



TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

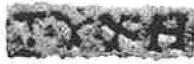
Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Bernhard Palme
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 22, 2007

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HOZHAUSEN



**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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KENT J. RIGSBY

A Greek Dedication at Sidon

Sidon's chief temple of Eshmun stood beside the el-Awali river four kilometers north of the city, "Eshmun by the *ydl* spring", as he is often called in the Phoenician inscriptions¹. The architectural and epigraphical finds of the recent excavations have now been published, and R. Wachter has provided a valuable gathering of most of the Greek inscriptions from the site, some already known and some new². One of the new texts is a dedication to Dionysus by one Democles:

No. Gr5 (year 53 = 59/8 B.C.)

Διονύσωι Καδμείωι Δημοκλής Δημοκλέου[ς] τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνουσι ἱερέωσι ἱερα-
φόρων ἐν τῶι πενταετηρικῶ[ι ἀσ]τικῶι ἀγῶνι τοῦ γν' (ἔτους).

Wachter includes in his collection a similar plaque, one of several dedications to the "holy god" (Eshmun), which was first published by C. Clermont-Ganneau³:

No. Gr1 (year 64 = 48/7 B.C.)

(Ἔτους) δξ' Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνουσι ἄρχοντος μαχαιρο-
ποιῶν Θεῶι Ἀγίωι ὑπὲρ το(ῦ) κοινοῦ.

Departing from Clermont-Ganneau's explication of Gr1, Wachter takes τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνουσι in both these texts to introduce a genitive absolute indicating an eponymous magistrate ("in the time when Apollophanes was priest/archon"); he writes, incorrectly, that an attributive use would have to be Ἀπολλοφάνουσι τοῦ ἄρχοντος. In fact the sequence δεῖνα δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος is normal usage when naming one's father and grandfather, as Clermont-Ganneau understood (also Haussoullier and Ingholt,

¹ Perhaps to distinguish this from a lesser urban temple, "in Sidon by the sea". So the famous dedication of Eshmunazar (fifth century B.C.) is often taken: CIS I 3 (Gibson, *Textbook* III no. 28; *ANET*³ 662); cf. P. Xella, *Eshmun von Sidon*, in: M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, *Mesopotamica – Ugaritica – Biblica*, Darmstadt 1993, 490.

² In R. A. Stucky, *Das Eshmun-Heiligtum von Sidon. Architektur und Inschriften* (Antike Kunst Beih. 19), Basel 2005, 319–331; H.-P. Mathys collects the Phoenician inscriptions, 273–318, and A. Loprieno publishes the one Egyptian text, 271–272 (fourth century B.C.).

One of the Greek texts omitted is the tantalizing SEG VII 265. In no. Gr4, a dedication of Seleucid date, delete the restored second θεοῖς; it is otiose, and this line visibly was centered. In Gr11 the date is not ZYP but Z4P = 196 = A.D. 85/6.

³ *Études d'archéologie orientale* I, Paris 1880, 100–104, and *Inscription grecque de Sidon*, CRAI (1890) 460–462.

below). Moreover, two different offices separated by a decade are not likely to be eponymous of anything. The eponymous magistrate of the Sidonians is unknown; their inscriptions and coins are dated by a civic era from 111/0 B.C., as here. So in each text, an Apollophanes is the grandfather. One father (so I would construe, rather than grandfather) was a priest, the other was head of the guild that made the ritual swords and likely other tools needed in cult⁴.

Wachter rightly leaves open the question whether the grandfather Apollophanes was the same man in both dedications, citing (pp. 323, 325) another Apollophanes (no. 4 below) in a Sidonian dedication invoked also by Clermont-Ganneau. In fact a good number of Sidonians bore this name, and on this basis P.-L. Gatier has convincingly attributed a monument to Sidon or its vicinity (no. 2 below). It will be useful to list these men chronologically:

- (1) In late III B.C. the Boeotian League honored Straton son of Apollophanes⁵.
- (2) In mid II B.C. Apollophanes son of Apollophanes dedicated an altar to Aphrodite⁶.
- (3) In 69/8 (?) an Apollophanes of Sidon made a dedication at Hammara in the Beqaa⁷.
- (4) A wrestler's dedication, late Hellenistic to judge from the script, from Sidon but exact find-spot not reported⁸: ἐπ' ἀγωνοθέτου Ἀπολλοφάνου τοῦ Ἀβδουζ-
μούνου Διότιμος Ἀβδουβάστιος πάλη νικήσας Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφικῶ.
- (5) A statue base (late Hellenistic?) found in the gardens of the modern city⁹: ὁ
δῆμος Ἀπολλοφάνην Ἀπολλ[λ - - -] τοῦ Νίκωνος τῶν α[- - -] καὶ ἄρξαντα τὴν
β' ἐξ[άμηνον] καὶ ἀγοράνομήσαντα [- - -]. In the second lacuna Haussoullier and
Ingholt restored τῶν ἀ[ρξάντων], as the office of both father and grandfather¹⁰.
Robert proposed instead a court rank in one of the Hellenistic kingdoms, τῶν α'

⁴ So Clermont-Ganneau (n. 3) explained the term; it occurs also in a grave monument at Roman Eumeneia: Th. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* (Studia Amstelodamensia 16), Zutphen 1978, 102 no. 39 (Τρύφων μαχεροποιός). The new text Gr2 shows a platform built for the fifth guild, that of the couch-makers, from their common fund: ἐκτίσθη ἡ ἀκτὴ τῆ Ε τέχνη κλεινοπη<γ>ῶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (A.D. 98; the guild recurs in Gr14). Feasting in a temple required couches.

⁵ B. X. Πετράκου, *Οἱ ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ωρώπου* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 170), Ἀθήναι 1997, 37.

⁶ P.-L. Gatier, *Inscriptions grecques et latines du Proche-Orient*, ZPE 147 (2004) 139–144.

⁷ C. Ghabdan, *Monuments de Hammara*, Ktama 10 (1985) 300–301 [SEG XXXVII 1446].

⁸ Le Bas-Waddington 1866c, cited by Clermont-Ganneau, *Études* (n. 3) 103; cf. L. Robert, *Deux inscriptions agonistiques de Rhodes*, ArchEph (1966) 115–116 (OMS VII 703–704).

⁹ G. Contenau, *Deuxième mission archéologique à Sidon*, Syria 4 (1923) 281 [SEG II 842]; from a better copy, B. Haussoullier, H. Ingholt, *Inscriptions grecques de Sidon*, Syria 5 (1924) 323 no. 4.

¹⁰ Contenau (n. 9) had read here τῶνα- - - , which M. N. Tod (SEG II 842) emended to γυμνα[σιαρχήσαντα] (too long).

[φίλων]¹¹; but he later doubted this idea¹² and later still chose not to reprint the note in his *Opera Minora Selecta*. Robert evidently was troubled by the plural ἀ[ρξάντων] characterizing both ancestors. But the texts quoted here illustrate a Sidonian habit of citing ancestors' offices; this supports Haussoullier and Ingholt's τῶν ἀ[ρξάντων], not present tense as in the other dedications ("currently"), but father and grandfather both "formerly archons", like the son.

(6) A statue base found on the south side of town, early Imperial¹³: Μαρθαν Ἀπολλοφάνους ἱερέος Διὸς τοῦ Δημοστράτου πεμπτοστάτου Διὸς Ιασηῆς ὁ καὶ Δομνίων ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀρχῇ εὐχαριστίας χάριν. The father Apollophanes was priest of Zeus, while the grandfather Demostratos was his subordinate, a "fifth-tier" attendant of the god. It is ambiguous whether the "archonship" of Iasies was cultic (as in Gr1 above) or civic (no. 5).

(7) A funerary plaque, late Hellenistic or Imperial: Ἀπολλοφάνης χρηστὴ¹⁴.

(8) Funerary cippus, Imperial: Ἀπολλοφάνη χρηστὴ καὶ ἄλυπαι¹⁵.

(9) Funerary monument dated A.D. 205/6: Ἀπολλόφανες Βοήθου¹⁶.

Clearly the name Apollophanes was much loved at Sidon¹⁷, and no two of these men can be confidently equated. Other names derived from Apollo were also popular among Sidonians, and from earliest times: Apollonides son of Demetrius, honored by Athens for aiding Athenian merchants, was born before 350 B.C.¹⁸

In the new inscription Gr5, an Apollophanes was one of the *hieraphoroi* and also their chosen priest. With a priest one expects a genitive to state the object of cult. But it is common enough to say "priest of" when one means a priest chosen from among a group: so a priest of the ephebes at several cities¹⁹; of the *paides* at Claros²⁰; of the Technitai of Dionysus²¹; a high priest of the Ionians²². Temples with multiple

¹¹ *Inscription grecque de Sidon*, Syria 6 (1925) 364–365.

¹² *Une épitaphe d'Olympos*, Hellenica 10 (1955) 174 n. 1.

¹³ J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques inédites*, in: *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil R. Saidah*, Lyon 1982, 395–397 [SEG XXXII 1483].

¹⁴ L. Jalabert, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*, Mélanges de la Fac. Orientale 2 (1907) 305 no. 6.

¹⁵ G. Contenau, *Mission archéologique à Sidon (1914)*, Syria 1 (1920) 288 no. 11.

¹⁶ Decourt, *Inscriptions grecques de la France*, Lyon 2004, 43, with P.-L. Gatier, BE 2005, 520.

¹⁷ Apollophanes the agent of Zenon in Palestine in the mid-third century B.C. (cf. P. W. Pestman, *Guide to the Zenon Archive*, Leiden 1981, 291) was on one occasion sent on a mission to Sidon (P.Cair.Zen. I 59093); possibly he was a native.

¹⁸ IG II² 343 (C. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*, Chicago 1985, no. 84; cf. A. Wilhelm, *Kleine Schriften Abt. III*, Wien 2006, 175–176).

¹⁹ I.Ephesos 836, SEG XV 718 (Teos), MAMA V 205 (Nacoleia, statue erected by the *neoi*).

²⁰ J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II 135, 146; L. Robert, in: *Laodicée du Lycos*, Paris 1969, 301–303 nos. 17–19, 23.

²¹ S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten* (Historia Einzelschriften 163), Stuttgart 2003, no. B16.39 with 23 (= FD III.2 69 and IG II² 1134).

²² A. Rehm, *Didyma. II. Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1958, 287.

hieraphoroi are recorded at cities as diverse as Paros, Thessalonica, and Anazarbus²³; a solemn procession is implied. At a great Phoenician shrine it is not surprising to find a priestly hierarchy with specialized groups of the sort mentioned here — like that of Zeus in no. 6 above, and the guardian of the door who made the Phoenician dedication Ph4 (Mathys, p. 281).

In Gr5 Democles makes a dedication to Dionysus with the epithet *Kadmeios*. Thanks to a single inscription at Delphi²⁴, we know that this was the cult title of Dionysus at Thebes, a fact not signalled by the many authors who mention the worship of Dionysus at his birthplace. In literature, the adjective means “descended from Cadmus/Theban”, much used in tragedy and elsewhere. Occasionally we see it applied to Dionysus in that spirit, but given the frequent usage Cadmean = Theban, this need not prove knowledge of the formal cult title at Thebes. An epigram of the third century B.C. names Διονύσ[ωι Κ]αδμείωι in what certainly is a reference to Dionysus of Thebes²⁵. An epigram of Antistius addresses Dionysus simply as Καδμείε²⁶; thus the unmetrical Κόδμει of the Palatine ms. was long ago emended, in the knowledge of the poets’ use of *Kadmeios* for the Thebans, descendants of Cadmus. But the most likely evocation of the official cult title by an author might be Pausanias 9.12.4 on the primitive statue at Thebes called “Dionysus Cadmus”: Πολύδωρον δὲ τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο χαλκῷ λέγουσιν ἐπικοσμήσαντα Διόνυσον καλέσαι Κάδμον, where the same emendation Καδμείον as in the *Palatinus* is possible.

On balance, then, Democles’ language looks to be mythic rather than cultic. His dedication was a private and individual gesture and not proof of an established cult of “Dionysus *Kadmeios*” at Sidon, and the epithet is a literary and personal affectation rather than official usage that might suggest an ancient cultic link between Sidon and Thebes. That is, Democles learned the epithet from a book. The Sidonians held that Cadmus came from Sidon²⁷, and we should reckon that Democles chose *Kadmeios* on the basis of local patriotism and a classical education — perhaps too in order to spite the Tyrians, who also claimed Cadmus²⁸.

Democles’ father was “priest of the *hieraphoroi* at the quadrennial urban competition of year 53” — that is, he probably led these “bearers of the holy things” in a procession for the god. That the son makes a dedication to Dionysus suggests that this festival included a musical competition or performance, dithyrambic or dramatic²⁹, and perhaps we have the result of a vow that Democles made to Dionysus before the event. We learn from Gr5 that by the mid-first century B.C. Sidon had a quadrennial

²³ IG XII.5 291; IG X.2 58, 222, 258; I.Anazarbos (I.K. 56) 4.

²⁴ F. Lefèvre, CID IV 70–71 (= Rigsby, *Asyilia*, Berkeley 1996, 4), III B.C.

²⁵ Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, Berlin 1878, 926.13–14; G. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates en Grèce*, Bruxelles 1977, no. 15 bis.

²⁶ *Anth.Pal.* 11.40; cf. A. S. F. Gow, D. L. Page, *The Garland of Philip I*, Cambridge 1965, 126.

²⁷ In a Hellenistic epigram the Sidonians are the children of Cadmus’ father Agenor and the “mother city of Cadmeian Thebes”: L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Roma 1953, 41.6–7.

²⁸ Shown on Tyrian coins as well as Sidonian: BMC Phoenicia p. 318.

²⁹ The remains of the theater by Castle Hill in the city are thought to be of Roman date.

festival. In the Hellenistic age this typically was the mark of a contest of more than local importance and patronage, honored on a par with the Olympia and the other national Greek games of ancient tradition — “crowned/sacred”, our “panhellenic”. Which god of Sidon was so honored?

The dedication is to Dionysus, but its location is the temple of Eshmun. A “city contest” of Dionysus is readily paralleled in other cities, most famously Athens. But festivals of Dionysus were commonly every two years — and so in fact were the games of Dionysus Cadmeius at Thebes³⁰. If it is right to take Gr5 as a private dedication and the god and epithet as a personal choice of Democles, then the location of the stone should outweigh that choice: the contest in which Democles was victorious belonged not to Dionysus but to Eshmun.

About festivals at Sidon the testimonia are few:

(a) In the temple of Eshmun, Democles’ victory dedication to Dionysus in 59/8 B.C. (Gr5).

(b) Also in the temple, a series of dedicated urns; three are inscribed and show that at least these commemorated victories in a contest³¹. Perhaps all represent urns given as prizes³². The text that has been published in full, dated to 44/3 B.C., dedicates the urn to Asclepius, the earliest mention of his name on the site: (ἔτους) δξ΄ Σωσᾶς Ζήνωνος νικήσας ἀνέθηκεν Ἀσκληπιῶ.

(c) A victory list from Rhodes, early Imperial period, but not before Vespasian, includes the sacred Apolloneia at Sidon, a victory in the long race: ἐν Σειδῶνι Ἀπολλώνεια [- - -]εῖα παῖδας δόλιχον³³.

(d) A boxer’s victory list from Laodicea, early III A.D., includes a lesser (“mon-eyed”) contest at Sidon, but with no name for the contest or its god: Σειδῶνα τρίς³⁴.

(e) From Elegabalus on, documents mention a sacred contest called cryptically ὁ περιπόφυρος (ἀγών)³⁵.

Modern dictionary-knowledge is that the Greeks called Eshmun “Asclepius”. This is occasionally said explicitly: by a Sardinian inscription in the second century B.C.

³⁰ References at Rigsby, *Asyilia* 56 n. 9; A.-F. Jaccottet, *Chosir Dionysos*, Kilchberg 2003, 136–138.

³¹ B. Soyez, *Le bétyle dans le culte de l’Astarte*, MUSJ 47 (1972) 147–169, publishing the inscriptions in part: 164–168 no. 1 quoting νικήσας and ἀνέθηκεν, no. 2 ἀνα and νι[κῆ]σα[ς], and one in full, no. 14 (SEG XXVI 1646; a better photograph at R. A. Stucky, *Die Skulpturen aus dem Eschmun-Heiligtum* [Antike Kunst Beih. 17], Basel 1993, pl. 64.1).

³² B. Soyez (n. 31) 163 doubts this and sees in the urns a more general iconography related to healing and the sacred spring.

³³ L. Robert (n. 8) 108–118 (OMS VII 696–706). Perhaps [Κατσάρ]εῖα or [Ἀσκλη]π[εῖα] (Robert 706).

³⁴ IGLSyrie IV 1265.20 [L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (n. 27) 85].

³⁵ IG II.2 3169/70.30 [L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (n. 27) 90], ca. A.D. 250, τὸν περιπόφυρον ἐν Σειδῶνι; Sel.Pap. II 306, A.D. 267, ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ οἰκο[υμενικοῦ] περιπορ[φύρου] ἰσολυμπίου; restored in SPP V 81.11. On the coins, IER(os) PERI(porfuros) OECU(menikos) ISE(lastikos) and variants. See L. Robert, OMS II 1029–33, VII 703.

(*Aescolapio* Ἰ' Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἰ' *Eshmun*)³⁶, and by Damascius in the fifth century A.D. (Ἔσμουνος, ὃν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἔρμηνεύουσιν, the only extant author who mentions Eshmun)³⁷. But he was widely called Apollo, especially in the western colonies (founded in archaic times) and at an early date (fifth and fourth centuries)³⁸. The great tribune at Sidon's Eshmun temple exhibits in its two friezes Apollo as the central figure with musicians and dancers that are appropriate variously to Apollo or to Dionysus (cithara and flute), as R. A. Stucky has stressed³⁹. Personal names derived from Apollo are frequent at Sidon, and from a date earlier than the wide proliferation of the worship of Asclepius. Names based on Asclepius, by contrast, are few⁴⁰. Of the contests listed above, only one reveals by its name the official honorand of the cult, the Apolloneia.

So there is good reason to think that knowledge of Asclepius came late to the Sidonians and that they at first thought of Eshmun as the Greeks' Apollo⁴¹. In Phoenicia we find some dedications to Asclepius already in the late Hellenistic period⁴². One is from the temple of Eshmun (b above), so some Sidonian worshippers by then had joined the emerging majority and called their god Asclepius; other mentions there (Wachter, Gr6–9 and p. 319) are later (Gr6 is dated to A.D. 140/1). This trend represents the triumph of the literary and banal over local praxis⁴³. But that the panhellenic festival was the Apolloneia shows that in official Sidonian usage

³⁶ M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche*, Rome 1967, no. 9.

³⁷ V. Isid. fr. 348 Zintzen; his story is placed in Beirut, and confused with myths of Adonis and Attis, cf. E. Lipinski, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Leuven 1995, 160.

³⁸ See E. Lipinsky (n. 37) 162–163.

³⁹ R. A. Stucky, *Tribune d'Eschmoun*, Basel 1984, esp. 43–46.

⁴⁰ The equation is made explicitly by a Sidonian who lived in Greece in the third century B.C., a priest at Demetrias, Ἀσκληπιάδας whose Phoenician name began *Eshmun* : O. Masson, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens dans le monde hellénistique*, BCH 93 (1969) 694–696. Also at Demetrias, Asclepiades son of Nicon, ca. 200 B.C.: A. Σ. Ἀρβανιτόπουλος, *Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία*, Ἀθήναι 1909, 164 no. 21; related to no. 5 above?

⁴¹ Thus J.-P. Rey-Cocquais, in *Epigraphai: Miscellanea ... Gasparini*, Rome 2000, 799–832, at 824, writes of Apollo as patron of Sidon. The name of Asclepius came late to Sidon: so tentatively Stucky, *Tribune* (n. 39) 46; Xella, *Mesopotamica* (n. 1) 492; Lipinsky (n. 37) 159 (and 155, “l'interprétation grecque d'Eshmun était le dieu de la médecine, Apollon, puis Asklepios/Esculape, dont les attestations en Phénicie sont toutefois relativement rares”).

⁴² Lipinsky (n. 37) 157. Ca. 300 B.C. a Cypriot visiting Sarepta made a dedication to “Asclepius”, as he called the god whom he found there: L. Daly, *A Greek-Syllabic Cypriot Inscription from Sarafand*, ZPE 40 (1980) 223–225.

⁴³ Earlier Strabo, a foreigner, passed a “grove of Asclepius” between Beirut and Sidon (756), which is taken to be Eshmun's sanctuary by the river. The consensus in the second century A.D.: Apuleius, archetype of the literary and banal, described Asclepius as *qui arcem nostrae Karthaginis indubitabili numine propitius tegit* (Flor. 18.38); cf. a dedication at Carthage to *Aesculapio ab Epidauro* by a man of Greek origin, a priest of the Mother of the Gods (AE 1968, 553). A Sidonian while visiting some temple of Asclepius expounded to Pausanias the true meaning of the father and son Apollo and Asclepius, which Pausanias recognized as a Greek cliché (7.23.7–8).

Eshmun was still called Apollo at least as late as the Flavian age. In (b) above, the god's name was the individual dedicator's choice.

Diotimus' victory in wrestling (no. 4), roughly contemporary with Democles' dedication, is dated by an agonothete and is dedicated to a god with an equally literary by-name. For "Delphic" seems not to be applied to Apollo in other documents; it is found occasionally in an ornate Greek author, and is frequent only in Latin: Pl. *Leg.* 686A ("many oracles, both others and the Delphic Apollo"); Philo. *V. Apol.* 3.42 ("Apollo the Delphic"); *Hymn. Orph.* 34.4 (Δελφικέ among a string of fancy epithets). These two features, a contest and an affected divine epithet, invite us to link this dedication with that of Democles to Cadmeian Dionysus, and attribute no. 4 as well to the temple of Eshmun/ Apollo and to the great contest⁴⁴. Perhaps it is relevant that the father of the agonothete Apollophanes in no. 4 has a name meaning "servant of Eshmun"⁴⁵.

On the (not inevitable) assumption that Sidon had only one panhellenic festival, I propose that we now have four references to Sidon's festival of Eshmun/Apollo, three of which are explicitly panhellenic and one (b above) unspecified⁴⁶. The "quadrennial city contest" of Gr5, the Apolloneia, and the Periporphyros were the same festival. The competitions included both musical performance, as Gr5 now attests, and athletic, in at least wrestling and the long race. The altered name in Severan times may have been a concession to the growing consensus about the equation Eshmun/Asclepius.

The age of the great games of Eshmun remains to seek. The terminus ante quem is 59/8 B.C., given now by Democles' dedication. A stray allusion reveals that by 172 B.C., Tyre's games of Heracles/Melqart had a quadrennial period (πενταετηρικοῦ ἀγῶνος), to which some other cities sent *theoroi* (2 Macc. 4.18). At archrival Sidon, the quadrennial Apolloneia are likely to be roughly as old.

Thinking of Athena's peplos, we can imagine of this ceremony that every fourth year the god was presented with a new "purple-bordered cloth"⁴⁷. The goods of Apollo Didymeus at Miletus in the second century B.C. included a ἱμάτιον περιπόρφυρον (SEG XXXVIII 1210.6). The murex industry of the region is familiar, as is Murex Hill in the city. This ceremony and the competitions in his honor took place not at the rural temple by the river but in the city proper, at the ἀσ]τικῶι ἀγῶνι — at an urban temple or perhaps in the theater at Castle Hill. The competitions likely included

⁴⁴ Robert, OMS VII 702–704, equated this festival with the Apolloneia but noted that no. 4 does not indicate whether it was as yet panhellenic.

⁴⁵ Another agonothete is now attested at the temple by the fragmentary Gr10, of Imperial date.

⁴⁶ The "moneyed" games (d above) attested a few years before the Periporphyros, in which the boxer won three times, were either a different festival, or else still the Periporphyros (as Robert thought, before the Apolloneia became known), but only the "local" episodes, the off-years from the quadrennium.

⁴⁷ Robert however suggested that the purple garment was a prize (OMS VII 703 n. 8); followed by Lipinski (n. 37) 167, who takes the contest mentioned on the urns to be the Periporphyros.

some music that was felt to be inspired by Dionysus, hence Democles' dedication⁴⁸. At the end of the festival a procession carried the god and his equipage back to the temple in the country — the task of the ἱεραφόροι led by Democles' father.

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⁴⁸ So in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, the paian of Philodamus was sung to Dionysus (W. D. Furley, J. M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns* II, Tübingen 2001, 52–84), and hymns to Apollo were performed by the Technitai of Dionysus (A. Bélis, CID III). For ritual associations of Dionysus and Apollo in Greek contexts see N. Robertson, *The Religious Criterion in Greek Ethnicity*, *AJAH* 1.2 (2002) 32 n. 72.