθηκεν σὺν τῷ ἐπιφερομένῳ κόσμῳ παντί (Le Bas-Waddington 1021, Ancyra Sidera). Also IG XII 3, Suppl. 185; 244.

<sup>110</sup> The object of dedication D22 is not preserved in the text. The editor reads (ll. 7–8): [ἀπ]έδωκα τὸ δ[-----] | [---] ΤΥΑ(?) -----. Perhaps one should understand this as τὸ δ[ε τὸ δακ]τυλ[ίδιον]? A ring would not be an object unsuitable for dedication, as evidenced by inscriptions from other sanctuaries (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1, 341; IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 47; IG VII 2424; I.Delos 6–7, 103; I.v.Pergamon 72; E. Schwertheim, IK 33 (Hadrianoi and Hadrianeia), Bonn 1987, no. 1: δακτύλιον χρύσειον σὺν ὄσσ(ο)ις δύο). Other objects dedicated by worshippers to Apollo Lairbenos are κεραμεῖδας δέκα καὶ εἰς τὴν χρύσωσιν τοῦ παθνωματικοῦ, β' (D1); τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Ἀλεξικάκου Ἀπόλλωνος (D3); Ἀπόλλων[α] λατριμνόν, Θεο[ν] ἐπιφανῆ (D4); τὴν στοάν (D5); τὰς Νείκας (D6); τὸν βωμὸν (D8); τὸν ἀνδριάντα σὺν τῇ βάσει ... καὶ φέλην ἀργυρέαν (D10); [ἀνδριά]ντα καὶ κοντὸν καί - - - (D11).

<sup>111</sup> The earliest dated *καταγραφή* is K5 (AD 124/5), the latest K52 (April 257).

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Ritti's phrases (p. 2): „Καταγραφή, nell'uso del nostro santuario, corrisponde al significato di „atto di cessione ad altri (in questo caso al dio) di un oggetto o persona“, e si può quindi correttamente considerare il suo esito concreto come una consacrazione“; p. 56: „trasferimento di un bene alla proprietà altrui“.

<sup>113</sup> T. Ritti envisages the possibility that the form *ἐκχωρήσας* also featured in the damaged line 11 of inscription K43\*, and in line 3 of K18 she proposes to supply *συγχ[ω]ρήσει*.

are frequently used in inscriptions and papyri<sup>114</sup>. They are equivalent to Latin *cedo/cessio* meaning „give up, cede, surrender, relinquish all rights, convey; deed of surrender“. Παράχωρέω in these cases means „deliver, hand over, surrender“. The most complete phrase ἐξε[χώρ]ησα καὶ παρεχώρησεν [καὶ κατέ]γραψεν in K46 puts the whole procedure clearly before our eyes: the master had first relinquished all his rights over the slave, then handed him over to the God and finally had him registered under the God's name. In K52 the personal form ἐχαρισάμην is clearly equivalent to ἐξεχώρησα καὶ παρεχώρησα, and in the majority of cases where only the verb καταγράφω is used, we should now understand it as referring just to the final step of a lengthy legal procedure of *cessio*. The choice of these particular legal terms for expressing the nature of καταγραφαί of slaves and children to Apollo Lairbenos points in the same direction as the Macedonian donations of children and slaves — their primary purpose was not to convey freedom on the donated slave, but to attach him to the God and, at the same time, provide him with the status of a free person in the human community outside the boundaries of the sanctuary. The conveyed slave was put on an almost equal footing with the members of this civil community, short of becoming its full-fledged member. Instead, he remained an integral part of the community around the sanctuary, the place of his registration from now on. Dedicated children, on the other hand, being already legally free, did not obtain liberty, but the status of ἱεροί and the obligations stemming from it<sup>115</sup>. Their new status most probably meant losing full citizenship-rights<sup>116</sup>.

In contrast to the situation in Macedonia, where there are only two cases of freeborn children consecrated to goddesses by their parents, the number of consecrated children is much higher in Phrygia [K1 (daughter), K4 (two sons and a daughter), K5 (son), K8 (grandson), K11 (son?), K16 (daughter), K30 (daughter and two sons), K49 (two sons)]. As far as the slaves are concerned, they are almost invariably termed θρεπτοί (also (τε)θρεμένοι and τεθραμ(μ)ένοι). Of the forty-four or forty-five dedicated persons, about twenty-five are θρεπτοί. I must disagree with Ritti's traditional views on the status of θρεπτοί as distinct from that of slaves<sup>117</sup>, leading her to an erroneous conclusions that we have only five female and one male slave on record in all the καταγραφαί<sup>118</sup>. It is true that the documents mentioning θρεπτοί are not always conclusive with regard to their legal status or their relationship

<sup>114</sup> Cf. the relevant attestations assembled in my corpus of inscriptions from Alexandria Troas (IK 53, Bonn 1997), under no. 85.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Ritti's commentary on pp. 39–40, note 60: „Questi due testi (K29, K49) risolvono il problema assai dibattuto in passato della natura giuridica delle καταγραφαί del santuario, escludendo, da un lato, che si tratti di semplici manomissioni con finta vendita al dio, a beneficio esclusivo di schiavi, anche se figli dell'autore della registrazione (nati dal rapporto con un partner di stato servile), e rendendo chiaro, dall'altro lato, che le persone oggetto della καταγραφή assumevano lo status di ἱεροί“.

<sup>116</sup> Of all the parents and grandparents conveying their children and grandchildren to Apollo, only the two ἱεροί in K8 and K11 are without an ethnic-name.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. p. 62: „...una condizione di inferiorità giuridica, la quale però sul piano pratico, se non su quello legale, rimaneva per molti di loro distinta dallo stato servile“; p. 68: „condizione non pienamente servile“.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. p. 58.

to other persons appearing with them. The reason for this is simple: the word *θρεπτός* and its synonyms and correlatives are not legal terms but social terms indicating a relationship between people and not their standing according to the law<sup>119</sup>. The term was familiarly in use to designate any child brought up by persons other than its own parents, without regard to its exact legal status. Nevertheless, after an initial study of evidence gathered from authors, inscriptions and papyri, I have a strong impression that A. Cameron, to whom we owe the (still) fundamental study on *θρεπτοί* in Asia Minor<sup>120</sup>, has unduly emphasized cases of fosterage and adoption at the expense of those of slaves and freedmen. In fact, in most of the twenty-one cases adduced for the first category, fosterers are dependants of distinguished families (slaves and freedmen) entrusted with the upbringing of their young masters (who are very rarely called *θρεπτοί*). Cameron himself acknowledges this. His second group of *θρεπτοί*, in which he recognizes adopted children, consists of eight cases. Of these, only one (IG XII 5, 199, Paros) is beyond any doubt, as evidenced by the formula of adoption *καθ' υιοθεσίαν*. A recently published inscription from Bithynia<sup>121</sup>, although it does not contain any of the above mentioned terms, is very interesting in this context, since it presents us with three freeborn children given by their natural parents to friends for adoption: ... *τοὺς δ' ἑτέροους τρεῖς πῆδας ὅτ' ἐξεκύησα ἐπὶ γῆαν, δῶκε φέρην ἑτέροισι φίλοις πῆδας καλέουσιν, πάντας ἀρσενικούς* ... Most probably, all three of them would be called *θρεπτοί* by their adoptive parents.

Cameron's third group, embracing *θρεπτοί* of servile and libertine status, is actually the central one. Some *θρεπτοί* are clearly slaves because their manumissions are recorded, some have unmistakable slave names (*Φιλοδέσποτος*, *Φιλοκύριος*)<sup>122</sup>, and others mention their masters or patrons. The word *θρεπτός* in this context designates slaves brought up by their masters, regardless of whether they were house-born slaves<sup>123</sup>, purchased slaves<sup>124</sup> or children rescued from exposure and reared in slavery. In many of these cases, the word *θρεπτός* is freely used as a synonym for *σῶμα*, *παιδάριον*, *παιδίον* and other ordinary terms for slaves. Not being a legal term, it was used of slaves even after their manumission<sup>125</sup>.

It is generally thought that *θρεπτοί* were distinguished from „mere *δοῦλοι*“, but caution is necessary here. True, there are cases where affectionate relations developed

<sup>119</sup> H. Müller's proposal to read lines 3–4 of the inscription published as no. 13 in the *corpus* of Beroia (note 74) as *καὶ τοῖς τὰ σῶ[ματα καὶ τὰ θρέ]μματα πωλοῦσι[ν]* (Chiron 31 [2001] 425; 445) does not seem acceptable to me. Perhaps it would be better to supply *καὶ τοῖς τὰ σῶ[ματα καὶ τὰ κτή]ματα πωλοῦσι[ν]*?

<sup>120</sup> *ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ and Related Terms in the Inscriptions of Asia Minor*, *Anatolian Studies* Presented to W. H. Buckler, Manchester 1939, 27–62.

<sup>121</sup> S. Şahin, R. Merkelbach, EA 1 (1983) 57 = SEG 33, 1082 = Merkelbach, Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Bd. II (s. o. Anm. 26), no. 09/05/34; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1984, 468.

<sup>122</sup> Significantly enough, *Θρέπτος* and *Σύντροφος* themselves appear as slave names.

<sup>123</sup> IG VII 3376: *τὸν ἴδιον θρεπτὸν ὃν εἶχε οἰκογενῆ*.

<sup>124</sup> M. Segre, *ASAtene* 22–23, N.S. 6–7 (1944–45 [1952]) no. 183: the manumitted slave, herself a *θρεπτή*, *θρέψει ... θρεμάτιον ἄρ(ρ)εν διετές ... ἀγοραζόντων αὐτῶν* (sc. her masters) *τὰ παιδία*.

<sup>125</sup> IG V 1, 1208: *ὁ θρεπτός καὶ ἀπελεύθερος*.

between masters and slaves brought up in their house, or even by masters themselves<sup>126</sup>, but the same phenomenon can be observed in cases of „mere δοῦλοι“, so that we should not single out θρεπτοί as a favoured class of slaves. Just like any other slave, they could run away<sup>127</sup>, be denied burial in the family tomb otherwise often granted to slaves<sup>128</sup>, or fall out with their masters<sup>129</sup>. In any event, I would propose to consider all the θρεπτοί appearing in inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos as slaves.

Motives adduced by the masters or parents/grandparents for performing a καταγραφή of their slave or child/grandchild invariably lead back to Apollo, i.e., to dreams and commands sent by him. On the other hand, the future connection between the God and the conveyed slave or freeborn child/grandchild, whose conveyance, as we have already noted, meant for him the acquisition of the status of ἱερός (καὶ ἐλεύθερος)<sup>130</sup> (K29, K38) and ἱερός (K49) respectively, is less prominent in the Phrygian texts than in the Macedonian ones. We find no inscriptions mentioning their service to the God or featuring the God as their sole master. Only in one case is it stated that no human will have power over the conveyed slave (K29: μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἀν[θρώ]που ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἀ[πολλ]ωνίου διὰ τὸ οὕτως ἡμ[ῖν] δεδόχθαι), while in another the enslavement of the conveyed slave is expressly prohibited (K31: μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἀντιπεῖν τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐφάψασθαι ὡς δούλης). The situation with the *paramone*-obligations of the conveyed slaves is identical — this clause probably features only in one awkwardly formulated text<sup>131</sup>. We are therefore probably justified in assuming that all the other καταγραφαί were of immediate effect.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. an Early Byzantine inscription from Macedonian Beroia (Gounaropoulou, Hatzopoulos, [note 74] no. 445; M. Riel, *A Family Quarrel in Early Byzantine Beroea*, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 [2001] 97–104), where the mistress refers to her deceased θρεπτή as τὸ γλυκύτατόν μ[ο]ν θρεπτάριν, ὃ ἐγ[ὼ] ἀ]νέθρεψα ὑπ[ὸ] τὰς ἐμὰς μάλας, Γερόντιν. Her untimely death prompted the mistress to build a tomb for the whole family, including the θρεπτή.

<sup>127</sup> P.Oxy. I 298: ὅτι ἡ θρεπτή ἀπέ[δ]ρα σε.

<sup>128</sup> TAM II 439: τοῖς θρε(π)τοῖ(ς) μὴ ἐξεῖν.

<sup>129</sup> Petzl (note 15), 29, no. 20 = Riel pp. 215–216, no. 89: Ἰουλίᾳ ἐπαρασαμένη θρεπτῇ ἰδίᾳ Ὀνησίμῃ; *op. cit.* p. 54, no. 44 = Riel pp. 219–220, no. 94: Θεοδότῃ Γλύκω[ν]ι ἐπιγράσατο θρεπτῶ, ἐπιδὴ ἀράμ[ενος] τὰς χίρας αὐτῇ ἐκα[κώσα]το.

<sup>130</sup> The same status is awarded to Makarinos, a slave consecrated by his masters to Artemis (Kos, second century BC): ἀνέθηκε ... παιδίον ... ἐλεύθερον, ἱερὸν τὰς Θεοῦ (SEG 14, 529) and to slaves from Central Greece liberated by the procedure of sacral manumission.

<sup>131</sup> K9, ll. 2–4: ἐφ' ᾧ (sc. καταγ[ράφω] κὲ ἄλλην θρεπτῆν Ἀμμία(ν)) ὑπ[ὲρ] τοῦ καταλειφ(θ)ῆναί με ὑποδύτω μηδεμί[αν] ἐπίβασιν. I translate „under the condition that she is not submitted to any attack/pressure that I be left behind (= that she leaves me behind)“. The formula ἐφ' ᾧ with the future indicative or aorist subjunctive is usual in Greek contracts for expressing the condition of the contract.

**Inscription K43** involves one Apollonios, the son of Diodoros and grandson of Menestratos ([Ἀπολ]λώνιος Διοδώ[ρου Μ]ενεστράτου<sup>132</sup>), a ἱερός<sup>133</sup>. He conveys his τεθραμένος Ammianos to Apollo; together with him, he also conveys one Ammiane (?) whose status is not stated (ll. 3–8: κατα[γράφω] Ἀμμιανόν, τὸν ἰ[ἐμ]αυτοῦ τεθραμέι[νον] Θεῶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἰ [Λε]ρμηνῶ, κατα[γράφω] ἰ [δ]ὲ καὶ Ἀμ[μιανήν?]). In the subsequent lines he conveys to the God yet another θρεπτή, this time acting together with his daughter Ammis who is also qualified as a ἱερά (ll. 8–13: καταγράφουσιν [καὶ Ἀμμί(?)])αν, τὴν οὖσα[ν τῶν συν]ιεράων θρεπτήν, θρέψ[ι]ας μετὰ τῆς θυ[γατρὸς] ἰ Ἀμμίδο(ς) ἱερά(ς)<sup>134</sup>). I propose to recognize in Apollonios and his daughter Ammis two συνιεροί<sup>135</sup>, who brought up and owned together the conveyed θρεπτή, and who are now jointly offering her to the God. Ammianos and Ammiane (?), on the other hand, were Apollonios' own property, and he therefore disposed of them alone, in accordance with his own wishes. Apollonios and Ammis are both freeborn individuals who most probably acquired the status of ἱεροί by having been dedicated to Apollo Lairbenos by their parents.

Next comes the most important novelty in the new texts. At the end, Apollonios conveys to the God a weaving (?) workshop constructed in his (?) house (ll. 13–15: κ[αὶ ἐν τῇ] ἰ οἰκία ἐργαστήρι[ον κατεσ]κευασμένον γ[ερδιακόν]<sup>136</sup>). I propose the reading γ[ερδιακόν] attested in papyri.<sup>137</sup> This is the first attestation of immovables being conveyed to Apollo Lairbenos. It is possible that Ammianos, Ammiane and Ammia were skilled workers destined to continue working in the workshop producing cloth for the sanctuary and for sale.

**Inscription K44** is engraved on the upper moulding of the base containing texts D23 and K43\*. Here is the reading proposed by T. Ritti: [ - - - - ]εις? Διονύσει[σ]ος Ἑρμοῦ, τοῦ ἰ [καὶ? Ζω]σείμου Ἑρρηζηνὸς καὶ Λαοδει[κεύς, ο]ικῶ(ν) ἐν Νανυλω, ἐξεχώρησε ἰ [τὴν θρεπτήν?] Μελτίνην, *vac.* ἰ [ῆν]

<sup>132</sup> Ritti restores [Ἀπολ]λώνιος Διόδω[ρος? Μ]ενεστράτου and understands the name as „Apollonios Diodoros, figlio di Menestratos (oppure Apollonios, figlio di Diodoros Menestratos)“.

<sup>133</sup> Other ἱεροί figure in D9 (dedicant), K8 (author of a καταγραφή), K11 (author of a καταγραφή), and three, possibly four confession-inscriptions (Petzl [note 15], nos. 109, 117, 118, 123 = Riel, nos. 112, 109, 114, 122). The word ἱερός is engraved above K43\*, in larger letters; it stands at the end of inscription D23.

<sup>134</sup> Ritti reads καταγράφουσιν [καὶ Ἀμμί?]αν, τὴν οὖσα[ν - - -] ἰ ἱεράων θρεπτήν, ἐκχωρήσ[ι]ας μετὰ τῆς θυ[γατρὸς] ἰ Ἀμμίδο(ς) ἱερα. Cf. her comment on ll. 11–12: „alle ll. 11/12 l'integrazione del verbo ἐκχωρέω è decisamente molto congetturale e si ispira al testo dei nn. K44\* et K46“.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. I. A. Papapostolou, Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς (1973) 167–174: Οἱ συνιεροί τοῦ Ἡρώς Θράσωνα Ξενοφώντος (Pharai in Achaia). The same word appears only in Plutarch (*Amat.* 753E), but with a different meaning, „having joint sacrifices“.

<sup>136</sup> Ritti restores: κ[αὶ? ἐν] ἰ οἰκία? ἐργαστήρι[ον κατεσ?]κευασμένον γ[ - - - ]. In her commentary she envisages the possibility of reading ἐν τῇ οἰκία, but proposes no restorations for the missing word starting with *gamma*. For wool industries of Hierapolis, cf. H. W. Pleket, *EA* 12 (1988) 25–37.

<sup>137</sup> P.Mich. XI 620 = SB VIII 9898: ἐργαστήριον γερδια[κόν]. Other workshops for the production and treatment of textiles are often mentioned in papyri (P.Bon. 24 A; P.Dubl. 31; P.Ross.Georg. III 38; CPR XIV 11).

παρηχώρησε {IC}? καὶ κατέγραψεν [καὶ] ἐχαρέσσατον δωρεᾶς χάρει(ν), | [δι]αφέρει  
 ΤΟΥΑΡΡΕΙΩΝ τεσσάρων | τ' ἐπειφανετᾶτων θεῶν. The first three lines of this difficult text are engraved on the crowning member of the base, the fourth one is carelessly added in differently shaped letters immediately below it, the next three lines occupy the slanting part of the moulding, and the last line is engraved on the body of the base, immediately above D23. The first three lines make complete sense, by stating the name, the citizenship and the place of residence of the donor. The last word (ἐξεχώρησε) denotes the act of cession. The difficulties in reading and comprehension start from line 4, where the letters change completely from square to round ones. Comparing the form of lettering and the contents of other inscriptions on the same base, I have come to the conclusion that the continuation of K44\* could well have been **inscription K50** occupying an analogous position on the other side of the same base. T. Ritti proposes the following reading for K50\*: 'Ἡλείων 'Από[λλωνι Λαιρμηνηῶ], | τῷ προσειστώ[τι τῆς Μοτελη]ινῶν (πό)λεως, κατὰ ἐ[πιταγήν αὐ?]τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ κοράσ[ι]ῶν ὀνόματι Μερτείνην, ὡ[ς ἐτῶν] | πέντε, εἰ δέ τις ἐπεκαλέσει, [θήσει εἰς] | τὸν θεὸν προστείμου ✕, βφ' [καὶ εἰς] | τὸ ταμεῖον ✕, βφ'. If we combine the first three lines of K44\* with K50\* we get the following text: [ - - - - ]εἰς? Διονύσει(σ)ος Ἐρμοῦ, τοῦ | [καὶ? Ζω]σεῖμου, Ἐρρηζηνός καὶ Λαοδει[κεύς, ο]ϊκῶ(ν) ἐν Νανυλφ, ἐξεχώρησε | Ἡλείφ(ν) Ἄπο[λλωνι Λαιρμηνηῶ], | τῷ προσειστώ[τι τῆς Μοτελη]ινῶν (πό)λεως, κατὰ ἐ[πιταγήν αὐ?]τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, κοράσ[ι]ῶν ὀνόματι Μερτείνην, ὡ[ς ἐτῶν] | πέντε· εἰ δέ τις ἐπεκαλέσει, [θήσει εἰς] | τὸν θεὸν προστείμου ✕, βφ' [καὶ εἰς] | τὸ ταμεῖον, ✕, βφ'. In this manner, we retrieve the name of the author of the *καταγραφή* K50\* and its missing main verb (ἐξεχώρησε). T. Ritti's conjecture is that on top of the base there once stood a plinth with the first lines of K50\*, lost today (p. 40).

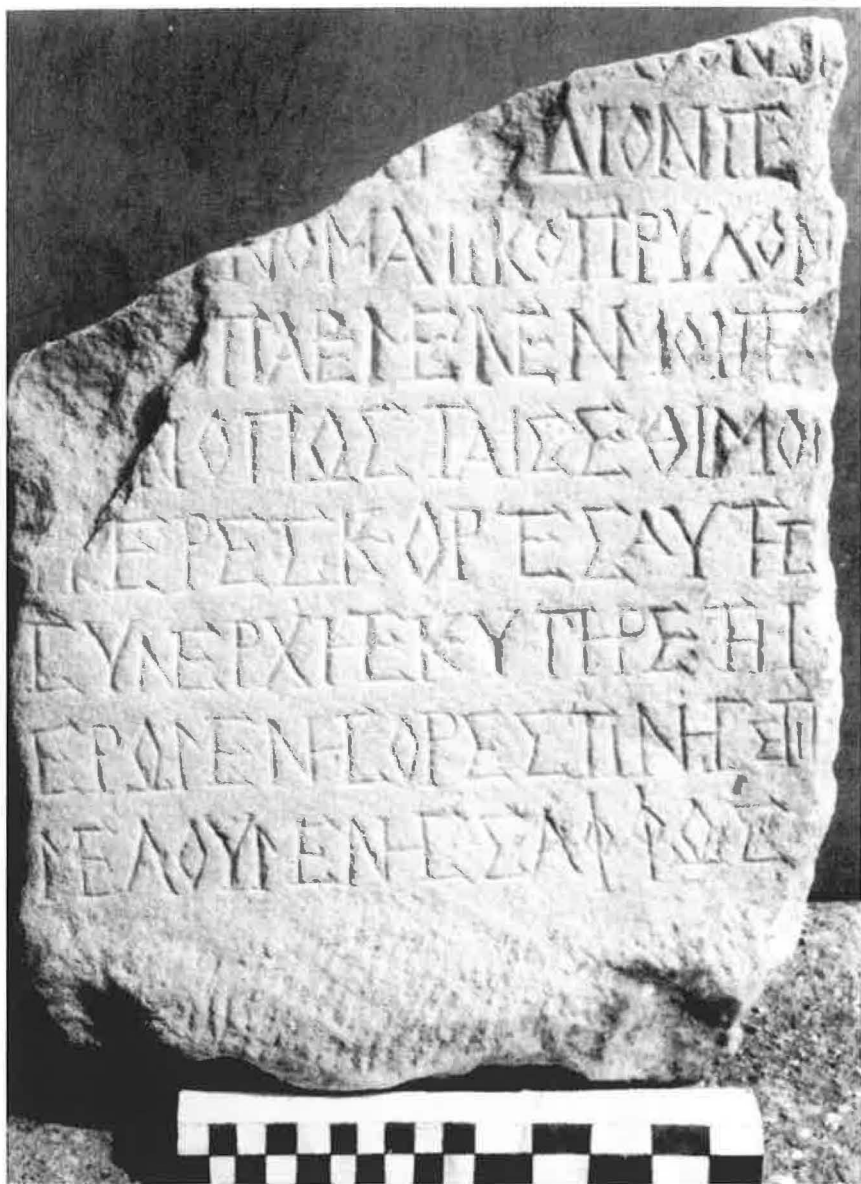
However this may be, the penultimate line of K44\* as published by T. Ritti remains a puzzle to me. The only thing that seems certain is the reference to „four manifest gods“ in the last line. Perhaps the name of the conveyed slave is somehow latent in the letters ΥΑΡΡΕΙΩΝ (or however they are to be read), about whom it is specified that he belongs (*διαφέρει vel sim.*) to the „four manifest gods“ (?).

In lines 2–3 of **inscription K45** Ritti reads the God's epithet as Λαρμ[ηνηῶ]. On the photograph of the stone I see the letters ΛΑΙΡ in the second line, suggesting either Λαιρμηνηῶ or Λαιρβηνῶ.

In lines 2–3 of **inscription K56** Ritti supplies the name of the author of the *καταγραφή* in question and his conveyed son (?) as ΝΗΙΣ]κων. Could the real name be Νείκων<sup>138</sup>? The photograph of the stone was made at an inconvenient angle, but the visible traces of letters seem to point to that name.

<sup>138</sup> Another Neikon, son of Neikon appears in K1.





zu Riel, Nr. 46: S. 127ff.





zu Riel, Nr. 58: S. 127ff.



N° 78 (fragment supérieur)





zu Riel, Nr. 136: S. 127ff.





zu Riel, Nr. 160: S. 127ff.

