

The *Eparche* Documents and the Early Oracle at Oropus

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TWO FOURTH-CENTURY B.C. inscriptions from the Amphiareium at Oropus record differing regulations for the payment of fees by persons consulting the oracle. Fresh examination has yielded new readings and contributed to a better understanding of the monuments. I present new editions of the two (here called **A** and **B**) along with conclusions drawn from them in the light of other evidence.¹ I shall suggest that the oracle of Amphiaraus, consultation of which was originally free of charge, was founded between 420 and 414. I further argue that in the early fourth century, when Oropus was under Thebes, the Oropeans enacted a decree (**A**) that required would-be consultants of the god to pay an entrance fee or *eparche*; that this decree was later superseded by **B**, the general code of sanctuary regulations into which was incorporated an updated version of **A**; that in the years 338–335 Athens levied the *dermatikon* tax on the penteteric festival of Amphiaraus; and that an increase in the *eparche* itself, from one drachma to one drachma and a half, was possibly due to fourth-century inflation.

I. Inscription A

A, of yellowish marble, is a worn and battered fragment of a stele, rough-picked on the back. Now in the Amphiareium Museum storeroom, it was found in a wall of a Roman building excavated in the southeastern section of the so-called Agora, on the southern

¹ The following works will be cited in abbreviated form: R. P. AUSTIN, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (London 1938); F. DURRBACH, *De Oropo et Amphiarai sacro* (Paris 1890); N. D. ΠΑΡΑΗΑΤΖΕ, *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις* I (Athens 1974); V. C. PETRAKOS, *Ὁ Ὀρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου*, *Vivl. Arch. Hetair.* 63 (Athens 1968); P. STENGEL, “*Κατάρχεσθαι* und *ἐνάρχεσθαι*,” *Hermes* 43 (1908) 456–67; *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³ (Munich 1920); *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig 1910); L. ZIEHEN, *RE* 18 (1939) 579–627 s.v. “Opfer.”

bank of the stream that runs through the sanctuary.² The top, bottom, and left-hand sections of the stele are lost, but its right-hand edge in the area of lines 2–8 is preserved. The maximum preserved dimensions are 30.0 cm. high, 20.0 wide, 8.0 thick. The letters, of uneven size (0.9 to 1.7 high) and often worn almost beyond recognition, are Ionic in form, and of the fourth century.

If we accept Austin's definition of stoichedon,³ the text, which begins 9.0 cm. below the top of the fragment, is non-stoichedon, a fact not mentioned in previous editions: some letters are not aligned vertically and the *iotas* share the same space with letters before or after them, so that the lines, though filling the same space, have unequal numbers of letters.⁴ Syllabic division at the ends of the lines is observed.

I regard the restoration of line 6 as certain enough to give us the length of the remaining lines. The other restorations are offered simply *exempli gratia*, to show what I believe is the general sense of the text.

V. Leonardos, *ArchEph* 1925/26, 43 no. 155 (with photograph of squeeze) [Sokolowski, *LSCG Suppl.* 35, adding some restorations and dating the text to the fourth century (SEG 22.370)]. PLATE 1.

[Θεοί]
 [————— *ca* 22 —————] ἔλεξε· δεδόχθα[ι]
 [τοῖ δῆμοι· τοὺς ἀεὶ ἀφικ]ομένους εἰς τὸ ἱερό[ν]
 4 [τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου θεραπευομ]ένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θε[οῦ]
 [ἐπαρχὴν δίδου·ν ἕκαστο]ν ἐμβαλόντα εἰς τὸ[ν]
 [θησαυρὸν μὴ ἔλαττον δρα]χμῆς Βοιωτίης, τοῦ
 [νεωκόρου παρεόντος ἢ ὄτ]αν ἐν τοῖ ἱ[ερ]οῖ τύχει
 8 [ὄν τοῦ ἱερέως· ἐπιμελεῖσθ]αὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἀ[να]γρά-
 [φειν τὸν νεωκόρον τό τ]ε ὄνομα καὶ τὴν πό[λιν]
 [τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδοντος ———] . . . ΣΤΟΝΕΟ [.]Γ—
 [————— *ca* 25 —————] //////////////// [—]

² Scanty reports of the excavations of the 'Agora' are in *Praktika* 1909, 119; 1913, 113; also *ArchEph* 1922, 107 and plan on 102 no. 116. For the ruins of this bank see Petrakos 111–18 and plate *A*; *cf.* also Papahatze 454 and pl. 270 no. 15.

³ "The letters are in alinement vertically as well as horizontally, and are placed at equal intervals along their respective alinements" (Austin 1).

⁴ See in Pl. 1 the position of the *nus* in the beginnings of lines 7 and 8, and the final letters of lines 2 and 3: three letters (-χθα) correspond to four and a half below (τὸ ἱερ-). M. J. Osborne ("The Stoichedon Style in Theory and Practice," *ZPE* 10 [1973] 255) argues that the number of letters in each line (or at least of letter-spaces) is a better indicator of

Gods, the son of made the motion; resolved by the demos: those who at any time come to the shrine of Amphiaraus, if they seek cure from the god, shall pay dues, each one dropping into the offertory box no less than a Boeotian drachma, in the presence of the neokoros or, when he happens to be at the shrine, in the presence of the priest. The priest shall see to it that the neokoros writes up both the name and the citizenship of the incubant . . .

Line 1: I restore [θεοί] on the basis of several inscriptions from Oropus; see commentary on B.1.

Line 2: ζ ἔλεξε Leonardos. I can see no trace of the ζ but there is half a letter-space blank at the right of the break. For the missing subject of ἔλεξε we should expect the mover's name and, as some 22 letters are missing, his patronymic as well; we may compare the long list of names, with patronymics, of “rogatores decretorum” in Durrbach 140–42; cf. also *ArchEph* 1917, 236f no. 94. The ἔλεξε and δεδόχθα[ι] clauses prove A to be a decree; the use of ἔλεξε instead of εἶπε is the first hint that we may have a decree from a Boeotian period of Oropus; cf. Dittenberger's comments on *IG VII* 4250; cf. also *ArchEph* 1917, 236f no. 94.

Line 3: [τοὺς ἀφικνε]ομένους Leonardos; [ἀναγράφειν μὲν τοὺς ἀφικ]ομένους Sokolowski. Of the *omicron* there is only the right half, scarcely perceptible. So far as I know, the only instance at Oropus of δεδόχθαι without a complement is *IG VII* 324; I therefore restore the dative, although τεῖ ἐκκλησίαι, which occurs in this position in *IG VII* 4250–51 (cf. 4256–57) and *ArchEph* 1917, 236f no. 94, should not be ruled out for want of parallels; on its rarity, however, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 (1948) 8 and n.3. Sokolowski's ἀναγράφειν is not likely, given that lines 8–9 (cf. B.20–24, .39–43) demonstrate that the registering of patients comes *after* their payment of the *eparche*.

Line 4: [τοὺς θεραπευομ]ένους Leonardos; [καὶ τοὺς θεραπευθησομ]ένους Sokolowski. The shrine of Amphiaraus, which is the subject of this decree, needs to be identified, I believe, at some point in the text; otherwise it is not clear which shrine is referred to; for Oropian shrines of other deities see Petrakos 54–58 (cf. B.2 τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου and *IG VII* 4255. 2 ἐν Ἀμφιαράου). Sokolowski's καὶ, as if to distinguish between mere visitors and consultants of the god, is unlikely, because only the incubants pay fees and thereupon have their names recorded; see B.20f.

Line 5: [δ]ὲ ἐμβάλ[λ]οντα Leonardos; [γράφεσθαι (?) τὸν ἐκάστοτ]ε ἐμβάλ[λ]οντα Sokolowski. The first letter is very uncertain; I discern the bottom of a stroke sloping up to the left. There is no space for the *lambda* restored by Leonardos.

stoichedon than the alignment of letters. In our text, line 2 is of 13 letters while line 7, in a smaller space, contains as many as 17.

Line 6: [θησαυρὸν—δρα]χμῆς Leonardos; [θησαυρὸν—μὴ ἔλαττον δρα]χμῆς Sokolowski. That [θησαυρὸν μὴ ἔλαττον δρα]χμῆς is sufficient is shown by B.20–23 and *LSCG Suppl.* no. 72A.1–3 τοὺς θύοντας τῷ Θεογένει [Θα]σ[ίω]ι ἀπάρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν μὴ ἔλασσον ὀβολοῦ.

Lines 6–7: τοῦ/[—]ον Leonardos; τοῦ/[νεωκόρου, ὃς ἂν λειτουργῶν Sokolowski. At the end of line 6, there is only an upright stroke after *omicron*. The dotted letter in line 7 is very dubious; Leonardos reads it as either *omicron* or *epsilon*, but it may be an *alpha*. Since we know from B.2–6 and .26–27 that the priest does not reside in the shrine, the preserved words must refer to the priest.

Line 8: [—]ον τὸν ἱερέα Leonardos; [συμπαρεόντος, ἐπάναγκ]ον Sokolowski. There are two letter-spaces at the beginning of the line, but the letters are by no means certain. Unfortunately, Leonardos gives no description of the traces he saw.

Lines 8–9: ἀ[να]γράφ[ειν . . . τό τ]ε Leonardos; ἀ[να]γράφ[ψαι δὲ τοῦ ἀφικομένου τό τ]ε Sokolowski. See B.6–8 for the authority of the priest over the neokoros.

Line 10: [—κα]ὶ [εἶ]ς [τ]ὸν ε[.]Γ[.] Leonardos; [καὶ ἐκτιθεῖν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἔκα]σ[τ]ον ε[—] Sokolowski. Of the *sigma* the upper and lower slanting strokes are preserved, incised under the *mu* of ὄνομα.

II. Inscription B

B is a stele of finely crystallized white marble with a touch of yellow,⁵ found, in three fragments, near the altar, *i.e.*, in the area of the sanctuary proper.⁶ Lines 25–36 contain regulations for sacrifices at the altar, and we know that it was not unusual to set up stelae with sacrifice regulations in the neighborhood of altars (see *LSCG* 21A.14–17). **B** then was probably more or less *in situ* when found.

The stele, now in the Amphiareium Museum, is crowned with a plain cymatium⁷ and tapers upwards slightly. Its bottom and back cannot be examined, for it is set into a concrete base against the wall. The top is rough-picked, but the sides are nicely dressed. A

⁵ In view of the cautionary remarks of C. Renfrew and J. S. Peacey, *BSA* 63 (1968) 45–66, concerning the identification of sources of Aegean marble, one hesitates to describe the stone as ‘Pentelic’.

⁶ Beside the ancient drain that runs north of the spring and the altar (see *Praktika* 1884, 92 and plan *E*, ΔΔ). For the altar and the spring see Petrakos 96–99 and 107f, Papahatze 450–52. A brief description of the site is in J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias’s Description of Greece*² II (London 1913) 463–73.

⁷ It might once have been embellished with a painted cymatium or astragal, as in *ArchEph* 1891, 94–96 no. 41 (no photograph), but there are no traces left.

smooth band runs along the edges at the sides and the top of the stele. The absence of clamp cuttings and *anathyrosis* on the top suggest that the stele was freestanding, although no description of the back has ever been published to allow certainty. The maximum preserved dimensions are 132.0 cm. high, 43.0 wide, 9.0–10.0 thick.

The text starts 5.0 cm. below the cymatium and occupies three-fifths of the reconstructed stele. A 5.0 cm. margin is left on either side. Of lines 47–56 only the edges are preserved, for the central section of the stone has suffered severe erosion and discoloration; the same is true of the (uninscribed) lowest fragment. The text is stoichedon.⁸ I was unable to detect any guide lines on the stone, but one may discern in Pl. 3 possible traces of such lines in the upper part of the text.

The Ionic letter-forms, coarsely incised and of uneven size (0.4 to 1.0 cm. high), are typical of the fourth century, with epichoric *iota* and *zeta*.⁹ The *omicrons* and dotted *thetas*, executed with an ordinary punch or chisel,¹⁰ are not well rounded, and they vary noticeably in size. Syllabic division is rare,¹¹ and words are often divided before their final¹² or after their initial letters.¹³

The heading *θεοί*¹⁴ is inscribed in letters of the same size but in a separate stoichedon sequence from the main text. The first letter is cut above the second vertical stoichos; the other three are extended to fill the next six stoichoi.

Of particular interest to students of epigraphy is the punctuation of the text by dots and *vacats*. The dots, two or three in a vertical row,¹⁵ are simply incised,¹⁶ twice occupying an entire stoichos (lines 6, 20). Dots separating proper names or sums of money

⁸ The practice of stoichedon, attributed by Austin (72) to Athenian influence, never became the predominant fashion at Oropus.

⁹ Austin 72 has noted survivals of the older Boeotian alphabet.

¹⁰ A. E. Raubitschek in *Festschrift Andreas Rumpf* (Krefeld 1952) 125–26, and U. K. Duncan, *BSA* 56 (1961) 185–88, discuss the tools used for the cutting of circular letters.

¹¹ See lines 14, 21, 23, 28–30, 39, and 45.

¹² See lines 2, 7, 18, 25, 31, 34, 36, and 43.

¹³ See lines 6, 18, 27, 40, and 42.

¹⁴ For its treatment see J. P. Traywick, *Θεοί and Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη in Headings of Attic Inscriptions* (Diss. Harvard 1968).

¹⁵ For the frequency and use of two or three dots in Athenian public documents of the fifth and fourth centuries see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I* (Berlin/New York 1980) 81–84.

¹⁶ Duncan (*supra* n.10) 182–85 distinguishes three different techniques of cutting dots.

occur only in Attic decrees set up at the Oroepean oracle.¹⁷ *Vacats* marking off clauses, sentences, or paragraphs are similarly known from Athens and elsewhere¹⁸ but not from Oropus. This setting off of sentences and paragraphs by dots and *vacats* is, to my knowledge, without parallel in Oroepean documents.¹⁹

The mason left blank spaces at the beginning of line 36 and the end of 44, evidently to avoid flaws in the marble. The same may have discouraged him from inscribing the last stoichos of line 35. In line 17 the mason originally had calculated his space for 35 letters. Owing to his omission of the *nu* of *ἐντὸθα*, which is inserted between the lines, he left the 35th stoichos blank. He also omitted the second *iota* of line 19, which he then added between stoichoi.

V. Leonardos, *ArchEph* 1885, 93–98 no. 10 (lines 1–48) [U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes* 21 (1886) 91–115 = *Kleine Schriften* V.1 1–25 (comments on dialect, date in a period of autonomy, 411–402 or 387–377, with preference for the earlier); Hoffmann, *Gr. Dialekte* III 25; Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 589 (date in 387–377); SGDI 5339; Michel, *Recueil* 698; Hiller, *Syll.*³ 1004; Schwyzer, *Dial. gr.* 811; Solmsen, *Inscr. gr.*⁴ 67; Buck, *Greek Dialects* 14]. Lines 1–56: Dittenberger, *IG VII* 235 (squeeze, and Lolling's copy of 49–56) [Ziehen, *Leges sacrae* 65]. Leonardos, *ArchEph* 1917, 231–36 no. 93 (with photograph) [Sokolowski, *LSCG* 69]. PLATES 2–4.

Θεοί

Τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου φοιτᾶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν
 ν ἐπειδὴν χειμῶν παρέλθει μέχρι ἀρότου ὄρ-
 4 ης, μὴ πλεόν διαλείποντα ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ
 μένειν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα ἡμέρα-
 ς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκ [σ]στο : καὶ ἐπαναγκάζειν τὸν ν-
 εωκόρον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ-
 8 ν νόμον καὶ τῶν ἀφικνεμένων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν νν
 Ἄν δέ τις ἀδικεῖ ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἢ ξένος ἢ δημότ-

¹⁷ See *IG VII* 3499, 4252, 4254, and *ArchEph* 1917, 40–48 no. 92. Dots as punctuation marks occur in fifth-century Attic inscriptions: see Austin 42f; cf. Threatte (*supra* n.15) 83.

¹⁸ See Threatte (*supra* n.15) 83; Osborne (*supra* n.4) 261–63. *Vacats* set off miracles in *IG IV*² 121–24.

¹⁹ It has not been recognized by commentators that the *vacats* and dots roughly set off clauses and paragraphs.



PLATE 1 INSCRIPTION A, FROM THE AMPHIAREIUM

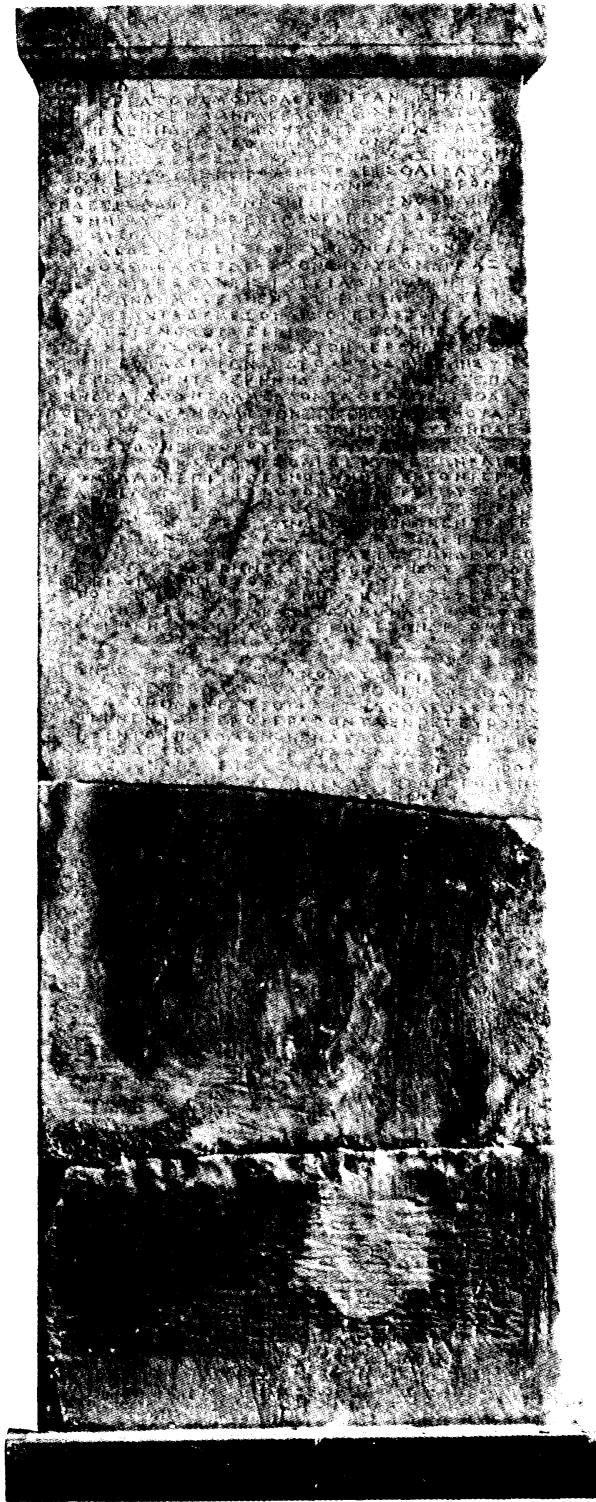


PLATE 2 INSCRIPTION B, FROM THE AMPHIAREIUM

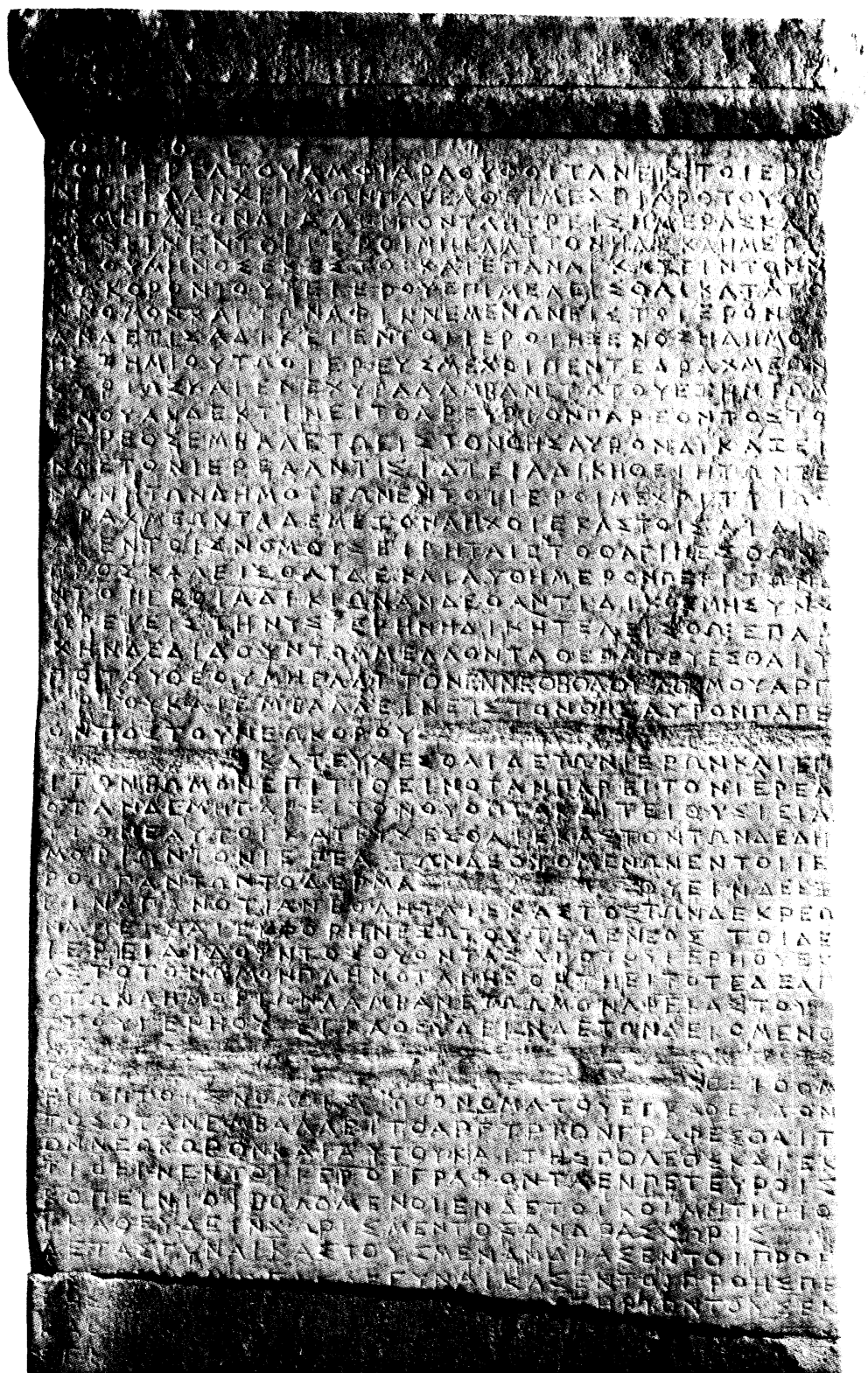


PLATE 3 INSCRIPTION B FR. A

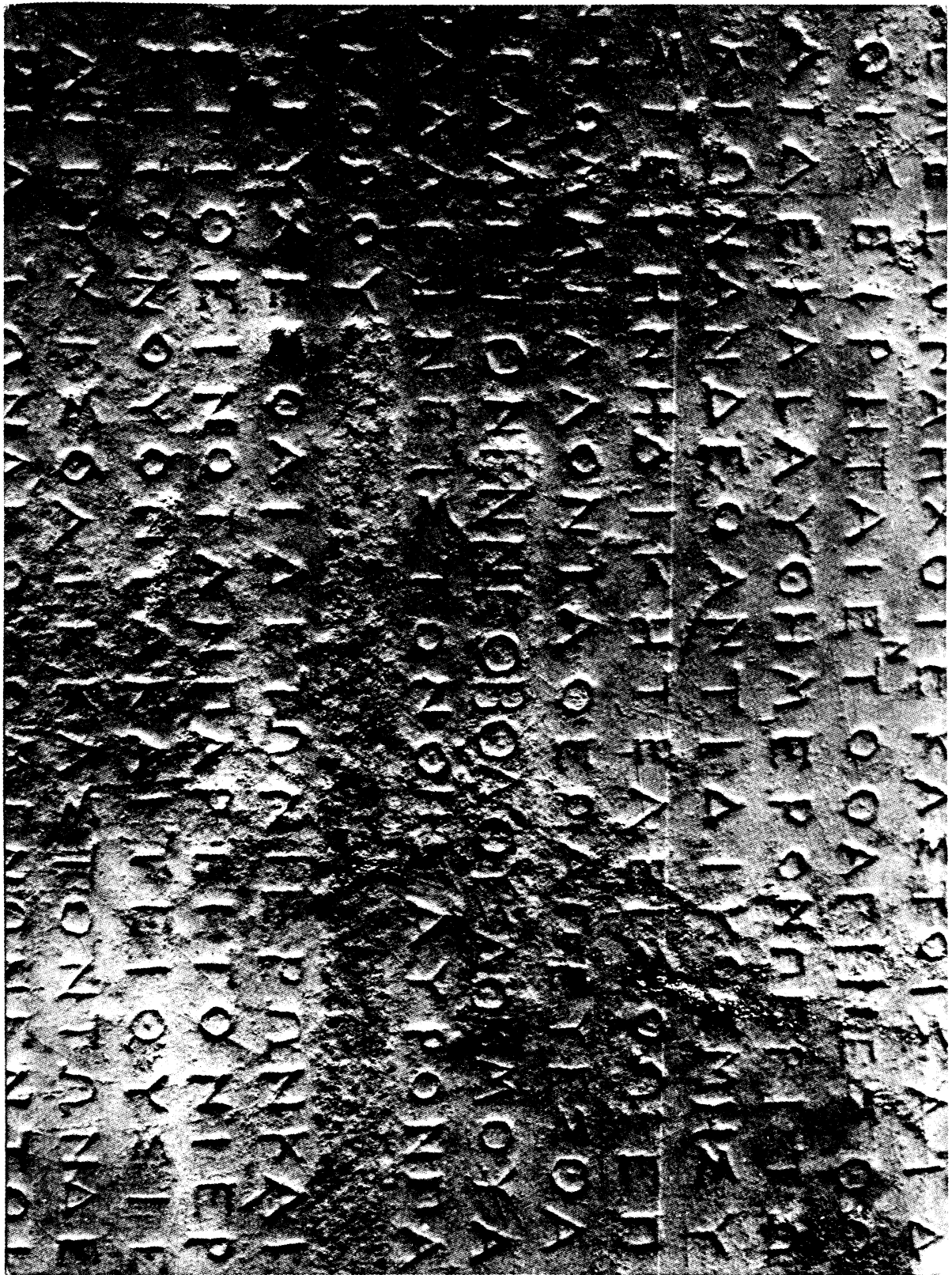


PLATE 4 INSCRIPTION B, ERASURE OF LINE 22

ης, ζημιούτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μέχρι πέντε δραχμῶν
 κυρίως καὶ ἐνέχυρα λαμβανέτω τοῦ ἐζημιω-
 12 ἔνου, ἂν δ' ἐκτίνει τὸ ἀργύριον παρεόντος τῷ
 ἱερέως ἐμβαλέτω εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν : δικάζει-
 ν δὲ τὸν ἱερέα ἂν τις ἰδίει ἀδικηθεῖ ἢ τῶν ζέ-
 νων ἢ τῶν δημοτέων ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ μέχρι τριῶν
 16 δραχμῶν, τὰ δὲ μέζονα ἤχοι ἑκάστοις αἱ δίκ-
 αι ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰρήται ἐντόθα γινέσθων ν
 Προσκαλεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐθημερὸν περὶ τῶν ἐ-
 ν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἀδικιῶν, ἂν δὲ ὁ ἀντίδικος μὴ συνη-
 20 ωρεῖ εἰς τὴν ὑστέρην ἢ δίκη τελείσθω : ἐπαρχὴν
 δὲ διδοῦν τὸμ μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑ-
 πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἔλ(α)ττον ^{Second Text} [[ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς δοκί]]μου ἀργ-
 24 υρίου καὶ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν παρε-
 όντος τοῦ νεωκόρου $\left[\text{---} \text{ca } 19 \text{---} \right]$
 $\left[\text{---} \text{ca } 9 \text{---} \right]$ Κατεύχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπ-
 ἰ τὸμ βωμὸν ἐπιτιθεῖν ὅταν παρὲ τὸν ἱερέα,
 ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρὲ τὸν θύοντα καὶ τεῖ θυσίει α-
 28 ὑτὸν ἑαυτοῖ κατεύχεσθαι ἕκαστον τῶν δὲ δη-
 μορίων τὸν ἱερέα ν Τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἐν τοῖ ἱε-
 ροῖ πάντων τὸ δέρμα $\left[\text{ἱερ}[\text{ὸν εἶναι}] \right]$ Θύειν δὲ ἐξ-
 εῖν ἅπαν ὅτι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος, τῶν δὲ κρεῶν-
 32 ν μὴ εἶναι ἐκφορὴν ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος ν Τοῖ δὲ
 ἱερεῖ διδοῦν τὸς θύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερήου ἐκ-
 ἄστο τὸν ὦμον πλὴν ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ εἶ, τότε δὲ ἀπ-
 ὀ τῶν δημορίων λαμβανέτω ὦμον ἀφ' ἑκάστου ν
 36 ν τοῦ ἱερήου ν Ἐγκαθεύδειν δὲ τὸν δειόμενο-
 $\left[\text{ν } M \left[\dots \right] P \text{---} \text{ca } 27 \text{---} T O \right]$
 $\left[\text{Y } A \Sigma \text{---} \text{ca } 26 \text{---} \right]$ πειθόμε-
 ενον τοῖς νόμοις ν Τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδον-
 40 τος ὅταν ἐμβάλλει τὸ ἀργύριον γράφεσθαι τ-
 ὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεος καὶ ἐκ-
 τιθεῖν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ γράφοντα ἐν πετεῦροι σ-
 κοπεῖν (τ)οῖ βουλομένοι Ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρίο-
 44 ι καθεύδειν χωρὶς μὲν τὸς ἄνδρας χωρὶς ννν
 δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡ-
 [ὀ]ς τοῦ β[ω]μοῦ τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡσπέ-
 ρης $\left[\text{---} \text{ca } 13 \text{---} \right]$ το κοιμητ[ή]ριον τοὺς ἐν-
 48 καθ[εύδοντας $\text{---} \text{ca } 20 \text{---}$ θ]ε[ό]ν
 ΕΓΚ $\left[\text{---} \text{ca } 32 \text{---} \right]$
 Ο ΕΞ $\left[\text{---} \text{ca } 32 \text{---} \right]$
 ΟΡΟ $\left[\text{---} \text{ca } 31 \text{---} \right]$ Μ

52 *HME* [————— *ca 29* —————] *AE* [.]
POΩ [————— *ca 29* —————] *NTO*
IAM [————— *ca 29* —————] *ZHM*
IOY [————— *ca 27* —————] *A δὲ τὸ-*
56 *ν βο* [*λόμενον* ————— *ca 16* ————— *τὸν ἱε*] *ρέα ν*

Gods. The priest of Amphiaraus shall attend the shrine from the end of winter until the time of final ploughing, not being absent more than three days at a time, and shall remain in the shrine no less than ten days each month. He shall compel the neokoros to take care of both the shrine, according to the law, and those who visit the shrine. If anyone commits a wrong within the shrine, be he alien or (Oropean) citizen, let the priest impose a fine of up to five drachmae with full authority, and let him take security from the penalized one. If the latter pays the money in full, in the presence of the priest let him drop it into the offertory box. The priest shall act as judge if anyone, alien or citizen, suffers in the shrine a private wrong of up to three drachmae, but let the more serious cases be tried in whatever courts the laws have provided concerning aliens or citizens. The summons for wrongs committed in the shrine shall be issued on the very day, and if the opponent refuses to come to terms, let the trial be conducted on the next day. Whoever intends to seek remedy from the god shall pay a fee of no less than than nine obols of legal currency and drop it into the offertory box in the presence of the neokoros The priest, when he is present, shall make prayers and place upon the altar the sacred share, but if he is not present, the one who sacrifices shall do so; at the god's festival those who offer private sacrifices shall make their own prayers while the priest shall pray over the victims offered by the city of Oropus. The skin of all victims sacrificed in the shrine shall be sacred. It is allowed to sacrifice whatever one wishes, but there shall be no removal of meats from the temenos. Those who sacrifice shall give the priest one shoulder of each victim, except when there is the god's festival; then let him take one shoulder from each public victim. Whoever is in need of the god shall incubate . . . complying with the rules. The name of the incubant, as soon as he pays the money, is to be recorded by the neokoros—both of (the incubant) himself and of his city—and shall be displayed written up in the dormitory register, so that anyone who wishes may inspect it. In the dormitory men and women shall recline in separate places, the men to the east of the altar and the women to the west

Line 1: Θεοί: Common form of heading in all sorts of Oropian inscriptions, occasionally coupled with *agathē tychē*; see IG VII 3499, 4250–56.²⁰

Line 2: As long as Oropus was autonomous, the priesthood of Amphiarus must have been held by Oropians.²¹ Athenian citizens from nearby Parnes are attested in the Lycurgan period and later.²² *ἱερόν* throughout the text is the entire shrine, not narrowly the ‘temple’ as Buck paraphrases.

Lines 3–4: It is not certain whether *ἀροτος*, ‘the ploughing which was accompanied by sowing,’²³ is paroxytone or oxytone.²⁴ The use of lunar and seasonal reckoning for the definition of the priest’s duties may be due to the fact that Oropus had no civil calendar of its own.²⁵

Lines 6–7: There are traces of an erased *sigma* after the *kappa* of *ἐκ[[σ]]στο*. The mason evidently engraved two consecutive *sigmas* instead of *alpha* and *sigma*, then proceeded to emend his error by erasing the first *sigma*, but finally forgot to incise the *alpha*. For the office of neokoros see K. Hanell, *RE* 16 (1935) 2422–28. ‘To constrain by force’ is a particularly strong expression which may imply that the neokoros had proven to be remiss in his duties in the past.

Lines 7–8: The phrase *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* should be connected not with *ἐπαναγκάζειν* but with *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*, as both word order and meaning require. If *νόμος* means ‘written enactment’ it might refer to a document regulating the appointment of the neokoros.²⁶ *ἀφικνεμένων* Leonardos, noting that the mason has omitted the *omicron* after the first *epsilon*; *ἀφικνε(ο)μένων* Wilamowitz after Leonardos; *ἀφικνε(ι)μένων* conj. Ditten. on the analogy of the Boeotian *ἀδικεῖμενος*. The presence of two *vacats* at the end of this line may well indicate that the mason originally calculated a line of 34 letters plus a vacant space marking the end of the first paragraph; cf. lines 17, 29, 32, 36 (after *ἱερήου*), and 39. Owing to his omission of a letter, though, he left two vacant spaces instead of one.

Lines 9–10: The consultation of Trophonius and Amphiarus by Mardonius’ agent through *bribing* two Greeks (Hdt. 8.134) is an indica-

²⁰ I have not been able to consult R. L. Pounder, *The Origin and Meaning of ΘΕΟΙ in Greek Inscription Headings* (Diss. Brown Univ. 1975).

²¹ The office was renewed yearly; see Durrbach 117.

²² Petrakos 130 cites an Antikrates Dekeleus and a Nik[—] Phylasius. For the location of the demes see J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 14 [1975]) 50, 52.

²³ M. L. West, *Hesiod. Works and Days* (Oxford 1978) 256.

²⁴ See H. W. Chandler, *A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation*² (Oxford 1881) 94–95.

²⁵ As a member of the Boeotian League, Oropus relied on the Boeotian calendar; Petrakos (*Deltion* 21 [1966] 49 n.17) cites the Boeotian months occurring in Oropian documents. There is no evidence what calendar the city employed under Athenian rule.

²⁶ On the analogy of the Athena Nike decree: see Meiggs-Lewis no. 44.

tion that barbarians²⁷ were excluded from these two oracles,²⁸ as they were from the Eleusinian mysteries.²⁹ Behind this ban lies the idea of profanation by non-Greeks of the sacred rites there acted, given that divination at Trophonius and Amphiaraus required the consultant *himself* to become the vehicle of the god.³⁰

Lines 10–11: Penalization on the spot is a practice known from Athens and elsewhere but exercised by cult officials other than the priests.³¹ The common cause is *ἀκοσμία*, ‘breach of rules’ or ‘improper behavior’.

Line 13: *ἐμβαλέτω* Leonardos, *ἐμβαλ(λ)έτω* Wilamowitz. The aorist is intended (see parallels in Leonardos 1917); *cf.* A.5 *ἐμβαλόντα*. The instructions preserve one of the earliest references to a thesaurus, a box for the deposit of money (see L. Ziehen, *RE*² 6 [1936] 4–7). A common Hellenistic thesaurus consists of two rectangular stones, one fixed on top of the other, with a conical hole for a slot in the middle of the upper stone (implied by the prefix of *ἐμβαλέτω*).

Lines 13–17: The example of a priest administering justice is, so far as I know, unique. *ἐκάστοις*: dative of respect, referring not to *μέζονα* (*ἀδικήματα*) but to *τῶν ξένων ἢ τῶν δημοτέων*, as Wilhelm pointed out.³² The different treatment of aliens and Oropians points to the existence of a special court(s) for foreigners.

Line 18: *προσκαλεῖσθαι*, “. . . to summon the defendant to appear before the relevant magistrate on a stated day.”³³ The acceleration of the administration of justice, implied in the phrases *αὐθημερόν* and *εἰς τὴν ὕστέρην ἢ δίκη τελείσθω*,³⁴ was for the benefit of travelers and merchants;

²⁷ Mys was a bilingual Carian; see W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*² II (Oxford 1928) *ad loc.*

²⁸ Herodotus mentions the bribery in order to illustrate his phrase *τῶν οἰά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι* (8.133).

²⁹ See G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 247–48 and nn.116–17. Ar. *Thesm.* 294 indicates that slaves were forbidden from the mysteries of Demeter. For the application of the term ‘barbarians’ to all non-Greek speaking nations see H. C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge 1965) 20–24.

³⁰ This was not true of the other Boeotian oracles that Mys visited, for it was a medium, a prophet or prophetess, who came into contact with the divinity, not the consultant himself. For the procedure of divination in Boeotia see A. Schachter, *BICS* 14 (1967) 1–16. For Trophonius see R. J. Clark, *TAPA* 99 (1968) 63–75.

³¹ The *rabdouchoi* or *hieropoioi* are usually invested with punitive authority: see *IG* II² 334.31ff; *LSCG* 13.26ff, 83.23ff.

³² *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1915) 6–8. Wilhelm distinguishes *ξένων* into *μέτοικος*, *ξένος παρεπιδημῶν* or *κατοικῶν*, *πρόξενος*, and *ὑποσύμβολος*. All these categories but the last are well represented at Oropus; on metics see P. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, *Annales de l’Est* 42 (Nancy 1972) 128.

³³ A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* II (Oxford 1971) 85.

³⁴ How many days had regularly to elapse between summons and trial is not known. In Athens a trial could take place at least four days after the summons was delivered; see Harrison (*supra* n.33) 87.

the image of Oropus, as it emerges from the description of Heraclides Creticus, is that of a very busy port (*FHG* II 256.7; F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides*, *SBWien* 227, 2 [1951] fr. I.7).

Line 19: ἀδικίων: It is not certain whether it is neuter,³⁵ ἀδικίων (Ditten.), or feminine (J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Philologus* 95 [1943] 190–91). The phrase ἄν δὲ ὁ ἀντίδικος μὴ συγχωρεῖ has never been properly understood. The verb οὐ συγχωρῶ, used absolutely and paraphrased by Wilamowitz as ‘weigert sich’, by Buck as ‘does not agree’, means ‘refuse to come to terms’ (see *LSJ s.v.* II). The term ἀντίδικος, which Wilamowitz and Buck translate ‘opponent’, must denote either the plaintiff or the defendant. Which of the two is meant, or whose prerogative is it to refuse to come to terms in a dispute resulting from προσκαλεῖσθαι?³⁶ In *Ar. Vesp.* 1417³⁷ a man beaten by Philocleon summons him for assault. The gravity of the offence alarms Bdelycleon, who offers to pay whatever reparation the accuser might seek, if only he recall the summons (1418–20). Philocleon then admits his guilt and seeks reconciliation with the accuser (1421–25). The latter is at first willing to have the case settled out of court (1426), but in the following stichomythia (1427–40) Philocleon abuses him rather than appeases him, and the accuser exits determined to drag him to court (1441). In view of this, ἀντίδικος must be the ‘accuser’ upon whom it depends whether the case shall be tried the next day or not (line 20). Though in a literary text, it is with the same meaning of ‘plaintiff’ that the term appears at *Aesch. Ag.* 41.³⁸ It is worth noting that lines 9–20 provide exclusively for the man wronged, ἄν τις ἰδίει ἀδικηθεῖ, not for the wrongdoer.

Line 21: ἐπαρχήν: An offering made to obtain a god’s favor, as distinct from ἀπαρχή, one made in thanks for a favor (see Colin *ad FD* III.2 80, p.100). To consult an oracular shrine one often had to pay a fee.³⁹ This was not the case, however, with the healing shrines,⁴⁰ for it was not until a supplicant was healed that he had to ἀποθυσεῖν τὰ ἴατρα; see the Epidaurian texts *IG* IV² 121 V, VII, VIII; 122 XXII; 126.20; also *I. Erythrai* 205.30–33; Herodas, *Mime* 4.11–18, 90ff. In this respect,

³⁵ Cf. *LSJ s.v.* *Graphē adikiou* in Athens was a trial magistrates underwent for improper use of public funds or property; see Harrison (*supra* n.33) 28, 29 and n.2.

³⁶ In Athens after 399, when public arbitrators, dealing with cases for which the tribe judges were responsible, were instituted, either litigant was entitled to put off the trial day; see D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978) 207–09. Such is not the case here.

³⁷ See D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes. Wasps* (Oxford 1971) *ad loc.*

³⁸ E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus. Agamemnon* II (Oxford 1950) *ad loc.*

³⁹ See F. Sokolowski, *HThR* 47 (1954) 154; for the epigraphic use of *eparche* see H. Beer, *Ἀπαρχή und verwandte Ausdrücke in griechischen Weihinschriften* (Diss. Würzburg 1914).

⁴⁰ See Beer (*supra* n.39) 101–06; cf. E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* II (Baltimore 1945) 148, 149 and n.17.

Amphiaraus' fee, which is not an inconsiderable investment, is unique.⁴¹ It is in keeping with the proverbial saying *τὴν μὲν αἰσχροκερδίαν κατοικεῖν ἐν Ὠρωπῶ* (FHG II 259.25; fr. I.25 Pfister). Whether money was still required when Pausanias (1.34.4) visited the shrine, one cannot tell: he speaks instead of coins people used to drop into the god's fountain as a *thanksgiving* for their cure.

Line 21: In a wider sense, *τὸμ μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι* refers to anyone who seeks a cure or advice in a dream; *cf.* the noun *ἴαμα*, whose primary notion of 'cure', 'medicine', or 'remedy' is extended to the advice or miraculous help of the god, whether it concerns drought or fruitlessness (Paus. 6.11.7, 9.40.1), recovery of a missing child, discovery of a buried treasure, or repair of a broken mug (see the *iamata* in IG IV² 121 X, 122 XXIV, 123 XLVI).

Line 22: [Ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς δοκί]μου Leonardos 1917, who first saw the *sigma*. Fifteen letters, crowded in a space for eleven, are incised by a second hand in a deep erasure (see Pl. 4). They are bigger and more elegant than the stumpy, irregular letters that surround them, with *omicrons* of full size. The faintness of the *sigma* may be due to a *second* erasure which remained incomplete (*cf.* Austin 41): the mason started erasing the *sigma* with the intention of restoring the final, crowded part of the text in the erasure (see the *iota* of *δοκί-*, incised against the preceding *kappa*); but he never proceeded to erase the remainder. Wilamowitz deduced that the original text was *δραχμῆς δοκίμου*, which is now substantiated by [δρα]χμῆς Βοιωτῆς in A. The elision of *ennea* before *oboloi* is very frequent even in inscriptions that pay no regard to elision;⁴² *cf. contra* *δέκα ἡμέρας* in line 5. In Attica and elsewhere the expression *ἐννέ' ὀβολοί* is occasionally used to denote 1½ drachmas.⁴³

Lines 25–26: Stengel's view that *κατεύχεσθαι* should be corrected to *κατάρχεσθαι* is untenable.⁴⁴ Instructions for the preliminary part of the sacrifice, *i.e.*, *κατάρχεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν*, are deliberately left out; it is the responsibility of those who offer sacrifices.⁴⁵ The priest is responsible only for the essential rites that mark the beginning and the end of the holiest part of the sacrifice, the *κατεύχεσθαι*, or solemn prayer over the offerings,⁴⁶ and the *ἐπὶ τὸμ βωμὸν ἐπιτιθεῖν*, the laying of the parts chosen

⁴¹ In 422 the pay of a juror was three obols (Ar. *Vesp.* 609). In 407 Lysander raised the daily wage of his sailors from three to four obols (Plut. *Alc.* 35.4). Amphiaraus' fee was originally six obols (A.6).

⁴² See M. N. Tod, *NC SER.* VI 7 (1947) 6–7.

⁴³ See Tod (*supra* n.42) 20. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*² II (Munich 1961) 69, by a slip of the pen gives Amphiaraus' fee as two obols.

⁴⁴ "Κατάρχεσθαι" 463–64, *Opferbr.* 47. *Contra*, Ziehen 607 n. and *RhM* 59 (1904) 403.

⁴⁵ Pilgrims may participate in this rite; see Stengel, "Κατάρχεσθαι" 460; *Opferbr.* 43ff.

⁴⁶ An entreaty to the gods graciously to receive the offerings; see Ar. *Pax* 973ff. For the details of sacrifice see Stengel, "Κατάρχεσθαι" 456–67; *Opferbr.* 40–49; *Kultusalt.* 108–115; Ziehen 599–619.

for the god (*ἱερὰ μοῖρα*)⁴⁷ on the altar. Between these two acts comes the slaughtering of the animal, a task left to those who offer the sacrifice and their attendants (*cf.* Ziehen 609–10). When **B** was engraved, the altar, to the south of the old *enkoimeterion*, must have formed an ensemble with the theatrical construction abutting it.⁴⁸ Later the theater was demolished and the altar remodelled.⁴⁹

Line 27: θυσίαι: A key word, referring to *ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ εἶ* (line 34) and signifying “the public sacrifice at the god’s festival” (Ditten.); *cf.* *I. Erythrai* 205.25f, *ὅταν δὲ ἡ πόλις τὴν θυσίην τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι ποιῆι*.

Line 30: [κομίζεσθαι or παραδιδούν] Wilamowitz; [*λαμβάνειν*] Dittenberger; [*ἱερὸν εἶναι or τῷ θεῷ εἶναι*] B. Keil (*Anonymus Argentinensis. Fragmente zur Geschichte des perikleischen Athen aus einem Strassburger Papyrus* [Strasbourg 1902] 302–12; [{*δέρμα θύειν*}] Leonardos 1917. Dittenberger’s *λαμβάνειν* is shorter by one letter than those erased. Keil has discussed the difficulties of connecting it with the priest, inasmuch as the latter appears to receive his *geras* in lines 32–36. On the strength of other parallels, Keil has further shown that there are only the two probabilities that he suggests; my examination of the stone has confirmed his *ἱερὸν εἶναι*. A faint vertical stroke under the center of the omega of *τῶν* (line 29) is most likely *iota*. Another vertical stroke aligned with the left bar of the *nu* above it, as well as bits of horizontal strokes, suggest that the letter can only be *epsilon*. Finally, there are traces of the upper part of a vertical stroke and a circle attached to it, which I take to be *rho*. The hides of the sacrificial animals are not the priest’s prerogative, therefore.⁵⁰ The considerable income from their sale accrues to the oracle. With *πάντων* it is understood that the skins of both private and public victims are sacred.

Lines 30–31: These sacrifices, on which no restriction is laid as to the kind, color, sex, or age of animals,⁵¹ are the traditional *thanksgiving* to the god *after* effective incubation or in fulfillment of a vow; *cf.* *I. Erythrai* 205.30–33, *ὅσοι δὲ ἐγκατακοιμηθέντες θυσίην ἀποδιδῶσι τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι ἢ ἐοξάμενοι θυσίην ἀποδιδῶσι*. In other words, they are distinct from the sacrifices of which Pausanias speaks (1.34.5), which are *purgative* sacrifices performed by supplicants *before* entering the *enkoimeterion*.

Lines 31–32: It is forbidden to take home raw or baked meats.⁵²

⁴⁷ Worthless parts like the gallbladder and bits of thighs wrapped in fat; see Stengel, *Kultusalt.* 113–14; Ziehen 613–19.

⁴⁸ See Frazer (*supra* n.6) 467–68; Petrakos 96–99 and pl. 19; Papahatze 450 and pl. 274.

⁴⁹ In *IG VII 4255*, dated after 338, lines 28–30 hint that the theater lies in ruins; see *ArchEph* 1891, 71–76 no. 34.

⁵⁰ They often were: see Stengel, *Kultusalt.* 40–42; Ziehen 619–21.

⁵¹ Restrictions are not uncommon: see Ziehen 592–97.

⁵² This rare prohibition is not a food taboo (so Stengel, *Kultusalt.* 116): it suggests the sanctity of the offering; see Ziehen 621.

Pilgrims must cook and consume their sacrificial meals within the sacred enclosure. *Temenos* denotes “the enclosed or otherwise marked off, sacred area permanently assigned to the iterated worship of one or more divinities and the structures of this area” whereas ‘sanctuary,’ *hieron*, “seems to stress the continuous sacred character of a site.”⁵³

Lines 32–34: A shoulder is not a frequent *geras*, the hide plus a leg or thigh being by far the commonest (*cf.* Ziehen 619).

Line 34: *πλὴν ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ εἶ*: The oldest epigraphic reference to a festival and a sacrifice (*θυσίαι*, line 27) in honor of the god.⁵⁴ Whether this festival was annual is not known. At the time of Lycurgus *ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου* denotes the Small Amphiareia as opposed to *Πεντετηρίς* (Great Amphiareia).⁵⁵ The latter were celebrated with a public sacrifice to Amphiaraus as well as sacrifices to the other gods of the oracle.

Lines 37–38: *μ[έ]χρι . . . ς ἐπι τοῦ ἀ[τ]οῦ* Leonardos. The *rho* in line 37 occupies not the fifth but the sixth stoichos. In epigraphic use *νόμοι* can denote either separate laws (see line 17) or regulations of a single law. Here it seems to have the latter meaning; *cf.* the heading of an inscription from Ceos (*IG XII.5 593*) *οἶδε νό[μ]οι περὶ τῶν κατ[α]-φθι[μέ]νω[ν]*, where *νόμοι* is synonymous with ‘regulations’. This may be the reason, I think, why sacrificial calendars are entitled *νόμοι*.⁵⁶

Line 42: The term *πέτευρον* has an obscure etymology. In inscriptions from Delos the *πέτευρα* seem equivalent to *λευκώματα* (*cf. ad IG XI.2 145.44*). The preposition *ἐν* thus would imply the white surface upon which the names of incubants were scratched. When this surface was filled with writing, it was coated with a new layer of white substance.

Lines 42–43: *σ[κοπεῖν] <τ>οῖ βουλομένοι*: The *peteuron* served as a guest register. “Es ist das eine Art Kontrolle, z. B. wenn mit Blutschuld Besudelte sich herzudrängten, oder auch um jederzeit kontrollieren zu können, ob der und der wirklich den Gott besucht hätte” (Wilamowitz).

Line 43: *ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητήρι* refers to the older stoa, of which hardly anything survives.⁵⁷ A new stoa, three times as large as the first, was built east of the old dormitory in 359/8.⁵⁸

⁵³ The definition is by B. Bergquist, “The Archaic Greek Temenos. A Study of Structure and Function,” *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen* 4.13 (Lund 1967) 5–6. Bibliography on *temenos* is given in B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World* (Bratislava 1972) 17 n.7.

⁵⁴ Two *apobasis* reliefs dating from the late fifth century constitute the *terminus ante quem* of the festival; see Petrakos 121 no. 16, 17.

⁵⁵ See *IG VII 414, 4253–54*. See E. Preuner, *Hermes* 57 (1922) 84–106; *cf.* T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen* (Leipzig 1918) 58–59.

⁵⁶ See examples in F. Quass, *Nomos und Psephisma. Untersuchung zum griechischen Staatsrecht* (Munich 1971) 54 n.55.

⁵⁷ See W. Dörpfeld, *AthMitt* 47 (1922) 26–28; Petrakos 93–94 and pl. A; Papahatzis 449 and pl. 270, no. 8.

⁵⁸ See J. J. Coulton, *BSA* 63 (1968) 147–83, esp. 181ff; *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford 1976) 269.

Lines 44–45: The earliest evidence for separation of sexes at a dream oracle.⁵⁹ Ar. *Amphiaraus* fr. 18 (Kock) and *Plut.* 672–75, 688–93, rather hint at proximity of men and women at Oropus and Athens respectively.

Line 46: Only the tops of the first fifteen letters survive, but their reading is beyond any doubt. The mention of the altar as a point of reference for the determination of the internal space of the *enkoimeterion* is odd, particularly because the altar is off the axis of the building.

Line 48: [λ]όγον Ditten., followed by most editors; [τὸν δ]ὲ θεόν Leonardos.

Line 49: εγκ Leonardos; ΓΥ—Θ Lolling.

Line 50: .ΕΞ—Θ Lolling; οεξ—θω Leonardos.

Lines 51–52: ΟΡΟ . . . / ΗΜΕ Lolling; ορο [—εγκεκ]οιμ/ημέ[ν] Leonardos; ορο[. . . κ]οιμ/ην Sokolowski.

Lines 52–53: Ε/ΡΟΩ Lolling; Αε/ρΟω Leonardos; δε δ/ρθω Sokolowski. The second letter of line 53 may be either *omicron* or *theta*.

Lines 53–54: εν[τ]ο/ι' Αμφ[ιαράοι] Leonardos.

Lines 54–55: ι ζημ/ιου Leonardos; [ἐπ]ιζημ/ίου Sokolowski.

Lines 55–56: δὲ τὸ/ν βολ[όμενον—τὸν ἱε]ρέα Leonardos; [ἐμφ-
νίζειν] δὲ τὸ/ν βολ[όμενον τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα πρὸς τὸν ἱε]ρέα Sokolowski.

III. The Historical Setting

In order to understand what stages in the development of the oracle the *eparche* documents represent, we must first examine the beginnings of the shrine. The usual date for the foundation of the oracle, none of whose buildings can be dated earlier than the late fifth century,⁶⁰ is between 431 and 414 (the year *Amphiaraus* was staged).⁶¹ There are, however, some clues to a more precise date.

In Aristophanes' *Wasps* (121–23) Philocleon is said to have sailed over to Aegina to be cured by Asclepius of his 'litigation'

⁵⁹ Cf. Coulton, *Architectural Development* (*supra* n.58) 89 and n.8.

⁶⁰ See Petrakos 66. The same is true of all portable finds with the exception of an archaic Attic herm found in the orchestra of the theater; see *IG VII 3500* and Lippold, *RE*² 4 (1931) 371 s.v. "Strombichos" 3. The inscription it bears attests Athenian control of the site, *not* cult of *Amphiaraus*.

⁶¹ See W. Dittenberger, *Observationes de sacris Amphiarai Thebanis et Oropiis*, *Index scholarum Halensium* (1888–1889) III–VIII. He shows that the oracle visited by Mys (Hdt. 8.134) was located in Boeotia and was the only existing *Amphiareium* when Herodotus wrote (*cf.* F. Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* [Giessen 1913] 41–47); *contra*, Bethe (*RE* 1 [1894] 1897) and Dürrbach 94–103 follow Wilamowitz's older view that the only *Amphiareium* that ever existed was at Oropus. Wilamowitz revises his view in *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 35 n.2. For the date of Ar. *Amphiaraus* see Schmid-Stählin I.4 185, 194f.

frenzy. The play was performed in 422, two years before the introduction of the cult of Asclepius into Attica. The Peloponnesian war, by reason of which Epidaurus was not accessible, and the lack of a healing shrine in Attica account for the mention in *Wasps* of an otherwise unknown Asclepieium.⁶² This oracle, taken over by the Athenian cleruchs who occupied the island in 431 (Thuc. 2.27), is not again mentioned in the Aristophanic plays. Instead, in 414 Aristophanes selects for the rejuvenation of the dotard from Lamptrae the setting of the nearby Attic shrine at Oropus (CAF I 396–402), as later the recovery of blind Plutus is set in the Asclepieium at Athens. If Athens in 422 had its own healing shrine at Oropus, would not Philocleon have visited this rather than the distant and originally non-Attic Asclepieium at Aegina?

Furthermore, it is hardly likely that the oracle was built between 431 and 421: on account of the Archidamian war no building project was undertaken outside Athens except the temple of Apollo at Delos,⁶³ an undertaking connected with the purification of the island in 426 (Thuc. 3.104). If this aimed at inducing Apollo to avert recurrence of the plague, as has been suggested,⁶⁴ it is additional evidence that the cults of Amphiaraus and Asclepius had not yet taken root in Attica. And given that Asclepius did not make his way into Attica until 420, it is quite plausible that Amphiaraus, his peer, established himself at Oropus at about the same time. Accordingly I would place the foundation of the oracle in the years 420–414.

In the earliest phase, admission to the oracle must have been free of charge. The oldest known document stipulating payment of the *eparche* is in fact inscription A. That this is the older of the two inscriptions is proven by epigraphical as well as internal evidence: its text, as compared with B, is hardly stoichedon, and its reading [δρα]χμῆς appeared in the original text of B.22. Thus at first the Oropians fixed the minimum of the *eparche* as a drachma (“Boeotian” in A; “of whatever legal currency” in B). Later they raised it to a drachma and a half (nine obols) by erasing and re-writing the fee on the inscription that was still in effect, and this must have

⁶² This Asclepieium is not known directly from other sources, but F. Robert has corroborated its existence through an Epidaurian inscription: *RevPhil* SER. III 3 (1929) 286–87, cf. 5 (1931) 136.

⁶³ See J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.*, *Scripta Archaeologica Groningana* 4 (Groningen 1970) 84–86 and 171.

⁶⁴ See G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* III, 2 (Gotha 1904) 1080 n.3.

been **B**. Therefore inscription **A** is earlier than **B**, and, as **B** dates from 387–77, **A** must antedate the King's Peace.

The provision that the *eparche* be no less in value than a Boeotian drachma implies that, when **A** was carved, Oropus was under Boeotian rule. The city of Oropus first passed into the hands of Thebes in 402, and a few years later it became a member of the Boeotian League (Diod. 14.17.1–3).⁶⁵ As Oropus had no coinage of its own,⁶⁶ apparently it was forced to use the currency of Thebes, which was the only money minted in Boeotia until 387.⁶⁷ [δρα]χμῆς Βοιωτίνης may well denote a drachma of Thebes, for Βοιωτίου (*viz.*, ἀργυρίου) in a later inscription indicates Theban coinage as contrasted with federal (IG VII 2426.2). Thus **A**, both the oldest surviving document that attests Boeotian control of the oracle and the oldest epigraphical reference to the cult of Amphiaraus, must be dated between 402 and 387.

After Oropus regained its autonomy, the council put forward a resolution (**B**) to meet needs that had arisen in the first twenty years or so of the oracle's operation. A major concern was the reception and legal treatment of visitors (lines 1–20). The priest, formerly attending the shrine at will, now had to offer regular services during the 'rush' seasons; the neokoros had to be reminded of the duties he had neglected. In addition to his ritual tasks, the priest was invested with judicial authority to deal with misdemeanors that might arise. The disposition of the sacrificial victims and their hides was a second subject of concern (lines 25–36). The sale of skins would now constitute a new source of income (lines 29–30, before the erasure). As to the *eparche*, the Oropeans included an adapted version of **A** among the clauses of **B** (lines 20–24, before the erasure of δραχμῆς, and 39–43). The reason for this may be that Thebes ceased monopolizing coinage, once the Boeotian confederacy dissolved.⁶⁸ The coins the non-Theban mints put into circulation after 387 were of great variety and of differing values. To which would 'Boeotian drachma' now refer? To avoid disputes the Oropeans inscribed instead the adapted clause "no less than a drachma of legal currency" (first text of line 22).

⁶⁵ See G. Busolt-H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* II (Munich 1926) 1415–16.

⁶⁶ Except for coins struck for the Amphiareia: see U. Koehler, *AthMitt* 4 (1879) 259–64; cf. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford 1911) 391–92.

⁶⁷ See B. V. Head, *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia* (London 1881) 34–42. These coins bear the name of Thebes.

⁶⁸ See Head (*supra* n.67) 43–60, (*supra* n.66) 351.

Thus inscription **B**, the main code of regulations of the oracle, superseded **A**.

The provisions concerning public or private acts of injustice (lines 9–20) are accounted for by the fact that the shrine of Amphiaraus, whose resident personnel included only the neokoros, was a country oracle, distant more than six km. from the city of Oropus. Acts of this sort must have happened before, and naturally the enactment of **B** did not put an end to them. The late anecdote about Menedemus, an Eretrian philosopher and exile suspected of stealing gold cups from the shrine, furnishes literary evidence.⁶⁹ Moreover, the measures prescribed in lines 1–8 as well as the extraordinary size of the second stoa indicate that the number of visitors to the oracle had considerably increased some fifty years after the shrine was built.

In this respect, the occasion of **B** may be compared to the conditions that gave rise to the enactment of regulations of the oracle of Apollo Coropaeus (*LSCG* 83). This, as Louis Robert has pointed out,⁷⁰ was similarly a country oracle, about 35 km. from the city of Demetrias, and those who wished to consult it had to spend there at least a couple of days. The decree addresses the need to keep the shrine in better order in view of a greater influx of visitors (lines 15–17): accordingly the priest, the secretary of the god, the prophet, and other officials are ordered to attend the shrine on the days when the oracle is consulted (18–23). In a like manner, the priest of Amphiaraus is required to be present at the shrine at the time of year when the oracle is most accessible to visitors. Moreover, lines 23–30 of the Coropaeian decree stipulate the formation of a sort of police force against any *akosmountes* at the oracle. This again corresponds to the judicial authority with which the priest of Amphiaraus is invested. (At this point the similarities between the Coropaeian decree and **B** stop. The remaining regulations of the former deal with procedure before and after divination and also with the oath that the officials of the oracle are to swear, whereas lines 21–56 of **B** are concerned with the details of the cult, *i.e.*, sacrifices and incubation.)

How long did **B** remain in effect? Here we must rely on the erasures in lines 24–25, 30, and 37–38. The fact that the mason never filled them in implies that they were meant to abolish regula-

⁶⁹ Diog. Laert. 2.142. The story is fictitious but its setting must reflect reality; see K. von Fritz, *RE* 15 (1931) 789.

⁷⁰ *Hellenica* 5 (1948) 16–28.

tions no longer valid:⁷¹ they are not chronologically contemporary with the original version of **B**, nor necessarily with one another. The erasure in lines 37–38, for example, suggests that the obliterated text pertained to incubation. Without knowing the text it is impossible to guess when it was erased. We are similarly in the dark as to when lines 24–25 were obliterated. The erasure of *ἱερὸν εἶναι* in line 30 is easier to explain: the skins, it is understood, ceased to belong to Amphiaraus. In other words, the money from their sale no longer went into the oracle treasury. Where then did it go? To assume that the Oropeans by later enactment gave the hides as an additional perquisite to the priest is hardly acceptable. Gods are not deprived of their privileges unless by *force majeure*. This point deserves some consideration.

In the early years of his career, Lycurgus moved a complex religious law, *IG II² 333*.⁷² Though a good deal of the text is missing, the parts that concern us (fragments c + e + f) make good sense. It is provided that objects be made and dedicated at a number of shrines. Each entry treats of a specific deity and closes with the specific resources from which money shall be drawn (see especially lines 13–20). Lines 21–23 pertain to Amphiaraus and Asclepius.⁷³ It has been thought that the text refers to a cult of Amphiaraus in Athens, for which hardly any evidence exists.⁷⁴ Felix Durrbach, however, and recently Louis Robert,⁷⁵ have remarked, with good reason, that the shrine must be that at Oropus. The money to be spent on Amphiaraus' shrine is *τὸ ἀργύριον [τ]ὸ ἐκ τοῦ δερματικῆ γ[ιγνόμενον]*.⁷⁶

The *dermatikon*, a state fund from the sale of skins of public

⁷¹ Annulment of a decree clause by erasure is attested in *IG I² 106.21–23*; see A. R. W. Harrison, *JHS* 75 (1955) 29.

⁷² A recent edition is C. J. Schwenk, *The Dated Decrees of the First Two Penteterides of the Lykourgan Era, 338/7–330/29 B.C.* (Diss. Missouri 1977) 113 no. 20 and pls. 11–12. I have examined the monument (frr. C + E = EM 7147 + 7150; fr. F = EM 7077). I warmly thank Mrs. Dina Peppas-Delmousou, Director of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, and her assistant Mrs. Hara Molisani for being so hospitable and generous with their time.

⁷³ At line 20 I read [*Ε*]λευσινίαι καὶ το[ῖς] ἄλλοις θε[ο]ῖς καὶ τῶι Ἀμφιαράωι καὶ τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι[ι]: [*Ελε*]υσι[ν]ίωι *IG*; *ουσι.δι* Schwenk. The entry refers to items for Demeter and the other gods on the one hand and Asclepius and Amphiaraus on the other.

⁷⁴ The literary and epigraphical testimonia are in R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora III* (Princeton 1957) 49.

⁷⁵ Durrbach 43 and *L'orateur Lycurgue* (Paris 1890) 93 and n.7; Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 195 n.4.

⁷⁶ The first article is omitted in the *IG* text. U. Köhler (*Hermes* 1 [1866] 312–17) and Schwenk print it correctly.

sacrificial animals (the best evidence is *IG II² 1496*, a record of the sums collected from the sale of skins of public sacrifices), was an innovation of Lycurgus.⁷⁷ It was precisely in his time that the cult of Amphiaraus at Oropus became an Attic state cult (see F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* [Munich 1958] 84). In a series of decrees set up in the Amphiareium and dating from 332–329, the Athenians appear as the sole owners of the oracle. They decree, for instance, that a gold crown be dedicated to Amphiaraus for his services to the Athenians and the *other* visitors of the oracle (*IG VII 4252*). A couple of years later they resolved that Phanodemus and other Athenians be similarly crowned and praised (4253, 4254): Phanodemus is said to have enacted that the Penteteric sacrifice to the god as well as the sacrifices to the other gods of the oracle be more splendidly celebrated during the Penteteris.

In view of all this, I suggest that when Lycurgus levied the *dermatikon* tax on the established Attic festivals, he included among them the Penteteric celebration of the newly acquired Oropus.⁷⁸

It is true that the Penteteris does not appear on the *dermatikon* accounts in *IG II² 1496*, as other Attic festivals do. But this does not necessarily conflict with my argument. The suggested date of the first celebration of the Penteteris in the Lycurgan period is 335,⁷⁹ whereas the *dermatikon* accounts monument spans only the second *tetraetia* of Lycurgus, 334/3–331/0. The next celebration of the Penteteris must be placed in the archonship of Aristophanes in 331/0, a few months after Phanodemus' legislative enactment concerning the oracle. But the opening lines of the equivalent entry in the *dermatikon* accounts are missing, so that there is no way to ascertain whether the Penteteris was recorded, unless new fragments should be found.⁸⁰

Finally, the entrance fee: When did the Oropeans raise it to nine obols? Wilamowitz suggests that the second text was incised *soon*

⁷⁷ See P. Stengel, *RE 5* (1905) 243–44; A. Böckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*³ II rev. by M. Fränkel (Berlin 1886) 99–129; Durrbach (*supra* n.75) 82–91; *CAH VI* (1927) 442.

⁷⁸ For the Penteteris see Preuner (*supra* n.55). There is no evidence that there was a public sacrifice at the Small Amphiareia as well; *IG VII 4254.15–19* refers to a procession, games, and “the other things concerning the festival” but not to a public sacrifice.

⁷⁹ Preuner (*supra* n.55) 86.

⁸⁰ It is a tempting guess that the Great Amphiareia were celebrated in the month Hecatombaeon, just as were the Panathenaea after which, as Preuner suggests (*supra* n.55) 86, they were modelled.

after the original version was carved. A 50% increase sounds extraordinary, however. The readjustment of the *eparche* may instead reflect some considerable fall in the buying power of currency which entailed a rise in the cost of living. A similar phenomenon is attested in *IG VII 303.13–14* of the late third century, *τό τε νόμισμα τὸ ἐκπεπωκόδες ἀριθμῶι*. It is well known that inflation resulted from the influx of Alexander's Persian gold into Greece.⁸¹ Prices, we are told, were then nearly doubled. Are we not justified in suggesting that the readjustment of the *eparche* was due to inflation?

In conclusion, historical, archaeological, and literary evidence suggests that the oracle of Amphiaraus was built in 420–414. Consultation of the oracle was free of charge until sometime between 402 and 387 when the Oroepeans enacted the payment of an *eparche* (inscription **A**). A greater influx of visitors in the second quarter of the fourth century gave rise to the general code of regulations of the oracle (inscription **B**), among whose clauses an updated version of **A** was included. Epigraphical and historical evidence further suggests that the clause pertaining to the sale of skins of sacrificial animals was annulled, by physical erasure, when Lycurgus classed the Great Amphiareia with the other Attic festivals on which *dermatikon* was levied. Finally, inflation towards the end of the fourth century is likely to have caused a 50% increase in the price of the *eparche*.⁸²

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⁸¹ F. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen* (Jena 1930) 40–41.

⁸² I thank V. C. Petrakos, ephor of Attica, for permission to examine and photograph the inscriptions. The photographs are the work of Jannis Decopoulos. A shorter version of this article was presented to the Epigraphical Discussion Group at the American School at Athens in the summer of 1980. I am grateful to those whose questions helped me clarify my thought on several points, and also to those who have read and improved by their suggestions an earlier draft, in particular my friend D. R. Jordan and Professors William M. Calder III, Mortimer Chambers, Henry R. Immerwahr, Director of the American School, and Hunter R. Rawlings III. A debt of gratitude is also owed my mother, Eirene Petropoulou, for financially supporting my Associate Membership at the American School during 1979–80. Needless to say, all responsibility for errors and views expressed rests with the writer.