

GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE MONOGRAPHS are published by the editors of GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE STUDIES as supplements to the quarterly journal. For the list of those currently in print and of GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE STUDY AIDS, see the inside back cover.

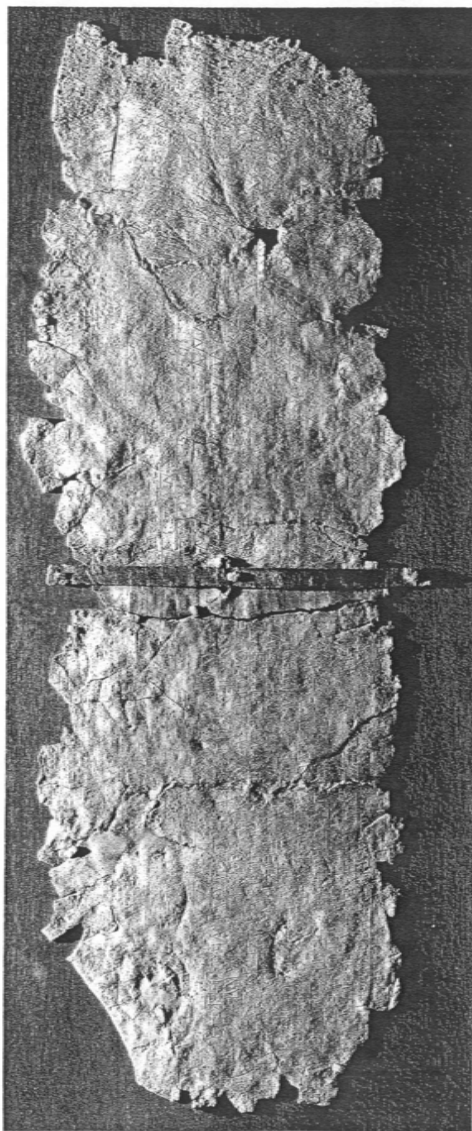
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NUMBER 11

Price \$25.00; to subscribers \$20.00

GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE
MONOGRAPHS 11

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The Tablet

A *LEX SACRA* FROM SELINOUS

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1993

*The Editors gratefully acknowledge
a grant from the J. Paul Getty Foundation
towards publication of this Monograph.*

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Foreword

IN 1981 the J. Paul Getty Museum received as a gift a large lead tablet bearing a Greek inscription. The Curator of Antiquities asked the three scholars who are the authors of the present monograph to study and publish the inscription. They found the text difficult and in places impossible to read with certainty, but as they transcribed and interpreted the text they became aware of its critical importance for the history of Greek religion in the fifth century B.C.

The tablet has yielded specific information about its origins. The alphabet, dialect, the divinity Zeus Meilichios, and one of the two personal names mentioned (Myskos) all point to Selinous (modern Selinunte) in western Sicily. Just as there is no question about the significance of this tablet for Greek religion, there can be no doubt about its importance for further study and interpretation of the site of ancient Selinous. Recognizing this, and the fact that the Getty Museum does not exhibit material of primarily historical interest, we concluded that the piece would be better returned to Italy. The tablet was de-accessioned by the Museum in the fall of 1991, and on February 20, 1992, was donated to the Republic of Italy. After being exhibited in Rome, the piece will, we understand, be returned to Sicily.

J. WALSH, DIRECTOR

J. Paul Getty Museum

June 29, 1992

Preface

THE TABLET from ancient Selinous (modern Selinunte) described in this monograph was first studied by Roy Kotansky while he was Research Fellow under Jiří Frel, at that time Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum. David Jordan and, subsequently, Michael Jameson were invited to join in publishing the text. The task of transcribing and interpreting the inscription has required intensive effort and repeated examination of the tablet. Thanks to the skills of the conservation and photographic departments of the museum, the text has become much more legible than it was when we began our work. But we are very much aware that problems of reading and interpretation remain.

The tablet is the largest Greek text on lead known to us. The various reasons for attributing it to Selinous are set out in Chapter I.1. In fact it seems very likely that the text came from the area sacred to Zeus Meilichios adjacent to the larger sanctuary of the goddess Malophoros on the Gaggera hill outside the town of Selinous (see fig. 1 and PL. 7a; for our use of the form "Meilichios" see the discussion in Chapter V.2). The date is approximately in the decade before 450 B.C.

The inscription will be of wide interest to students of ancient religion. It is exceptional in the detail it provides for rites of purification and the treatment of dangerous spirits. Except for incidental references in literature, it is the earliest evidence known on this subject. The tablet also provides evidence for a number of previously unattested words and linguistic forms (see Chapter II and the *Commentary*, Ch. I.4).

We offer a monograph rather than a bare text or an article because we have come to realize that an understanding of the tablet requires a considerable amount of information not easily available. For our interpretation of the text the reader may find it helpful to read Chapter III, "The Character of the Text," before consulting the detailed *Commentary* (Ch. I.4). A comprehensive discussion of the rituals (Ch. IV) and the supernatural figures (Ch. V) mentioned in the text seemed to us more useful than comments on them scattered throughout the detailed commentary. We also provide a survey of the history of Selinous (Ch. VI), with information about other lead tablets found there (Ch. VII) and the relevant archaeology (Ch. VIII). We have taken advantage of the presence of a number of small stone figures and other objects in the Getty Museum to publish examples of these in full for the first time in our discussion of "The Uninscribed Stones" (Ch. V.3).

From the end of the fifth century to its abandonment about a century and a half later, Selinous was mostly under the control of the Carthaginians. The Punic influence on the city and its cults both before and after

ca 400 is a complex matter that we examine in Ch. IX, together with a brief Punic inscription on a miniature stone altar in the Getty Museum, almost certainly from Selinous.

The expertise of the conservators and photographers of the J. Paul Getty Museum and the support and understanding of Dr Marion True, Curator of Antiquities, have been much appreciated. The editors of *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* have made it possible for our study to be published in an appropriate series. Amy Cohen and Susan Hirt of the Classics Department of Stanford University have helped us greatly in the preparation of the manuscript.

We have discussed the text and its problems with many scholars, both in seminars and through consultation with individuals. We are particularly grateful for the comments of Professors Jan Bremmer, Walter Burkert, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Laurent Dubois, Alan Henry, Henry Hoenigswald, Donald Laing, Robert Lamberton, Olivier Masson, and Joseph Naveh. In the early stages of the study of the tablet, Dirk Obbink contributed significantly to the readings and interpretations. Professors Vincenzo Tusa and Margaret Miles have kindly shared their knowledge of the archaeology of Selinous with us. None of these scholars is, of course, accountable for what, in the end, we have included in or excluded from this study. That we do not attribute authorship to individual chapters indicates that the three of us have engaged in all aspects of the study.

Our citations of modern scholarship are by means of name and date, with full information given in the *Bibliography* at the end of the monograph, except for reference to a few standard corpora:

ICret	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones creticae</i> (Rome 1932–50)
IDélos	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> (Paris 1926–72)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> (Berlin 1873–)
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (Paris 1955)
LSCG	—, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris 1969)
LSSupp.	—, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément</i> (Paris 1962)
MP	M. T. Manni Piraino, <i>Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo</i> (=ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΑ 6 [Palermo 1973])
SIG ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> ³ (Leipzig 1915–24)

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A *LEX SACRA* FROM SELINOUS

I. The Tablet

1. *Description and Provenance*

THE LEAD TABLET carrying the inscription is the largest known to us: max. pr. H. 0.597 m., max. pr. W. 0.23 m., Th. 0.002 m. It is broken on all sides, with the result that for an estimate of its original size we must consider the text itself. The text is inscribed in two columns (A and B),¹ written upside down to one another and separated by a bronze bar. Both columns have horizontal guide-lines, on average ca 0.008 m. apart, that were inscribed before the writing itself. For some reason, the guide-lines for Column A stop after eighteen lines of text, but there are six more lines of writing below, some of which stray considerably from the horizontal. Guide-lines, 22 in number, cover the full preserved height of Column B, but the text itself occupies only the upper 13. The rest of the column shows a few scattered and lightly incised, apparently casual, graffiti that run across guide-lines.²

For neither column was there any attempt to keep a straight right-hand margin. It is likely that the piece of lead available for inscribing was irregular on the two short sides and that this accounts for the strange and, to the best of our knowledge, unparalleled procedure of writing the two adjacent columns upside down to each other (see frontispiece and Pl. 1a). In order to begin from a straight left-hand margin without sacrificing space on the right, two vertical lines were incised near the middle of the tablet to provide the left-hand margins for each of two columns, at the cost, to be sure, of having to turn the tablet 180° to read both columns. This explanation is supported by the following observations: no letters need to be supplied for the end of lines A10–16, but 10, and almost

¹These are our own denominations, A being the column that we believe was inscribed first.

²The graffiti, which appear to have been made after the inscription of the guide-lines, are almost illegible, none consisting of more than a few letters. In all cases they run diagonally to the guide-lines:

- (a) at the left-hand end of space for B15–16, running diagonally upward: N (or KI?)N[.JNAN;
- (b) beginning 0.03 m. from the bar, in the space for B17f, running diagonally upward: [.JYC[.JA (e.g. [θ]vc[ī]α?);
- (c) beginning 0.032 m. from the preserved right-hand edge of the tablet, in the space for B18–21, running diagonally upward, four irregularly spaced verticals (part of letters?) followed by A;
- (d) written upside down to Col. B, in the space for B22f, NAY[;
- (e) 0.04 m. to the right of (d), a vertical followed at some distance by N if the lettering is in the same direction as Col. B; if it is upside down to B, then N followed by the vertical.

certainly 9, extend two letters to the right of the end of the writing in 11–16. Presumably the original margin of the lead was that much farther to the right at 9 and 10. By the time Column B was inscribed it was clear that the text would fit easily, and generous spaces were left at the ends of lines 5, 7, 9, and 12. We conclude that the original width of at least the inscribed part of the tablet was only slightly greater than that now preserved, and that the margins on the short sides were irregular.

As for the original height, a blank below A24 probably indicates the bottom of Column A. The sense of B1, which is adjacent to A24, is appropriate for the beginning of a set of instructions. We conclude that, unless there was an unscripted margin, one of the two original horizontal edges would have been just slightly above B1 and below A24. Consideration of the bronze bar may help to estimate the location of the other horizontal edge, the one above Column A and below Column B (the frontispiece and Pl. 1b show the bronze bar that once attached the tablet to a flat mount, perhaps a table or a board that could easily be turned³). The bar has three nail-holes, one at its center and one at each end, spaced at equal intervals. The ends of the bar are not preserved well enough to show whether they are original. One end, however, is just below A24 and just above B1; because this is about where textual considerations would put the horizontal edge above Column B, we assume that this end of the bar is in fact original. If the other end is original, the original height of the tablet was only slightly greater than the preserved height, and Column A had no line of text above what is preserved. If, on the other hand, part of the bar has been lost at this end, if there was a nail-hole at its original (lost) end, and if the spacing of the nail-holes was regular, then there would have been room for at least twelve more lines at the top of Column A.

Each column has its own guide-lines, which must have been made before the bar (not shown in the folding plates 1 and 2) was attached, for they extend from beneath the bar. At the end of almost every line is a small, rather deeper mark, as if a pin had been held there, either for the attachment of a thread or for the positioning of a ruler that would have been used to make the lines straighter.

One can distinguish more than one hand. From the drawing it will be apparent that the letters of A1–3 have a more wayward look than those elsewhere on the tablet and in fact barely keep within the guide-lines. The writer corrects himself by inserting a C at the end of *καταλ[ε]ποντα*, and in the next word, *καθαίριζεν*, he first omitted the aspirate but immediately corrected himself by superimposing an *h* over the second *α* and then proceeded correctly. The three lines that follow (4ff) are in *rasura*, and the few letters that are visible seem to be quite a bit smaller than those of 1ff and somewhat smaller than those of 7ff; but the

³The tablet entered the Getty Museum glued to a wooden board, obviously not original, into which the nails of the bar had been driven.

appearance of smallness may be only a result of the erasure, which seems to have been made by smoothing the letters down into the lead.⁴ The letters are arguably also more orderly than those of 1–3, but in any case they do not occupy the whole space between the guide-lines as in 1–3, and in at least line 4 they are positioned somewhat like those of 7ff, closer to the upper than to the lower guide-line.

We assume provisionally two writers for A: Writer I for 1–3 and Writer II for 4–24, although it is not entirely clear, because of the erasure, whether 4–6 and 7–24 are both in fact Writer II's work. Writer II alone employs punctuation and he spells *κατα(ι)γίζω* (12) differently from Writer I (3). Column B, with rather larger and more confident letters, seems to be the work of still another writer, Writer III, whose spelling of words that contain a mute plus the semi-vowel *ρ* occasionally deviates from the normal (e.g. B3 *ποροειπόν* for *προ-*, 5 *περιετραφέθο* for *περιτρ-*).⁵ There is nothing to indicate how much time elapsed between the work of the three writers. In our interpretation of the text we have assumed that the subject matter of all three parts of the text is related. If they were intended to be read in a sequence, the reader would have begun at the top of Column A and continued through B13 after which there were at least nine lines left blank. Most probably this was also the order in which the two columns were written.

The unusual form of the inscription, a text in two columns that needed to be turned around for reading (unless the reader himself was expected to move around to the other side of, for instance, a table to which the tablet was affixed) distinguishes this tablet from most public inscriptions designed to be read by visitors to a sanctuary. It may have been kept in a closed structure and consulted only by those in need; the personal need of the performer of ritual is clear in Column B and may be inferred for Column A. Another possibility is that it was only a draft for a more monumental inscription for public display. Against this, however, is the absence of any laws or decrees on stone at Selinous (and their scarcity in Sicily in the Archaic and Classical periods). This form may have been the most permanent that local regulations ever received.

It is certain that the tablet originated in Selinous in southwestern Sicily. The alphabet used is that of Selinous, as shown by the distinctive, 'freak' beta in the form of a reversed nu, *ν*, which is known only from inscriptions of that city (cf. Jeffery 1961: 262). It can be seen at A14, B10, and possibly A3 and 24. The tablet also exhibits a unique form of *Ξ* with

⁴One will see the effect of this kind of erasure if one makes the experiment oneself with clay: inscribe a text, then smooth the clay out by rolling a bottle or some other cylinder over it, and the letters will appear smaller.

⁵One finds similar difficulties with *γρ* in a fifth-century lead curse tablet from Gela (A. P. Miller 1973: 189ff; Dubois 1989: no. 134): B3 *ἀπογράφο*, 7 *ἀπογράφο* (but B8, 10 *ἀπογράφο*, 14 *γράφο*).

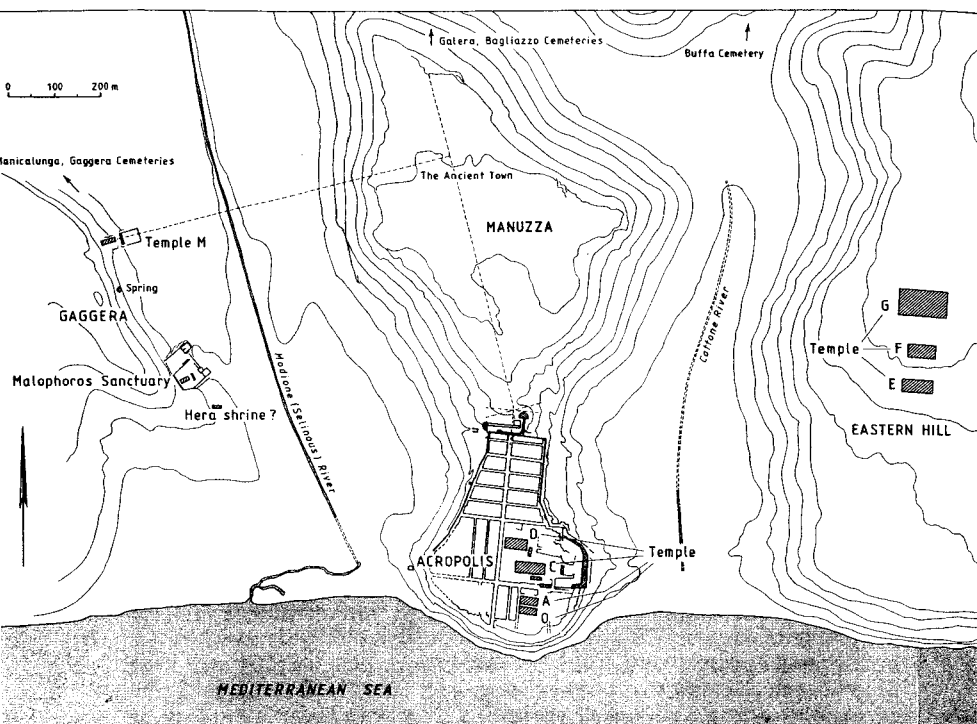


Figure 1: Selinous and Vicinity

the vertical hasta on the right rather than in the middle (e.g. the third letter of A16). The other letters are consistent with a Selinuntine origin as is the form of the West Greek dialect (see Ch. II).

The subject matter of the inscription also points to Selinous. Two of the sacrifices prescribed in Column A are to Zeus Meilichios, who is known to have had a cult at Selinous (Ch. V.2 and VIII). It seems likely that the tablet was found in the ruins of a structure in the part of the Gaggera hill that was sacred to Zeus Meilichios. The area included the *Campo di Steele*, where many uninscribed and a few inscribed stones of Zeus Meilichios were erected. The presence of a building of the Classical period or earlier is controversial (cf. Ch. VIII).

One of the sacrifices is to the Meilichios described as being ἐν Μύσκο, "in the plot of Myskos" (A9). The name Myskos is attested only once, on an Archaic tombstone from Selinous (MP 76; Arena 1989: no. 16; Dubois 1989: no. 71; see the commentary on A9 in Ch. I.4). This early Myskos, we believe, is probably the man referred to on the tablet.

2. Diplomatic Transcript and Epigraphic Commentary

Column A

1 [—ca 8—]1.AN[—ca 4—]A[]
 2 [—ca 6—]1.ΔΕΜΑ[.]Α2[.]ΤΕΗΑ3ΛΑΤΕ4ΡΑ[.]ΚΑΙΟ5[]
 3 [—ca 4—]1.Β[.]ΚΑΤΑΑ[.]2ΠΟΝΤΑ3ΚΑΤ4ΗΑΙΓΙΖΕΝΔΕΤ5ΟΧΟΜΟCΕ
 ΠΥΟC *vacat*

- 1 1: possibly the lower right-hand part of a loop open to the upper left: Θ or O.
 2 1: a letter space with no visible trace, followed by a semicircle open on the left: Δ, Θ, O, or Φ.
 2: lower right tip of A or N.
 3: lower left tip of A or Δ, but there also seem to be traces of a circular letter in the same space. A corrected from O or vice versa?
 4: the vertical and perhaps the beginnings of the horizontals of E. Alternatively, O has been suggested, but the proposed traces seem too close to the preceding T.
 5: after KA the top of the vertical, slanting to the left, is missing. The trace that follows is a vertical, curving slightly and continuing perhaps on the upper right, so that it could be interpreted as a relatively large O. An argument can also be made for Π, with the right-hand vertical unusually long.

The line is so damaged that we have not offered a restoration in the text. Reading A after the H, δὲ μᾶ[ζ]α[ν] τε ἡάλα τε gives ingredients of a meal such as might be left behind—cf. καταλ[ε]ίποντας of the following line (for salt see also B4)—but the letters beginning with PA are unexplained and the *lex sacra* does not elsewhere use τε for a series of objects or actions. Reading O after the H, we get ἡολατερ α[.]και.=ἡο ἀλάτηρ (for the crasis, cf. B9), cf. Hesych. ἀλάτηρ· ἱερεὺς. Derivation from ἀλάομαι, ‘wander’, is conceivable; we speculate in Ch. III on the rôle of a travelling religious expert in formulating these regulations. Nothing else in the text, however, suggests the participation of a priest; and the nominative singular, followed in the next line by accusative and infinitive commands, is somewhat surprising.

- 3 1: a letter space with no visible trace, followed by a complete B or the right-hand part of a M.
 2: the lower part of a vertical, presumably I, preceded by E or perhaps H (cf. 10f, *ὑπολλεῖ/ψας*), which gives the more appropriate aorist participle.
 3: the *sigma* is squeezed in slightly above the line.
 4: the horizontal of the T is merged with the guide line. After T, A was written first, then corrected by an H written over it.

4 [—min. 8—]H1.1[ca 2]TAC[]
 5 K[—ca 13—]X[]
 6 A[—ca 3—].1,2.3H[—7-8—]X.[]
 7 ΤΟΝΗΙΑΡΟΝΗΑΘΥCΙΑΠΡΟ91ΟΥΤΥΤΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΑCΕΧΕΧΕΡΙΑCΠΕΝ.2
 8 ͲΕΤΕΙΗΟΙΠΕΡΗΟΚΑΗΑΟΛΥΝΠΙΑCΠΟΤΕΙΕΤΟΙΔΙ:ΤΟΙΕΥΜΕΝΕΙ
 ΘΥ[.]Ν1
 9 ΤΑΙC:ΕΥΜΕΝΙΑΕCΙ:ΤΕΛΕΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΙΔΙ: ΤΟΙΜΙΑΙΧΙΟΙΤΟΙ:ΕΝ
 ΜΥC9Ο:ΤΕΛΕΟΝ: ΤΟΙCΤΡ
 10 ΙΤΟΠΑΤΡΕΥCΙ·ΤΟΙC·ΜΙΑΡΟΙCΗΟCΠΕΡΤΟΙCΗΕΡΟΕCΙͲΟΙΝΟΝ
 ΗΥΠΟΛΗΕΙ
 11 ΨΑC·1ΔΙΟΡΟΦΟ·ΚΑΙΤΑΝΜΟΙΡΑΝ·ΤΑΝΕΝΑΤΑΝ·ΚΑΤΑΚΑ
 12 ΙΕΝ·ΜΙΑΝΘΥΟΝΤΟΘΥΜΑ:ΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΓΙΖΟΝΤΟΗΟΙCΗΟCΙΑ·ΚΑΙ
 ΠΕΡΙΡΑ
 13 ΝΑΝ1ΤΕCΚΑΤΑΛΙΝΑΝΤΟ:ΚΕΠΕΙΤΑ:ΤΟΙCΚ2ΘΑΡΟΙC:ΤΕΛΕΟΝΘΥΟ
 3ΝΤΟ:ΜΕΛΙΚΡΑΤΑΗΥΠΟ
 14 ΛΕΙΒΟΝ·ΚΑΙΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΙΝΑΝΚΕΝΒΑΛΕΤΟΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ
 ΗΕΜΑΚΑΙCΤΕΦΑ
 15 ΝΟCΕΛΑΙΑCΚΑΙΜΕΛΙΚΡΑΤΑΕΝΚΑΙΝΑΙCΠΟΤΕΡΙΔΕ1[ca 1]ΙΚΑΙ:
 ΠΛΑCΜΑΤΑΚΑΙΚΡΑΚΑΠ

5: a crack in the lead produces an apparent extra letter space after the T. That there was no gap on the original surface can be seen from the relationship of the two halves of N in 9ουτύτιον in line 7.

4–6 The few letters read seem to be from an earlier inscription, for the lead has been smoothed as if in erasure. The letters appear to be smaller than those of 1–3 and 7ff.

- 4 1: an isosceles: A, Δ, M, or N.
 6 1: a high brief diagonal descending to the right; from beneath its right-hand end a vertical descender, Π or T.
 2: a semicircular letter opening to the right, Θ or O.
 3: a vertical with an encrusted space at the right, Δ, E, H, I, K or Π.
 7 1: the 9 is written over a Π, the lower parts of which are still visible, while the angular upper part has been used for the top of the 9.
 2: the last trace is a vertical, from whose top possibly the left end of a horizontal to the right, hence Π or E.
 8 1: the lower right of a N or A.
 9 X here has, in addition to the usual vertical and the diagonal sloping to the right, another possible intersecting diagonal rising to the right. It is difficult to tell which strokes were inscribed first.
 11 The spacing is wider than in the lines above and below.
 1: a single dot to the right of the Δ, but a second dot may have been lost in the crack below it.
 13 1: traces of an earlier N beneath this N.
 2: for discussion of the omitted A see Wachter 1991: 60, who includes this example.
 15 1: trace of upper vertical, E.

- 16 ΑΡΕ¹ΑΜΕΝΟΙ²ΚΑΤΑΚΑΑΝΤΟΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΛΙΝΑΝΤΟΙ³ΑC
ΠΟΤΕΡΙΔΑCΕΝΘΕΝΤΕC⁴
17 ΘΥΟΝ.ΙΟΗΟCΠΕΡΤΟΙCΘΕΟΙCΤΑΠΑΤΡΟΙΑ:Τ²ΟΙΕΝΕΥΘΥΔΑΜΟ:
ΜΙΛΙΧΙΟΙ:ΚΡΙΟΝΟ³[-]
18 ΟΝΤΟΕCΤΟΔΕΚΑΙΘΥΜΑΠΕΔΑ⁵ΕΤΟCΘΥΕΝΤΑΔΕΗΙΑΡΑΤΑ
ΔΑΜΟCΙΑΕΞΗΡΕΤΟΚ¹ΑΙΤΡΑ[-]
19 Ν:ΠΡΟΘΕΜΕΝΚΑΙΦΟΛΕΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΠΟΤΑCΤΡΑΠΕΖΑC:
ΑΠΑΡΓΜΑΤΑΚΑΙΤΟCΤΕΑΚΑ[-]
20 ΚΑΑΙ·ΙΤΑΚΡΑΜΕΧΦΕΡΕΤΟΚΑΛΕΤΟ²[-]ΟΝΤ³ΙΝΑΛ⁴ΕΙΕCΤΟΔΕΚΑΙ
ΠΕΔΑ⁵ΕΤ[-]
21 ΟΙ¹ΦΟΙΘΥΕΝ:CΦΑΖΟΝΤΟΔΕ:Κ²ΑΟΜΤΕΟ[-^{ca 3}]ΟΑΓΑΛΜΑ³ΤΟΝ
[-^{ca 1}]Δ⁴ΕC⁵[1-2].⁶[-]

³: O written twice, again as if a correction of a previous attempt.

- 16 ¹: E here three diagonals sloping to the right, with possible traces of a vertical at the right-hand ends of the top and bottom diagonals (contrast full verticals in lines 19, 22).

²: I written twice.

³: a full vertical but for missing top: I or T.

⁴: upper part of letter slanting up to the right, for C.

- 17 ¹: the right-hand end of a high diagonal slanting down to the right, T, F, or E.

²: T written over E.

³: a semicircle open to the right: Θ or O.

- 18 ¹: OK written twice, each over another (cf. 13).

- 20 ¹: the single point may be accidental.

^{2, 3, 4}: all these letters written twice.

- 21 ¹: I, seen before restoration of the tablet, is no longer visible.

²: the sequence ΚΑΟΜΤΕΟ yields no sense. Corrections or a second writing over a first draft, examples of which are found in both columns (e.g. at the beginning of A13), and insertions of letters have produced confusion. With no great confidence we suggest the following sequence: ΤΟΝΤΕ[-] was written first. Then ΚΑ was written over the ΤΟ (but the Ο was not fully erased). Also the Ν was changed by adding a fourth stroke, which we at first took to be the creation of a Μ; but sense requires that it be read as ΙΙ, i.e., *iota beta*, the latter in the distinctive Selinuntine form of a reversed Ν. (Cf. the original writing of ΑΙ as one letter in B11, which was then corrected.) Finally Ο was added to follow the *beta*: ΚΑΙΒΟ[-]Ο, i.e., *καζόντο δὲ καὶ βό[ν] π[ρ]ὸ ἀγαλμάτων*.

³: ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΝ: first the writer wrote ΑΓΑΛΜΤΝ[-], omitting the second Α and the Ο of ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΝ. He corrected by writing the Α over the Τ, a new Τ, and then Ο over the Ν.

⁴: the right side of a *delta* (Δ), or possibly Ο or Θ.

⁵: possibly an upright stroke after the *sigma*.

- 22 ΟΘΥΜΑΗΟΤΙΚΑΠΡΟΧΟΡΕΙΤΑΠΑΤΡΟ[-^{ca 3}]ΟΙΕΞΑΙ².[-]
23 Τ¹[-^{ca 2}]Δ²ΤΟΙΑΠΤΟΧΟΙΤΡΙΤΟΙ³ΕΤ³[-]Ι⁴[-]
24 [-^{ca 7-8}]-¹.ΥCYNB²[-]
vacat

⁶: after a gap with space for one or two letters, the upper half of a stroke slanting to the right. The alignment of these and the next group of letters with the first half of 21 is not absolutely certain.

⁵: possibly ΥΙ.

- 22 ¹: either the upper right angle of Ε (cf. that in ΔΕ of line 21) or the top of a curved letter, Ο or Θ, rather angular.

²: top left angle of Ε, Π, or Ρ. After the sentence ending with πατρὸς[ια, it seems likely that there is some form of the verb ἐξαίρεισθαι (cf. A18), perhaps μὲ ἐξαίρ[ε]το, a restriction on the use of the δαμόσια *ἡιάρά*. See further *infra*, *Commentary* on A22.

- 23 ¹: the left tip of the crossbar of a Τ.

²: traces of the top of a letter, either a circular letter (cf. the Ο two letters to the right) or with a more vertical stroke on the left, Δ (=D) or Ρ.

The reading -ιτοιαπτοχοι τρίτοι *φέτ[ει]* is secure. Without coining a new word, *ἄπτοχος*, we can divide -ιτοια πτοχοῖ and restore along the lines of ἔς/τ[ο τ]ρίτοια πτοχοῖ (τρίτοια for τρίττοια, a sacrifice with three components, with the usual haplography of double consonants seen in this text). But to whom or what πτοχοῖ refers remains mysterious: a laconic way of providing an alternative to the expensive *bos* we have suggested for line 21?

If we wish to take the plunge we can arrive at a new epithet for Zeus, τ[οῖ] Δι τῷ 'Ἀπτόχοι, "to Zeus the 'Un-poor'," a new but not unreasonable epithet for Zeus, equivalent to 'Ktesios' perhaps, the guardian of household wealth who resembled Melichios (cf. Ch. V.2). Pausanias (1.31.4) mentions an Attic temple with altars of Demeter Anesidora, Zeus Ktesios, Tithrone Athena, Kore Protogene, and the Semnai. Ploutodotes was an epithet of Zeus (Cook 1914: 503-04). But an isolated sequence of words is not a favorable context for the introduction of a new epithet of Zeus.

³: the left tip of the crossbar of a Τ.

⁴: the lower tip of a vertical.

- 24 ¹: a high horizontal, most probably of an Ε.

²: the upper part of a vertical, slanting down to the right followed by a sharp angle. Β seems most likely, but physically ΙΑ are also possible. ε[ὑ]-*κόνβ[ολος]* or -[λητος, "easy to divine or understand," "auspicious"?

The preserved surface of the tablet is blank below this line.

Column B

1 [2-3]..¹ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ[-6-7]..²..T.[2-3]Α³Τ³ΕΡΩΝΑΠ⁴ΟΚΑ[]

1 Most of the top half is missing from this line which was probably the first line of this column and the beginning of a separate set of instructions. At the beginning of the line there is space for αἱ κ' or αἱ τις, not αἱ τίς κα of B7. (Two slight traces would permit either K or IC.) The first, αἱ κ', fits more easily into the space, while τις may be redundant with the following ἄνθρωπος.

¹: the lower parts of all the letters of ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟ are clear.

²: trace of the upper right of a letter, perhaps of the short right vertical of a Π, followed by another, possibly circular letter, but now only a discoloration on the surface of the lead. The vertical whose top is lost that follows is most likely a T, to judge from its position. Finally, the left side of a letter, either circular or sloping left (e.g. Α). In the gap that follows, ΕΛ is a necessary restoration before which only a narrow letter such as *iota* or *sigma* seems possible. In sum, the traces on either side of the probable T are very uncertain.

³: only the lower part of the verticals of T and P are preserved.

⁴: a vertical, the left side of a Π, as the context shows.

It seems possible to end this line either with ἀποκαθαίρεθ[], with [αι] at the beginning of the next line, or with all of ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι on this line and [λεῖ] beginning the next.

The restoration [αἱ] τις ἄνθρωπος [κα λῆι ὁ] πὸ τοῦ ἐλ]ατέρων ("If some man wishes to be purified from the *elasteroi*") most easily suits the traces in the middle of the line, though not the beginning, but requires that the N of τὸν be much compressed, perhaps impossibly so. Furthermore, from B9 no preposition is expected with ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι. Finally, the definite article in the plural is strange in view of what follows in Column B. It would be somewhat easier perhaps if modified, as in this alternative restoration: [αἱ] κ' ἄνθρωπος [τὸν αὐ]τὸ ἐλ]ατέρων ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι / λῆι] ("If a man wishes to be purified from his *elasteroi*"), which also has the advantage of eliminating the N before ἐλ]ατέρων. (At the beginning αἱ κ' suits the space better, and τις, hardly necessary after ἄνθρωπος, is eliminated.)

A more radical solution is to place less credence in the uncertain traces on either side of the sure vertical near the middle of the line, probably T, and read TA (rather than ΟΤΟ) and restore: [αἱ] κ' ἄνθρωπος [αὐτορέκ]τα[ς ἐλ]ατέρων ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι / λῆι], "If a man (who is an) *autorrektas* wishes to be purified of *elasteroi*...." Physically, the narrow sigma is more easily accommodated than a *nu* before ἐλ]ατέρων. In sense this restoration provides the antecedent for B8f, "Let him be purified in the same way as when an *autorrektas* is purified of an *elasteros*." Without *autorrektas* in line 1 the *anthropos*, unmodified, in any case has to be understood as an *autorrektas*. It would be a good deal easier to suppose that he was in fact so described when first mentioned. The interpretation of these lines is discussed *infra*, Commentary on B1-7.

2 [1-2]Π¹ΟΕΙΠΟΝ²ΗΟΠΟΚΑΛΕΙ³ΚΑΙΤΟ⁴..⁵Ο⁵ΣΗΟΠΟΚΑΛΕΙΚΑΙ[]
 3 ΗΟΠΕΙΟΚΑΛΕΙΚΑΙ¹ΑΜΕΡΑΙ²ΗΟΠΕΙΑΙΚΑΛ³ΠΟΡΟΕΙ⁴ΠΟΝΗΟΠΥ
 ΚΑΛΕΙΚΑΘΑΙΡΕCΘ⁵[]
 4 ΠΟΔΕΚΟΜΕΝΟCΑΠ¹ΟΝΙΨΑCΘΑΙΔΟΤΟΚ²ΑΚΡΑΤΙΞ³ΑCΘΑΙ
 ΚΑΙΗΑΛΑΤΟΙΑΥ[]
 5 [.]ΑΙΘΥCΑCΤΟΙΔΙΧΟΙΡΟΝΕΞΑΥΤΟΙΤΟΚΑΙΠΕΡΙCΤΙΡΑΦΕCΘΟ *vacat*
 6 ΚΑΙΠΟΤΑΓΟΡΕCΘΟΚΑΙCΙΤΟΝΗΑΙΡΕCΘΟΚΑΙΚΑΘΕΥΔΕΤΟΗΟΠΕ.¹
 7 ΑΛΕΙΑΙΤΙCΚΑΛΕΙΞΕΝΙΚΟΝΕΠΑΤ¹ΡΟΙΟΝΕΠΑΚΟΥCΤΟΝΕ
 ΦΟΡΑΤΟΝ
 8 ΕΚΑΙΧΟΝΤΙΝΑΚΑΘΑΙΡΕCΘΑΙΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΝΤΡΟΠΟΝ
 ΚΑΘΑΙΡΕCΘΟ *vacat*
 9 ΗΟΝΠΕΡΗΟΥΤΟΡΕΚΤΑCΕΠΕΙΚΕΛ¹ΑCΤΕΡΟ
 ΑΠΟΚΑΘΑΡΕΤΑΙ *vacat*
 10 ΗΙΑΡΕΙΟΝΤΕΛΕΟΝΕΠΙΤΟΙΒ¹ΟΜΟΙΤΟΙΔΑΜΟCΙΟΙΘΥCΑCΚΑΘΑΡΟ
 11 CΕCΤΟΔΙΟΡΙΞΑCΗΑΛΙ¹ΚΑΙΧΡ²ΥCΟΙΑΠΟΡΑΝΑΜΕΝΟCΑΠΙΤΟ
 12 ΗΟΚΑΤΟΙΕΛΑCΤΕΡΟΙΧΡΕΖΕΙΘΥΕΝΘΥΕΝΗΟCΠΕΡΤΟΙC *vacat*
 13 ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙCΙCΦΑ.ΕΤΟΔΕCΙΓΑΝ *vacat*

10 lines blank

- 2 ¹: P was omitted and then added below the other letters between Π and O.
²: ΗΗΟΠΟΚ are written over ΗΟΠΕΚΑΛΕΙ.
³: trace of a vertical before the break in the lead tablet and then after the break, the right side of K or an entire Γ.
⁴: the bottom tip of a vertical.
⁵: a low horizontal, sloping down to the left.
- 3 ¹: the article was omitted in error.
²: to the right of the break ΗΟΠΕΙΑΙΚΑΛΠΟΡΟΕΙΠΟΝΗΟΠ are written over ΚΑΛΕΙΚΑΙΗΟΠΕΙΑΙΚΑΛΕΙ.
³: Λ appears to have been written on top of E.
⁴: after ΠΟΝΗΟΠ the scribe has doubled back and written ΥΚΑΛΕΙ in smaller letters backwards and beneath ΠΟΝΗΟΠ.
⁵: only a semicircular trace is visible at the left.
- 4 ¹: Π written over traces of an earlier letter.
²: K first written as P and the upper diagonal then erased.
³: the vertical of Ξ omitted.
- 6 ¹: the upper part of a vertical.
- 7 ¹: T omitted and then inserted.
- 9 ¹: Λ was at first omitted and then ΛΑ written over Α.
- 10 ¹: B at first omitted and then written over O.
- 11 ¹: ΑΙ at first written joined, i.e., as Ν, then written over the Ν as ΛΙ.
²: Π first omitted and then written over Υ.
- 13 ¹: C written over a vertical.

3. Transcription and Translation of the Text

Column A

1 [ca 8].AN[ca 4]A[-----]
 2 [ca 6].ΔΕΜΑ[.]Α[.]ΤΕ ΗΛΛΑΤΕΡΑ[.]ΚΑΙΟ[-----]
 3 [ca 4].Β[.]καταλ[ε]ίποντάς, κατ[η]αιγίζεν δὲ τὸς ἁομοσεπύος *vacat*

4-6 *rasura*
 7 τὸν *hiarōn* *ha* θυσία πρὸ ὀτυτίων καὶ τὰς ἐχεχερίας πένπ[τοι]
 8 φέτει *hōiper hōka ha* Ὀλυνπιάς ποτεῖε. τοῖ Διὶ: τοῖ Εὐμενεῖ θύ[ε]ν
 [καὶ]
 9 ταῖς: Εὐμενίδεσι: τέλεον, καὶ τῷ Διὶ: τοῖ Μιλιχίοι τοῖ: ἐν Μύσσο:
 τέλεον: τοῖς Τρ-
 10 ἱοπατρεῦσι: τοῖς· μιαιοῖς *hōsper* τοῖς *herōesi*, φοῖνον *hypo*λθεί-
 11 ψας· δι' ὀρόφο· καὶ τὰν μοιρᾶν· τὰν ἐνάταν· κατακα-
 12 ἱεν· μίαν. θυόντο θύμα: καὶ καταγιζόντο *hōis hōsia*· καὶ περιρά-
 13 ναντες καταλινάντο: κῆπειτα: τοῖς κ(α)θαροῖς: τέλεον θυόντο:
 μελίκρατα *hypo*-
 14 λείβον· καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ κλίναν κένβαλέτο καθαρὸν *hēma* καὶ στεφά-
 15 νος ἐλαίας καὶ μελίκρατα ἐν καιναῖς ποτερίδε[ς] καὶ: πλάσματα καὶ
 κρᾶ κάπ-
 16 ἀρξάμενοι κατακαάντο καὶ καταλινάντο τὰς ποτερίδας ἐνθέντες.
 17 θυόντο *hōsper* τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ πατρία: τοῖ ἐν Εὐθυδάμο: Μιλιχίοι:
 κριὸν θ[υ]-
 18 όντο. ἔστο δὲ καὶ θύμα πεδὰ φέτος θύεν. τὰ δὲ *hiara* τὰ δαμόσια
 ἐξ *h(α)*ιρέτο καὶ τρά[πεζα]-
 19 ν: προθέμεν καὶ ὀλέαν καὶ τὰπὸ τὰς τραπέζας: ἀπάργματα καὶ
 τόττέα κα[τα]-
 20 κᾶι· τὰ κρᾶ μέχφερέτο. καλέτο [*h*]όντινα λῆι. ἔστο δὲ καὶ πεδὰ
 φέτ[ος φ]-
 21 οἱοι θύεν: σφάζοντο δὲ: ΚΑΟΜΤΕΟ[...]*O* ἀγαλμάτον[...]*ΔΕC*[...].
 [ca 6-7]
 22 *O* θύμα *hōti* κα προχορῆι τὰ πατρῶ[ια].ΕΞΑΙ[ca 24]
 23 Τ[...].ΙΤΟΙΑΠΤΟΧΟΙ τρίτοι φέτ[ει] Ε[-----]
 24 [ca 7-8]ΕΥΣΥΝΒ[-----]

vacat

Column A

() indicate the editors' comments or supplements to clarify the sense, [] indicate their restorations to the text. Alternative translations are discussed in the Commentary (§4 *infra*).

1-2 *Traces*

3 ... leaving behind (masc. pl.) ... but let the *homosepui* (members of an *oikos*) perform the consecration.

4-6 (Traces in a *rasura*, including in line 4 *hiara*)

7 ... (?) the *hiara* (images?), the sacrifices (are to be performed) before (the festival of) the Kotytia and (before) the truce, in the fifth year, in which the Olympiad also occurs. To Zeus Eumenes [and] the Eumenides sacrifice a full-grown (sheep), and to Zeus Meilichios in the (plot) of Myskos a full-grown (sheep). (Sacrifice) to the Tritopatores, the impure, as (one sacrifices) to the heroes, having poured a libation of wine down through the roof, and of the ninth parts burn one. Let those to whom it is permitted perform sacrifice and consecrate, and having performed aspersion let them perform the anointing, and then let them sacrifice a full-grown (sheep) to the pure (Tritopatores). Pouring down a libation of honey mixture, (let him set out) both a table and a couch, and let him put on (them) a pure cloth and crowns of olive and honey mixture in new cups and cakes and meat; and having made offerings let them burn (them), and let them perform the anointing having put the cups in. Let them perform the ancestral sacrifices as to the gods. To (Zeus) Meilichios in the plot of Euthydamos let them sacrifice a ram. And let it also be possible to sacrifice after a year. Let him take out the public *hiara* and put out a table before (them), and burn a thigh and the offerings from the table and the bones. Let no meat be carried out (of the precinct). Let him invite whomever he wishes. And let it also be possible to sacrifice after a year, at home. Let them slaughter ... statues.... [Let them sacrifice] whatever sacrifice the ancestral customs permit ... in the third year....

Column B

- 1 [2-3]..ἄνθρωπος [6-7]..τ.[(?)ἐλ]ατέρον ἀποκα[θαίρεθ]-
 2 [αι], προειπὼν ἡόπο κα λῆι καὶ τῷ φέ[τ]εος ἡόπο κα λῆι καὶ [τῷ]μενός
 3 ἡοπείο κα λῆι καὶ (ταῖ) ἀμέραι ἡοπεΐαι κα λ(ε)ι, π(ο)ροειπὼν
 ἡόπυι κα λῆι, καθαιρέθω, [3-4? hυ]-
 4 ποδεκόμενος ἀπονίψασθαι δότο κάκρατίξασθαι καὶ ἡάλα τῷ
 αὐ[τῷ]
 5 [κ]αὶ θύσας τῷ Δι χοῖρον ἐξ αὐτῷ ἴτο καὶ περιστ(ι)ραφέθω *vacat*
 6 καὶ ποταγορέθω καὶ cῖτον ἡαιρέθω καὶ καθευδέτο ἡόπε κ-
 7 α λῆι. αἱ τίς κα λῆι ξενικὸν ἔ πατρῷον, ἔ 'πακουστὸν ἔ 'φοράτῶν
 8 ἔ καὶ χῶντινα καθαιρέσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καθαιρέθω
 9 ἡόνπερ ἡούτορέκτας ἐπεὶ κ' ἐλατέρο ἀποκαθάρεται. *vacat*
 10 ἡιαρεῖον τέλεον ἐπὶ τῷ βομῷ τῷ δαμασίῳ θύσας καθαρό-
 11 c ἔστο. διορίζας ἡαλὶ καὶ χρυσῷ ἀπορανάμενος ἀπίτο.
 12 ἡόκα τῷ ἐλατέροι χρέζει θύεν, θύεν ἡόπερ τοῖς *vacat*
 13 ἀθανάτοισι. cφαζέτο δ' ἐς γᾶν. *vacat*

10 lines blank

Column B

1 [If a ...] man [wishes] to be purified from *elasteroi*, having made a proclamation from wherever he wishes and whenever in the year he wishes and in whatever [month] he wishes and on whatever day he wishes, having made the proclamation whithersoever (*i.e.*, to whatever directions) he wishes, let him purify himself. [And on] receiving (him, *i.e.* the *elasteros*), let him give (water) to wash with and a meal and salt to this same one, and having sacrificed a piglet to Zeus, let him go out from it, and let him turn around; and let him be addressed, and take food for himself and sleep wherever he wishes. If anyone wishes to purify himself, with respect to a foreign or ancestral one (*sc. elasteros*), either one that has been heard or one that has been seen, or anyone at all, let him purify himself in the same way as the *autorrektas* (homicide?) does when he is purified of an *elasteros*. Having sacrificed a full-grown (sheep) on the public altar, let him be pure. Having marked a boundary with salt and having performed aspersion with a golden (vessel), let him go away. Whenever one needs to sacrifice to the *elasteros*, sacrifice as to the immortals. But let him slaughter (the victim so that the blood flows) into the earth.

4. Commentary

Column A

A3: The members of the household (?) of the person who is the subject of these regulations are to perform the actual burning of the parts of the sacrificial victim placed on the altar, whereas some other persons (mentioned earlier in the sentence) are perhaps required to withdraw, leaving behind (καταλ[ε]ίποντας) certain other elements of the sacrifice. In discussing the reading of line 2 (*supra* 8) we noted the possibility, but also the difficulty, of reading δὲ μά[ζ]α[v] τε ἄλλα τε as elements of a meal to be left behind.

κατθαίγειν: Cf. A12 καταγιζόντο. We take these to be the same word, καθαιγεῖν in literary prose, denoting the act of consecration by means of the sacrificial fire. Here the writer evidently first wrote κατα and then corrected it by superimposing an *h* on the second α. (It is interesting that he did not correct the τ to a θ.) In its second occurrence, at A12 (by Writer II, *supra* 5), as καταγιζόντο, the τ is not corrected and the stem of the verb is rendered as αγ-, not αγ-. καθαιγίζω has been discussed fully by Casabona (1966: 200–04; cf. Chantraine and Masson 1954: 98f). In Attic sacrificial texts it means, in practical terms, “make disappear entirely,” primarily but not exclusively by fire; in Herodotus fire seems always to be implied.

A second word, καταγιζειν, in the sense of “tear into pieces,” with the skin of the sacrificial victim as the object, has been read in the fourth-century *lex sacra* from Erchia (LSCG 18 Γ 11f, Δ 11f; Daux 1963: 603–34, discussion at 630). καταγίκας is glossed κατασχίκας by the lexicographers (Hesychius, *Suda*, Photius *s.v.*) with reference to the tearing up of clothes that are dedicated. At Erchia both instances are in the active, as opposed to the middle at Selinous; and in both there is a direct object, δέρμα, the skin of a she-goat sacrificed to Artemis.

At Erchia the same vacillation between αγ- and αγ- is seen as at Selinous in the two occurrences of the word. Daux regarded καταγ- as an error for καταγ- because he expected the aspirated καθαγ- for a compound of ἀγίζω in Attic, and he therefore took the prescriptions to mean that the skin of the sacrificial animal was to be torn up and made unusable, not that it was to be destroyed by fire. Sokolowski (LSCG 18, p. 43) preferred καταγίγειν in both places, comparing LSCG 151 D 16f (SIG³ 1027), καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἀγίζεται (Kos, fourth century, the sacrifice of a she-goat, as at Erchia but in this case to the Charites, and with an oath ceremony). Presumably Sokolowski regarded destruction by fire rather than tearing up to be the meaning both at Erchia and Kos.

JEMA
 KATA
 HIAINTAI
 TENA IATRA KATA
 PONTAKATAI ILE NDET
 O EN OMOEΓVOS
 K
 A
 TON HIARON HAΘVIA PROPOTVTIOA KAITASE+E+ETERIASPEMI
 CTEIHOI PERHOKA HAOLVNPIAEPOTETETOIDIITOTIEVMENEION
 TAIΣ: EVMENIDEΣI: TELEONKAITOIDIITOTIMILITHOTOI ENMVΣQO: TELEON: TOIΣTR
 ITOPATREVSITOTIΣ MIAPOIΣ HOΣPERTOIΣ HEROEΣICOINON HYPOLHEI
 VAS: DIORODOO KAITANMMOIRA N. TANE NATAN. KATAKA
 IEN. MIANONONTOOUMMA: KAIKATACTONTOHOIΣHOΣIA. KAI PERIRA
 NAMEΣ KATANINANTO: KEPEITA: TOIΣKOAROIΣ: TELEONONONTO: MELIKRATA HYPOL
 LEIMON. KAITAPEITAN KAIKLINANKENMALLEOKA OARONHE MAKAIΣTEFA
 I NOΣEΛAIAΣ KAIMELIKRATA ENKAINAKI POTERID IKA: PLASMATAKAIKRAKAP
 IAREANENOI KATAKAAANTOKAIKATALINANTOI AΣPOTERIDASENOENTEK
 OYONTOHOΣPERTOIΣOEOIΣTAPATROIA: TOIENEVONDA MO: MILITHOI: KRION
 ONTOEΣTODEKAI OUMMAPEDACTOΣOVENTADEHPARATADAMOSIAEZHIRETO KAITRA
 N: PROOEMENKAIQOΛEANKAITAPOYASTRAPEIAΣ: APARCMATAKAITOCTEAKA
 KATAKRAMETOPERE TOKALET
 OYIOVEN: OAIONTODE: KONTOT
 OYMAHOTIKAPROTOREITAPATRC
 ITOTIAPTOTOITRITOICE
 VEVNIA

Folding Plate 1: Drawing of Column A

At Selinous, no object is specified at A12, nor, at least in the present state of the text, at A3. Strictly, καταγίζειν (or καθ-) need not imply destruction by fire, though in practice cutting up the skin would no doubt facilitate burning it up (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 694A–B). Both considerations have fostered confusion between the two words. When referring to skin, the distinction of meaning may not have been very significant. Another element of uncertainty, concerning the aspirate, may have arisen from the variation in words of this root, ἄγος and ἄγνός (cf. Casabona 1966: 197f).

The more general sense of καθαγίζειν—“destroy completely,” presumably in the sacrificial fire—seems in any case more likely at A12 than καταγίζειν, “tear up completely,” for the skin is not mentioned. Conceivably the other word was used at A3, with the aspirate inserted in error, but it is more economical to assume that the same sense was intended in both places and that at A3 the ι was written in error or as an accepted variant spelling, while at A12 the aspirate, omitted initially at A3, was omitted once again and this time no correction was made. Again, a variant spelling may be indicated. It is conceivable that not all the terms found in the text were in local use. ἀθανάτοισι at B3 elsewhere is poetic.

In A12 the verb καταγιζόντο is given no specified object; it is preceded by the very general θύοντο θύμα; it would seem that the point of the sentence is to indicate who are to perform the ritual acts, namely *hoīc hocia*, “those to whom it is ritually permitted” (see further 32 *infra*). At A3 the actors are also specified: they are the *κομοεῖνοι*, members of the household, i.e., those in closest contact with the implied subjects of these regulations.

We should understand as the unexpressed object of the verb those items that customarily went into the fire—certain parts of the victim, often referred to in *leges sacrae* as τὰ ἱερὰ, together with any additional offerings (e.g. LSCG 135.75f, 81f [IG XII.3 300], τὰ ... ἐκ τοῦ ἱερείου νενομισμένα [82 νομιζόμενα] ἱερὰ; cf. Stengel 1910: 8, Casabona 1966: 13). At times the privilege or duty of performing the act of consecration, of putting the items in the fire, is distinguished from the performance of the sacrifice as a whole. Thus, at the Olympic games, the Eleans performed the customary sacrifice (θυσάντων ... ὀπὸς νομίζουσι), and τὰ ἱερὰ were laid on the altar; but it was the victor of the stade race that set fire to them, ἐμπυρίσας τὰ ἱερὰ (Philostr. *Gymn.* 5; cf. LSSupp. 44.16 [SIG³ 671 A] for a comparable practice at Delphi; we owe these examples to David Briney).

The text uses a term for burning, κατακαίειν, at A11f, 16, 19f. How does καταγίζειν differ? At A11 κατακαίειν refers to the destruction by fire of the one-ninth of the flesh of one victim (see on A11f), while in the other two cases it refers to the destruction of elements of the *theoxenia*. By contrast, καταγίζειν may be taken to refer to the indispensable burning of the usual parts, the ἱερὰ, of normal animal sacrifice in the altar fire. Burning in the fire was usually the only treatment for these. The more

specific verb for burning is applied to items that were not necessarily and regularly burned.¹

[*h*]ομοσεπύος: ὁμοσίπυος is cited by Aristotle, *Pol.* 1252b14, from Charondas (law-giver of Katane, late sixth century?), and the plural (codd. ὁμοσίπται, em. Scaliger) is glossed ὁμοσπάτεζοι by Hesychius. Literally it should mean “those who share the same breadbasket,” from κυτή, a word thought to be of Semitic origin (cf. Chantraine 1968–1980 s.v.). LSJ (following Hesych.) translate “messmate,” and Bourriot (1976: 674) takes it to refer to members of a local group. But the context in Aristotle indicates rather “members of an *oikos*.” Aristotle pairs the word with Epimenides’ ὁμοκάπυος (*vel* ὁμοκάπνοος), “those who have the same garden” (or “the same smoke,” i.e., hearth?). Other gentilitial terms of this type are ὁμογάλακτες (Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F35) and ὁμέτιος (LSCG 77C 25f [Buck 1955: no. 52.44f], Delphi, ca 400).

The form with -*ceπ-* for Charondas’ -*ciπ-* is new. A. M. Davies points out that Mycenaean has δέπας, borrowed from Semitic *dipa* (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 540); cf. also κυτή, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59014.14 (III B.C.).

A7 τὸν *hiapōn* *ha* θυρία: As the text stands, the sentence (7f) beginning with these words has no main verb. We think of two possible explanations:

(1) Lines 7ff were inscribed after the erasure of lines 4ff, and what we read is exactly what was intended to be communicated. In this case we should think of the first four words as, in effect, a heading followed by two specifications as to the date. Both the phrase that constitutes the heading (τὸν *hiapōn* *ha* θυρία) and the attaching of dates to it in this fashion give us pause. While τὰ ἱερὰ θύειν is common enough in the sense of performing sacrifices (cf. Casabona 1966: 9f), for τὸν *hiapōn* *ha* θυρία the only parallel we know is Plato, *Resp.* 394A, ἐν ἱερῶν θυρίαῖς, referring very generally to Chryses’ “performances of sacrifice” at *Il.* 5.39ff.² A heading “The performances of sacrifices,” referring to all the relevant sacrifices for the current year, suggests that they had been mentioned earlier and the time for them is now being prescribed. Some degree of

¹In the *leges sacrae* more common than either of these words is καρπύω, which also refers to destruction by fire of elements of the sacrifice: cf. LSCG 52.5; 135.75f, 81f; 151 A 32ff; 154 B 12; LSAM pp.49f. For further discussion of the rituals prescribed in the text, see Ch. IV *infra*.

²ἐν ἱερῶν θυρίαῖς, “sacrifices of victims,” would be a closer paraphrase of *Il.* 1.40. Casabona’s view (1966: 15) that ἱερῶν in the text of Plato refers to the parts burnt in the fire seems unlikely. For both Homer and Plato it is the pious act of sacrifice, not the burning of the particular parts, that is significant. To the best of our knowledge, only one example of ἱερῶν in the sense of “sacrificial victim” has been proposed, in a small fragment of the Athenian sacrificial calendar of ca 400 (LSSupp. 10 B 8, cf. 5). In the present inscription *hiapōn* is used for “victim” (B10).

detail has already been given, to judge from what we can read in A3, and more is to follow; this seems, therefore, an odd place to prescribe the timing.

(2) An alternative explanation for the absence of a main verb would be that it was originally inscribed in lines 4ff, just possibly at the very end of line 6, where the lead is damaged, but more likely as part of the text that was rejected and erased. In this case we should suppose that the loss of the verb was overlooked, or that the sense was thought to be adequate, or that the inscriber of lines 7ff had intended to re-inscribe the necessary words before line 7 but had failed to do so. It should be noted that erasure of three full lines would have been much easier than selective erasure made in order to preserve the syntax of the sentence. If the verb is supposed to have been erased, then other words in this sentence are also likely to be missing before line 7 (traces at line 4 in the *rasura* seem to show that *hiapā* had been mentioned there, though quite possibly in another sentence). It would then no longer be necessary to take τὸν *hiapōn* directly with *ha* θυρία. The original sentence might then have had the general sense: “Let the sacrifice [with regard to] the *hiapā* be made before the Kotytia, etc.” Furthermore, the *hiapā* may well have been qualified by an adjective (e.g. ‘purificatory’), or the word itself may be adjectival, qualifying a noun (‘the sacred X’).

So far, we have assumed that some version of the phrase τὰ ἱερὰ θύειν is represented here. But we should also consider A18, where, after a reference to sacrifice in the following year, τὰ ... *hiapā* τὰ δαμόγια are governed by the no doubt miswritten verb ἐξήρῃτο (see below). The qualification of *hiapā* as “public” (cf. the “public altar” of B10) suggests that there is a contrast with what is “private,” as was a further sacrifice in the following year at lines 20f at home (φοῖροι). Certain meanings of *hiapā* may be ruled out for line 18, such as that denoting the innards of a sacrificial victim examined for signs (cf. Hdt. 2.40, where the word happens to be used with ἐξαίρεσις, “lifting out” [from the victim]). “Public innards” or “signs” or “innards (signs) from public victims” does not provide useful sense here. The more general meaning, “public rites,” would probably require a verb with the sense of attending or observing, which even with correction cannot be extracted from ἐξήρῃτο.

There remain “public shrines” and “public sacred objects.” Reading ἐξήρῃτο one might understand “Let him go out to the public shrines” or “Let him go as a suppliant to the public shrines.” If *hiapā* had the same sense at line 7, they would have been distinct from *ha* θυρία and would have been part of a phrase beginning in the previous, erased line (e.g. “[Let the] sacrifice [be performed ...] the shrines, before the Kotytia, etc.”)

An interpretation that we find more attractive is “public sacred objects,” specifically “public images.” The term *hiera* often refers to objects that are central to the cult, including symbols and images kept in custody except when ritual is performed; cf. Hdt. 7.153.3, where the *hiera*

of the Chthonioi Theoi are in the possession of a private person, Telines the ancestor of Gelon. One can see how such objects were used in a number of instances where the term *hiera* does not in fact occur, though it would be thoroughly appropriate. Thus the *xoana* of the Twelve Gods are present at the *theoxenia* in the festival of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maiandros, where there is also the sacrifice of a bull (LSAM 32.41f [SIG³ 589]; on *theoxenia*, see IV.3 *infra*). On Chios the phratry of the Klytidai had *ἱερὰ κοινὰ* or *πατρῶα* that they voted to remove from private houses and to keep in a communal *oikos* built for the purpose (LSCG. 118 [SIG³ 987]). Because the Chian *ἱερὰ* are described as sitting (*κάθεται*, line 26), it has been supposed reasonably that they are images. They are also clearly movable, for hitherto they have been kept in private houses and brought out as needed. At Chaironeia the scepter of Agamemnon, referred to as *τὸ δόρυ*, "the spear," was honored with daily sacrifices in the house of a man serving as priest for the year, "and a table is set out beside it (*παρακεῖται*) full of all sorts of meats and cakes" (Paus. 9.40.11f). The panoply of Aias was laid on a couch (*κλίνη*) for the hero by the Athenians (the tribe Aiantis? Σ Pind. *Nem.* 2.19). On Kos, in the foundation of Diomedon, a couch is associated with statues (*ἀγάλματα*) of Diomedon's ancestors and perhaps with a statue of Herakles as well (LSCG 177.95f [SIG³ 1106]).

With reference to sacred objects or images, *ἐξῆ(α)ρέτο* (*ἐξαίρω*, "take out") or *ἐξῆ(ε)ρέτο* (from *ἐξείρω*, "put forward") would refer to the placement of such objects as part of the ceremony. Images would be particularly appropriate to the entertaining of the gods in *theoxenia*, mentioned immediately thereafter (A18f; cf. 14–16). If this explanation is correct, the individual concerned is told that he may make use of the public images for his rites of *theoxenia*.

Can this same sense of *ἱερά* be attributed to the word in line 7? That would certainly be possible if a clause referring to them began in the erased lines and concluded with *τῶν ἱερῶν* at the beginning of 7, e.g. "[Let] the sacrifice [be performed ... with respect to] the sacred objects, before the Kotytia, etc." If it is thought that lines 7f are complete, we have to posit "The sacrifice (or the ceremony) of the *Hiara* (i.e., of the Images)," which is without parallel but understandable.

One might suppose that the Meilichios stones (discussed in 98–102 *infra*) were the *ἱερά*, and that up to A18 we have regulations for ritual concerning stones belonging to individuals or groups that was to be performed at various places, while in lines 18–20 the reference is to sacred stones belonging to the whole community. It is equally possible, however, that the public *ἱερά* are used throughout, until sacrifice is performed at home (A20f). But it must be admitted that the stones dated to the sixth and fifth centuries are not easily portable, unlike the small images of the fourth century and later (103–05 *infra*). Perhaps in the sixth and fifth centuries the objects used by the groups and by the state were made of wood, with stone versions only occasionally set up to stay permanently in

the plots belonging to groups. In Athens, herms set up in front of private houses may have been more frequently of wood than of stone (Jameson 1990: 194).

The suggestions put forward above are offered with no great confidence. While it is attractive to suppose that *ἱερά* is used in the same sense at both points in the text, the word is protean, and it cannot be excluded that it is used in a different sense in the two passages.

πρὸ ῥοτυτίου: The festival of the Kotyt(t)ia, known from literary and lexicographic references, appears here for the first time in an inscription. Strabo (10.3.16), citing Aeschylus' *Edones* (fr. 17 Radt), speaks of the Kot(t)ya or Kottytia as a Thracian festival of the goddess (the spelling of her names and of the festival in virtually all references has been emended by editors). It was best known in antiquity from its parody in Eupolis' *Baptai* (Kassel-Austin 1986: V 331–42), apparently set in Athens and involving Alkibiades in effeminate, transvestite, and generally vulgar rites and performances (cf. *Anecd. Bekk.* I 246.19 for ithyphallic rites). Hence an epigram and other references alluding to Alkibiades' having drowned Eupolis in revenge (Kassel-Austin 1986: V 331ff).

Hesychius s.v. *Κοτυτώ* mentions that Eupolis, through hatred of the Corinthians, represented Kotyto as *φορτικόν τινα δαίμονα*, from which it appears that she was also known at Corinth (cf. the *Suda* s.v. *Κότυς*, a *daimon* honored by the Corinthians who presides over shameful rites). There is, in fact, a separate group of references to Kotyto or to her festival, which has no apparent connection with Thrace or the Thracian goddess aside from Eupolis' purportedly malicious association of the two. Kotto (*sic*) and her sister Eurythemis are daughters of Timandreu and honored by the Herakleidai for helping them when they arrived in the Peloponnesos (Σ Theoc. *Id.* 6.40); in Σ Pind. *Ol.* 12.56b Timandreu has four daughters: Hellotis, Eurytione, Chryse, and Kotyto. This scholium and others on this line tell of Hellotis, sometimes with Eurytione, taking the youngest sister Chryse into the temple of Athena for refuge and being burned to death either by setting fire to the building themselves or because the Dorians did so. The conquerors, after suffering failure of crops, institute purificatory rites (*καθάρσια*), known as the Hellotia, for Athena Hellotis. Whether or not Kotyto had a place in these rites, she was evidently included in the stories that provided their *aition*.³

That Kotyto was known to Sicilian Dorians as well as to the Corinthians appears from a number of references. The scholiast *b* on Theoc. 6.40 gives the school of Hipponstratos, a Sicilian historian of the fourth century (*FGrHist* 568 F 6), as his source. The knowledgeable hag Kotyttaris in

³ Herbert (1986: 34f) identifies the god in whose honor torch races were run at Corinth with Artemis-Bendis, partly on the basis of Kotyto's presence and her supposed Thracian connections.

Theocritus' poem has what is presumably a Sicilian name derived from Kotto/Kotyto (*cf. Anth. Pal.* 11.72).

Explicitly Sicilian is the following description of the festival in the paroemiographic corpus: ἀρπαγὰ Κοτυττίου· Κοτύττια εἰσὶν ἐκτὶ Κυκελική, ἐν ἣ περὶ τινὰς κλάδους ἐξάπτοντες πόπανα καὶ ἀκρόδρυα ἐπείτραπον ἀρπάξιν ([Plut.] *Proverb. Alex.* 1.78=Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–51: I 333; the lemma only in the Athos codex, 3.112, Miller 1868: 86f; Crusius 1892: 282). "Snatching at [?] the Kotyttia. Kotyttia is a Sicilian festival in which they fastened cakes and nuts on branches and allowed people to grab them." Two other Sicilian allusions may well relate in some way to this festival but the connections are not certain and they do not add anything of significance to our knowledge of the cult.⁴

Scholars have generally tried to reconstruct a single cult of Kotyto, originating in Thrace and spreading to Athens, Corinth, and Sicily. (Srebrny 1936: 424 tried to exclude Athens, but the presence of Alkibiades in Eupolis' *Baptai* makes that improbable: *cf. Kassel-Austin* 1986: V 331f). It has long been realized that the transmission to the Peloponnesos must have been early if it was carried as an agrarian cult by Dorian settlers to Sicily (Müller 1825: 427; Crusius 1892: 284). The present inscription shows that by the mid-fifth century the Kotytia was a major

⁴(a) Lobeck (1829: 1031f) and Crusius (1892: 282ff), followed by Nilsson (1906: 433) and Srebrny (1936: 434), attached a gloss in Hesychius to the same festival: δρᾶζον· ἐν Κυκελῖα (ἦν) ἱερὸν ... εἰς δ' οἱ γεωργοὶ εὐχὰς ἐπεμπον· ὅθεν καὶ δρᾶζονες ἐκλήθησαν (*cf. the less obviously relevant gloss in Etym. Magn. s.v. Δράζων* [286.33 Gaisford]: ἡ λέξις Κυκελική. σημαίνει δὲ τοὺς κατ' ἀγορὰν τῶν ἀλφειῶν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλων τινῶν δρατομένους καὶ ἀρπάζοντας. οὗτος Ἐρατοθένης κατηδάλους [κατηδάλους *conj.* Srebrny] καλεῖ, παρὰ οὖν τὸ δρᾶττεσθαι. εἰς τὸ Διογενιανοῦ εὐδρον ἐγὼ Δράζων σημαίνειν πορνοβοσκόν). There seems to be a reference here to farmers offering first-fruits (εὐχὰς) and others snatching at them as they are brought in. But the allusion need not be to the Kotytia. Rites in which offerings were snatched or stolen were widespread (*e.g.* Nilsson 1906: 197). The cakes and nuts of the Kotytia are not necessarily nor most naturally identified with the offerings vowed by farmers.

(b) A phrase used by Callimachus (*fr.* 201 Pfeiffer), ἀρπαγὰ Κορνίδα, probably derives from a comedy of the Syracusan Epicharmos, the *Harpagai* (*fr.* 81 Austin 1973: 52), via the Sicilian historian Timaeus (*FGH Hist.* 566f 148). An explanation of the phrase is given by Zenobius, following Timaeus (Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–51: 1.31, 2.77 in the Athos codex, Miller 1868) and the *Diegeseis* to Callimachus (9.12–24, Pfeiffer 1949: I 199f), which explicitly corrects the name Κορνίδα (Κινν- in Zenobius) to Κορνίδα (which happens to be the name of Theseus' *paidagogos*, who was honored by the Athenians with a ram on the day before the Theseia: so Plut. *Thes.* 4). A metic pimp, by name Konnidas, grew wealthy at Selinous and declared that his property would go to Aphrodite and to his friends (Zen.: to Aphrodite only). On his death his will was found to say ἀρπαγὰ Κορνίδα, "grab (the goods) of Konnidas." The people grabbed his goods and his girls (or, "coming out of the theater, they grabbed τὰ Κορνίδα," according to the *Diegeseis*). An allusion to the practice at the Kotytia, and perhaps specifically the Selinuntine festival in view of the pimp's place of business, seems likely. Were girls, as well as cakes and nuts, at risk in this festival? Before the discovery of the *Diegeseis* the phrase had been discussed by Lobeck (1829: II 1031), among others, but most fully by Crusius (1892: 284ff), who offered an Epicharmian trimeter: ἀρπαγὰ Κοτυττίου, ἀρπαγὰ τὰ Κιννάρου (or rather Κορνίδα). *Cf.* also Kaibel 1899: I.1 131 no. 231.

and no doubt complex festival in Selinous. This can hardly be the result of the rapid spread of the cult ridiculed in Athens later in the century by Eupolis. Schwenn (1922) suggested that a Greek cult was identified with the Thracian, once the latter had become popular. We would go further and say that there is nothing to link the Sicilian with the Thracian cult other than the polymorphous name of a goddess, and that probably only Eupolis identified the Corinthian with the Thracian figure. We should associate with the Selinuntine cult only the elements specifically attributed to Sicily—the carrying of branches laden with cakes and nuts and the snatching at them—and possibly some of the elements indicated for Corinth, such as the purificatory rites for Athena Hellotis. Orgiastic or indecent performances, transvestism, or immersion in water (this last unlikely also for the Athenian version of the Thracian cult; *cf. Parker* 1983: 306 n.125) have no evident place in the Peloponnesian and Sicilian cults, although none of them are inconceivable in Greek rural cults. There was, no doubt, a connection between the Corinthian *daimon* and the figure that lies behind the Selinuntine festival, but there is little that we can say about it.

If it is granted that the Sicilian and Peloponnesian cult need not have a Thracian origin, other possible connections can be explored. For Archaic Corinth a Near Eastern source is not out of the question (*cf. Maass* 1903, who stresses oriental influence; Will 1955, skeptical; and Williams 1986, with a balanced view on the cult of Aphrodite). The branch seems to be an essential feature of the Sicilian festival. The basic Semitic triconsonantal roots QT' and QT'' mean "to cut, pluck; harvest" in Aramaic and post-Biblical Hebrew (Jastrow 1967: 1345, 1351, *s.vv.*). The Biblical Hebrew equivalent is QT', "to cut off, break off, pluck off (twigs, etc.)." (Brown *et al.* 1952: 882 *s.v.*, with cognates in other Semitic languages).

The Selinuntine custom of decking out a branch with cakes and nuts has been compared to the Attic *eiresione* and the *korythale*, also known elsewhere in Greece, and to the German *Maibaum*, which are regarded as conveying fertility and bringing good luck (Deubner 1932: 198–201; Blech 1982: 278–81). In Athens the branch was fastened annually to the doors of private houses, a practice that Deubner took to be more fundamental than the attachment to the doors of the temple of Apollo. The *eiresione* has also been seen as an instrument of purification. We do not know what was done with the branches at Selinous but it is plausible that they too were taken to private houses and renewed annually. If there was also an element of purification in the practice, as is suggested by the Corinthian Hellotis, we can interpret the Kotytia as an annual rite that addressed the community's concern for purification and fertility *before which* the more specific purifications of the present text were to be performed by individual families and other gentilitial groups. For common purifications for women before the Thesmophoria, τοῖς ἀγνιμοῖς τοῖς πρὸ τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, *cf. LSAM* 16.19f, Gambreion, third century, concerned mostly with the engagement of women in funerary rites.

The use of *πρό* to indicate the date of a sacrifice is seen in the calendar of the deme of Marathon, part of that of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (LSCG 20 [IG II² 1358]). Every year sacrifices of an ox or cow to a deity whose name is lost, perhaps Demeter, and a ewe to Kourotrophos are to be made before the Mysteries, presumably the Great Mysteries at Eleusis (B 5). Two other ceremonies are dated as *πρό* Κίρων, that is before the Skira on the twelfth of the month Skirophorion (Deubner 1932: 40–50): annually a male sheep is to be sacrificed to the local hero Hytténios and a piglet to Kourotrophos (B 30); and every other year the hero Galios (otherwise unknown) receives a ram, and the Tritopatores are honored with a *trapeza* (cf. IV.3 *infra*). Prott (1896: 50) understood the first example at least to mean “on the day before the Mysteries,” for some sacrifices are explicitly dated as coming on the day before a larger festival (cf. Plut. *Thes.* 4). In the present text, however, *πρό* applies not only to the Kotytia but also to the Olympic truce (*ἐχέχρηστος*), which is not likely to have begun on the day of the Kotytia and occurs, in any case, only every fourth year. Here *πρό* must refer to a period “some time before the Kotytia and the Olympic truce.” Such leeway in the timing of a ritual is consistent with the private initiative that the groups and individuals concerned would have been expected to take. The community’s interest is presumably in having the rituals completed before major events in its religious calendar.

As for the time of year at which the Kotytia festival was celebrated, the *eiresione* in Athens was used in the Pyanopsia festival in the autumn and, though sometimes described as a harvest festival, it comes well after most Athenian crops other than olives would have been harvested. It may also have been used at the Thargelia, another festival of Apollo, in early summer close in time to harvest and with a strong purificatory element (cf. Deubner 1932: 179–98, who, however, rejects the use of the *eiresione* claimed by Σ Ar. *Plut.* 1064; Apollo Pythios was the god of both festivals: cf. Stanley 1961). If the Kotytia were held at roughly the same time of year as the Olympic truce (see below), *i.e.*, in mid-summer, the grain harvest would already have been over. Nor do cakes and nuts point unequivocally to harvest time. It may be that rather than coinciding with a significant moment in the agricultural year the ceremony is to be seen as an annual renewal before which the *miasmata* of the present text are to be cleared away.⁵

⁵It may be more than a coincidence that the three Marathonian sacrifices mentioned above were to take place before the Mysteries and before the Skira. The *Suda*, s.v. Διὸς κῶδιον, says that the fleeces of victims sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Ktesios were kept, addressed as Zeus, and used by the dispatchers of the procession of the Skirophoria, by the Daidouchos at Eleusis, and by certain others who for purifications laid the fleeces under the feet of the polluted persons (cf. IV.2 *infra*, Attica v). Thus there seems to have been a concern for purification at the Skira as well as at the Great Mysteries, some time before which the sacrifices to Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Ktesios would have been performed and fleeces produced for use in the later festivals. A mutilated scholium to Ar.

A7f ἔχεχρηστος πένπ[τοι] / φέτει ἡδὲπερ ἡόκα ἡα Ὀλυμπίας ποτείε: The ritual is to be performed not only before the date of the evidently annual Kotytia but also before the Olympic truce, which occurred every four years (five years by the Greeks’ inclusive count). It is not clear whether the latter meant the beginning of the truce in Elis or the day of its proclamation locally, at Selinous, a distinction that was the source of conflict between the Spartans and the Eleans in 422 (Thuc. 5.49.1–4). In any case, it seems the truce might begin before the Kotytia; for if the Kotytia always took place before the truce, reference to the latter would be unnecessary.

The Olympic games were held in midsummer, probably at the second full moon after the summer solstice. Further precision in fixing a date of the festival has not been achieved (cf. Samuel 1972: 191–94; S. Miller 1974). The time covered by the truce is not attested, but we know that the Eleusinian truce, very likely modelled on the older and more famous Olympic truce, began a month before the Great Mysteries and ended ten days after the close of the festival (IG I³ 6B). If the Olympic games were celebrated beginning around 1 August, the truce would have started around 1 July and ended ten days after the five-day festival, around 15 August. This period was the beginning of the year for many Greek cities. We have seen reason to think that the Kotytia may also have been held in early summer. Before both of these festivals the pollution implied by the rites in Column A had to be removed.

The importance of Olympia for the western Greeks has long been recognized (e.g. Dunbabin 1948: 39f). The text of the agreement between Selinous and exiles from the city (in the interpretation of Asheri 1979) was recorded at Olympia. Testimonia for Zeus’s epithet Olympios in Sicily are collected by Giangulio (1982: 970–81), who connects its popularity with Timoleon and urbanistic and demographic developments of that time. But the early importance of Olympia for the Sikeliots makes so late a date for the development unlikely.

In terms of the calendar implicit in this text, the rites may begin to be performed any year. Since it may or may not be an Olympic year, they need not begin only in the year in which the regulations are recorded. That suggests that the need prompting the ritual may occur in any year. Once the ritual has been performed in ‘year one’, further sacrifice may be performed in the following year (πεδὰ φέτος, ‘year two’, A18, 20f). Something may also be done in ‘year three’ (τρίτοι φέτ[ε]ι, A23). The optional character of the ensuing rites stands in sharp contrast to the inflexible requirements of the calendars of political communities and other corporations.

Thesm. 747 seems to link the Dionysia, the Diasia (of Zeus Meilichios), and the Skira, but in what fashion we cannot tell.

ῥόκα (cf. B12): The West Greek equivalent of Attic-Ionic ὄρε. Perhaps, however, we should understand ῥόκκα=ῥόκα κα, attested for Megarian (Ar. *Ach.* 762; for Syracuse, Epicharm. fr. 165 Kaibel [apud Ath. 363F]; cf. Buck 1955: 104). No doubled consonants are written in this text. For κα with the optative, see Buck 1955: 140. Pleonasm (ῥοιπερ ῥόκα) is not uncommon with adverbial phrases; cf. Kühner and Gerth 1904: II 583–85.

ποτεῖε (=προεῖη): On the use of the optative, see Buck 1955: 138–40.

A8f: On Zeus Eumenes and the Eumenides see Ch. V.1 *infra*.

A9 Εὐμενίδεσσι: A. M. Davies points out to us that the dative plurals in -εσι (cf. A15 ποτερίδε[σ]ι) are unexpected and that the c should represent double *sigma*, attested for the Corinthian colonies (Buck 1955: 89). As we have noted, our text does not show double consonants. On Zeus Milichios (Meilichios) see V.2 *infra*.

τέλειον: A full-grown victim, not described any further, would be, like ἱερεῖον, a sheep. Cf. e.g. *LSSupp.* 20.15f, *Etym. Magn. s.v.* ἱερεῖον. On the age of a τέλειον see Ziehen 1939: 595ff.

ἐν Μύκρο: Cf. A17 ἐν Εὐθυδάμο. Zeus Meilichios throughout the Greek world was particularly the god of individual lineages and families (see V.2, 5). Myskos and Euthydamos would seem to be the names of men who had established important gentilitial groups whose cults of Meilichios had become significant for the whole community, or possibly only for the groups who had need of the rituals prescribed in this text (e.g. if they were groups attached to one or the other of these two figures and had been engaged in violence against those attached to the other figure). Because we do not know what type of shrine or precinct may have been used for the cult of Meilichios, we have suggested “in the plot of” as a way of rendering the genitive after ἐν.

The late seventh-century gravestone of a Myskos, son of Menep-to[lemos] (or less probably Menep-to[lis]: Gallavotti 1975–76: 93) is known from Selinous (Manni Piraino 1966: 200f and MP 76; Guarducci 1967: 318f; Arena 1989: no. 16; Dubois 1989: no. 71). The name Myskon occurs on a lead tablet of the fifth century from Gela (A. P. Miller 1973: 38; Dubois 1989: no. 134); it is also found at Syracuse (Thuc. 8.85.3; Lenschau 1933) and on a lead tablet of the second century from Kamarina (Dubois 1989: no. 126; Manganaro 1989: 190). A certain Myskelos was the founder of Kroton (Zwicker 1933); the name also occurs on the lead tablet from Gela just cited. Dubois distinguishes the origin of the names Myskos and Myskon from that of Myskelos. It has been pointed out by the editors of Myskos’ gravestone that he may well have been one of the first Greek settlers at Selinous, though not the *oikistes*. But even that possibility

should not be ruled out (cf. Ch. VI). If the Myskos of the gravestone is the same as the man whose “plot” is implied in the *lex sacra*, his cult of Meilichios had a long history. Even if our Myskos is only a descendant of the seventh-century person, his line has clearly maintained its prominence for almost two centuries.

A9f: On the Tritopatores, see V.4 *infra*.

A10 τοῖς μιαιοῖς: The first reference to the Tritopatores is followed by the qualification “the polluted”; they are to receive ritual “as to the heroes.” After that ritual has been prescribed, they are referred to as “the pure” (A13 καθαροῖς) and are to receive sacrifice “as to the gods” (A17). How are we to understand the distinction, and how can supernatural figures, classed to some degree with gods, be polluted? Sacrilege and especially contact with death was thought to pollute the sanctuaries and images of the gods, although in Classical Athens there was some reluctance to suppose that the gods could be affected in this way by the actions of humans (Parker 1983: 144–49). For less serious violations purification was possible, and failure to purify was dangerous for those who had brought the pollution upon the gods. The persons engaged in the rites prescribed in this text are likely, therefore, to have been the very ones who have caused the pollution. The first set of rites effect the necessary purification and thereafter the Tritopatores are deemed pure and receive sacrifice and *theoxenia* as gods.⁶

What actions might have produced a state of impurity for the Tritopatores? Since the procedures described in this text may apparently begin in any year, the polluting actions may also occur at any time. Conceivably impermissible entrance into the precinct of the Tritopatores could cause pollution requiring purification (cf. the case of Oidipous and the sanctuary of the Eumenides at Kolonos, Soph. OC 466–92; a small precinct in the Kerameikos of Athens was declared *abaton*, 107 *infra*). So too might the presence of a dead body in their precinct (cf. Parker 1983: 32ff), or the performance of an impermissible sacrifice (cf. *LSSupp.* 115 A.26–31). But here there is no reference to the purification of a precinct or shrine, unless the libation of wine through the roof (A11) has this function. A more serious objection to such an explanation is that the rites for the Tritopatores are here embedded in a series involving other figures and possibly continuing for a second year (and even perhaps a third), when some of the rites were performed “at home” (A20f).

⁶An alternative interpretation would be that there were two types of Tritopatores, those who were permanently *miaroi* and dangerous and those who, by contrast, were always *katharoi*. Both the language of the text and the lack of good parallels for such a situation lead us to favor the view offered in the *Commentary*. However, we note that a permanent state of religious danger is perhaps to be seen in the *lex sacra* of Kyrene (*LSSupp.* 115 §4; the passage is discussed at 100 n.35 *infra*).

the flesh of the victim and compared the verb δεκατεύειν, the “chthonic” associations of the number nine, and the giving of a seventh part (of the cooked food, however) to Hermes and the Nymphs at *Od.* 14.434ff.⁸

The present passage shows that the ninth part was burnt in the sacrificial fire, not set on the sacred table as a perquisite for religious officials, as had seemed possible (*LSSupp.* p. 121). Even if one does not endorse fully Stengel’s category of the chthonic, it is fair to say that this burning of a sizeable fraction of the victim, in contrast to the trivial destruction in normal sacrifice, shifts the sacrifice towards holocaust and other powerful and expressive rituals. The clearest examples we have of this practice are from the cult of Herakles, as were the Thasian uses of ἐνατεύειν cited above; his ambivalent status as both hero and god was noted in antiquity (e.g. *Hdt.* 2.44.5). At Sikyon, the thigh bones were burnt on the altar while some of the meat was eaten and some burnt as to a hero, ὡς ἥρω ... ἐναγίζοντι, *Paus.* 2.10.1; cf. *LSAM* 42 B 2f.

It is noteworthy that the practice of ἐνατεύειν, known from the Kyklades (Mykonos and presumably Paros, the mother city of Thasos) and the northern Aegean (Thasos), is found in Dorian Selinous. The Parian cult of Zeus Elasteros is another possible link with the Kyklades (cf. 116 *infra*). These connections suggest either that people from the Kyklades joined the original Megarian settlers of Megara Hyblaia who founded Selinous, or that the Megarians shared in a religious *koine* of the central and western Aegean, as could be argued from the presence of the Tritopatores in Attica, Troizen, and presumably Thera (because of their place in Kyrene).

A12 θῦμα: Discussed by Casabona 1966: 146–54. Here and in A18, 22 it must refer to the sacrifice of an animal. The word is common in Doric inscriptions but found only in verse in Attic.

καταγίζοντο ἡοῖς ἡοσία: κατα(ι)γίζειν has been discussed above on A3, where we also suggested that ἡοῖς ἡοσία, “those to whom it is permitted by religion” or “for whom there is no religious obstacle,” refers to the persons who place the parts to be burnt on the fire. The alternative, “consecrate to those to whom it is permitted” (cf. ὑμῖν ἀπόνιμα οἷς χρή καὶ οἷς θέμις, *Kleidemos FGrHist* 323 F14), is to be rejected because the figures who receive the ritual (the pure Tritopatores) have been specified and also because A3 shows that it is the subject of the verb κατα(ι)γίζειν that is significant. For the noun ἡοσία cf. *LSSupp.* 115 A 21–25; Jeanmaire 1945; Parker 1983: 336–39. For the more common neuter adjective ὅσιον referring to persons who may or may not sacrifice, cf. e.g. *Hdt.* 6.81 and *LSAM* 16.25f.

⁸In a detailed discussion, however, Bergquist 1973: 70–80 denies that the verb has any reference to the flesh of sacrifice.

A12f περιρά/ναντες: Aspersation, i.e., sprinkling with a liquid, usually water, is a common purificatory act in Greek ritual, often embedded routinely in complex ceremonies. At B11 aspersation with gold, i.e., sprinkling water from a golden vessel, is prescribed. At A12f we take the unexpressed object of the active verb to be either the place or the images or symbols of the Tritopatores: “having sprinkled (them) anoint (them).”

Various compounds of the verb ῥαίνω are used in cult regulations. περιρραίνω here suggests sprinkling around in a circle so as to purify all that is enclosed, or sprinkling all around the person who is performing the rite. περιρραίνω, sometimes used in conjunction with καθαίρω and the phrase ἀπὸ χρυρίου καὶ προσπερμείας, occurs repeatedly in regulations for purification of cult personnel and cult places on Kos (*LSCG* 154 B 15, etc.). There the sprinkling is to be of water from a golden vessels and of seeds. διαρραίνω is used for aspersation of a house with saltwater (θάλασσα) after a death, *LSCG* 97 A 14–18 (*SIG*³ 1218, Keos). The force of δια- is evidently that the sprinkling should be done throughout the house.

ἀπορραίνομαι is used of sprinkling saltwater by a priest who sacrifices to Athena Machanis on Kos (*LSCG* 151 B 23f [*SIG*³ 1026]). The middle voice probably indicates that he purifies himself, but it is not clear precisely at what point and from what. ἀπορραίνομαι is used of the final act of the series in Column B of the present inscription, where it certainly seems to refer to the individual concerned to purify himself. The dative χρυρῶι at B11 has the same sense as the Koan phrase with the genitive: he is to use a golden vessel. For this last cf. *Eur. IT* 1216, *Ion* 146; the Pythagorean rule, ἐν ἱερῷ ἂν τι ἀκούσιον αἷμα γένηται, ἢ χρυρῷ ἢ θαλάττῃ περιρραίνεσθαι, *Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* 153; and the fragmentary lines from Menander, *Theophroroumene*,]καὶ τὸ χρυρῶν / [...] θάλατταν ἐκχέον (p.146 Sandbach).

A13 καταλινάντο, also at A16: Cf. Hesychius ἀλίνειν· ἀλείφειν and ἀλίνειν· ἐπαλείφειν. The verb ἀλίνειν is also attested for Cyprus and Epidauros (Chantraine 1968–80: s.v.). For the compound, Photius gives καταλίνειν· καταλείπειν (without accents) which editors have emended to κατα- λείπειν· καταλείπειν, and the manuscripts of Hesychius give καταλίνειν and καταλείπειν, glossed καταμιξαι. Dubois and Masson refer us to Cypriot ἐναλαλικμένος from *ἐναλίνω (Masson 1983: no. 217.26 and p.243). The word appears to be equivalent to καταλείφω, with the sense of “smear, daub, or anoint.” Most of the uses of ἀλείφω and its compounds refer to anointing the body with oil or daubing an altar or a roof with plaster or pitch (e.g. *LSCG* 39.24f [*IG* II² 659, *SIG*³ 375]; see *LSJ* s.v.).

To arrive at the meaning of the word in a ritual context we should consider the object that might be daubed or anointed. (Despite the ὄροφος of A11, the non-ritual καταλείπειν of maintenance work on an ὄροφή on Delos, *IDelos* 290.27, is clearly irrelevant.) In the first use of καταλινάντο in this text it is joined with aspersion (A12f περιρᾶνντες) after a sacrifice and the burning of parts (καταγιζόντο). In the second it is to be performed after the burning up of “first-fruits” and “putting the cups in/on” (ἐνθέντες), perhaps on the altar (A15f). In both cases the object of the anointing could be the altar on which the burning has taken place.

Oil for the altar is referred to in *LSCG* 55.10f (*SIG*³ 1042, Attica, second century A.D.), and Lucian (*Conc. Deor.* 12) speaks of the oracular use of “every stone and every altar that has oil poured over it, a crown put on it, and is furnished with one of the plentiful supply of wizards.” A passage in Artemidorus (2. 33. 3) is particularly interesting because of the association of the wiping (ἐκμάσσειν) of statues with the anointing (ἀλείφειν) and purifying (καθαίρειν) of what lies before the statues (τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων) and with the aspersion (ρᾶίνειν) of the temples’ surroundings. This suggests that anointing could be seen as a purificatory action. In Athens in the early third century B.C. preparations for the procession of Aphrodite Pandemos required the provision of a dove for the purification, κάθαρσις, of her shrine, the περιελεῖναι of the altars, the application of pitch (probably to the doors, cf. *IG* II² 1672.171f), the washing of “the seats,” ἔδη, presumably the seats of the statues (*LSCG* 39. 24f). The anointing of the altars in this case is very likely purificatory. In the fifth-century Attic *lex sacra* from Paiania anointing (καταλείπειν) is probably required of a sanctuary official, but the lines are damaged and we do not know what the object of the anointing was (*IG* I³ 250 B.36 [*LSSupp.* 18A]).

The anointing of sacred stones, some of which were conceived of as representations of the supernatural, and of other aniconic sacred objects is mentioned more often than the anointing of altars (cf. Mayer 1917: 35ff, 48). Theophrastus’s Superstitious Man poured oil on the smooth stones at crossroads and knelt down to worship them (*Char.* 16.5). There are also Hestia (*Hom. Hymn.* 24.3) and the jar representing Zeus Ktesios in the household (Anticlistides *ap. Ath.* 473c). Perhaps the most famous stone was that at Delphi, said to have been the stone that Kronos swallowed when it was substituted for the infant Zeus: Paus. 10.24.6, “a stone of no great size. They pour oil upon it every day and at every festival they put white wool on it” (cf. the discussion by Frazer 1898: V 354).⁹

⁹Cook (1940: 938, fig. 780) identified a representation of the stone of Kronos on a silver vessel of the second century A.D. found near Basel. Kronos is shown standing next to a rectangular pillar topped by a rounded object, the stone. The combination of pillar and stone closely resembles a version of Zeus Meilichios found at Lebadeia in Boiotia and of other Zeus pillars from Arkadia (cf. V.2 *infra*). It is hard, however, to say what the connection may be at such a great remove of time and place.

Aniconic or partly iconic objects were important for the cults associated with Zeus Meilichios at Selinous (with *supra* on A3 cf. 98–102 *infra*). The two references our text has to anointing might well apply to these sacred objects, symbols perhaps of the Tritopatores, rather than to the altar on which their sacrifices were made, although the immediate context in A13 and 16 would seem to favor the altar.

One other common ritual type of anointing should be mentioned: the anointing of the worshipper before he engages in ritual (cf. Mayer 1917: 50–54). This might be suggested here by the use of the middle voice, but nothing else in these lines points to an act that bears primarily on the actors.

κῆπειτα: Cf. *Ar. Ach.* 745 κῆπειτεν.

A 13, 15, μελίκρατα: See 72 *infra*.

A14ff: The rite of *theoxenia* prescribed in these lines is discussed in Ch. IV.3.

A15 ἐν καιναῖς ποτερίδε[ς]: The word ποτερίς is new. On formations in -ις, usually in the diminutive sense, cf. Chantraine 1933: 342–48. H. M. Hoenigswald suggests a back formation from ποτηρίδιον. The ε of the dative was probably double, ποτερίδεε(ς)ι. Cf. *supra* on Εὐμενίδεε, A9.

The requirement that fresh cups should be furnished for a rite occurs three times in the mid-fourth-century cult calendar of Kos (*LSCG* 151 A–C [*SIG*³ 1025–27]). In the first instance (A.60f) two κύλικες κ[αί]ναι are to be given on the occasion of a sacrifice of two sheep (one a full-grown male, the other a pregnant ewe) to Demeter, after which there is to be no carrying away of meat. In the second instance (B.25f) the occasion is the sacrifice of a heifer or a full-grown ewe (in alternate years) to Athena Machanis. The priest sacrifices and sprinkles (ἀπορροαίνεται) with sea water. No meat is to be carried away. The goddess is to be given four measures (κοτύλαι) of oil, a measure (τετάρτα) of wine, two new jugs (πρόχοι) and three new kylikes. (It is possible that these are described as ἄπυρα, “unburnt,” i.e., not deposited in the sacrificial fire, but the reading is not certain; see Sokolowski, *LSCG* p.259). In the last instance (C.6), accompanying the sacrifice of a full-grown sheep by each of the three tribes of Kos (the names of the recipients are not preserved), there are to be given a measure (οὐλομέτ[ριον]) of barley groats, a measure (ἡμέκτον) each of two grains (wheat and barley), and three kylikes and a tray (πίναξ). These are provided by the officials known as ἱεροποιοί, who perform the sacrifices.

In the last example, and possibly in the second, the offerings in addition to the sacrifice are referred to as ἱερά, a common term for the extra offerings that are sometimes specifically required to be supplied by the priest (e.g. *LSCG* 151 A 45ff; 136.75f, 81ff; cf. Dow and Healey 1965: 24).

Since the other items listed (grain, oil, and wine) were perishable and were presumably consumed in the sacrificial fire (or, less probably, by the participants), it seems that the new vessels specified were also ephemeral, not permanent additions to the equipment of a sanctuary. Unlike the cups at Selinous there is no indication in any of the three instances on Kos that they were used in a rite of *theoxenia* (cf. 67–70 *infra*). It is possible, however, that the common practice of offering food (grain, oil, or wine) in addition to sacrificing an animal was equivalent to setting food out on tables in *theoxenia*.

A similar concern for fresh vessels may be alluded to in the description of the offering of sacred cakes and milk in pottery vessels (ἄγγεα κεραμείους) for the Eumenides (Σ Aeschin. 1.188). Cf. the πλημοχοαί on the last day of the Eleusinian Mysteries when the contents of a κκεῦος κεραμεῶν were emptied into a chasm (Ath. 496A–B, quoting Eur. fr. 592 Nauck²). By contrast, metal vessels, being the costliest available, would presumably be used repeatedly. The requirement that the vessels used for the Eumenides be of pottery may imply that they are new, but there may be other symbolic connotations for the use of ceramic containers.¹⁰

κῤῥᾱ for κρέα is unparalleled and unexpected. Elsewhere in Doric *ea* either remains uncontracted or goes to *ē*, e.g. *LSSupp.* 93.1 (Ialysos), 94.13 (Kamiroi), κῤῥῆς in Sophron fr. 25 Kaibel and Theoc. 1.6. In Megarian, from which Selinuntine derives, κῤῥῆς is attested at Ar. *Ach.* 795. See Buck 1955: 39.

A16, 19f, κατακαάντο, κα[τα]κᾱαι: The aorist in κα/κη has been found only in epic, as H. M. Hoenigswald points out.

A16f: θυνόντο ὁσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ πατῤῥᾱ we take to be a new sentence that refers back to the θυνόντο of A13 and defines the mode of sacrifice. ποτερίδας ἐνθέντες then goes with the preceding sentence. It seems improbable that θυνόντο, etc., at the beginning of A17 refers forward to the sacrifice to Meilichios ἐν Εὐθυδάμο. “As to the gods” is in contrast to the “as to the heroes” of A10, of the rites for the impure Tritopatores, whereas “as to the gods” is the obvious mode for Zeus Meilichios.

A17: πατῤῥᾱ here and in A22 corresponds to the much more common πάτρια in the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρια referring to the traditional, ancestral manner in which cult matters, especially sacrifice, were conducted, e.g. Ath. 659F, τὰ ἱερά σου τὰ πατῤῥᾱ πάντα ὃν τρόπον θύεται. But the connotation of specific ancestors that has been detected in πατῤῥᾱ in contrast to the more general πάτρια (Benveniste 1973: 220f) may be intended here.

¹⁰For pottery vessels probably made in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos and designed for use solely in cult meals there, see Kron 1988: 144–47.

In A17 πατῤῥᾱ is, strictly, the object of θυνόντο, and θύματα or ἱερά should be understood. In A22 πατῤῥᾱ is the subject. Cf. Wilhelm’s probable restoration in *LSCG* 8.6 (*IG* II² 1078, *SIG*³ 885, third century A.D.): τὰ πάτρια προστάττει νόμιμα. At B7 πατῤῥᾱιον is contrasted with ξενικόν; see the *Commentary ad loc.*

Εὐθυδάμο: Unattested at Selinous. One would suppose that Euthydamos and his lineage were at least as important as Myskos and his. For the possibility that he was an *oikistes* of the city, see Ch. VI. The Meilichios of Euthydamos receives a ram rather than a full-grown wether (a castrated male sheep) and thus a more distinctive and at times more expensive victim (cf. *LSSupp.* 10 A 64; Jameson 1988: 91). Ram fleeces from sacrifices to Zeus Meilichios and Ktesios were used for purification in Athens (see 83 *infra*), but there is no suggestion of such use in our text.

A18 ἔστο ... θύεν: The phrase occurs again in A20f, there too with πεδᾶ ἔστος “after a year” or “in the following year.” Other *leges sacrae* do not furnish good parallels: they are concerned with establishing rules, which are expressed through imperatives and imperatival infinitives. Here, however, the performance of sacrifices the following year is presented only as a possibility, not a requirement; but instead of stating that that is so by means of the present indicative, ἔστι or ἔξεστι, the imperative of ἔτι, ἔστω, is used—literally “let it be possible.” The force of ἔστω should be to guarantee the rights of the persons concerned if they wish to, or find themselves needing to, sacrifice.

The earliest apparent parallel is illusory, the restoration ἔστο cited by LSJ from *IG* I² 10.7 (the Erythrai decree of the first half of the fifth century B.C.): in later editions of the inscription (*IG* I³ 14, Meiggs and Lewis 1988: no. 40) the restoration is rejected. But there are examples of the usage to guarantee rights in a future contingency, e.g. *IG* I³ 34.33f (I² 66) ἔστο ... γράφεσθαι ... τοῖς βολομένοι; I³ 41.67f (I² 42 A) ἔστω δὲ τοῖς πορθμεύοντι ...] ... πρ[άττεσθαι τρεῖς ὀβολός. Cf. also II² 791.20, where honors are guaranteed for contributors to a fund (τοῖς ἐπιδοῦσι, i.e., if they contribute). εἶναι has become weaker in the phrase εἶναι εὐρέσθαι (e.g. II² 110.16 and 360.62f), and in other examples of honors to be granted εἶναι seems to have little force (e.g. II² 1629.258–63 [*SIG*³ 305.94–99]).

Why should the sacrificer be guaranteed his right to sacrifice in the following year rather than be required to do so? Apparently he might not wish or need to sacrifice, but if he should, then his ability to do so is protected by the authority issuing this text which, in A18, also authorizes the use of the public ἱερά that the sacrificer (probably) is to take out. Why his right to sacrifice at home (A20f) has to be guaranteed is not obvious. Perhaps the public ἱερά could be used “at home” as well. Cf. *LSCG* 118.27–31 (*SIG*³ 987), where the use of the phratry’s ἱερά in a private house is explicitly prohibited. For parallel sacrifice, by the archon at the common hearth and the individual householder at home, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 693E.

That the sacrificer is not required but given the right to sacrifice the following year may be connected with whether or not he enters into the procedure "this year." If he does so he must perform the ritual described in A7–18. His need may be such that he wishes to continue in the following year and perhaps even in a third year (A23), though that might be a required rather than an optional action. It seems that the need or desire to enter into these procedures is something the individual or the individual and his group determine. The authority issuing the rules shows what must be done if they choose to do so and grants the right to continue in the following year.

The language of Column B is different. There too it is up to the individual to decide whether he wants to engage in the ritual (B1, 7), but once he does, all the instructions are delivered by means of imperatives. The implications of these optional provisions will be considered in Ch. III. By analogy with rules for commemorative rites for the dead elsewhere, it may be that the possibility of performing certain sacrifices under certain circumstances is being guaranteed because others have been explicitly prohibited by the city.

πεδὰ φέτος: πεδά, though widespread in Doric dialects (Argolic, Laconian, Thera, Cretan) as well as Lesbian and Boiotian, has not been found hitherto in Megarian (Buck 1955: 107).

τὰ ... ἡιάρα: See *supra* on A7.

ΕΞΗΠΕΤΟ is obviously corrupt. We have thought (as have Dubois and Masson) of ἐξή(κ)έτο with ρ written in error for κ and of τὰ ... ἡιάρα τὰ δαμόσια in the sense of "the public shrines," although one expects a preposition with τὰ ἡιάρα. Easier grammatically is ἐξῆ(α)ίρετο, on the assumption that A was accidentally omitted after H. The sense would be "let him take out the ἡιάρα," i.e., the sacred objects (see on A7). (The use of ἐξαίρεσις and ἐξαιρείσθαι with ἡιάρα for taking out the σπλάνχνα to look for signs, e.g. Hdt. 2.40.1, Xen. An. 2.1.9, will not do with τὰ δαμόσια.) ἐξαιρείσθαι may occur again in A22 (see *infra ad loc.*). Another possible correction would be ἐξῆ(ε)ίρετο, "put forward." The aspirate for εἶρω is claimed by the *Etym. Magn.* p.304.29–31 Gaisford, but is not otherwise attested.

A19 ὀολέαν: The front thigh of a sacrificial victim (*Suda s.v.* κωλή and Σ Ar. *Plut.* 1128) was a common mark of honor and the perquisite of priests. Cf. IG P 250 B 35 (*LSSupp.* 18 A 33–35), LSCG 19.6f (*IG II*² 1237); LSCG 45.5 (*IG II*² 1361). But Hermes at Ar. *Plut.* 1128 laments the loss of the κωλή from what he used to eat. The reference there is more likely for offerings set out before the statue than to what was burnt on the altar (cf. Gill 1974; 1991: 15–19).

ἀπάργματα and ἔργματα occur much less commonly than ἀπαρχαί. In the *Etym. Magn.* ἀπάργματα is described as αἱ μεγάλα ἀπαρχαί τῶν

θυσίων τῶν τελείων and *Od.* 14.446 (cf. 69 *infra*) is quoted (the word is also explained as the μαχαλίματα of the tragedians). Lycoph. *Alex.* 106 is no more informative. Sokolowski is unjustified in supposing that the length of lines of LSCG 30 (*IG II*² 1360) can be determined and therefore in restoring ἀπαργ/μάτων in lines 5f.

A20 μῆχφερέτο: The prohibition against carrying meat away from the place of sacrifice is often specified (e.g. τῶν δὲ κρεῶν μὴ εἶναι ἐκφορὴν ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος, LSCG 69.31f [*SIG*³ 1004, Buck 1955: no. 114]). Cf. the common phrases οὐ φορά, οὐκ ἀποφορά, and οὐκ ἀποφόρητα, and, in the positive form, κρή αὐτεῖ ἀναλοῦται (*LSSupp.* 94.13f) and δαινύσθων αὐτοῦ (LSCG 96.26 [*SIG*³ 1024]). But normally meat was in fact taken away, with the result that special instructions were needed to prevent it (cf. Ziehen 1939: 621ff). By remaining together at the place of sacrifice to consume the meat, the sacrificers achieved a more powerful representation of their piety, and more powerful bonds between them and the divine recipients were established. Like adding more parts of the victim to the fire than the usual symbolic elements, as with the ἐνάτα μοῖρα of A11f and the thigh of A19, the consumption of all the remaining meat on the spot shifts the sacrifice in the direction of other powerful rites such as holocaust.

καλέτο [h]όντινα λῆι: The control of the privilege of participating in sacrifices was an important social instrument. There could be exclusion of foreigners (cf. LSCG 96.26 [*SIG*³ 1024]) and of males (as at the Thesmophoria) or females (e.g. *LSSupp.* 88). The effect was to demonstrate and underline the particular character of the group performing the sacrifice—thus the exclusion of foreigners just cited is from a sacrifice on Mykonos to Zeus Chthonios and Demeter Chthonia "on behalf of the crops." It was evidently important to identify the worshippers as the local people of Mykonos. The head of a family sacrificing to Zeus Ktesios in his own courtyard excluded slaves and free persons who were not kin (Isaeus 8.16; cf. Antiph. 1.16ff, where the invitation is a mark of esteem for a good friend). Seen in this light the explicit permission to invite "whomever he wishes" may indicate that the ceremony is to provide an opportunity for the sacrificer to re-integrate himself and his gentilitial group into the community by securing the participation of people outside his own group. Had outsiders been prohibited up to this time?

A20f: Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F 32, *apud* Ath. 250 A) mentions the Sicilian custom of sacrificing to the Nymphs at home (κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας), holding all-night celebrations around their statues while drunk and dancing around the goddesses.

A21: The problems of readings in this line are discussed *supra* 10. We have suggested that the most likely solution is φασζόντο δὲ καὶ βῶ[ν] πρὸ ἀγαλμάτων, although this results in the largest victim being offered "at

home." Before Solon's legislation, oxen were at least sometimes sacrificed at funerals, for he is said to have prohibited the practice (Plut. *Sol.* 21.5, ἐναγίζειν ... βοῦν).

The restoration πρὸ seems inescapable: the *omikron* is not elided, and in prepositional phrases with an adverbial force articles are omitted more often than usual. Cf. Smyth 1920: §1128, Kühner and Gerth 1898: I 605. In the present text there is no article with ἑορταίων (though one appears with the following ἐχευερίας, A7) or in the phrase δι' ὁρόφου (A11).

For the requirement that the victim be slaughtered near the statue of the figure being honored, cf. *LSSupp.* 61.75f (IG XII.7 515): καταξάτωσαν ... πρὸς [τῷ] ἀγάλματι.

A21f: The beginning of the sentence can be restored in several ways, e.g. θύοντι|ο θύμα or τ|ὸ θύμα. Perhaps an alternative is offered to the expensive ox, e.g. ἔσφαζόντο ἄλλ|ο θύμα, but the slight traces on the lead by no means guarantee the verb.

A22 προχωρεῖ: We take the word to be equivalent to ἐγχωρεῖ and ἐπιχωρεῖ, "allow, permit."

A23: The problems of the reading are discussed *supra* 11.

Column B

B1-7: A comparison is made in B8f with another procedure, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ... ἡὸνπερ.... That other procedure we take to be the one described in B2-7. It is identified at B9 as the one used by ὁ αὐτορρέκτας (ἡὸντορέκτας) when he is purified from an *elasteros*, ἐλατέρο ἀποκαθάρεται. A version of this same phrase is seen in the second half of B1, ἐλ|ατέρον ἀποκα[θ-], but this first time with the *elasteroi* in the plural. The subject of the sentence should be an *autorrektas*, whether or not explicitly so described. The possible restorations are discussed *supra* 12 and in the general interpretation in Ch. III.

On the distinctive figure of the *elasteros*, first seen in this inscription, see the discussion in Ch. V.6. We understand it to be the angry spirit that haunts the killer on behalf of the victim, not the ghost of the victim himself. The αὐτορρέκτας we take to be the killer (see on B9).

B2f describe the circumstances of a public pronouncement made by the subject, i.e., the killer, after which he proceeds to purification.

προειπὸν and B3 π(ο)ροειπὸν: The word is used for the proclamation made by the kin of a murdered man in the Agora of Athens ([Dem.] 43.57), from which it is restored to the text of the late fifth-century republication of Drakon's homicide law (IG I³ 104 [Meiggs and Lewis

1988: no. 86.20]; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 57.2); for public declarations at Gortyn see *ICret* IV 72 (Buck 1955: no. 117 II 28 and XI 50f). But it is also used of the proclamation made to the avenging spirit (the ἱκέτιος ἐπακτός) in the Kyrene *lex sacra* (*LSSupp.* 115 B 31 and 33 [SEG 9.72, Buck 1955: no. 115]). The explicit freedom of time, place, and even direction in the Selinuntine proclamation suggests that it is intended not for a human but for a supernatural auditor.

The freedom of time of year is in sharp contrast to A7f, where it is said that the ritual must be performed before the Kotytia and the Olympic truce. The rites in A concern the community as a whole and must be completed before the time of a communal or Panhellenic festival. Column B is evidently solely the concern of the individual (all finite verbs are in the singular). Whether he undertakes the purification and when are entirely up to him.

B3: ἡόπο is found twice in this line and in both instances can be understood as ἡόπου, "where" or "wherever." This may be supported by the fact that the writer first omitted the final N of the first προειπὸν and wrote ἡόπε (= ὅπη?), but in rewriting this part of the line changed to ἡόπο, which suggests that the two words had roughly the same meaning. But the coexistence of West Greek ὅπει (B6) with Attic-Ionic ὅπου is surprising. The first ἡόπο should perhaps be understood as ὅπω= ὅποθεν, (cf. Megarian τῆνῶθεν, *Ar. Ach.* 754; Buck 1955: 103), which would refer then to the source of the proclamation, while the last phrase in this series, repeating προειπὸν near the end of B3, refers to the direction in which the proclamation is made (ἡόπου). Although the ἡόπο that follows τὸ φέτεος cannot have the sense of ὅποθεν, the alternative ὅπου, sc. "wherever in the year," is redundant with "whatever month." This ἡόπο may therefore be a mistake for ἡοπειό, as in the phrase that follows. If so, the translation would be "in whatever year he wishes." If no error is assumed, the coexistence of ὅπου and ὅπει may indicate that the sources of these instructions are not entirely local, a possibility on which we comment in Ch. III.

B3f: The practice of this inscription is to employ asyndeton at the beginning of a set of prescriptions (cf. A7?, A8, A17, A20bis, B7, B9, B11, and B12). If the subject of δότο at B4 is the same as that of καθαίρεσθαι at B3, the text should continue without a connective, although there may have been room for a καί. On the identity of the subject of ἡυ]ποδέκομενος see 56 n.2 *infra*.

ὑποδέχομαι (as well as the simplex δέχομαι) is a common term for receiving and providing hospitality to a ξένος. The ξένος may be a suppliant seeking protection or purification (e.g. *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.9.1). The word is used at Kyrene of entertaining a ἱκέτιος ἐπακτός, a spirit sent against the person who protects himself by performing the appropriate ritual (*LSSupp.* 115 B 36f, ὑποδεξάμενον παρτιθ[έ]μεν τὸ μέρος πάντων).

The hospitality consists of providing three items: water with which to wash, a meal, and salt. The verb ἀπονίψασθαι, in the middle, is washing to be done by the guest. In the *Odyssey*, water with which to wash precedes setting out food for the entertainment of a visitor (cf. *Od.* 4.52–59, 17.91–95, and Arend 1933: 68–72, 124 on the relevant Homeric type-scenes). Cf. the washing of themselves by the purifiers in the *Exegetikon*, as opposed to the washing, in the active, of the polluted man done by their leader: *FGrHist* 352 F 1 (quoted 74 n.12 *infra*); cf. also *LSSupp.* 115 A 30 (Kyrene): the man who has removed all trace of inappropriate animals sacrificed on an altar must wash himself.

B4: ἀκρατίζομαι is defined in the lexica as “to take breakfast”; cf. *Ath.* 11c on the dipping of bread into unmixed wine as the origin of the word. But here it would seem to refer simply to a meal, perhaps consisting of bread and wine rather than the meat that follows sacrifice. The offering of a meal is a familiar means of exorcising a bewitchment. The best-known examples are the meals for Hekate (cf. *Ar. Plut.* 594–97 with Σ). Sophron of Syracuse, possibly in a mime entitled “The women who claim that they are driving out the goddess,” described a meal for the goddess and preparations involving salt, laurel, a puppy, asphalt, and a torch (Page 1940: 328; Gow 1952: II 34; Parker 1983: 222f; for the offering of a meal in a magical context, cf. Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973: I 84–91; Betz 1985: 5). The most relevant parallel is the reception of the ἱκέτιος ἐπακτός at Kyrene (*LSSupp.* 115 B 36f), which we have had occasion to cite frequently. For the Assyrian food offerings to ghosts, see Scurlock 1988: 41–44.

háλα: Salt had cathartic functions (cf. Eitrem 1915: 323–34 and comments on B11 *infra*). Here it pertains to washing and the meal as a symbolic gift of hospitality, cf. *Dem.* 19.191, *Lycoph. Alex.* 135f with Σ (εἶχον γὰρ πάλαι τοὺς ἄλας ἐν ταῖς τραπέζαις σύμβολον ξενοδοχίας). Oaths were taken “by salt and table,” *Archil.* fr. 173 West; *Heliodorus* 6.2; cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–51: I 24.4.

τῷ αὐ[τῷ]: At the end of the line the recipient is referred to in the dative, perhaps only now because a new supernatural recipient is named in the next line when a sacrifice is prescribed for Zeus.

B5: Zeus Eumenes, Zeus Meilichios, and Meilichios alone have been mentioned in Column A. Here there is no epithet, and no place is named. One expects Zeus Meilichios, a god of purification, to be intended, but if so, *which* Zeus Meilichios: one of the two mentioned in Column A or, as seems more likely, the community’s Meilichios in a public shrine? The shrine is no doubt presupposed in the phrase ἐξ αὐτῷ ἵτο. It is likely to have contained the public altar mentioned in B10.

A χοῖρος (or χοιρίδιον), a young pig as opposed to the full-grown ὄς or κάπρος, is the standard victim, the καθάρσιον, in purification rites. Cf. *LSSupp.* 7 (*IG* I³ 129); *LSCG* 156 A 14f; *Aesch. Eum.* 283, fr. 327 Nauck²;

Ap. Rhod. 4.705; *Paus.* 5.16.8; *Pollux* 8.104; *Hsch. s.v.* ἀφοδίσια ἔργα and *s.v.* καθάρμα; *Harp. s.v.* καθάρσιον; Σ *Ar. Ach.* 44; discussion in Parker 1983: 371ff. Here, however, there is no indication that this is not a normal sacrifice to Zeus. See also 63–67 *infra*.

περιστ(ι)ραφέσθω: The subject is to go out from the sanctuary and “turn around.” Perhaps, as in a number of magical and suchlike practices, he is to turn around and not turn back. Cf. *Aesch. Cho.* 99, ἀστροφόειν ὁμασιν; *Soph. OC* 490, ἀφέρπειν ἄστροφος; *Pl. Leg.* 854b, τὰς δὲ τῶν κακῶν συνουσίας φεύγε ἀμεταστρεπτί; *Ap. Rhod.* 3.1038f, μηδὲ ... μεταστρεφθῆναι ὅπισσιν; *Theoc.* 24.96, ἄστρεπτος; *Plut. Numa* 14.4; *Iambl. Protr.* 21, ἀποδημῶν τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ἐπιστρέφον· Ἐρίνυες γὰρ μετέρχονται (cf. *Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* 42); *Eust. Il.* 1934. In the Greek magical papyri the verb is ἀναποδίξω, Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973: I 38, IV.44, 2493. Withdrawal from Assyrian ghost rituals required that there be no looking back: Scurlock 1988: 45f, 65. Cf. also Lot’s wife, *Gen.* 19.26.

Another possibility is that “he turn himself around” (or possibly “be turned around”)—that is, perform a circular movement. The verb περιστρέφεσθαι is used twice in Roman ritual contexts in this sense: *Plut. Numa* 14.4, *Mor.* 267b. It is not known, however, whether this practice existed among the Greeks as well as the Romans. Cf. Boehm 1927: 2029. The Greeks frequently carried a sacrificed victim around the place or person to be purified (e.g. *LSCG* 156 A 14f), but that does not seem to be relevant here.

B6f: The next set of instructions seems to return the subject to normal life after, it would seem, a period of isolation: he is to be addressed (evidently he had been shunned before; cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 448, ἄφθογον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος), he is to take food (had no one wished to share food with him before? cf. the use of Orestes in the *aition* for the Athenian festival of Choes, Σ *Ar. Ach.* 961, Σ *Eq.* 95; Deubner 1932: 98) and to sleep where he wishes. For avoidance of being under the same roof or in the same ship as a person with blood on his hands cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 285; *Antiph.* 5.11, 82; *Paus.* 2.31.8; cf. Parker 1983: 122 n.67.

B6 ποταγορέσθω: –αγορέω for –αγορεύω is new. Cf. the present in –εἴω of verbs in –εύω (Elean and one example from Dodona), which “represents the normal phonetic development from –εῤῥω, the usual –εῤῥω being due to the influence of the other tenses” (Buck 1955: §161.1). At Selinous the consonantal ι has been lost and –εῤῥω has been contracted to –έσθω.

B7: These lines extend the procedure just described. For the structure of the sentence, cf. *Pl. Leg.* 865d, εἰάν δέ τις ἐλευθερον ἄκων ἀποκτείνῃ, τοὺς μὲν καθαρμοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρθήτω τῷ τὸν δοῦλον ἀποκτείναντι, κτλ.

B7: ἔ' πακουστὸν ἔ' φορατὸν = ἔ' ἐπακουστὸν ἔ' ἐφορατὸν.

ξενικὸν ἔ πατρῶιον: The contrast may be that seen at Ap. Rhod. 3.716f between ὀφειῖν and ἐμφύλῳ, referring to the polluting blood of strangers and of kin. Cf. also ἀλλότριος vs οἰκεῖος at Pl. *Euthyphro* 4B. In Plato's homicide laws, where ritual purification is more evident than in our fragments of actual Greek law, the contrast is between ξένος and ἄκτος (cf. *Leg.* 869D). πατρῶιος here must refer to sharing the same ancestor and is equivalent to ἐμφύλος and οἰκεῖος. The problem of kin homicide plays a large part in myth and religion (cf. Blickman 1985).

The four adjectives (note ξενικός, not ξενός) refer evidently to a noun that has already been specified (which we take to be the ἐλάστερος of B1), and this is confirmed by the comparison made at the end of B9. The second pair of adjectives, ἐπακουστός and ἐφορατός, are hard to understand with any but a supernatural subject; the reason for their use is not obvious even so. The problem of recognizing the source of a vengeful spirit is seen in the Kyrenean *lex sacra* (*LSSupp.* 115 B 29–37). Plato refers to the observation of wax figurines as a way of learning of hostility (*Leg.* 933A–B). Perhaps the phrase “one heard or one seen” is meant to cover manifestations of the hostility of an *elasteros* that are learned in some way other than through the explicit declarations of the kinsmen of the dead man. For “heard and seen” as comprehensive of all manifestations, cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.2 (in reference to the interpretation of signs) and Empedocles fr. 2.6f D.–K., where they are joined by νόμῳ περιληπτά, referring to all men's means of apprehension. In the Assyrian texts, ghosts are distinguished as “known” or “not known,” and as of relatives or of strangers; they may manifest themselves by being seen and, more rarely, by being heard (Scurlock 1988: 13f).

Whereas ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι (B1, 9) takes the genitive, καθαίρεσθαι is used here with the accusative. Conceivably, the process of having an *elasteros* itself purified was the equivalent of being purified from an *elasteros*. If so, we could translate “if anyone wishes that a foreign, etc., (*elasteros*) be purified” rather than “purified himself with respect to ...,” the translation we have adopted. For the latter, the parallels we can cite are quite abstract, but references to purification from vengeful spirits are, as we have seen, extremely rare. Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 72, φόνον καθαίροντας, and Hdt. 1.43, ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον; cf. also Timaeus *Locr.* p.224 line 8 Marg, ἀποκαθαράμεναι ψευδέας δόξας.

B8 χῶντινα=κα ὄντινα: Cf. καὶ χόπειον in an inscription from the Megarian colony Kalchedon, ca 200 (*SIG*³ 1009.14).

B9 ἡυτορέκτας=ὁ αὐτο(ρ)ρέκτας: The noun is new, although the two elements are combined in a number of words: Opp. *Hal.* 1.763 and [Ps.-Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.567 has an adjective αὐτορρεκτος, passive in sense, “self-produced,” and *Anecd. Bekk.* I 467.24 cites αὐτόριζον· αὐτόρεκτον, οἶον τὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείναντα; Aesch. fr. 117 Radt uses αὐτορέγμων, “self-produced,” of πότμος. We understand the word to denote a homicide, as

does Burkert. For αὐτο- in compounds referring to homicide see Parker 1983: 351; examples are αὐτοφόνος (e.g. *LSSupp.* 115 B 50, on which see Stukeley 1937: 39), αὐτόχειρ (*Dem.* 20.157), αὐθέντης (see Parker 1983: 122), and especially αὐτοργός, αὐτοργία, formed (with *erg-* for *reg-*) of the same elements as αὐτορρέκτας (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 336 with Σ).

B10f: The sacrifice of a full-grown sheep on the public altar—to Zeus as at B5?—concludes the procedure begun at B3. There is no reason to think that the extension of the ritual to all forms of *elasteroi* involves any new procedure, nor that this final sacrifice is limited to purification from this further group.

B11: The final step is for the subject to separate himself from the altar on which he has performed the sacrifice; he does so by marking a boundary with salt, διορίζας ἡλί, and by aspersion with water from a golden vessel. Possibly this is a single action, the sprinkling of saltwater from the golden vessel. Examples of the purificatory use of salt include Theoc. 24.97f (pure water mixed with salt sprinkled from a branch bound with wool, cf. Gow 1952: II 431); *LSCG* 97 A 14f, 151 B 23 (cf. 156 A 16); Sophron, Page 1940: III 330; Men. *Phasma* 53–56 Sandbach. For the use of a golden vessel for aspersion and purification cf. Eur. *Ion* 435, *LSCG* 154 A 29, B 15, *Iambl.* *Vit. Pyth.* 153, ἡ χρυσεῖ ἢ θαλάττῃ περιρραίνεσθαι.

B12: ἡόκα ... χρῆζει=either (1) ὅτε ... χρήζει, “When he wishes” or (2) ἡόκα=ἡόκα κα, and the phrase = ὅταν ... χρήζη, “Whenever he wishes.” The second alternative seems more likely. Cf. *supra* on A8, where the verb is in the optative.











B12f: θύεν ἡόπερ τοῖς ἀθανάτοισι: This is to be normal sacrifice “as to the gods,” but the last sentence of the text, σφαζέτο δ' ἐς γᾶν, literally “Let him pierce the throat so (that the blood pours) into the earth,” specifies a modification. It has been supposed that in those rites such as oath sacrifice, in which emphasis was put on blood, and sacrifices to the dead, to heroes, and to chthonic gods, the head of the victim was held down so that the blood would pour down onto the earth (cf. Ziehen 1929: 1671). Here we have this manner of killing the victim prescribed for a sacrifice that is otherwise explicitly in the manner of sacrifice to the gods. For directing the blood to a particular place, cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 43, ταυροσφαγόντες ἐς μελάνδετον κάκος; *LSCG* 96.36f (*SIG*³ 1024) c[φάτ]τε[ται] ... ἐς τὸν ποταμόν; Plut. *Arist.* 21, εἰς πυρὰν σφάζας.


The form ἀθανάτοισι is poetic and is not found in the *leges sacrae*, in contrast to A17 θεοῖς. The dative plural in -οισι is attested for West Greek only in early Argive and Syracusan (Buck 1955: 88).


II. The Date and Language of the Inscription

INTERNAL HISTORICAL EVIDENCE and external archaeological context are lacking for the great majority of epichoric inscriptions from Sicily. We depend therefore almost entirely on letter forms, that is, the particular versions of individual letters and the style in which they are written. They yield, of course, relative chronology rather than an absolute dating. We would stress further that lead has a much softer surface than pottery or stone and that one must be diffident about drawing conclusions from comparisons between writing on lead and on these harder materials.


The following forms of the letters of the alphabet used in the inscription deserve mention (letters followed by a number refer to the chart in Jeffery 1961: 262 and Jeffery and Johnston 1990: 461f):


- α2  with cross-bar slanting down to the right
- β3  only at Selinous
- γ3  as in most epichoric Sicilian inscriptions
- δ1  the usual form until the first quarter of the fifth century
- ε2  with downward-slanting horizontals
- Ϝ2  the vertical extending below the lower horizontal barely if at all
- η2  the open, not the closed, box-like form of the aspirate
- θ3  only in the form with a central dot
- ν3  with slanting uprights of equal length
- ξ  a unique form with the vertical stroke on the right-hand side rather than in the middle (A16, 22, B5, 7, 11; in B4 the vertical is accidentally omitted)

ρ2/ρ4  R, R with the loop curved but not always attached to the vertical stroke

σ2  the four-barred sigma is thin, with the strokes meeting at flat angles

υ2 

χ4  with the cross-bar sloping down slightly from left to right

ψ2  the only form attested for Sicily but usable only in 'blue' alphabets such as that of Selinous, because 'red' alphabets used this form for *chi*.

Interpuncts are used only in Column A, lines 7ff (Writer II). They consist of two dots, one above the other, except that single dots also occur in lines 10–12, 14, and possibly 20.

We compare the *lex sacra* first with two texts attributed to Selinous and then to a group of recently published lead tablets from Kamarina that has been given a plausible historical context.

(1) There are not a few lead *defixiones* (curse tablets) said to come from within or near the Malophoros sanctuary at Selinous (see Ch. VII *infra*). The present text is similar in letter forms and general style to the large *defixio* (SEG 16.573; Arena 1989: no. 63; Dubois 1989: no. 38), most fully discussed by Masson (1972: 375–88, on the letter forms, 379f) and dated by him, following Jeffery (1961: 271, 277, no. 38c), to ca 475–450 (cf. Jordan 1985b: 176f, no. 107). The letters on the *defixio* are more widely spaced. *Alpha* with a dot for the cross-bar, used frequently on the *defixio*, is not found in the *lex sacra*. Both use *theta* with a central dot. The large *defixio* has no examples of the distinctive Selinuntine *beta* nor the unique *xi* of the *lex sacra*. The *gamma* of the *lex sacra* is more curved, less angled than that of the *defixio*, and the hasta of the *qoppa* tends to slope to the right. On the whole, the writing on the *lex sacra* gives a somewhat more old-fashioned impression.

(2) A boustrophedon bronze tablet in eight fragments at Olympia, very likely recording an agreement between Selinous and a group of exiles being repatriated, is certainly earlier in style than the *lex sacra*, even though the individual letter forms are very similar (Jeffery–Johnston 1990: 271, 276, no. 36; Arena 1989: no. 52; Dubois 1989: no. 28). It has been most fully discussed by Asheri (1979; SEG 29.403) who dates it to the late sixth or early fifth century. Neither *beta* (unless possibly at f 6) nor *xi* appear on the fragments. Fragment *b* seems to have a *theta* with a dot as well as

another with a cross, while fragment *e* has the same letter with only a single cross-bar. A re-examination of the fragments would be desirable.

(3) On the basis of the usual dating of the Selinuntine inscriptions, a date before the middle of the fifth century B.C. for our *lex sacra*, earlier rather than later in the second quarter of the century, had seemed reasonable to us. Thanks, however, to a recent discovery of more than 150 inscribed lead tablets that formed part of the city archive of Kamarina, recording the phratry affiliations of its citizens, we can now be somewhat surer about the chronology of early Sicilian letter forms on lead and the date of the *lex sacra*. Federica Cordano, their editor (Cordano 1989; 1992), argues plausibly that the archive reflects the reorganization of the city along democratic lines after the tyranny was overthrown in 461. The tablets should date from that year or soon thereafter.

On 150 tablets, however short their texts, it is inevitable that a greater variety is exhibited than on a single, longer tablet. Thus the Kamarina tablets have *alpha* with a straight cross-bar and with a dot in place of a cross-bar, as well as with the sloping crossbar of the *lex sacra*, angled as well as curved *gamma*, triangular as well as rounded *delta*, closed as well as open *beta*, and *theta* with an X as well as with a dot. But although Kamarina used 'red' forms of *xi* and *chi* and a normal *beta*, the forms of the other letters used and the general style of the writing resemble the *lex sacra*, especially those parts written by Writers II and III. We may then, with fair probability, assign the Selinuntine tablet to a period roughly contemporary with the archive at Kamarina, which, if correctly dated to 461 or shortly thereafter, leads us once again to the mid-fifth century or somewhat earlier.

The dialect of the text, a variety of West Greek, agrees for the most part with Megarian, the dialect of Megara Nisaia and its colonies, of which the most important were Kalchedon and Byzantion on the Bosphoros, and Megara Hyblaia and Selinous in Sicily. On the dialect, for which there is little evidence outside Selinous before the end of the fourth century, see Bechtel 1923: 165–206; Buck 1955: 165f; Thumb and Kieckers 1932: 134–42; and the commentary to the relevant inscriptions in Dubois 1989. Pérez Molina 1991 has published an *index verborum* for all inscriptions in this dialect.

Discussion of particular examples may be found in the *Commentary* (*supra* Ch. I.4). The following are noteworthy:

A3 *καθαγιζεν* and 12 *καταγιζόντο*

[*h*]ομοεπύος, cited in the form ὁμοεπύος from Charondas of Katane (Arist. *Pol.* 1252b1)

A8, B12 *hόκα*=Attic-Ionic ὅτε or =*hόκα* κα=ἔταν (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 762; *hόκα* κα, IG IV 840.12 [Kalaureia]); in A8 the verb is in the optative (ποτείε), in B12 in the indicative or subjunctive (χρέζει).

A9 Εὐμενίδεσι: the dative plurals in -εσι (cf. A15 ποτερίδε[*c*]ι) are unexpected. No doubt they represent -εσσιν.

A10f *ὑπολθείψας*: *h* is not otherwise attested in λείβω but is consistent with a proposed etymology.

A12 θῦμα: not found in Attic prose

A13, 16 καταλινάντο: ἀλῖναι is attested for Cyprus and Epidauros and is glossed by Hesychius.

κῆπειτα=καὶ ἔπειτα, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 745, κῆπειτεν

A15f ποτερίδε[*c*]ι, ποτερίδας: ποτῆρις (gen. ποτῆριδος) is new.

A15 κρᾶ for the expected κρῆ

A16, 19f κατακαάντο, κα[τα]/κᾶι: forms known from epic poetry

A18, 20 πεδά=μετά: the first occurrence in Megarian

B2f, 6 *hόπο*, *hόπει*: the first *hόπο*=*hόπου* or *hόπω*, the second may be a mistake for *hοπειού*.

B4 ἀκρατίξαθαι: cf. B11 διορίζας, with the characteristic -ξ- for -c- of West Greek (Buck 1955: 115f)

B8 χῶντινα=κα ὄντινα

B9 *hοῦτορέκτας*=*hο* αὐτορ(ρ)έκτας

B13 ἀθανάτοις: both the word and the form of the dative plural are poetic.

The use of a single for a double consonant may be suspected at A7 ῥοτύτια, for ῥοτύττια, A9 Εὐμενίδεσι and 15 ποτερίδεσι, B9 αὐτορέκτας for αὐτορρέκτας, and possibly B12 *hόκα* for ὅκα. A12f περιρά/ναντες shows the normal spelling of compounds of ῥαίνω in inscriptions, as opposed to the double *rho* of manuscripts (cf. LSCG 67 A 14f, 17; 154 A 44).

A feature of the prose style of the text should be noted. When actions are prescribed for a single individual, the order is object, verb ... verb, object, e.g., A10f, φοῖνον ὑπολθείψας ... κατακα/ιεν μίαν. But when the subject is plural, the order is verb, object ... object, verb, e.g. A12–16 θυόντο θῦμα ... τὰς ποτερίδας ἐνθέντες.

III. The Character of the Text

A GENERAL INTERPRETATION of the *lex sacra*, together with discussion of the crucial terms *elasteros* and *autorrektas*, is offered here by way of summarizing more detailed evidence to be found in the *Commentary* (*supra*) and the chapters that follow. We begin with an outline showing the organization of the text as we understand it.

Column A

- 1-3 Sacrifices, with responsibilities divided between *homosepuoi* (members of the concerned individual's household) and the rest of the group (?)
- 4-6 *rasura*
- 7-8 The time *ante quem* for the series of sacrifices that follows
- 8-17 The recipients of sacrifice:
 - Zeus Eumenes and the Eumenides
 - Zeus Meilichios *en Musqo*
 - Tritopatores (first the impure, then the pure)
- 17-18 Additional sacrifices: to Zeus Meilichios *en Euthydamo*
Possible renewal of sacrifice
 - after one year,
 - making use of the public *hiara*
 - and at home
- 21-23
- 23 after two years (?)

Column B

- 1-7 Purification of an individual (an *autorrektas*?) from *elasteroi*
- 8-9 Purification with respect to "foreign or ancestral, heard or seen" (*elasteroi*), as for the *autorrektas*
- 10-11 Sacrifice at the public altar, marking of a boundary, aspersion, withdrawal
- 12-13 Sacrifice to the *elasteros*

Because we lack the beginning of Column A (which might have pertained only to the lines before the *rasura* of 4-6), the purpose of the *lex sacra* must be inferred from the particular regulations in the text. In the two columns the subjects are distinct but related. They share a concern

with purification. This is explicit in B and implied in A by the contrasted impure (*miaroi*) and pure (*katharoi*) Tritopatores, who are to receive sacrifice successively. The subject of all legible parts of A is, in fact, sacrifice, together with associated rites, all of which are also appropriate procedures for purification (*cf.* 73-76 *infra*).

The two columns differ in that A gives instructions for a group or groups—or, rather, an individual acting with his group—whereas B is addressed solely to the individual seeking purification. (The alternation between singular and plural in A is discussed on 66f *infra*.) It seems likely that the law as a whole began with a statement about the possible need of groups and individuals for purification.

The beginning of A, written by a different hand (Writer I), is separated from the rest of the column by three blank lines (A4-6), which apparently had been inscribed and then erased. Sacrificial procedures had already begun to be prescribed in A3, where a distinction is made between what is to be done by some (all?) members of a group and the actual burning of the parts of the sacrificial animal in the fire by the *homosepuoi* (perhaps the members of the household of the individual who has incurred the pollution). It is possible that the erasure of three full lines has taken with it the beginning of the sentence we read in lines 7f. That sentence, in any case, specifies the time before which certain rites are to be performed: before the Kotytia (the annual festival of the goddess Kotyto), and, every fourth year, before the first day of the truce proclaimed for the festival of Zeus at Olympia. The time applies to the series of sacrifices that follows (up to line 18) but evidently not to the sacrifices at the beginning of the column, which either had a separately specified time or were to be undertaken whenever it became apparent that there was need to embark on these procedures, perhaps when pollution was acknowledged or proclaimed.

The procedures in Column A are not necessarily limited to a single ceremony in one year. It is possible for sacrifice to be performed also in the following year, with both a public and a private aspect ("at home," *woikoi*; *cf.* 18-21). And again in the third year something may or must be done (23). By contrast, the ritual to be performed by the individual of B1 is explicitly and entirely free of restrictions of time, and also of place, except that at one point he is to sacrifice on "the public altar" (B10). The places for the sacrifices in A are no doubt determined by the supernatural figures involved, aside from the sacrifice to be performed at home.

It is not evident whether the initiative to undertake the series of sacrifices in column A lies with the groups or with the authorities; but once a commitment is made to perform them, the authorities insist that they be completed before two critical moments in the community's ritual year. These moments, we suggest, serve to mark a ritual renewal of the whole community before which the impurity that affects the groups must be removed. Any action in the following year appears to be optional (*cf.* A18, 20, ἔκτο plus infinitive). The individual of Column B is on his own from the beginning. It seems to be up to him whether to undertake the

procedures that are described. The authorities, however, are sufficiently concerned to prescribe a procedure for him and require that he perform the ritual correctly—the sacrifice to the *elasteros* must be made in a very specific fashion. While the community's interests are satisfied by the rites prescribed up to A18, the group and the particular individuals may have their own problems that require ritual in the second and perhaps the third year. An individual beset by an *elasteros* may be no danger to the community if the rites in Column A have been performed, but may remain in an undesirable state as far as he himself is concerned. Column B offers procedures for resolving his problem.

Only one term for a group appears in the surviving text: the *homosepuoi*, equivalent we suggest to an Attic *oikos*. This is probably a smaller unit than the plurality assumed to be active throughout Column A, as shown by the plural imperatives (see the *Commentary* on A3). The latter are most likely gentilitial groups, either true or putative kinship organizations, such as the *gene* and *phratriai* of Athens. Selinous had *patriai*, one of which, consisting of two groups of women, made a dedication to Zeus Meilichios (cf. 90 *infra*). Characteristically such groups worshipped certain forms of Zeus, some other divinities, and such collective ancestral spirits as the Tritopatores, all of whom were associated with the particular group and protected its interests (cf. Ch. V.3, 4, and 5). Through such groups in Archaic and to some degree Classical Greece the individual households were connected to the community as a whole. Thus the Athenian phratries controlled and recorded their membership and the passage of members into adulthood and citizenship. Homicide against their members concerned the group as a whole, as did pollution incurred by a member, for it could endanger all the others as well. (One may compare the history of the Athenian *genos* of the Alkmaionidai.)

The deities who receive sacrifice in Column A—Zeus Eumenes (a title derived from his association with the Eumenides and not hitherto attested) and the Eumenides, Zeus Meilichios, and the Tritopatores—are figures one would expect to be concerned with bloodshed and fertility, that is, with the protection and the perpetuation of families and the larger units to which they were attached. Zeus Meilichios appears twice, once with his name and epithet (9) and once just as Meilichios (17); but in both instances his cult is specified as that in a particular place, identified by the name of an individual—ἐν Μύκῳ and ἐν Εὐθυδάμῳ. These places we take to be a defined space or plot, probably containing one of the characteristic aniconic or semi-iconic stones that have been found in the area west of the Zeus Meilichios shrine at Selinous, referred to as the *Campo di Stele* (see PLATES 6, 7a, 8a; cf. Ch. V.2–3, and VIII). The name Myskos is known from a late seventh-century gravestone from Selinous (MP 76). Both men were probably important figures in the early history of the settlement. The cult at the Meilichios stones to which their names were attached would have been continued by their descendants or perhaps by the city itself. Conceivably they were the ancestors of two lineages whose

members had been engaged in the violence against each other that produced the need for purification.

A function for images or aniconic objects belonging to the community may be indicated in A18 where τὰ ... ἡαρὰ τὰ δαμόκτα are to be taken out (as we emend the text) for use in a *theoxenia* ceremony in which supernatural figures are entertained. These objects may also be referred to earlier, in A7 (τῶν ἡαρῶν). If they are portable it seems more likely that they were made of wood than of stone. The stone versions found in great numbers in the *Campo di Stele* may represent only those which were set up permanently in the open air.

The Tritopatores seem to have possessed a shrine through whose roof wine and then honey mixture were to be poured. Was this the shrine of the city's ancestral spirits or did each gentilitial group have its own? There are parallels elsewhere for both possibilities (cf. Ch. V.4). Here it seems more likely that individuals or groups would have been more concerned with their own ancestral spirits than with those of the community as a whole.

The most remarkable feature of the rituals prescribed in Column A is the double procedure for the Tritopatores, first as impure, and then as pure. Although it is possible that these were fixed, permanent categories, impure and pure, we have supposed that the ritual prescribed for the impure resulted in their purification so that the following ritual *theoxenia* (entertainment of gods at a meal) could be offered to the pure Tritopatores.

Somewhat similar procedures are suggested in accounts of rituals associated with Orestes and Achilles. Pausanias describes Orestes' encounter with the Erinyes (known locally as the Maniai) at Ake in Arkadia (8.34.2f). They appeared to him first as black and then, after he bit off and ate one of his fingers and was restored to sanity, as white. Orestes sacrificed first to the black, to avert them (ἀποτρέπων), and then to the white (cf. perhaps Demeter's two epithets at Thelpousa in Arkadia, Erinyes and Lousia, Paus. 8.25.6). For Achilles on the island of Leuke on the Black Sea the oracle at Dodona ordered the Thessalians to make annual sacrifices τὰ μὲν ὡς θεῶ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐν μοίρᾳ τῶν κεμμένων ("some as for a god, others as for the dead"), according to Flavius Philostratus (*Heroicus* 53.8, 11, 13 [Kayser, *ed. min.*, 208f]). First a black bull was slaughtered to him at his grave as to a dead man (ὡς τεθνεῶτι ἐσφαττον), and then a white bull was sacrificed to him as a god (εἶθον ὡς θεῶ) by the shore. At the second sacrifice Patroklos was also summoned to the feast, as were supernatural guests to *theoxenia*. Both these examples are probably at some remove from actual practice but they illustrate how the ambivalent character of potentially dangerous spirits was recognized in ritual.

At Selinous the sequence of rites secures the removal of pollution. Perhaps a pollution incurred by an individual or a group had affected their ancestral spirits as well, just as death in a family could pollute a member of that family more severely than others who were not related (cf. *LSCG* 97 A 28f). We shall return to this question shortly.

It should be stressed that despite the identity of the Tritopatores with the ghosts of the family, they are never known to have been worshipped at graves or within the limits of cemeteries and there is no indication that this happened at Selinous, though we leave open the possibility that their cult place was in the vicinity of a cemetery. The most likely home for all these cults was the sacred area in the northern quadrant of the precinct of Demeter Malophoros (the *Campo di Stele*; PLL . 6, 7a, 8a). There are uncounted number of aniconic stones (cf. PLL . 7a, 8a, 10, 11b, 15b, 16) and some one hundred figured stones (cf. PLL . 11a, 12–15a) have been found, together with many deposits consisting of simple votive objects (cups, lamps, figurines) and the remains of sacrifices (see Ch. VIII). The stratigraphy and chronology are complex, and the excavations have not been published in full. But there are both deposits and inscribed Meilichios stones, dedicated by groups and individuals, of fifth-century date. The numerous small deposits as well as the dedications suggest cult activity by individuals and groups rather than by the city.

The reason why the individual of Column B undertakes purification is given in the damaged first line. Fortunately a clear reference back to line 1 is found in 7–9, where another purification is described as the same as that employed by the *autorrektas* (hoûtoréktaç=ho aûtor(ρ)éktaç). The man (*anthropos*) of line 1 who needs to be purified from *elasteroi* may therefore be qualified as *autorrektas* (which can be restored in the lacuna) or by a synonymous term. Column B begins then with the need for an individual to be purified of *elasteroi*, describes the correct procedure (2–7), and goes on to add that this procedure is also valid for all kinds of *elasteroi*, not only those incurred by an *autorrektas*.

Both *autorrektas* and *elasteros* (ἐλάστερος) are novel. What do they mean? *Autorrektas* we take to be equivalent to *autophonos* (αὐτοφόνος), “man-killer,” “homicide.” *Autourgos* (αὐτουργός), composed of the same elements, can also have this sense (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 336 with Σ; and Parker 1983: 351 for *auto*-compounds referring to homicide). Bloodshed, of course, is one of the prime reasons for seeking purification. *Elasteros* (ἐλάστερος) is equivalent to *alastor* and *alastoros* (ἀλάτωρ, ἀλάστορος), used both of a wrongdoer who commits a crime or an act of violence and of the pursuer and punisher of the wrongdoer. In the latter sense it is found as an epithet of Zeus, as is Ἀλάτορος (cf. Ch. IV.6). Here a person who has killed another needs to be purified “of *elasteroi*,” whom we take to be the avenging spirits acting on behalf of the dead person. Before purification it appears that the *autorrektas* could not be addressed, take food (with others?), or sleep where he wished; all these are declared possible for him after the purification (B6f).

The procedure first requires proclamation (2f), followed by reception, the giving of water with which to wash, a meal, and salt, and sacrifice to Zeus, for whom no epithet is given but very likely Meilichios is meant (3–5). The individual is then to withdraw and turn around (and not look back?). The closest parallel to this series of actions is seen in the great *lex sacra* of Kyrene (*LSSupp.* 115 B 28–39 [SEG 9.72; Buck 1955: no. 115]). A

much-debated section under the heading *Hikesion* (Ἰκεσίῳ) gives instructions for dealing with three types of Hikesioi, which were shown by Stukeley (1937) to be visitants or hostile spirits sent against the person who performs the protective ritual specified in the text. In passing, we should note the use of Hikesios, Elasteros, and Alastoros also as epithets of Zeus (see Ch. V.6); these were used equally of spirits or of Zeus performing the same functions. We give a translation (adapted from Parker 1983: 347) from which the resemblances to the procedure at Selinous will be evident:

Of Visitants. Visitant sent by spells. If a visitant is sent against the house, if (the householder) knows from whom he came to him, he shall name him by proclamation (προειπών) for three days. If (the sender of the visitant) has died in the land or perished anywhere else, if (the householder) knows his name he shall make proclamation by name, but if he does not know his name (in the form) “O man (ἄνθρωπε), whether you are man or a woman.” Having made male and female figurines either of wood or of earth he shall entertain them and offer them a portion of everything. When you have done what is customary, take the figurines and the portions (μέρη) to an unworked wood and deposit them there.

At Selinous as at Kyrene the hostile spirit is entertained; but whereas at Kyrene the spirits are transferred to (or is it that their *attention* is transferred to?) wooden or clay figurines (κολοκοί) that are then deposited in a deserted place, at Selinous the subject of the purification simply withdraws “out of it,” ἐξ αὐτοῦ (the precinct of Zeus?) and turns around (and does not turn back?).¹ What the two procedures share is the formal entertainment of a supernatural figure.

That the *elasteros* is indeed a supernatural being is seen in lines 8f where it is said that one can be purified from all types of *elasteroi*, “a foreign or ancestral one, either one that has been heard or one that has been seen, or anyone at all.” (Assyrian ghosts may be seen or heard but also make themselves known through the infliction of illness, which is not mentioned in the *lex sacra*; cf. Scurlock 1988). The text does not say explicitly that these others are *elasteroi*, but the context makes that inference inescapable. (Why they may be “foreign or ancestral” is another question; see the *Commentary* on B7–9.) The procedures specified earlier (almost certainly at the beginning of the column) were to help an *autorrektas*. The same procedures apply to all other *elasteroi* a person may encounter, viz., those that pursue an individual for some other reason than bloodshed. The *autorrektas*, however, is the primary or typical target of *elasteroi*, and this may have bearing on the occasion for

¹It would be interesting if the figurines found in sacrificial deposits in the *Campo di Stele* (cf. Ch. VIII) could be connected with a practice like that prescribed at Kyrene, but there is no hint of this in the *lex sacra*. On the defensive use of figurines in Assyria, see Scurlock 1988: 49f, and more generally in the Near East and Greece, Faraone 1991b.

the drawing up and recording of the present text. The last prescription in the text also indicates the supernatural character of the *elasteros* by explaining how to sacrifice to him if one should need to (B12f). The *elasteros* is not simply a hostile and dangerous spirit that must be disposed of. He may require treatment comparable to the reverence due the immortal gods.²

The individual in Column B is presumably *miaros* until he has purified himself of the *elasteros*. But why in Column A are the Tritopatores *miaroi*? More generally, what prompts the issuance of these instructions, including the double rites for the Tritopatores? Death is the principal source of pollution for the Greeks, and we have argued that in Column B the paradigmatic individual who must deal with an *elasteros* is a homicide, an *autorrektas*. Death is also the most likely occasion for the procedures in Column A. But is this the normal death of a family or group member, or is it some extraordinary and especially disrupting form of death, either homicide, homicide within a particular group, or death occurring (perhaps again as the result of homicide) in a sacred place?

Some aspects of the instructions point to an expectation of recurrence, indefinitely into the future, of the circumstances that require these procedures. The time given for their performance is expressed as before an event that occurs annually, the festival of the Kotytia, and provision is made in case the year is one in which the quadrennial Olympic festival is held. Every and any year may be the occasion for these procedures. In the year after the (first) performance of them, furthermore, other rites

²An alternative view of the procedure for purification needs to be considered. Frequently in literary references to purification, a homicide receives purification at the hands of someone else, especially a host in a foreign land or city to which he has fled (cf. Ch. IV.5). Lines B3f can be understood to refer to such a host (the word *ὑποδέχουαι* is in fact used in such circumstances), with a change of subject from line 2 indicated if we restore [*ἡ δὲ ἡ*]/*ποδεκόμενος*. On this view it is the host who gives water, meal, and salt to the polluted man (*τοῖ αὐτῷ*). But at some point, probably by line 5, certainly by line 6, the subject is once again the person seeking purification, although there is no indication of a change of subject. This difficulty and the remarkable parallel with the procedure in the *lex sacra* of Kyrene have persuaded us that the interpretation given in the text is preferable. (For the absence of a connective before *ἡ*/ποδεκόμενος, see *supra* 41.)

It should, however, be noted that our interpretation requires that the *elasteros* from which purification is sought in 7f be in the accusative case with *καθαίρεσθαι*, whereas one might have expected the genitive case as with *ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι* (lines 1 and 9). Indeed, were it not for *χόντινα* in line 8, one would naturally have taken *ἐνίκον*, etc., to be genitive plurals.

If *ἐνίκον*, etc., do not refer to types of *elasteroi*, they would have to refer to types of persons requiring purification: "If anyone wishes that a foreign or ancestral person, heard or seen, or anyone at all, be purified...." (Similarly in B1 *anthropos* might be taken as accusative plural: "If anyone wishes ... persons to be purified from *elasteroi*...." But the middle or passive *καθαίρεσθαι* of line 3 shows that the subject is the one who benefits from purification.) Besides providing a very strange description of the impure persons (why should they be "seen or heard"?) this introduces the problem of who *τις* may be and why he should be concerned with the impure. One expects the initiative to come from the person who is polluted.

may be (*ἔκτο* plus infinitive) carried out (A18, 20f). Rites may also be envisaged for the third year, i.e., two years after the starting point (23). The repetition after one year is reminiscent of the *eniausia* for a dead person carried out by family members, which, however, are treated in our sources as obligatory rather than optional (see the *Commentary* on A18). Is it possible, then, that every time a family or group member dies the Tritopatores, the collective ancestors of the family or group, become polluted and require purificatory rites in the form of the rituals of A9–13? The most detailed regulations concerning the rites to be performed and the pollution incurred as the result of a normal death come from late fifth-century Keos (*LSCG* 97). From these it is evident that family members are more affected by the pollution emanating from the death than are outsiders (A25–29; the concern of the text is to limit the range of pollution and the performance of the funerary and subsequent rites). It is possible that just as the house itself needed to be purified (though only by aspersion and washing, after which *θύη ἐπιτίνα* were to be offered), so too might sacred objects such as images of the family gods, in particular the ancestors (cf. our *Commentary* on A7 for such *hiera*). That this was the situation at Selinous with the Tritopatores and that the state is legislating the funeral cult for all the year's dead are possible explanations. The optional sacrifices permitted but not required in the second and third years would be consistent with commemorative rites for the dead.

An alternative interpretation avoids a difficulty with the first explanation, viz., that the ordinary, natural deaths of the citizens of Selinous would require, in addition to purificatory rites for Tritopatores, sacrifices to Zeus Eumenes and the Eumenides and to two versions of Zeus Meilichios, none of whom are known to be involved in normal funerary cult elsewhere. Furthermore, the two Meilichioi are associated with two Selinuntine personages and are not, therefore, the Zeus Meilichios of the particular family or group that is conducting the rites. Figures more commonly associated with the dead, such as Hermes and Persephone, are not mentioned.

The alternative view, then, is to suppose that an extraordinary form of death needs to be dealt with, one that involves not only the gods of a particular family or group but gods of the city as well, the city as a whole having perhaps adopted the Meilichioi of two persons important in its early history. Such figures may also be implied by the *damasia hiara* of A18 (images perhaps of the supernatural figures just mentioned). The regulations in Column B seem to be concerned primarily with the consequences of homicide, a concern that may also be manifested in Column A. Homicide in earlier Greek society has been seen as more a tort than crime, as an action requiring recourse or remedy for the injured party (cf. Gagarin 1986: 61f). The separation of early Greek law in general from religion is clear (Gagarin 1986: 15f), and for homicide religious concern on the part of the community was not necessarily original or fundamental (MacDowell 1963: Ch. 14). But by the later Archaic and the Classical periods, ritual as well as legal procedures were authorized by the

community in dealing with homicide, whereas non-violent death, though polluting to a limited degree, received little public attention.

Homicide, of course, proliferated in periods of *stasis*, the internal violence that beset Greek cities so frequently. According to the second explanation (outlined above), it was the incidence of homicide—perhaps some conspicuous incident, such as sacrilege in the course of *stasis*, of which there are many examples in Greek history (Thuc. 3.81f is the most famous description)—that prompted the Selinuntines to formulate these rules. Their aim would have been to restore proper relations between the individuals and groups that had participated in the violence and the relevant gods of city and family. As for the purpose of repeating the rites in a second or third year, this may have been related to the motivation of the individual undertaking the procedures in Column B: a belief that hostile forces from the slain person needed to be turned away and that the good will of his own tutelary spirits needed to be secured. There remains the problem of the pollution of the Tritopatores under such circumstances. It may have been thought that homicide, or homicide under certain conditions, put both the actor and his ancestral spirits in a state of pollution. They needed, therefore, to be purified before sharing in the normal sacrifices prescribed in Column A.

The authorities who issued this law seem to speak for the city, for it is in the city's interest that the rites of Column A be performed before the Kotytia festival and the Olympic truce. But the city's involvement was limited. In Column A it seems to have ended with the first year's performance, except that if there were sacrifice in the second year the use of the public *hiara* would be permitted. In Column B the public sphere is not prominent: the Zeus of line 5 may be that of a public cult, and a sacrifice in line 10 is to be made on the public altar. The city is issuing instructions on how individuals or groups are to cope with problems requiring ritual treatment, but who is to undertake the ritual and how far it is to be taken are decisions to be made by the parties themselves.

The detail and precision here suggest careful deliberation and the advice of specialists, not necessarily or exclusively local. We cannot be sure that there was a city cult with city priests of Zeus Meilichios (there was none at Athens, as far as we know) or of the Tritopatores, who were sometimes attached to particular gentilitial groups—though here the public *hiara* (A18) may include images or other sacred objects used in their cults. The first recipients of sacrifice we see, Zeus Eumenes and the Eumenides, might be expected to have their own functionaries. Even so it seems more than likely that respected specialists were consulted on these matters and that their recommendations were endorsed by the civil and religious authorities in the city. Some support for this view may come from comparison with the text that offers the best parallels of language and substance, the *lex sacra* of Kyrene, almost a century and a half later in date (*supra* 55). If we had more examples of regulations for purification and for ceremonies performed by families and gentilitial groups, the common concern with ghosts or visitants in these two texts might not

seem so impressive. But in the present state of our knowledge some explanation seems called for. Several possibilities suggest themselves:

(1) The resemblances are due to a common heritage of Dorian Greeks, shared between the Theran and ultimately Lakonian forebears of the Kyreneans and the Megarian ancestors of the Selinuntines. We also note, however, elements shared by the Selinuntines with the Greeks of the Kyklades (the ninth part of the sacrifice [*cf.* 63f *infra*] and Zeus Elasteros/Alastoros [*cf.* Ch. V.6]). A common Dorian tradition seems an inadequate explanation.

(2) The concern is a regional phenomenon of Greeks in north Africa and western Sicily, fuelled perhaps by their contacts with Near Eastern beliefs, seen most clearly in the Assyrian texts. Resemblances between Kyrenean and Assyrian ghost-banning procedures have been pointed out by Burkert (1984: 68–71; 1992: 70f) and Faraone (1991b: 181, 199) and can also be seen in the Selinuntine text (*cf.* the *Commentary* on B7f). The ultimate source of at least some of the prescriptions may be the Near East.

(3) The oracle of Apollo at Delphi was the inspiration for both religious codes. In favor of this explanation is Delphi's supposed interest in purification, the fact that both cities are colonial settlements established very close to each other in time in the seventh century, and especially the explicit reference at the beginning of the Kyrenean text to Apollo as the source of these rules at the time of the establishment of the settlement. But the historicity of this claim in a text of ca 300 B.C. is questionable. On the influence and effectiveness of Delphi as a source of religious legalism in the Archaic period, scholars are divided. The positive evidence is remarkably meager (see especially Parker 1983: 138–43). The use of a word and form foreign to the vernacular, the apparently poetic *athanatoisi* of B14, may be an indication that the Selinuntine ritual has been influenced by religious experts, though not necessarily Delphic.

(4) The development of ritual and religious theory in the Archaic period was in the hands of specialists who were in demand for their expertise and who travelled widely, propagating their ideas and furthering the spread of certain practices (e.g. Epimenides and Empedokles; *cf.* Burkert 1983).

All these explanations may have bearing on the resemblances we have observed. What is clear is that, although some change in circumstances may account for the recording of these rules, both texts take us back to the social and religious life of Archaic Greece.

As to the occasion that prompted the recording of the *lex sacra* at Selinous, we should probably look to a significant event or a crisis in the life of the Selinuntines. Selinous, like most Greek cities of the Archaic and Classical periods, was repeatedly the scene of civil strife, with its accompanying bloodshed and sacrilege (*cf.* Ch. VI).³ The general pattern can be

³Kustermann Graf (1991) publishes the finds from what she calls the Gaggera cemetery, located 750 m. north of the Malophoros sanctuary (*cf. supra* Fig. 1). She reports (104) that a large trench of the mid-fifth century was a collective tomb for 26 inhumations

seen, although we lack sufficient details on the internal history of the city to focus on a particular historical event. The relevance of Zeus Meilichios to such incidents, however, is shown by his rôle in the aftermath of bloody *stasis* at Argos in the late fifth century (Paus. 2.20.1f; cf. 84 *infra*). The prevalence of internal violence, curses, ghosts, and pollution is likely to have been considerably more important in the Greek world than the exceptionally sophisticated, rational, and legal atmosphere of Athenian public life and literature may lead us to assume.

The *lex sacra* and the inscribed Meilichios stones that we discuss in connection with it date to the period when Selinous was an independent Greek city-state (late seventh century to 409 B.C.), during which time the area sacred to Zeus Meilichios was in heavy use. Thereafter, until the abandonment of the city ca 250 B.C., under the domination of the Carthaginians (with only brief interruptions) and with a significant Carthaginian population in addition to however many Greeks remained, cult activity in the Meilichios area either continued or was revived. Differences between practice before and after 409 may become clearer once the results of the recent excavations have been published in full. But it is already striking that dedication of figured stones proliferated, and a new form became popular, consisting of paired male and female figures, smaller than the old Meilichios stones and often of crude, unprofessional workmanship (cf. Ch. V.3 and IX, and PLL. 12–15). The style of the simpler sculptures has often been described as Punic and the *Campo di Stele* as a Punic *tophet*. Both assertions are questionable: firm parallels between the objects and the practices of this site and genuine Punic sculptures and sanctuaries have not, in our opinion, been demonstrated. Rather, a new development without parallel elsewhere in the Greek or Phoenician worlds took place.⁴ Whatever the Greeks at Selinous thought the female member of the paired figures represented, for the Carthaginian population she was probably Tanit and the male was Ba'al Hammon, presumably equated with Zeus Meilichios. It is possible that, under new political and social conditions, pollution was no longer a serious concern in the cult, while the long tradition of worshipping the tutelary divinities of families and gentilitious groups continued to flourish in a new synthesis of Greek and Punic religion.

(another for 11 persons dates from the early sixth century) and suggests that the relatively upper-class dead buried in the cemetery had been killed in battle (122f). *Stasis*, of course, is another possibility.

⁴Late in our study of these problems we learned of a unique parallel to the twin herms of Selinous, an object recently stolen from the Tegea Museum in Arkadia. See 105 *infra*.

IV. The Rituals

1. Overview

THE RITUALS PRESCRIBED in these regulations consist primarily of sacrifices, libations (A10f, 13f), anointing (A13, 16), and aspersion (A12f, B11). Some details are included as to how the sacrifices are to be performed. One set of procedures belongs to the practice of *theoxenia*, "hosting the gods," though no one term is used in the text to describe it (A14–16, 18–20). Another set of prescriptions is explicitly intended to achieve purification (B2–7) and includes a series of distinctive actions (B4, the giving of water for washing, food, and salt; B5, turning around? B11, marking a boundary with salt).

Both columns are probably directed towards purification, but the aim is made explicit only in B. In Column A, in the instructions for sacrifice, the Tritopatores are first to receive cult as *μῦρποι*, "polluted" (A10), and then (presumably as a result of the performance of the first rites) as *καθαροί*, "pure" (A13). Purification is known to be important in the cult of Zeus Meilichios, who receives sacrifice at A9 and A17 (see the discussion of this god at Ch. V.2). The two columns seem, therefore, to address different aspects of the same issue, perhaps pollution as it concerns groups and the community in A, and as it affects the individual in B.

A number of the ritual details have been discussed in the *Commentary*. Here we examine the regulations as a whole and compare them with Greek practice as known elsewhere. Our discussion is presented under several headings that overlap to some degree. We begin with an outline of the rituals mentioned in the text, so arranged as to highlight contrasts:

Column A

1ff	... burning of sacrificial parts performed by the <i>homosepuoi</i> [A sacrifice must be assumed for the previous lines.]
4–6	<i>rasuta</i>
7f	A time in the year specified for sacrifice

8-23

The recipients of sacrifice:

Zeus Eumenes and the Eumenides—a full-grown sheep

Zeus Meilichios *en Musqo*—a full-grown sheep

Tritopatores

/ (a) for the impure (<i>miaroi</i> s, 10-13) —1/9 [of one of the two preceding victims]; cf. heroes —libation of wine ("through the roof") —aspersion (no <i>theoxenia</i>) —anointing (of altars? statues?)	\ (b) for the pure (<i>katharoi</i> s, 13-17) —a full-grown sheep; cf. gods —libation of honey mixture (no aspersion) — <i>theoxenia</i> anointing of cups
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Sacrifice of ram to Zeus Meilichios *en Euthydamou* (17f)

The following year:

Sacrifice *re public hiara* (18) with *theoxenia*, feasting on the spot (18-20)

The sacrificer may invite whomever he wishes (20)

Sacrifice at home (21) of an ox (?), killed before statues (but?) any traditionally approved victim is acceptable (21f)

After two years ("in the third year," 23)...

Column B

In the case of purification from *elasteroi* (1)

proclamation, without regard to date (2f),
 provision of washing, a meal, and salt (4),
 sacrifice of a piglet to Zeus, followed by
 withdrawal and turning around (5), being addressed,
 taking food, and sleeping wherever he wishes

In the case of purification *re* any sort of *elasteros*,

purification in the same manner as for an *autorrektas* from an
elasteros (7-9, cf. 4-7)

Sacrifice of a full-grown victim at the public altar, resulting in purification,
 after marking a boundary and aspersion (10f)

In the case of sacrifice to an *elasteros*,

sacrifice as to the immortals,
 but with the throat cut so that the blood flows into the earth
 (12f).

2. Sacrifices

The predominant mode of ritual in our text is that of sacrifice. All the sacrifices appear to be of the normal, 'Olympian' type in which an animal is consecrated to one or more supernatural figures and the bulk of the meat is available for consumption by the worshippers. The contrasting type of sacrifice is for the dead, for heroes, and for divinities associated with the earth.¹ The first offerings to the Tritopatores (A10) are explicitly of this type ("as to the heroes"). In the literary evidence the distinctions in performance are either vague or unrealistically rigid (e.g. Isoc. 5.117, Diog. Laert. 8.33; cf. Rudhardt 1958: 249-53).

The present text is unusually helpful in indicating some of the characteristics of an offering "as to the heroes," though much remains obscure. While the conceptual distinction between the two types of sacrifice—that offered to most of the gods and that for figures associated with the earth—is clear, gradations or modifications are seen to be possible, and in fact the existence of the two categories permits a certain ambivalence to be expressed, as we see in the last sacrifice prescribed (B12f), which is to be "as to the immortals" but with the animal's throat pierced so that the blood flows into the earth. In this respect it resembles a third type of sacrifice, sometimes referred to as *sphagia*, that overlaps with 'chthonic ritual'. It focuses on a single, limited function such as securing blood for an oath or for purification (cf. Ziehen 1929; Rudhardt 1958: 272-81; Casabona 1966: 155-96; Jameson 1991: 200ff). This type of rite is apparently absent from our text despite its concern with purification, but one characteristic, the focus on blood and the blood's going into the earth, is required for what is otherwise a normal sacrifice "as to the gods." Such variations and modulations have been observed in Greek ritual,² but this example is remarkably explicit. The Selinuntine text, unlike most *leges sacrae*, is intended to set out proper ritual procedure, not to regulate cult finances or officials' perquisites. When victims are specified in this text—a full-grown sheep (A9 and 13), a ram (A17), a piglet (B5)—they are consistent with normal sacrifice, though piglets are also known to have been used in purification rites (e.g. LSCG 156 A 14f; cf. *Commentary* on B5). No victims are specified for the sacrifices mentioned in A18 and B12f. For the sacrifice "at home" in A20f any victim permitted by custom seems to be allowed (A22).

At A11f a modification of standard ritual is required: a "ninth" of one of the two victims at A9 (sacrificed to two versions of Zeus and to the Eumenides) is to be burnt for the "impure" Tritopatores, who do not re-

¹Cf. Hewitt 1908: 63; Nock 1944; Rudhardt 1958: 238f; Casabona 1966: 204-09; Burkert 1985: 199-203. The verb *ἐναγίζειν* (not in our text) is often used, e.g. Hdt. 2.44.5, *ὡς ἀθανάτων* ... (sc. Ἡρακλεῖ) θύουσι ... ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι.

²E.g. the partial use of *νηφάλια*, "wineless libations," significantly perhaps for Zeus Meilichios at Athens, LSCG 18 A 38-43 (quoted 82 *infra*; cf. Jameson 1965: 162-65).

ceive a victim of their own. The special treatment of a ninth of a victim is known from the islands of Mykonos and Thasos (see *Commentary* on A11). The burning of more than the usual minimum is a modification of normal sacrifice, one that can be paralleled from other texts. In effect, it moves the sacrifice into the direction of the more powerful and focused type of ritual act associated with holocaust, in which the entire victim (or all its flesh) is burnt and nothing is left for human consumption. There are other distinctions as well between the rituals for the "impure" and "pure" Tritopatores. The first receive a libation of wine "through the roof" as for heroes, and aspersion and anointing are performed for them (A10–13). By contrast, in the ritual for the "pure" Tritopatores (A13–17), "as for the gods," there is no aspersion, and the anointing is specifically of the cups used in the *theoxenia*.

The "pure" Tritopatores are given their own full-grown sheep and are honored with *theoxenia*. From the food offered at that ceremony the participants are to "take first-fruits" (ἀπαρξάμενοι) and to burn them completely. Sacrifice in the ancestral manner is to be performed "as to the gods"; we take this to be the full-grown sheep for these "pure" Tritopatores, although it is conceivable that a Selinuntine reader would understand a reference to other gods who did not need to be named. The last sacrifice prescribed (for "this year" as opposed to the following year, of A18) is a ram to (Zeus) Meilichios "in the plot of Euthydamos" (A17). This too would seem to be a normal sacrifice.

A sacrifice is said to be possible in the following year (A18). No recipient or victim is specified and one assumes, therefore, the same victims and recipients just mentioned for "this year," namely the Tritopatores and Zeus ἐν Εὐθυδάμῳ (or perhaps for all the figures mentioned so far). Once again there is a ceremony of *theoxenia*, for a table is to be set out and there are "first fruits" (ἀπαργματα) to be taken from the table and burnt (A19), along with a thigh (no doubt with its flesh still on the bone) and the bones. The thigh (ῥολέα, Attic-Ionic κωλή) is a common perquisite of priests (see *Commentary* on A19). The burning of a whole thigh with flesh on it is so rare that we cannot take silence about the thigh and the bones for "this year's" sacrifice to indicate that burning of them is to be assumed there too. Like the burning of a ninth part for the "impure" Tritopatores, such an increase in what is actually destroyed in the fire effectively increases the weightiness of the sacrifice.

Certain large bones of the animal, however, were regularly included, along with certain other parts, in the central act of burning on the altar (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 556f; Puttkammer 1912: 26f; Meuli 1946: 219; Rudhardt 1958: 272). The specification here that the bones are to be burnt suggests that all the victim's bones are to be put in the fire, just as none of the flesh is to be carried away (A20) but, presumably, is to be consumed on the spot. (The phrase used, τὰ κρῶ μέμφερέτο, is one of a number of similar phrases used for this restriction in other *leges sacrae*; see *Commentary* on A20.) The ceremony is concentrated entirely at the place and at the time of the

sacrifice. It is noteworthy that the disposal of the fleece of the victims is not mentioned, whereas the fleece of a ram was important in the cult of Zeus Meilichios at Athens (cf. 94f).

Some of the sacrifices in the following year are in some sense public, as they involve τὰ ... ἡιὰρὰ τὰ δαμόνια (A18), while others are to be performed "at home" (A20f) and are therefore in some sense private. Of the various possible explanations for "the public ἡιὰρὰ," the most attractive to us is that they are "public sacred objects," specifically "public images," which would be particularly appropriate to the entertaining of the gods in *theoxenia* (see *Commentary* on A7). Participation in the sacrifice is not restricted; one may invite whomever one wishes (A20).

The details of the sacrifice at home are not certain. There would seem to be some specification of the manner in which the victim (an ox?) is killed, perhaps with its throat being pierced (σφαζόντο, A21; cf. B13) before statues (ἀγαλμάτων, A21), which may be different from the objects referred to as ἡιὰρὰ. It is possible that the choice of a specific victim is optional (as an alternative to the expensive ox?), so long as it conforms with traditional practice (τὰ πατρώα, A22).

The first of the two sacrifices in Column B, the sacrifice of a piglet to Zeus (B5), is prescribed without further detail. A young pig is the standard victim for purificatory rites and is thought to have been used primarily for its blood (cf. Parker 1983: 371ff and *Commentary* on B5). But here it is mentioned simply as an offering to Zeus. Conceivably it would have been evident to a reader of this text that the use of a piglet in such circumstances would entail a distinctive sacrifice emphasizing blood and not followed by a meal from its flesh, but unfortunately that is not clear to us.

A second sacrifice in Column B is referred to even more concisely: after sacrificing a full-grown sheep on the public altar, the sacrificer is to be pure (B10). Since the last recipient mentioned was Zeus (in B5), we suppose that the sacrifice is once again to him. Although nothing is said of the disposal of the meat or the participation of others in either of these sacrifices, we have no indication that they are not normal sacrifices.

Both these sacrifices to Zeus are contingent on the need to secure purification (B1, 7f). The last sacrifice mentioned is contingent on the need to sacrifice to the *elasteros*, a being from whom purification was the object in B1 and B9. Time, place, and victim are unspecified, but the mode of the sacrifice is given, "as to the immortals" (in the poetic form ὡς περ τοῖς ἀθανάτοισι, B12f). The need for this prescription comes from what follows: the throat is to be pierced (σφαζέτο) so that the blood flows into the ground (B13). The destination of the blood and the very emphasis on blood would characterize the rite as 'chthonic', of the type made to gods of the underworld, heroes, and the dead, so that if the rite is in other respects like those for gods, this has to be made clear. The *elasteros* here is to be treated 'as an immortal', but he belongs to the earth and not to heaven.

The transition of the Tritopatores in Column A from figures who receive heroic honors to ones treated as gods corresponds to what happens to the *elasteros* in B. While he too ends up receiving divine honors, earlier in B he is associated with the need for purification. There is thus an analogy between the condition of the impure Tritopatores and the *elasteros/elasteroi* before the conclusion of purification rites (B1–11).

There are two references to the actual putting of the parts to be burnt on the sacrificial fire, if we are correct in our interpretation of *καθαγίζεν* (A3) and *καταγίζόντο* (A12, on which see the *Commentary* on A3). In both cases the reason for the mention of this action is to indicate who are to perform it, the *βομωκέπνοι* at A3 and “those to whom it is ritually permitted” in A12. In Column B all three sacrifices are performed by a single individual or are at least the responsibility of an individual, but for the sacrifices in A there may be further indications of different roles for an individual and for a plurality. All uses of the verb *θύω* are either in the infinitive (A8, 18, 21) with no subject or in the third plural imperative (A12, 13, 17, 17f). In all instances a plural subject is possible. Other actions to be performed by a plurality, in addition to *καταγίζόντο* (A12), are aspersion and anointing (A12f), the taking of first fruits and burning them (A15f), deposition and anointing of cups (A16), and the piercing of the throat of a victim (A21). But there are a number of actions prescribed with verbs in the singular: libation of wine through the roof (A10f), libation of honey mixture (A13f), probably the setting out of a table and couch (no verb is given), and putting a clean cloth, olive crowns, new cups, cakes (*πλάσματα*), and meat (on the table) (A14f). In the following year a single individual is to take out (?) the *δαμόσια* *βιαρά*. Probably he is also to set out a table (for *theoxenia*, A19); the verb is in the infinitive without a subject but comes after a singular verb and the action corresponds to what an individual apparently does at A14. An individual would also seem to do the burning of the thigh, the first-fruits, and the bones, since there is no change of subject (the verb is once again an infinitive with no subject expressed, A19f), although the corresponding actions in A15f are taken by a plurality. It is also a single individual who is to invite whomever he wishes to the sacrifice.

The hypothesis that the alternation of singular and plural in Column A is meaningful requires that the reader for whom the text was intended would understand what parties were being referred to. They may, in fact, have been named in the damaged beginning of the column. The plurality might thus be the *βομωκέπνοι* of A3 throughout; on the other hand, the *καταλ[ε]πόντας* earlier in line 3 rather suggests that there was also another plurality in contrast to the *βομωκέπνοι*, and the more general “those to whom it is permitted” at A12 may also suggest a second group. But it is also possible that, except for these two explicit references to the action of the verb *καταγίζεν*, the alternations are entirely casual. An individual accompanied by a group, possibly further subdivided into other groups, undertakes a series of rituals. He is “the subject to whom

the benefits of sacrifice ... accrue,” “le sacrifiant,” as Hubert and Mauss term him (1929: 11; “the sacrificer” in the English translation, Hubert and Mauss 1964: 10). At some times the ritual actions are assigned to him, at others more realistically to the group as a whole.

3. *Theoxenia*

At A14–16, and probably again in the following year at A18f, normal sacrifice, in which certain uncooked parts of the victim are burnt in the altar fire, is combined with arrangements for entertaining supernatural guests. This is an example of the ritual sometimes referred to as *xenia* or, more specifically, as *theoxenia*, literally, “hosting the god(s).” The essential elements for a dinner party are provided, including a table and a couch. On *theoxenia* see further Deneken 1881; Nilsson 1955: 135f; Dentzer 1982: 511–27; Bruit 1989; Jameson (in press).

It is necessary to distinguish between tables, set up for the most part temporarily as furniture for entertainment of the gods, and the tables, most probably set up permanently in a sanctuary, on which were placed portions of raw meat as well as cakes, all of which became perquisites of designated functionaries of the cult. The latter, which may derive from the former, are the ones we find mentioned frequently in inscribed *leges sacrae*, most of which are primarily concerned with expenditures and perquisites: see Mischkowski: 1917; Gill 1974: 117–37; 1991.

The textual evidence for *theoxenia* can be supplemented with information from representations on reliefs and vases. The type of reliefs formerly called “Totenmahlreliefs” (they do not represent the ordinary dead but only gods and heroes) is particularly informative (cf. Schauenburg 1974: 101–17 and pl. 57; Dentzer 1982: 511–27; Verbanck-Piéard 1992). Examples can be seen in more general studies of Greek religion (Harrison 1922: 312, fig. 90; Cook 1925: 2.1162, fig. 970 [Zeus Philios]; Nilsson 1940: fig. 32 [Dioskouroi] and fig. 16 [the Eleusinian gods, also in Nilsson 1955: fig. 39.3]). The Roman *lectisternia*, even if of Italic origin, may have been influenced by Greek practice (cf. Wissowa 1912: 421ff; Latte 1960: 242–44).

There is no verb governing the table and the couch at A14, but we should probably supply that used at A19, *προθέμεν*, “set before.” A characteristic word used to refer to the rites of *theoxenia* is *παράτιθμι*, “set alongside,” which can be used of the food itself (e.g. Ath. 137E, Athens; *LSSupp.* 115 B 36–37 [SEG 9.72, Buck 1955: no. 115], Kyrene; *LSSupp.* 61.76ff, Amorgos), or of the table on which the food is placed (e.g. *LSSupp.* 20.15, Athens). The person alongside or before whom the food or the table is placed is the guest, i.e., the god or the hero who has been invited. In the present inscription the unusual *προθέμεν* suggests some physical object representing the guest before which the table is set. Sometimes images or symbols of the supernatural guests are present: thus, for example, the *xoana* of the Twelve Gods are present at the

theo xenia in the festival of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maiandros where there is also the sacrifice of a bull (LSAM 32.41f [SIG³ 589]; for further examples see the discussion of *ἱερά* in the *Commentary* on A3). Here, we suggest, movable images were brought out and set up for the occasion. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the table and couch are to be placed before the altar on which the sacrifice is performed, or possibly before a shrine.

After the specification of the table and couch (A14) there follow instructions to "cast on (*ἐνβαλέτω*) a pure cloth and crowns of olive and honey mixture in new cups and *πλάσματα* and meat." The same items may be expected to be placed on the table at A18f, where no details are given for this stage of the procedure; but in the next stage "the offerings from the table" (*τὰ πὸ τῆς τραπέζας ἀπάργματα*) are required to be burnt together with a thigh of the victim and bones. The preparation of the table for *theo xenia* is regularly referred to as *κοσμηῖν*, "to adorn," or *κόσμησις*, "adornment" (e.g. LSCG 7 A 12 [SIG³ 1038, IG II² 1363]; IG II² 1934.4). Covering the table with a clean cloth and setting out upon it crowns, honey mixture in new cups, etc., suit the sense of adornment very well.

Since the cups with their contents and the meat are surely to go on the table, it is likely that all the items listed are intended for the table. A cloth (*τάπης*) and other items, including five gold crowns "for the statues," appear in the inventory of the foundation of Diomedon on Kos (LSCG 177.120–30 [SIG³ 1106]). No doubt we should imagine the couch as also being adorned with coverings (cf. *στόρνυμι* and such related words as *στρωμνή* used of couches, e.g. IG II² 1934.3) and cushions, as shown in reliefs and vase-paintings. The term for the preparation of the couch is *στῶσαι* (cf. IG I³ 255 A 5f, 15f [LSCG 11] and the *στρωμναί* at Magnesia, LSAM 32.9 and 44).

Crowns were worn by sacrificers and diners (Bleeh 1982, Eitrem 1912: 64–75) and hence were provided for supernatural guests at this ceremony. At sacrifices in the family cult of Herakles that Diomedon established on Kos, the statues of Diomedon's ancestors (*πρόγονοι*) and probably also that of Herakles were to be crowned (LSCG 177.21f). The olive was, of course, an important plant in ritual and, though this is rarely mentioned, it was probably the most common material from which crowns were made (cf. e.g. LSAM 11.2f, Pergamon [SIG³ 1018]).

The requirement that a clean cloth and new cups be used is consistent with the general practice of using clean and special clothing and equipment for ritual and festive activity. Thus Xenophanes (fr. 1 West) describes the setting of a sacrifice with feasting and drinking to follow, "Now the floor is clean (*καθαρόν*) and the hands of all and the cups (*κύλικες*), and we have put woven crowns around [our heads]." But in the present passage this aspect may be particularly important because the rites for the pure (*καθαροί*) Tritopatores follow on those for the impure (*μιαροί*) Tritopatores. New cups were to be dedicated on Kos among other offerings made in addition to normal sacrifice without, apparently,

having first served as equipment for *theo xenia* (LSCG 151; see the *Commentary* on A15).

The last three items listed—the *μελίκρατα* ("honey mixture" in the fresh cups), *πλάσματα*, and *κρῶ* ("meat")—are the drink and the food of the entertainment, set out on the table, the *ἀπάργματα* of the table mentioned in A19. For the honey mixture, see 72 *infra*. For *πλάσματα*, cf. Menander fr. 113 Kock (*Demourgos*), *πλάττομεν γὰρ πλάσματα* (emended by Meineke to *πέμματα*). The word, to the best of our knowledge, does not occur in those *leges sacrae* that refer to cakes, the commonest term for which is *πέμμα* (cf. Dentzer 1982: 519–24). Often *πλάσμα* referred to images of clay (e.g. Ar. Av. 686) or wax (Pl. *Tht.* 200b, *Hp. Ma.* 288 A) or even of dried fruits (Diod. 17.67.3). Since fragments of small terracotta figurines have been reported from among the burnt remains associated with the Meilichios stones in the sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios at Selinous (V. Tusa 1971: 56, 1977: pl. XXIX; Dewailly 1992: 37–40; cf. Ch. VIII *infra* and Pl. 8b), it is tempting to interpret *πλάσματα* as figurines in the present passage. But we do not hear of small figurines in *theo xenia*, and they are not represented in art. Furthermore the position of *πλάσματα*, in the list here, between "honey mixture in cups" and "meat" very much favors their being foodstuffs. Cakes are clearly to be seen on the tables in front of the couches and seats of banqueting gods in the reliefs (e.g. Cook 1925: 1162 fig. 970; Nilsson 1940: figs. 16, 32; Nilsson 1955: pl. 39.3; Dentzer 1982: e.g. figs. 306, 316, 363, 416, 417).

κρῶ at A15 and 20 refers to offerings of meat put on the table (for the form of the word, see the *Commentary* on A15). Strips of meat are shown on banquet tables in vase painting (e.g. Dentzer 1982: fig. 112, who, however, expresses doubts about their identification, 522), but on reliefs we do not know of examples, whereas cakes and fruits are unmistakable.

ἀπαρξάμενοι of A15f corresponds to *τὰ πὸ τῆς τραπέζας* of lines 19f, in the description of the rite performed in the following year. The verb *ἀπαρξάσθαι* here should mean "make offerings from" and refers to the taking of food and drink from the table and putting it on the altar, after which the offerings are to be burnt. Although the verb etymologically refers to first-fruits, it frequently has the broader sense of making an offering. At *Od.* 14.435f, 446, Eumaios offers a seventh portion of the *cooked* food to Hermes and the Nymphs (*ἄργματα θύει*), which we take to mean that he puts it on the fire, after having set it aside and prayed over it when dividing up the meat (436).³

The cups used (in "this year's" *theo xenia*) are to be "put in" and then anointed with oil (A16). If they are to be put in the fire, the order of procedure is strange. One would expect the cups to have been anointed first. It may be that some other place is referred to by the participle *ἐνθέντε*,

³For recent discussions of this passage see Kadletz 1984 and Petropoulou 1987. On *ἀπαρχή* and its cognates see Beer 1914, but no thorough study of the subject has been published. It is not one of the words examined in Casabona 1966.

"having put on/in," such as the structure with a roof, whose existence is implied at A11; but in this case perhaps some other opening is to be understood.

As for the recipients of *theoxenia*, it has long been recognized that while major figures such as Zeus, the Twelve Gods, and Apollo at Delphi were invited, the most characteristic guests were more intimate and familiar figures: the Dioskouroi, the heroes of the "Totenmahlreliefs," and such lesser forms of Zeus as Zeus Xenios, for whom a table was always set up on Crete in the men's mess-building (Ath. 143f), and Zeus Philios (Dionysius Comicus, fr. 2 Kock; Pyrgion, *FGrHist* 467 F 1 *apud* Ath. 239b-240b; *IG* II² 4627, a dedicatory relief illustrated at Harrison 1912: 312, fig. 90, 1922: 355, fig. 106, and Cook 1925: 1162, fig. 970). Diomedon's foundation on Kos provides for the association of the statues of his ancestors with the cult of Herakles and perhaps also with that of Pasios (Zeus Ktesios, *LSCG* 177). Xouthos in Euripides' *Ion* (805, 1130) offers ξένια καὶ γενέθλια to γενέταις θεοῖσιν on recovering (as he supposes) his son Ion. Deneken (1881: 3 n.2) raised the possibility that these were *dei patrii aut Tritopatores*. For Euripides' play this cannot be determined, but clearly here at Selinous the Tritopatores seem to have been the guests on at least the first occasion (A14-16).

In the following year (A18-20) a ceremony with a table may take place before the δαμόσια βιαρά, "public sacred objects" (as we interpret the phrase), the figures or symbols representing the corresponding divinities of the whole community. Also in the second year a sacrifice may be made "at home." It is not clear whether a couch as well as a table would have been prepared. The actual slaughter of the animal(s) occurs in some relationship to statues, ἀγάλματα (A21). We have suggested (*supra* 10, 39) that the victim was an ox.

There may be a third example of *theoxenia* in our text, but that depends on the interpretation of B1-7 (see Ch. III). If the same person is the subject throughout these lines, he offers hospitality to a spirit, an *elasteros*. By an alternative explanation, the subject of B3f is a third party, someone who purifies the subject of B1f and 5ff. At the end of the present chapter (73ff) we discuss other evidence that a form of *theoxenia* can be part of the procedure of purification.

4. Libations

In *leges sacrae* libations accompanying the performance of sacrifice are described only when they are distinctive and deviate from the norm. Although they are mentioned in our text only at A10f and A13-15, there is no doubt that libations of the customary type accompanied all the sacrifices prescribed. In A10f and 13ff distinctive procedures are required, and a contrast is drawn between them. A10f: "(Sacrifice) to the Tritopatores, the impure, as (one sacrifices) to the heroes, having poured a libation of wine down through the roof." A13-15: "... to the pure

(Tritopatores). Pouring down a libation of honey mixture (let him set out) both a table and a couch and let him put on (them) a pure cloth and crowns of olive and honey mixture in new cups....⁴ A clear distinction is drawn ritually between the impure Tritopatores who receive wine and the pure who receive honey mixture.

The rare word ὑπολείβω here describes the action of pouring the wine "through the roof." When it is used a second time of the libation for the pure Tritopatores we should probably understand it again as referring to the action of pouring liquid through an opening in the roof of a structure devoted to these figures. The word occurs in the medical writers (Hippoc. *Mul.* 1.34, VIII 234 Littré; Galen *Ling. expl.*, XIX 149 Kühn) of the dripping of blood. In poetry it is used of ritual in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 69f, in a much-emended passage⁵) and of the dripping of sweat in Nicander (*Alexipharmaka* 24).

The basic meaning of λείβω and its compounds and derivatives is "to pour drop by drop" (Rudhardt 1958: 240; Casabona 1966: 276; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v.; Benveniste 1973: 476ff; cf. Henrichs 1983: 96, "in measured spurts"). In common usage it was widely replaced by πένδω, which maintained the same general sense, in contrast to χέω and its derivatives, which referred to pouring the entire contents of a container at once. The latter, not found in our text, is characteristic of offerings to the dead and figures of the underworld.⁶ The action of consecrating all that a vessel contains, however, may be implied in the reference to honey mixture in new cups (see on *theoxenia*, *supra* 67ff).

⁴ οὐθ' ὑποκαίων οὐθ' ὑπολείβων / οὔτε τδ ακρώων† ἀπύρων ἱερῶν (ὑποκαίων Casaubon, ὑποκλαίων codd.). See Fraenkel 1950: 42f and Denniston-Page 1957: 74f. The latter cite Dover's comment that Greek not infrequently uses the same preposition in two compounds when it is appropriate to only one. Beattie's emendation, ἀπολείβων for ὑπολείβων (with the deletion of οὔτε ακρώων), adopted by Denniston and Page, supposes that the verb governs the following genitives, ἀπύρων ἱερῶν, "pouring from unfired offerings." But the passage refers to three separate ritual actions: sacrifice (we accept Casaubon's ὑποκαίων), libation, and offerings deposited without fire. After ὑπολείβων the Mss. read οὔτε ακρώων, which is almost universally regarded as a gloss (influenced by the common Homeric phrase δάκρυα λείβων?) on the false reading ὑποκλαίων and deleted. Wilamowitz, however, suggested that ακρώων had displaced δι' ἄγνων, and he retained the third οὔτε, reading οὔτε δι' ἄγνων. Whether or not that precise phrase occurred here, the retention of the third οὔτε, after ὑπολείβων, has the virtue of preserving the three distinct procedures. With the third οὔτε retained, the suggested ἀπολείβων no longer has a genitive to govern and has no advantage over the manuscripts' ὑπολείβων.

⁵ Cf. Casabona 1966: 279-97; Benveniste 1973: 476ff; Graf 1980. Sophocles *OC* 477 uses the phrase χόας χέασθαι of appeasing the Eumenides whose grove Oidipous has violated. This is also the language of Plutarch in describing how Apollo was said to have "made libations (χοαί) and performed what men perform when they are appeasing the anger of δαίμονες whom they call ἀλάστορες and παλαμναῖοι" in Thessaly, for the killing of Python (*Mor.* 418b; cf. n.10 *infra*). For the dead cf. *LSCG* 97 A 8ff.

In the present text the verb ὑπολείβω is used both for wine and honey mixture and for heroic and divine procedures. The choice of the unusual prefix would seem, therefore, not to be determined by the nature of the liquid or the character of the recipients but by the place into which the liquid is poured, the structure with a roof, which we think is most likely to have been set into the ground. Pausanias describes how the Phokians poured the blood of victims through a hole into the grave of a hero ἀρχηγέτης at Tronis (10.4.10, τὸ μὲν αἷμα δι' ὅπης ἐκχέουσιν εἰς τὸν τάφον; the meat was consumed on the spot). Aside from the act of pouring down from above, the Phokian rite (for which Pausanias' verb is ἐκχέω, and which uses blood and is performed daily) is quite different from the Selinuntine. The preposition in ὑπολείβω may reflect the idea of pouring under, i.e., of the liquid's passing through the roof and coming under it, or perhaps more plausibly, the idea of gradual passage, dripping drop by drop (cf. LSJ s.v. ὑπό, F.11).

Wine mixed with water was both a normal drink of the Greeks and the drink from which they normally poured a limited quantity to their gods and heroes. Unmixed wine, milk, and honey mixture (whether with water or milk) were unusual and signalled departure from the norm (Graf 1980; Henrichs 1983 and 1984). It is frequently said that wineless offerings (νηφάλια) were characteristically made to heroes, the dead, and figures of the underworld rather than to the Olympian gods (cf. Ziehen 1935, as well as the more recent studies just cited).⁶ The most common wineless libations were μελίκρατα, a mixture of honey and water or honey and milk (Graf 1980: 212). The Eumenides were said to receive μελίκρατος σπονδή (Paus. 2.11.4), honey and water (Soph. OC 481), and milk and honey (Σ Soph. OC 115), or at least no wine (Aesch. Eum. 107, Soph. OC 100). Another figure close to the concerns of the present text, Zeus Elasteros on Paros, has an altar for which the only rite specified is that it should receive libations of honey (LSSupp. 62; IG XI.5 1027: βωμὸς Διὸς Ἐ[λαστέ]ρο τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αν]δρο/θέμιος. μέλιτι / κέννεται, 480–450 B.C.? see 116 *infra*).

Greek practice was complex, and while we may believe that structural significance was inherent in the various types of libation offered, we usually know too little of an entire ritual and its context to interpret this aspect adequately. What is novel about the distinctions made at Selinous is that although the impure Tritopatores would appear to be the more abnormal and even dangerous figures, they receive wine while the pure Tritopatores receive the less normal type of libation, the honey mixture.

⁶For wine to heroes and the dead cf. Henrichs 1983: 98, who notes that wineless libations to heroes are the exception rather than the rule. Lucian (*Charon* 22) speaks of sumptuous dinners burnt and libations of wine and honey mixture poured into pits for the dead. It is possible that the bare reference to wine in A10 is to unmixed wine, dripped down into a chamber, and not to mixed wine drunk by participants and shared with gods and heroes. If so, a distinction is being made here between two types of abnormal liquid offerings.

If the two liquids, wine and honey mixture, represent respectively the lively and violent as opposed to the gentle and soothing, it seems that rather than attempting to appease or soothe the impure Tritopatores, their drink symbolizes their agitated state, while the pure Tritopatores, now restored to their normal state, receive an offering that recognizes their gentleness.

5. Purification

Death, and especially the shedding of blood, was the most serious source of pollution for the Greeks and one known to have engaged Zeus Meilichios (see 94f). The new word αὐτορ(ρ)έκτα at B9 denotes, we have suggested, one who has shed blood. The impurity of the Tritopatores at A10 is also likely to come from death, more probably extraordinary, violent death such as homicide than death from natural causes. The closer kin of the dead are more affected by the pollution of death than persons more distantly related or unrelated (cf. LSCG 97 A 25–29 [SIG³ 877]). It is conceivable, though unparalleled hitherto, that the ancestral spirits known as the Tritopatores could be contaminated by a death, especially a violent death, or by a homicide involving members of the group to which they were attached (cf. *supra* 53f).

The need for purification arose both from contact with polluting acts or substances and from the anger of supernatural forces. Between the two, no clear demarcation can be drawn. The relationship of the two concepts for the consequences of bloodshed has been much discussed, but there is no reason to suppose uniformity of belief throughout the Greek world or in all periods of Greek history, or even among different individuals within the same society (cf. Parker 1983: 10f, 70, 104–43).

Rites of purification involved two types of procedures: (1) symbolic actions that express the removal of pollution metaphorically, such as washing, aspersion (the sprinkling of water), fumigation, especially with sulphur,⁷ and the manipulation of the body of an animal or its blood (e.g. applying blood to remove the stain of blood);⁸ and (2) propitiatory or averting sacrifices made to hostile forces. At the shrine of Amphiaraios, for instance, Pausanias reported that "Purification consists of sacrificing to

⁷Cf. LSSupp. 65.5 (Thasos, 4th cent.) for carrying sulphur around, and Theoc. 24.96 with the comments of Gow 1952: II 430f. The procedure is used to purify a space, not an individual.

⁸E.g. Orestes at Aesch. Eum. 449f. For purification with blood and the like as being the vulgar notion of a cure for a state of impurity caused by divine vengeance (or human magic or sacrilegious acts) cf. Hippoc. Morb. Sacr. 4, καθάρουσι ... τοὺς ἐχομένους τῇ νόσῳ ... ὥστερ μιάσμα τι ἔχοντας ἢ ἀλάστορας. As an example of the use of a victim, cf. Hellenistic inscriptions from Kos prescribing that a piglet should be killed and carried around (περιταμέσθω) and that seeds and water from a golden vessel should be sprinkled as purification for a priest's having eaten forbidden food (LSCG 156 A 14f, cf. 154 A 28, 43). On τέμνω and its compounds (but without these passages) see Casabona 1966: 211–29.

the god" (Frazer's translation of 1.34.5, ἔστι δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ θύειν). The distinction and connection of the two procedures have been noted frequently.⁹ Although it might seem logical and historically plausible to suppose that the first type of ritual, employing symbolic cleansing, was used for pollution and that the second, employing propitiatory sacrifices, was directed towards the anger of gods and spirits, such a division is not confirmed by Greek practice. Both sources of pollution and both types of remedies seem to have been thoroughly intertwined, as, for example, in Theocritus 24.94–98, where fumigation and aspersion of a house are followed by sacrifice. This is also the case in the Selinuntine regulations. Sacrifice predominates, but there are also symbolic acts of cleansing: aspersion (prescribed for the impure Tritopatores at A12f and as the last action mentioned for the person purified from an *elasteros* at B11) and perhaps washing (ἀπονίψασθαι, B4).

Washing, while attested in rites whose whole purpose is purification, is also a general, preliminary act of purification before sacrifice and formal meals (see *Commentary* on B4). At B4 it is inseparable from the other two acts of hospitality prescribed in that line (the giving of a meal and salt), all three of which are followed by a sacrifice to Zeus. It is not clear that in this case it is directed toward the particular pollution incurred by the person seeking purification. Both columns, however, are filled with specification for sacrifice and offerings, that is, with the procedures for appeasement and aversion, and it is these that seem to produce the desired state of purification (cf. B10f).

Most of the references we have to rites of purification are couched in very general terms. All we can say for sure about them is that sacrifice or libation were combined with other procedures. For example, Athenian law allowed the unintentional homicide to return from exile once he had been forgiven by the *genos* of the dead man, provided that "he sacrificed and was purified and did certain other things that have been prescribed" (Dem. 23.72 καὶ θῦσαι καὶ καθαρθῆναι καὶ ἄλλα διεῖρηκεν ἃ χρῆ ποιῆσαι; cf. 73 τὸν κατιόνθ' ὁσιῶν καὶ καθαίρεσθαι νομίμοις τισί).¹⁰ The numerous references to purification for bloodshed in Plato's *Laws* give no details.¹¹

There is, however, a quotation from Athenian regulations that is exceptionally explicit. A group of sacrificers wash themselves,¹² and one of

⁹E.g. Rohde 1925: 179–82; Stucky 1937: 39f; Parker 1983: 373f. Cf. Dem. 23.72.

¹⁰Apollo was said to have "made libations (χοαί) and performed what men perform when they are appeasing the anger of δαίμονες whom they call ἁλάρτορες and παλαμναῖοι" in Thessaly, for the killing of Python: Plut. *Mor.* 418b, ἐκεῖ (Thessaly) χοάς τινες χεῖσθαι καὶ δρᾶν ἃ δρᾶσιν ἄνθρωποι μνήματα δαιμόνων ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ πράσσοντες οὗς ἁλάρτορας καὶ παλαμναίους ὀνομάζουσιν. Cf. *supra* n.5.

¹¹Cf. *Leg.* 845E, 865B, 868A, 868C, 869C.

¹²*FGH Hist* 352 F 1 (*apud* Ath. 410A–B; cf. Kleidemos, *FGH Hist* 323 F 14), derived from the publication of Dorotheos in the early empire (Jacoby 1949: 254 n.78). With its second singular imperative this sounds like a direct quotation from regulations prepared for

them then washes away the blood (symbolically) from the person seeking purification, after which the water used is shaken up and poured "into the same place," perhaps a trench into which blood from the sacrifice has been poured. But the sacrifice itself, since it includes the communal tasting of the innards (σπλάγχνα; the sacrificers are referred to as οἱ σπλαγχνεύοντες), was in its essentials a normal sacrifice, not σφάγια.¹³ Washing, as at B4f, was apparently subordinate to a sacrifice. But whereas in the Athenian practice the water is used by the purifier to wash off blood symbolically from the one being purified, at Selinous it is not evident that a purifier performed the act of washing (if, in fact, a purifier had a rôle in the proceedings).

Most literary instances of purification are also described only very generally.¹⁴ An unusually detailed account of symbolic actions and placatory offerings (which, to be sure, are also symbolic in character) is given by Apollonius Rhodius (4.685–717): Jason and Medeia seek purification from Kirke for the killing of Apsyrtos and go to her hearth (693). Kirke's ritual is in two parts:

(1) She kills a piglet and lets the blood pour on the hands of the murderers (704–07).

(2) With other χύτρα (poured offerings: cf. *LSSupp.* 115A49) she calls on Zeus Katharsios (707–09); she burns grain and honey offerings (πελανοὺς μέλικτρά τε) at the hearth, accompanied by "wineless vows."¹⁵

A distinctive feature of the purification ritual in the Selinuntine *lex sacra* is the instruction at B4 to give (water for) washing, a meal, and salt. Although washing and salt (for aspersion) are known from other descriptions of purification, their combination here with the provision of a meal (ἀκρατίξασθαι) has no close parallel. The person who provides the washing, meal, and salt does so as a host who receives the other ([*hu*]/*po*-

purifiers: παρέθετο τὰντα καὶ Δωρόθεος, φάσκων καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν Εὐπατριδῶν Πατρίοις τάδε γεγράφθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν ἱκετῶν καθάρσεως·

ἔπειτα ἀπονιψάμενος αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σπλαγχνεύοντες ὕδωρ λαβὼν κάβαιρε, ἀπόνιζε τὸ αἷμα τοῦ καθαυρομένου. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπόνιμμα ἀνακινήσας εἰς ταντὸ ἔρχεε.

¹³Stengel (1922: 541 n.2) thought that σπλαγχνεύοντες was not used here precisely, because he believed that the victim in purification ceremonies was never eaten.

¹⁴E.g. Achilles killed Thersites and sailed to Lesbos where, after sacrificing (θύσας) to Apollo and Artemis, he was purified by Odysseus of the killing (καθαίρεται τοῦ φόνου, Arctinus, *Aethiopsis*, Allen 1911: 105; Bernabé 1987: 68). Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 12.1) asked to be purified (καθαρθῆναι) by the Phylalidae of Attica, who had an altar of Zeus Meilichios (Paus. 1.37.4); after purifying him with the customary rites and making placatory sacrifices (τοῖς νενομικμένοις ἁγνίσαντες καὶ μειλίχια θύσαντες), they entertained him in their home (εἰςτίσαν).

¹⁵Just before this last measure we are told that Kirke's assistants, the Neïades, carry all the λύματα out of the house. The procedure that produces the λύματα is not described—is the blood from the piglet treated as wash water, or are the λύματα the result of washing with water that has not been mentioned? On λύματα and ἀπόνιμμα see Meuli 1946: 205 n.1.

δεκόμενος, B3f) and then furnishes him with these items. If the 'host' is a third party, a purifier (see *supra* 56 n.2), these actions can be taken to be part of the formal hospitality the purifier offers the one to be purified, an interpretation which is most plausible if the latter, the one seeking purification, is a stranger. However, the passage that seems most relevant is that containing provisions for *hikesioi* in the late fourth-century *lex sacra* of Kyrene (*LSSupp* 115B28–39), in which procedures are described whereby a person is enabled to rid himself of visitants, hostile spirits.

We have already discussed this passage (see *supra* 55), noting the similarity of the Kyrenean *hikesios* to the Selinuntine *elasteros* and the possibility, therefore, that these types of spirits were to be dealt with in a comparable way. Though much debated and much misunderstood, despite Stukeley's early and cogent explanation (1937), the directions for the procedure at Kyrene are less laconic and clearer than what we have at Selinous. At Kyrene the host (ὑποδεξάμενος, *LSSupp* 115B36; cf. [hν]/ποδεκόμενος at B3f of the Selinuntine text) makes a proclamation (προειπών, cf. B2f of our text) and entertains the supernatural visitants, probably represented by figurines. The verb for setting out "a portion of everything" is παρατίθημι, used for setting food or a table carrying food beside a guest when entertaining either a human or a god or hero at *theoxenia* (cf. *supra* 67). Possibly other items of hospitality (including washing water and salt?) were also offered. Both the figurines and the "portions of everything" were then deposited in an unworked wood. Selinous lacks these figurines, unless the ἀγάλματα apparently referred to in the lacunose line A21 correspond to the Kyrenean κολοκοί, but shares with Kyrene the ritual of hospitality. Both texts seem to concentrate on procedures of appeasement. Sacrifices occur at Kyrene at the end of the preserved text for the third type of *hikesios* (cf. Stukeley 1937: 39 n.36). Both make use of *theoxenia* rites of which those at Selinous are the more developed, being found in both Columns A and B, prescribed both for spirits that protect (A) and spirits that threaten (B). It is possible that at Selinous images or symbols of the protecting spirits are employed (see *Commentary* on A3), while at Kyrene there is mention only of specially-made figurines of the threatening spirits.

V. The Supernatural

1. Zeus Eumenes and the Eumenides

A8–9: "To Zeus Eumenes [and] the Eumenides
sacrifice a full-grown (sheep)."

The epithet of Zeus is new. A Zeus Eumenes is, in fact, found in Asia Minor, but he is a creation of the Eumenid rulers of Pergamon, and his epithet refers to the name of their dynasty and not to his association with the Eumenides (see *SIG³* 985.6f [I B.C.], with note; Cook 1925: 960). Here Eumenes is a title indicating his partnership with the lesser figures in a cult to which they contributed the distinctive character. One can compare, for example, Athena Areia with Ares in the oath of the Athenian ephebes (Tod 1948: II 204.2f, 17f; Robert 1938: 302f). At Lindos Zeus Damatrios accompanied the Damateres (cf. Nilsson 1935: 87 n.33; for further examples see Schwabl 1972: 266).

The name of the Eumenides has been read on a sixth-century stone of Zeus Melichios from the *Campo di Stele* at Selinous (cf. 89 *infra*), but the most recent discussion of the text favors the reading Εὐμενιδότο, a personal name, rather than Εὐμενιδὸν τὸ... (cf. Lazzarini 1976: 150f; Jordan 1991: 281). The cult of the Eumenides elsewhere in western Sicily is suggested by the month Eumenideios at Entella in the third century (*SEG* 30.1117.3, 1118.3, 1120.3; cf. Nenci and Asheri 1982: 775–78); Dubois (1986 and 1989: 60) unnecessarily posits the cult of a local divinity Εὐμενίς to explain the month name.

The closest parallel for the link between Zeus and the Eumenides is seen in a series of some twenty rock-cut inscriptions at Ain el Hofra, about two kilometers outside the town of Kyrene (*SEG* 9.325–46), and in another group of four whose precise location is not given in the publication (*SEG* 20.723; see also 88 *infra*).

The first series was published by Ferri (1923), discussed further by him in 1929, and restudied (though without autopsy) by Forbes (1956). Rock-cut inscriptions are difficult to read at best, and Ferri's publication, from which all discussion derives, was sketchy. Most names are abbreviated (e.g. EYM) or incomplete. The inscriptions may be classified roughly as follows:

Eumenides and Zeus	4
Zeus alone	4
Heroes	3

Eumenides, Zeus, and Heroes	1
Eumenides and Heroes	1
Eumenides alone	3

The Eumenides occur in nine inscriptions, Zeus in nine, and the Heroes in five. Personal names occur in five, and in four there are only personal names. Zeus with the epithet Meilichios appears once with the Eumenides (*SEG* 9.327, Ferri 1923: no. 2, Forbes 1956: no. 2), once alone (*SEG* 9.329, Ferri 1923: no. 8, Forbes 1956: no. 3). There are also two examples of the epithet alone (one is incomplete). Because no other epithet of the god occurs, Zeus is probably always Meilichios. The deities are always in the genitive, with the exception of *SEG* 9.327, in which both Zeus and the Eumenides are in the dative. At least two, and perhaps all, the personal names are in the genitive. The inscriptions appear to be of the fourth century.¹

Of the four at an unspecified location, *SEG* 20.723a–d (Oliverio and Pugliese Carratelli 1961: no. 9), one consists of two letters EA, two others have the beginning of the word Eumenides, probably with a personal name, and the last has the Eumenides in the genitive, Μηλῖχιος in the nominative, and two other names (human or divine; cf. 88 *infra*).

There are a number of parallels between the cults at Selinous and Kyrene. All the Kyrenian inscriptions we have been considering mark places on bedrock, and at some of these the rock has been cut out to serve as an altar or as the setting for a statue or some other dedication. On the sandy hill of the Gaggera at Selinous, where no bedrock is exposed, individual blocks of stone were used as markers and as the loci of ritual. Both areas, Ain el Hofra and the Gaggera, lie outside town but are not funerary. Ferri described the valley of Ain el Hofra as a “τέμενος funerario” but was unable to point to any graves in the area, nor have any been mentioned in connection with Oliverio’s group. At Selinous individuals or groups named after an individual are responsible for the inscriptions and the erection of the stones. At Kyrene, at a later date, individuals but not groups seem to have been involved. The Meilichios stones at Selinous, when inscribed, refer only to this Zeus, though just possibly in the one instance noted above also to the Eumenides. At Kyrene the Heroes, in the genitive case as are Zeus and the Eumenides for the most part, appear five times. Are they comparable to the Tritopatores, sanctified

¹Ferri (1923) published drawings of twenty-one inscriptions. His no. 19 is of much later date and is not apparently related to the rest. Two numbers were repeated, 6 and 15 (the latter as 15 and 15a), perhaps to indicate that each pair may have belonged to a single inscription. We have counted them as four inscriptions. Ferri (1923: 19) speaks of no. 20 (*SEG* 9.336) as showing that the dedicant constructed an altar, perhaps because of the shape of the rock on which it was cut (cf. Forbes 1956: 237). Forbes points out that the dialect of this inscription suggests *koine* influence, though it is dated in *SEG* 9, p. 64, as fifth century: Δημητρίου Διός / Εὐμενίδων Ἡρώων. Publications subsequent to Ferri all correct his ΔΙΟΙΟ to ΔΙΟΙ.

ancestors, at Selinous? The Tritopateres (so spelled) are also known from Kyrene (*LSSupp.* 115 A 25; see 107ff *infra*) though absent from the extra-urban inscriptions.

What is the significance of the association of Zeus and the Eumenides? We need first to consider the character of the Eumenides themselves. Their relationship with the Semnai (“The Venerable”) and the Erinyes (“The Furies”) has been much debated (recent treatments are Brown 1984; Heubeck 1986; Podlecki 1989). Some see them all as distinct deities, identified only in the later Classical and Hellenistic periods, and then primarily in literature (cf. Harrison 1922: 213–56; Brown 1984: 260–81). The Eumenides and Semnai, according to this view, are essentially benevolent figures, concerned with the fertility of the land, while the Erinyes are “Furies,” described by the ancients as relentless pursuers of those who have committed homicide or violated fundamental rules of society.

Other scholars more convincingly, in our view, regard them as different aspects of essentially the same figures. Aeschylus’ account of the conversion of the Erinyes, “Furies,” into Eumenides, “the Kindly Ones,” can be taken as historicizing the double character of a single group of deities (e.g. Heubeck 1986; Podlecki 1989: 1–9; Lloyd-Jones 1990). Sophocles (*OC* 43f) has a man of Kolonos explain that Eumenides is the local name for goddesses who have other names elsewhere (for which see Wüst 1956). That even in this play, and no doubt for the people of Kolonos, these generally kindly goddesses have a sinister aspect is granted by scholars who do not regard it as significant for the drama (e.g. Linforth 1951: 96; Brown 1984: 277). All Greek divinities were potentially both beneficent and dangerous, depending on the contexts in which they functioned, and the kindly Eumenides are but a different aspect of the terrifying Erinyes. Their dangerous force, however, is so strong and distinctive that it is described by that unambiguous title.

The two types of names occur in different contexts. Aside from a single, doubtful rock-cut inscription at Thera (*EPI.EC.* *IG* XII.3 367), Erinyes were not recognized at cult places of their own. They are “Erinyes in the context of crime and punishment, Eumenides in the context of cult” (Brown 1984: 266 n.45, who, however, does not draw the same conclusions as we do from this observation). Even when the name Eumenides is used there may have been implications of danger and violence. On the other hand, their association with fertility is not to be isolated from the rest of their character: we should not think of them as benign agrarian spirits recruited for Aeschylus’ dramatic purposes. As Erinyes they can blight, while as Eumenides they bless (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 778–87, 938–47). The concept of fertility—of plants, animals, and mankind—as the reward of the community that is free of injustice and religious taint has a long history in Greek religious thought (cf. e.g. Hes. *Op.* 225–37).

Seen in this light the Eumenides share some characteristics with Zeus when he bears the title Meilichios. Like him they have a propitiatory

name and both a dangerous and a benevolent aspect; and like him they are guardians of the integrity of the *oikos* (cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 895). But at Selinous they are not only associated with Meilichios; they also have their own Zeus: Eumenes. He and they may be expected to have rôles related to but distinct from that of Zeus Meilichios.

Although the Erinyes have no cult places and receive no honors, one may try to appease them when they are hostile through offerings and rites of purification. In seeking to purify themselves for the murder of Apsyrtos, Jason and Medeia make offerings to Zeus, referred to as Hikesios and Katharsios, and to the Erinyes (Ap. Rhod. 4.700–17; cf. 119 *infra*). Cakes and honey-mixture (μείλικτρα or μελίκρατα) without wine are offered to appease the anger of the Erinyes and make Zeus εὐμειδής ... καὶ ἥπιος (715). Thus the Erinyes, with their ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ (*Il.* 9.568), are converted to figures who are *eumenides* and associated with Zeus who is, in effect, *meilichios*. This concept of Zeus who may become εὐμειδής is close to that of Zeus Eumenes of the *lex sacra*.

Pausanias' version of Orestes' encounter with the two aspects of the goddesses at Ake in Arkadia (8.34.2f) has already been noted (*supra* 53). Known locally as the Maniai, they initially appeared to him as black. When he bit off and ate one of his fingers, they then appeared to him as white. Regaining his sanity at this sight, he first sacrificed to the black Erinyes to turn away their anger. The word Pausanias uses for this sacrifice is ἐνήγισεν, the term for sacrifice to underworld figures, heroes, and the dead (cf. Casabona 1966: 204–10; Rudhardt 1958: 238f, 250f). The word for Orestes' subsequent sacrifice to the white ones is ἔθυσε, the term for normal sacrifice (though when not used in contrast to other more specialized terms, it covers sacrifice in general).

Literary sources tend to overschematize the categories of ritual (cf. Nock 1944). The picture derived from inscriptions is more complex, as we have already seen is the case with the present text (*supra* 63). The contrasts are not as simple and sharp as Pausanias' description of the Arkadian tradition would suggest. At Selinous we do not find the distinctive rites that are reported for the Eumenides and their like: wineless libations of water, honey-mixture, and milk, or black sheep in holocaust (cf. Graf 1980; Henrichs 1983: 87–100). In Column A, except for the two rituals for the Tritopatores—who with their two aspects, μιαιοὶ and καθαροί, resemble the black and white Erinyes—all the sacrifices are normal (θύειν), with the Eumenides sharing a full-grown sheep with Zeus Eumenes. The principal elaboration is in the form of *theoxenia*, the entertainment of supernatural guests, in addition to the normal sacrifice. In this column it is primarily the kindly, protective aspect of the figures, including the Eumenides, that is addressed.

Column B, by contrast, is explicitly concerned with purification, except perhaps for the concluding sacrifice to the Elasteros. The procedure, which seems to consist essentially of hospitality (offered to the threatening power) and of sacrifice, finds its closest parallel in the great *lex sacra*

of Kyrene (see *supra* 55, 76). The *elasteros*, as we shall see (116–20 *infra*), corresponds to the dangerous, vengeful Erinyes, the supernatural pursuers *par excellence*, the dark side of the Eumenides of Column A. The dual character, however, of the Tritopatores of A, *miaroi* and *katharoi*, shows a link with the purification of B. The untitled Zeus who receives a piglet as part of the purification procedure (B5) could be either Zeus Eumenes or Zeus Meilichios of A. The subjects and the supernatural figures of the two columns are different but related.

2. Zeus Meilichios

i. Testimonia

"Zeus was worshipped under the title Meilichios far and wide through the Hellenic world," A. B. Cook maintains in introducing the most comprehensive study we have of the subject.² In reviewing the evidence for the god's cult we do not claim to have included all published attestations, but we trust our list is sufficiently comprehensive to be useful for the study of the god's cult at Selinous. (Note that the geographical order is that of *IG* and *SEG*, except that we have reserved the Italian and Sicilian examples for the end.)

Attica

Agrai

(a) Thuc. 1.126.6, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους Διάκρια ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλίχίου μεγίστη ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια (7th and 5th cent.).

Akropolis (Athens)

(b) Sacrificial calendar (of an unknown organization): *LSCG* 1A 3–5 (*IG* I³ 234), ... Διὶ Μ/ιλιχίῳ : Ε[- - - νεφ/ά]λια : Μετρὶ : ἐ[ν "Αγρασ - - -] (480–460)

Thorikos

(c) Sacrificial calendar of the deme: *SEG* 33.147 (Daux 1983) 34f, Δ/ιακρίῳ, Διὶ Μιλιχίῳ οἶν προ[τόν] (later 5th cent. [ed. pr.: 4th])

²Cook 1925: 1091–1160, with additions in Cook 1940: 1183–89. Other discussions of the cult include Höfer and Drexler 1894–97; Farnell 1896: I 64–67; Harrison 1922: 13–28; Pfister 1932; Nilsson 1908, 1932: 435–38, 1955: 411–14; Ch. Picard 1942–43; Lerat 1952: II 145–49; Jameson 1965: 159–72; Riotto 1985: 35–44. Specifically on the god's Athenian festival, the Diasia, see Mommsen 1864: 379ff, 1898: 421–26; Band 1883; Deubner 1932: 155–58.

Erchia

(d) Sacrificial calendar of the deme: *LSCG* 18 (*SEG* 21.541) A 37–43, Ἀνθεστηριῶνο/ς, Διαίοις, ἐν/ ἄκτε(ι) ἐν Ἀγρᾶς, / Διὶ Μελιχίῳ, / οἷς, νηφά-
λιος / μέχρι πλάγ[ν]ων, ΔΙ F (mid-4th cent.)

Near the Kephisos River

(e) Paus. 1.37.4, βωμὸς Διὸς Μελιχίου τῶν Φυταλιδῶν (cf. Plut. *Thes.* 12.1, 8)

Sanctuary north of the Hill of the Nymphs

(f) Cylindrical block: *IG* II² 4677, Διὶ Μελιχίῳ / (Ζ)ωπυρίων (3rd cent.)
(g) Rectangular block: *IG* II² 4678, Ἡλίῳ καὶ Διὶ Μελιχίῳ / Μομμία (3rd cent.)

Agora (mostly in the area of the Odeion of Agrippa, probably also from this sanctuary)

- (h) Relief of large snake and (at least one) man (Pl. 9): Raubitschek 1943: 49f no. 9, Ὀλυμπὸς Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (ca. 330)
(i) Relief of man and woman (venerating snake?): *SEG* 21.790 (*ibid.* 51 no. 10), Διὶ Μυλ[ιχίῳ] (for Μιλ-) / Ἀριετο[- -] / καὶ Φιλακ[ὼ τόδ'] / ἀν(έθ)ε[αν] (3rd cent.)
(j) Relief of snake (and worshippers?): *SEG* 12.167 (Meritt 1952: 377f no. 33), Θεοδ[- -] Διὶ Μυλ[ιχίῳ] (2nd cent.)
(k) Dedication: *SEG* 21.781 (Meritt 1963: 45 no. 58), [- - - Διὶ Μι[λ]ιχίῳ (4th cent.)
(l) Dedication: Raubitschek 1943: 51f no. 11 [Διὶ Μι[λ]ιχίῳ / [- - -]ιος

Shrine of Nymphs, south of Akropolis

(m) Relief of snake: *SEG* 17.87 (Daux 1958: 366f; Meliades 1958: 9), Ἡδέα Διὶ / Μελιχίῳ (4th–3rd cent.)

Athens

(n) Relief of snake with three worshippers (man, woman, girl) much smaller in scale: Metropoulos 1975: 121f, Ἀριετομένης / Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (end of 4th cent.)

Alopeke (Ambelokipi)

(o) Stele: *IG* I² 866, hierón : / Διός : Μιλιχίῳ : Γῆς : Ἀθην/αίας (late 5th cent.)

Peiraieus (all probably from same shrine near Zea and Mounichia harbors)

(p) Relief of bearded male holding horn in left hand, phiale in right, seated to left of altar; worshippers approaching from the right with pig and sacrificial materials (drawing, Cook 1925: 1106, fig. 943): *IG* II² 4569, [- - -] το-
βόλη Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (first half of 4th cent.)
(q) Relief of snake: *IG* II² 4617, Ἡδίστιον / Διὶ / Μελιχίῳ (4th cent.)

(r) Relief of bearded male holding scepter in left hand, phiale in right, seated to left of altar; man, woman, and boy approaching from right as worshippers (drawing, Cook 1925: 1106, fig. 942): *IG* II² 4618, Ἀριετομένης Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (4th cent.)

(s) Relief of snake: *IG* II² 4619, Ἀκκληπιάδης / Ἀκκληπιόδωρου / Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (4th cent.)

(t) Relief of snake (drawing, Cook 1925: 1108, fig. 944): *IG* II² 4620 (=4847?), [- - -] Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (4th cent.)

(t bis) Relief of snake: *IG* II² 4847, Διὶ Μελιχίῳ

(Two reliefs of snakes, *IG* II² 4621, dedicated τῷ θεῷ, and 4622, its text lost, may be dedications to Zeus Meilichios or Zeus Philios, who was also represented as a snake, e.g. *IG* II² 4625 [4th cent.].)

Sounion

(u) In fortress outside temple. Relief of two snakes. Dedication to Zeus Meilichios, text unpublished. Welter 1925: 314

(v) Sacrifices of sheep (by whom?) to Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Ktesios, the fleeces of which were kept and called divine (δῖα) or addressed as Zeus (Δία, as in the Mss.) and then used by the organizers of the Skirophoria, by the Eleusinian *Daidouchos*, and by “certain others for purifications, putting them under the feet of the polluted” (*Suda* s.v. Διὸς κῶδιον; Hsch. s.v.; *Anecd. Bekk.* I p.7.15–20 and p.242.26–28). The fleece was also carried, together with a *kerykeion*, in the procession and ceremonies called the *Pompaia* in the last ten days of the month Maimakterion, at which time also occurred the casting out of pollutions at crossroads (Eust. *Od.* 22.481, 1934–45; cf. Hsch. s.v. μαμάκτης· μελίσχιος, καθάρσιος; Deubner 1932: 157f; Tresp 1914: 86f; Parker 1983: 373).

(w) Family cult? Xen. *Anab.* 7.8.1–6, holocaust sacrifice of piglets πατρώφ (vel πατρίφ) νόμφ (4th cent.)

(x) The Diasia as a festival of family and kin: Ar. *Nub.* 408f, Διαίοισιν / ὀπτῶν γαστέρα συγγενέσιν; 864, πριάμην σοι Διαίοις ἀμαξίδα (later 5th cent.)

Peloponnesos

Corinth

Perachora. Small stele (boundary marker?): Payne 1940: 7, Διὸς Μελιχίου (not earlier than 4th cent.?)

Sikyon

Near heroon of Aratos and the council chamber, an image of Zeus Meilichios likened to a πυραμίσ and one of Artemis (Patroia) likened to a κιών: Paus. 2.9.6

Achaia

Pellana. Small bronze snake: Neugebauer 1922: 76 no. 25, ἱερὸς ἐμὶ τῷ Μελλίχίῳ τῷ Πελάναϊ (6th or 5th cent.?)

Argos

Paus. 2.20.1f. Stasis in 417 required acts of purification, including the dedication of a statue of Zeus Meilichios (a seated figure in marble by Polykleitos) for the shedding of αἷμα ἐμφύλιον (cf. Jameson 1965: 170).

Tegea

IG V.2 90, Διὶ Μειλίχῳ Μικύλο/ε ἀνέθηκε (2nd–1st cent.)

Megara

Boundary marker for the precinct of the cult for one of the three Dorian tribes: Richards 1898: 332, Διὸς Μιλιχίου Πανφύλο (5th cent.). Jones, 1987: 64, suggests it may mean “for all the tribes,” comparing Artemis Παμφυλαία at Epidauros (IG IV.2.1 503), where, however, the tribe of the Pamphyloi did not exist and consequently there was no ambiguity.

Boiotia

Thespiiai

(a) Votive plaque: IG VII 1814, Θυνοκλίδας Διονου/είω Διὶ Μιλίχῳ κῆ Μιλίχῃ

(b) Small stele: Plassart 1926: 422 no. 43, Δεξιάδας / Πτέρωνος / ἱαρεὺς / Διὶ Μιλίχῳ / κῆ Μιλίχῃ ... (4th cent.?)

(c) Stele base? Plassart 1926: 423 no. 44, Θρασύμαχος Θέωνος ἱαρεὺς / Διὶ Μιλίχῳ (Hellenistic)

Orchomenos

Decree by the city, with the priest as proposer, to build a fountain in the sanctuary of the god for the use of those sacrificing there. IG VII 3169, ... Διὶ Μιλίχῳ[υ] ... ἐ[υ] / (τ)ῷ Μειλίχῳ.... (end of 3rd cent.)

Lebadeia

(a) Rectangular pillar with *omphalos* on top and relief of snake climbing up front: Keramopoulos 1917: 421 no. 2, [C]ωσίας / Δαίμονι Μιλίχῳ

(b) Rectangular pillar with *omphalos* on top: Jannoray 1940–41: 49 inv. 7 and 51 fig. 5.1, Ἑρμαῖος / Ἀριστοκλῆα / δήμονι / Μειλίχῳ (3rd or 2nd cent.). Lerat (1952: II 147) restores a head, not an *omphalos* on top, as also for (d).

(c) Rectangular pillar with *omphalos* on top (broken); male genitals on front, below inscription; projections on left and right sides, as on herms: Jannoray 1940–41: 49 inv. 12, and 51 fig. 5.2 Φιλῶ / δήμονι[ι] / Μειλίχῳ (3rd–2nd cent.)

(d) Rectangular pillar, originally with a second element attached on top; projections and genitals, as for a herm, incised: Jannoray 1940–41: 49f inv. 15 and 51 fig. 5.3, Μαρ[ρο]φάνειος / Μειλίχῳ (3rd–2nd cent.)

(e) Rectangular pillar with *omphalos* on top: Jannoray 1940–41: 50 inv. 16 and 51 fig. 5.4, Καλο/κλίδας / Διὶ Μιλίχῳ (3rd–2nd cent.)

Anthedon

Stele with relief of snake: Jardé and Laurent 1902: 324f no. 15, [Ἄ]πολλόνιο[ς] / Κ[α]φικοδό[του] / Δι[ε]ῖ Μιλ[ι]χί[φ] (3rd cent.)

Lukouri-Tolia 1986 identifies a large snake engraved on the inside of a marble *perirrhanterion* from Anthedon as Zeus Meilichios, accompanied by another figure, perhaps Demeter.

Phokis

Elateia

Limestone cone, inscribed on side, with a hole in its truncated top: IG VII 174 (Paris 1887: no. 15), ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΝ / Δαμοστράτα / Μίκα Χοιρίνα (4th cent.?). Three women dedicate a **meilichion*? Cf. the distinctive shape of the stone. Previously taken to be the names of four women.

Ozolian Lokris

Physkos

Roughly worked rectangular block: Wilhelm 1909: 135f no. 125, Ἡδύλο[ς] / Διὶ Μειλίχῳ / Ἀγαθοῖς Θεοῖς (late 4th/ early 3rd cent.). Set up outside the city wall, facing the northwest gate, according to Lerat (1952: I 135).

Thessaly

Phthiotic Thebes

IG IX.2 145, Διὶ Μειλίχῳ / Κρινῶ / Ἀρτί[α] / ἀνέθ[η/κ]εν (Roman date?); cf. IG IX.2 1329, Λυσίμαχο[ς] Μειλίχῳ (2nd cent.)

Goritsa (near Demetrias)

Rock cut inscription ca 40 m. outside the east gate, near a cave. SEG 27.197 (Bakhuizen 1972: 492; Riele 1977: 408f, pl. 342c), Διὸς Μιλίχῳ (2nd cent.)

Demetrias

Stele with profile of a head: Habicht 1987: 273 no. 6, Διονύσιος / Διὶ Μιλίχῳ (2nd cent.)

Larisa

(a) Dedication (by Makon son of Omphelion, cf. Habicht 1983: 25) of a temple to Zeus Meilichios, Enodia, and the city of Larisa: IG IX.2 578 (2nd cent.)

(b) Votive plaque: IG IX.2 579, εὐξάμενος / Μιλίχῳ Ξενόλαος Θεσσαλῷ (4th cent.?)

Akarnania

Thyrrheion

Boundary marker: SEG 25.629 (Mastrokostas 1965: 157f), Διὸς Μ/ε/-
λ(ι)χίου(5th cent.). Written thus:

ΔΙΟCM
E
Λ

Kerkyra

Relief of god seated on rock, flanked by two snakes; traces of a small female worshipper: Plassart 1926: 424 n.3 (photograph, Hausmann 1960: 94, fig. 57), Ἥγησεν Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (3rd cent.). Though found on Kerkyra, the dedication may be from Attica.

Nisyros

- (a) Honors, in verse, for priest of Ζηνὸς Μελιχίῳ: Peek 1932: no. 8 (Roman date)
(b) Tabula ansata: IG XII.3 95, Κλεῦδικος / Βουλαγόρα / τῷ Κλευκίῳ / Διὶ Μελιχίῳ / καὶ τῷ δάμῳ (Roman date)
(c) List of names (*servi aut liberti* [*gladiatores*?]): IG XII.3 96. At the end of the list (16f), Διὶ Μελιχίῳ / χαριτήριον (Roman date)
(d) Statue base with honors for Gnomagoras son of Peritheos: IG XII.3 104. Among those honoring him are (15) Διὸς Μελιχιαταί (Roman date).

Thera

- (a) Rock-cut inscription: IG XII.3 406, ---ΕΥCΤΑ/ΜΗΛΙΧΙ (6th or 5th cent.)
(b) Rock-cut inscription: IG XII.3 1316, Ζεὺς Μηλίχιος τῶν περὶ Πολύ/-
ξενοῦ (3rd cent.)

For Zeus without an epithet and a group, in the genitive, identified by the name of an individual, cf. IG XII.3 1317f; for Zeus without an epithet and the name of an individual in the genitive, 399–401, 1315.

Andros

Palaiopolis

Large rough stone: IG XII.5 727, Διὸς / Μελιχίῳ (5th cent.)

Chios

District of Aghia Anna, beyond Bounaki

Boundary stone: Cook 1925: 1156f, 1157 n.1 (after Paspates), Διὸς / Μελιχί[ου] (Roman date?)

Samos

Tigani

Dedicatory inscription (the object is not described): Preuner 1924: 42 no. 9, Κλεῖς Μεγάκλου / Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (4th–3rd cent.?)

Amorgos

Arkesine

- (a) Rough stone: IG XII.7 89, [Δι]ὸς Μελιχίῳ (4th cent.)
(b) Fragmentary stele: IG XII.7 90, [Διὸς Μελιχίῳ]

Thasos

The Diasia in a list of festivals of the late fourth century, *LSSupp.* 69.3.

Euboeia

Chalkis

IG XII.9 1018, Ἑρμίων Μελιχί(ω)ι Δι(ι) ἄν(ε)[θηκεν]

Crete

Lato

- (a) The city restores a stoa and a doorway for the god: *ICret* I xvi 29.3ff, ἃ πόλις Ζηνὶ / Μηλιχίῳ ἐπεσκεύ[α]σε τὰν στωάν / καὶ τὸ θύρωμα, followed by a list of subscribers (Roman date).

Hierapytna

- (b) Small altar: *ICret* III iii 14, Ζηνὶ Μηλιχίῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ / Μηλιχίᾳ / Cώτας ὑπὲρ Παρδαλά / εὐχὴν (1st cent. A.D.)

Near Olous

- (c) Rock-cut inscription of Zeus Meilichios reported by French scholars (*ICret* III p.60)

Knidos

Small altar: Hicks 1874–1916: IV.1.24f no. 817, Διὸς Μελιχί[ου] (4th–3rd cent.?)

Ephesos

Relief: Engelmann *et al.* 1980: no. 1241 (Keil 1929: 45 fig. 25; *SEG* 4.529), Δημαγόρα[ς] / Ἐκκταίου / Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (early 3rd cent.)

Pergamon

Preliminary offerings to Zeus Apotropaïos and Zeus Meilichios of a cake (πόπανον ῥαβδωτὸν ἐννεόμφαλον) in a *lex sacra* for the Asklepios cult. Other gods who receive preliminary offerings are Artemis, with two different epithets, and Ge. Wörle 1969: 169, A 19–23, B 5–7 (1st half of 2nd cent. A.D.).

Cyprus

Amathous

Boundary marker: Mitford 1937: 29 no. 2, Διὸς / ΩΝ Μελιχίου (3rd cent.). The two letters at the beginning of the second line have not been explained.

Kyrene

Rock-cut inscriptions:

Ain el Hofra, about 2 km. outside the town

(a) *SEG* 9.327 (Ferri 1923: no. 2), [Ζ]ηνὶ Με[λιχίῳ] / Εὐμε[νίῳ (?)] / Εὐ-
(ρυ)δάμας

(b) *SEG* 9.329 (Ferri 1923: no. 8), Ἀ[ρ]ίσταρχ[ος] *vel* -ἀρχ[ω] / Ζ[η]νὸς
Μηλιχί[ω]

(c) *SEG* 9.328 (Ferri 1923: no. 4), [Μ]ηλιχί[- - -]

(d) *SEG* 9.331 (Ferri 1923: no. 15a), [Μη]λί[χι]- - -

See also *supra* 78. All the inscriptions appear to be of the fourth century, except for one probably of later date. Zeus appears five other times in these rock-cut inscriptions and is probably to be understood as Meilichios in all cases (*SEG* 9.325, 326, 330, 336, 343 [Ferri 1923: nos. 1, 5, 10, 20]).

Unspecified location, presumably outside town

(e) *SEG* 20.723 (Oliverio and Pugliese Carratelli 1961: no. 9, 4; 4th–3rd cent.?):

Λύτιος

ηλίχιος

Εὐμενίδων Κωρῆς Μ-

Oliverio took Λύτιος to be a god of the dead or Dionysos for whom the word is attested as an epithet. The inscriptions at Ain el Hofra, however, lead us to expect a personal name. Κωρῆς also appears on a stone altar on the cliffs of the Wadi Ommgebeb at Messa (Oliverio and Pugliese Carratelli 1961: no. 27 [*SEG* 20.757=760?]) and on three others from the

town of Kyrene (Oliverio 1933: nos. 45ff). On the first of these his name is preceded by Κυρά(να), and on the third he is qualified as Κρήτης. He has been identified as Koures, a version of Zeus, known from rock-cut inscriptions in Kyrene's mother-city of Thera (*IG* XII.3 354f) where Meilichios and Zeus Meilichios also appear (see *supra* Thera; cf. Cook 1914: 142, 144; Fraser 1962: 24f).

Italy

Kroton

Small sandstone pillar, inscribed on two faces: Jeffery 1961: no. 22, pl. 50 (Guarducci 1967: 113ff no. 6, fig. 16a, b), (a), reading from bottom up, τῷ Διὶ / τῷ Μελιχίῳ, (b) Φάλλος / ἡ ἐξάτο (6th–5th cent.; the famous athlete? cf. Hdt. 8.47, Paus. 10.9.2).

Pompeii

Temple (3rd–2nd cent.), Regio viii.7 (8).25 (Maiuri and Ippel 1928: 162f; Carrington 1933: 132, pl. X; de Vos 1982: 78–81), referred to in an Oscan inscription at the Porto di Stabia, Vetter 1953: no. 8 (Pisani 1964: no. 10): *ant.kai/la.lúveis.Meelikiuéis* (2nd cent.?)

For terracotta figurines of Jupiter and Juno from the temple, see Eschbach 1978: 49–51.

Sicily

Regalbuto (Ameselon?)

Graffito on a krateriskos: *SEG* 34.932 (Manganaro 1977: 150f pl. XLIV.1), Διὸς Μελιχίου (3rd cent.)

Halaisa

IG XIV 352 I 15f, κατὰ τὰς ὁδοῦ τὰς παρὰ τὸ / Μελιχιεῖον.... (first half of 2nd cent.)

Selinous

All the inscribed stones from the Meilichios precinct at Selinous have been included by Manni Piraino (MP: 89–102) and Arena (1989), and most of these also by Dubois (1989: 55–60). Here we limit the information to what seems relevant for interpreting their functions. The stones on which the inscriptions occur are usually described as stelai or cippi. They show considerable diversity. Some approximate the shape that these terms denote, but others do so only in that they are taller than they are wide. We refer to them simply as stones and describe any distinctive features. As to their date, Manni Piraino gives approximate dates from the early sixth century to the mid-fifth for those that are certainly Meilichios stones (assigning one possible example to the third quarter of the fifth). We give her dates below, diffidently: all the inscriptions may in fact fall within the first half of the fifth century.

- (a) (Pl. 10a) MP 60 pl. 35; Arena 1989: no. 50; Dubois 1989: no. 50, τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μῆλχιό ημι / Π(υ)ρρία Εὐμε/νιδότο Πε/διάρχο (reading three personal names, as proposed by Lazzarini 1976: no. 880a; cf. Jordan 1991) (mid-6th cent.)
- (b) (Pl. 10b) MP 58 pl. 34; Arena 1989: no. 41; Dubois 1989: no. 45, Μελίχιος / τὸν Κλευλιδῶν (mid-6th cent.)
- (c) (Pl. 10c) Guarducci 1967: 319f no. 10; MP 61 pl. 36; Arena 1989: no. 43; Dubois 1989: no. 47, Λυκίος ἐ/μὶ Μελίχιος (2nd half of 6th cent.)
- (d) MP 66 pl. 39 (with warranted caution about the reading); Arena 1989: no. 48; Dubois 1989: no. 41, *he[υ]ρις hέ/κα/το Μελι/χιοι* (early 5th cent.)
- (e) MP 65 pl. 38; Arena 1989: no. 47 (cf. Gallavotti 1975–76: 102f), τὸ Μελίχιος - - - / - - -]ο [.]αρονος (early 5th cent.)
- (f) (Pl. 11a) Rectangular block, somewhat taller than wide and twice as wide as thick, its top sculpted as a head, now much worn, of indeterminate sex; the only inscribed iconic block from the precinct. It may be significant that it comes towards the end of the series, according to Manni Piraino's chronology. This is the only inscribed iconic stone. *Pace Boardman* (1980: 187), none of the twin herms (103–07 *infra*) are known to be inscribed. MP no. 68 pl. 41; Arena 1989: no. 51; Dubois 1989: no. 47, *ho* Μελίχιος τῆς πατριᾶς τῶν *her*/μίο παιδων καὶ / τῶν Εὐκλέα παι/δ(ο)ν (mid-5th cent.)

Six inscriptions refer explicitly to Meilichios. Three identify the stone, using the nominative and the first person singular, as *ho* Meilichios (*b* as Μελίχιος, *c* and *f* as Μελίχιος). Two, using the genitive, say they are of (belong to) the Meilichios (*a* and *e*). The sixth refers to the setting up of the stone to Meilichios (*d*). Only one inscription (*a*) includes Zeus' name in addition to the epithet.

Five of the six include the name, in the genitive of one (*c*, *e*) or more (*a*?, *b*, *f*) persons. The sixth (*d*) has the name in the nominative of the woman who set up the stone.

Comparable formulae but without the god's name or epithet found on other inscribed stones in this precinct have been taken, no doubt rightly, also to be stones sacred to the god.

Stones with one or more persons' names in the nominative:

- (g) Unworked block, roughly square: MP 57, pl. 34; Arena 1989: no. 40; Dubois 1989: no. 42, Εὐμα/ίδας (2nd quarter of 6th cent.)
- (h) Rough pillar, approximately square in section, a small knob on top: MP 63 pl. 37; Arena 1989: no. 45; Dubois 1989: no. 43, Αἰνέας (late 6th cent.)
- (i) Rough rectangular block, half again as tall as wide and thick. Three horizontal lines of writing, to be read from bottom to top: MP 67 pl. 40; Arena 1989: no. 49; Dubois 1989: no. 44, *ba*γεε/ [- - -] / Καῦρις (1st half of 5th cent.)

Stones with one or more persons' names in the genitive:

- (j) MP 59 pl. 34; Arena 1989: no. 42, - - -]κιδίων (mid-6th cent.)
- (k) (Pl. 11b) Oblong block, much worn but originally unworked? MP 62 pl. 36; Dubois 1989: no. 48, Κοταίρ/ο εἰμί (end of 6th cent.)

(l) Stele more conventionally shaped: MP no. 64 pl. 37; Arena 1989: no. 46; Dubois 1989: no. 49, Λυθοφορ/νίδα (end of 6th cent.)

(m) Problematic stone, 0.56 m. high, 0.185 m. wide, 0.09 m. thick (at base), roughly worked, with knob on top (larger than that on *b supra*), perhaps representing a head, with a toothed pattern scratched below it. 'Shoulders' somewhat rounded. MP 69 pl. 42 (cf. Manni Piraino 1970: 276f). Beneath the toothed pattern letters to be read as INI or, if retrograde, IBI (3rd quarter of 5th cent.).

Manni Piraino prefers INI, assuming the dative of ἱνις, a poetic and Cypriot word for son or daughter: ἱνις [*sic*]=Κόρη=Πασικράτεια. She moots but rejects the possibility that the word may be masculine and may refer to Zeus Meilichios, under Punic influence, as son of Ba'al Hammon. Manganaro 1977: 149, with the aid of a good light, reads the toothed pattern and the next line as Ἀμε/ινί[α] (-α Manganaro, but damage to the stone is clear) *boustrophedon*, which seems plausible. If his reading of the first line is correct, we have another Archaic/Early Classical example, comparable to *b* in shape and to *j*, *k*, and *l* in the use of the genitive.³

Manni Piraino interprets a rectangular block with MO/ΕΕΑ in large letters (MP 72 pl. 44) as a boundary marker of ca 500. Her explanation *exempli gratia*, μο(ῖρα) ἐξ(α)γγε(λ)ῶν, is not promising.

Many uninscribed, aniconic stones have been found in the precinct of Meilichios, but we know of no published list of them. The uninscribed 'herms', dated stylistically after the fifth century, are discussed separately (103–07 *infra*).

ii. The name

The god's epithet seems transparent, but there is little that can be said about it beyond the fact that the Greeks of the historical period regarded μελίχιος as propitiatory in sense (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 166E, [θεός] ... *cωτῆρας καὶ μελιχιίου*). They connected the word with μέλι, "honey," and sometimes with μέλις, "figs."⁴ But nothing from specific cults and rites of the god lends support to these etymologies. In the *lex sacra*, the libations of μελίκρατα, "honey mixture" (A13, 15), are for the Tritopatores, not Zeus Meilichios. More significant is the use of an apparently related verb, μελιῖσσω, for appeasing the dead as early as *Il.* 7.140.

The adjective μελίχιος is not limited to Zeus, though for no other figure are there more than one or two attestations.⁵ A group of unnamed

³MP 70 and 71 have fragmentary texts compatible with dedications with the verb ἀνατίθημι, but these do not resemble the Meilichios stones.

⁴Chantraine 1937–38, who finds no satisfactory Indo-European etymology (cf. 1968–80: 677f); Pfister 1932: 342f.

⁵Cf. Pfister 1932. Manni's attempt (1975: 180f) to identify the Meilichieion at Halaisa in Sicily as that of Dionysos rather than Zeus is strained. Riotto 1985: 44 regards the attachment of the title to Zeus at Selinous as a secondary development.

Lokris (Paus. 10.38.8), and the *μειλίχιοι* were honored in the second century at Phthiotic Thebes (IG IX.2 1329), where Zeus Meilichios was also worshipped. It is clear enough that Zeus Meilichios has little in common with the Olympian Zeus of poetry and art but belongs to a familiar type of more mundane Zeus. It seems to have been a matter of indifference whether he was addressed as Meilichios or Zeus Meilichios. At Lebadeia, Meilichios is referred to four times as *Δαίμων* and only once as Zeus. It may be that originally Meilichios was a separate figure, distinct from Zeus, as Jane Harrison (1922: 19) argued, but the distinction was no longer significant in the historical period.

It has been suggested that foreigners from the eastern Mediterranean equated Zeus Meilichios in the Peiraieus with their own *mlk*, the Biblical Moloch/Molek (cf. Cook 1925: 1107–11). There is nothing explicit to show that this happened, and none of the dedicants in the Peiraieus or Athens can be identified as coming from the east. But a much earlier adoption or adaptation of the cult, in the eighth or seventh century, should not be ruled out and may in fact help explain the constant fluctuation in spelling between Meil-, Mel-, and Milichios. (We return to the problem of Phoenician connections in Ch. IX)

iii. The worshippers

According to the great majority of testimonia, the cult of the god is undertaken by individuals or groups rather than by the state. A *genos* possesses an altar of the god in Attica (*e*), and it may be another *genos* or similar cult group that dedicated Attica *f*. On Thera the group is identified by the name of an individual: cf. Thera *b*, τῶν περὶ Πολύξενον, and other examples without the god's epithet. At Megara Nisaia, the grandmother city, so to speak, of Selinous, each of the three Dorian tribes may have had the cult of the god, since one of the three, the Pamphyloi, erected a stone with his name on it.

Two Attic demes (Thorikos and Erchia, Attica *c* and *d*) are known to have participated in the god's festival, the Diasia, one explicitly at the common sanctuary of all Athenians at Agrai, not in the deme. Attica *a* and *b* (probably) are also testimonia to the festival at Agrai where Thucydides (*a*) speaks of many individuals participating *en masse* (πανδημεῖ) with their own offerings which might not be sacrificial animals (Wachsmuth 1868: 178; Jameson 1965). There was apparently no priest, temple, or treasury in the state's charge. Athenian families had their own traditional rituals for Zeus Meilichios (or those of a *genos* to which they belonged), to judge from Xenophon's following his ancestral manner of conducting sacrifice to him (*w*). Aristophanes' allusions to the Diasia (*x*) suggest a celebration by the nuclear family and its kin.

Although groups below the level of the *polis* were prominent in the cult, many dedications were made by individuals who did not record their patronymics or demotics, a number of whom were very likely freedmen

or metics (cf. Attica *g*, *b*, *i*, *m*, *p*, *q*, *r*; Tegea; Lebadeia *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*; Kerkyra; Kyrene *a*, *b*). At Selinous both groups and individuals (the latter all or almost all without patronymics) are found. This shows that the fortune of the individual without regard for his or her rôle in the community is at issue when the god is worshipped. Comparison has been made with the Agathos Daimon, the anonymous kindly spirit, also at times shown in the form of a snake.⁶

Women are well represented (Attica *g*, *i*, *m*, *p*, *q*, *r*; Lebadeia *c*; Phthiotic Thebes; Kerkyra; Selinous *d*, *f*, and *i*), another indication of the largely private character of the cult (Selinous *f*, dedicated by two gentilitial groups of females, is exceptional).

The two references to the god in our text (A9, 17) are to the Zeus Meilichios ἐν Μύκρου and ἐν Εὐθυδάμῳ, which we take to be Meilichios stones in the plot, i.e., demarcated space, associated with these names. In the former case the individual may be the man whose gravestone, dating near the end of the seventh century, is known (Guarducci 1967: 317ff fig. 156; MP 76; Arena 1989: no. 16; Dubois 1989: no. 71). They were, perhaps, the ancestors of two gentilitial groups. In the *lex sacra*, however, these two 'private' Meilichioi appear to be significant for more people than the kin or associates of the named person, for sacrifices are required to be made by all those to whom these rules are meant to apply; and while it is conceivable, we think it improbable that only those in their two descent groups were involved.

iv. The sanctuaries

Consistent with the picture that we get of cult activity being initiated largely by groups and private individuals, the sanctuaries of the gods appear to have been sacred places where people came by their own choice to perform ritual or to set up a dedication. At Orchomenos provisions were made for water for the use of individuals sacrificing in the sanctuary. The dedication of a temple by a prominent individual at Larisa (*a*) in the second century is exceptional. That act of generous piety may indicate that a city temple did not already exist.⁷ We know of only one other temple to the god, at Lato on Crete, where, in the Roman period, the city repaired a stoa and a doorway.

The precinct of Meilichios at Selinous, which is not so named in any surviving text, also appears to have been a place in which various individuals or groups set up their stones and performed their rites rather than being the scene of a central, communal ritual. The small Ionic temple on the site has been shown to date from the Hellenistic period, the time of

⁶Cook 1925: 1125–29; Gallivotti 1975–76: 100, "il nome protettore di una o più persone."

⁷On the dedicant cf. Habicht 1987: 273.

Punic control, and we do not know that any building existed in the precinct in the Greek period.⁸

The propensity for reserving spaces for the god's cult is also seen in the number of boundary markers, *horoi*, bearing his name (Attica *o*, shared with Ge and Athena; Corinth; Megara; Physkos in Ozolian Lokris; Thyrreion; Amorgos, Arkesine *a* [?]; Chios [?]; Andros [?]; Cyprus, Amathous). Blocks of stone, however, with inscriptions of the god's name in the genitive may be altars or aniconic images rather than *horoi* (see 98–103 *infra*). The possibilities are reduced when the inscriptions occur on bedrock (Thessaly, Goritsa; Thera *a–b*; Crete, near Olous; Kyrene *a–e*), for there they clearly mark sacred places where ritual was performed. At Thera they are designated with the god's name in the nominative, as once at Kyrene (*e*) as well, a feature they share with a number of the Meilichios stones at Selinous. The spot is sacred to the god and the god is present. At Selinous, in the absence of outcroppings of bedrock, inscriptions on simple blocks of stone served to mark out areas on the sandy slopes of the Gaggera. While this concern with a defined space and presence of the god are not found in the majority of examples of the cult, they occur in a number of comparable cults (see 114ff *infra*).

v. Iconography

The god was sometimes represented on reliefs as a mature, bearded man seated on a throne, indistinguishable from certain other aspects of Zeus, especially Ktesios and Philios.⁹ Two symbols are found on his dedications, the snake and the cornucopia. The snake is usually represented alone (Attica *m*, *q*, *s–u* [two snakes], Pellana in Achaia [a bronze snake], Lebadeia *a*, Anthedon) but is sometimes shown as of great size and the object of veneration by worshippers (Attica *b*, *j* [?]). The isolated snakes might then be regarded as avatars of the god or, alternatively, as his familiars, as are the two that accompany the bearded god seated on a throne on a relief from Kerkyra. Similar dedications were made to Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Philios, and to the Agathos Daimon (Nilsson 1908; 1932; 1940, pl. 26–28.). The snake, whatever his title, functioned as the protector of the household (cf. Sjövall 1931: 70–73; Nilsson 1938: 162–65=1952: 719–22). The cornucopia is held by the seated god on one Attic dedication (*o*) and is also found on reliefs of Zeus Ktesios for whom as a god of household wealth it is particularly appropriate.¹⁰ That Zeus Meilichios too was concerned with wealth we

⁸Di Vita 1961–64; White 1967. See Ch. VIII *infra*.

⁹Burkert 1985: 201, “the fatherly figure signifies reconciliation with the dead, just as his name epitomizes the appeasing effect of the offerings to the dead.” His relationship with the dead, however, is indirect (cf. 96f *infra*).

¹⁰Cf. Cook 1925: 1125. Despinis (1965: 135, pl. 63) assigns to Zeus Meilichios a fragmentary relief in Berlin showing a god holding a cornucopia, very similar to Attica *o*, but without the inscription one cannot be sure.

know from Xenophon's sacrifice to him and its happy consequence, the arrival of a man with money (*An.* 7.8.1–6).

At Selinous there are no reliefs or fully anthropomorphic representations of the god, and no symbolism such as the snake or the horn of plenty has appeared in connection with his cult, nor indeed has it in most places where he was worshipped. The associations they suggest may nonetheless be relevant for Selinous.

vi. Purification

The god's involvement in purification from bloodshed is not evident from the dedications but is clearly shown in Pausanias' account of the civil strife at Argos (2.20.1f), in the story of the Phytalidai and Theseus in Attica (*supra* 84), and from the lexicographers' explanation of the “fleece of Zeus,” the Διὸς κῶδιον (83). In the last the god once again appears as equivalent to Zeus Ktesios. Giallombardo (1980–81) has seen the purificatory aspect of the god in the presence of water at the Meilichieion at Halaisa in Sicily. At Orchomenos, however, a fountain was built for the use of sacrificers and not specifically for purposes of purification.¹¹ Purification is important in the Selinuntine *lex sacra* although the Zeus in Column B, where purification procedures are prescribed, has no title. In A it is the Tritopatores who are both polluted, μῆαραι, and pure, καθαροί. But one cannot doubt that their cult and that of Zeus Meilichios are closely connected.¹²

vii. Chthonic associations

There is general agreement that Zeus Meilichios is associated with the Earth and figures of the underworld, but it is not so clear what his own rôle was in this company. The snake may be the surest link with the underworld, but that symbol also has other connotations (*supra* 94). In Attica the god shared a precinct with Ge but also with Athena (82: *o*), and the chief focus of his cult in all of Attica was the sanctuary of the Mother ἐν Ἀγρᾶς (81: *a*, *b* [?], *d*), where his festival, the Diasia, was celebrated close in time to the Lesser Mysteries in the goddess's honor. He has been compared to a figure of the Eleusinian circle who appears under three similar names (all propitious), Euboulos, Eubouleus or Zeus Eubouleus, and Plouton, with whom he shared an interest in wealth.¹³ Elsewhere, at

¹¹Cf. Cole 1988: 161–65. Zuntz 1971: 103 n.2 thought it likely that the spring near the sanctuary was used for purification.

¹²There are references to Orestes standing on a stone to receive purification (cf. Simon 1978: 1412f), but there is no indication in the *lex sacra* that Meilichios stones served such a function.

¹³Cf. Jameson 1965: 160 n.3. Shapiro 1989: 78ff suggests that Ploutodotes, the name used to identify a bearded male figure on a fragment of a black-figure amphora in Reggio di Calabria by, or close to, Exekias and dating to the 530's, is Zeus Meilichios. The whole scene, he argues, represents figures associated with the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai. A *Meli-*

Larisa (*a*) in the Hellenistic period he shares a temple with Enodia (*sc.* Hekate). At Kyrene he is closely associated with the Eumenides (propitiously named) and anonymous Heroes (*supra* 77ff).¹⁴

At Selinous the proximity of the *Campo di Stele* to the sanctuary of the goddess Malophoros looks very similar to the god's relationship to the Mother *ἐν Ἀγῶν* at Athens; both areas are near but outside the town itself.

viii. The dead

Many scholars have supposed that Zeus Meilichios has a close connection with the dead.¹⁵ The extreme form of this view was that of Ferri, who believed that the person whose name appears in Meilichios inscriptions had died and become assimilated to the god.¹⁶ It needs to be emphasized, however, that there is not a single instance of Zeus Meilichios at a grave or in a cemetery; in particular, the Selinuntine *Campo di Stele* has yielded no grave after repeated campaigns of excavations. It is, therefore, by no stretch of the imagination a necropolis. The Selinuntine cemeteries have been located and well investigated. Whether after 409 the area became a Punic *tophet*, containing the bones and ashes of sacrificed animals and human infants, is another matter (*cf.* Ch. IX). Furthermore, the very idea that corpses or other human remains could be buried in a god's sanctuary is incompatible with the basic principles of Greek religion (Parker 1983: 33–48; Burkert 1985: 199–203). There are, indeed, examples of heroes whose supposed graves were identified in sanctuaries, but most were mythical figures and their graves sometimes prehistoric burials (*cf.* Pfister 1912: 450–65; Coldstream 1976). The occasional historical figure so honored is removed from the ordinary dead by his heroization.

chos heros appears in an Athenian state calendar of sacrifices, *LSSupp.* 10.66f. (Δέλιχος of the *editio princeps* corrected independently by Healey in 1961 [=Healey 1990: 130f] and Graf [1974]). Healey 130–36 identifies the hero with Eubouleus and suggests that *heros* was added to distinguish him from Zeus Meilichios in a group of rites of the Eleusinian *genos* of the Eumolpidae. Graf argues that the incorporation of Meilichios into the Eleusinian circle was a means of recognizing Zeus Meilichios, an important figure in the originally Athenian, as opposed to Eleusinian, Lesser Mysteries.

¹⁴Picard, though mistaken in supposing that Zeus Meilichios was found in cemeteries, saw his kinship with the Eumenides (1942–43: 127 n.5); *cf.* Deubner 1932: 157; Zuntz 1971: 101f. Harrison 1922: 23, 28 had seen a resemblance to the Erinyes. Gallavotti 1975–76: 101, stating that Wilamowitz 1930: 257f, in his interpretation of Selinous *a*, “introduce nelle concezioni del Milichios la nozione estranea e peregrina delle Eumenidi,” does not mention the supporting evidence that Wilamowitz cited from the Kyrenaika.

¹⁵E.g. Gabrici 1927: 404 (the person in the genitive in the inscriptions is the dead man in whose name sacrifice was made and a stele erected); Ch. Picard 1942–43 (the *Campo di Stele* as a necropolis); Guarducci 1967: 319f (following Gabrici); Schwabl 1978: 335; Lazzarini 1976: 149f; Dubois 1989: 55.

¹⁶Ferri 1923 and 1929, refuted by Forbes 1956 (*cf.* De Sanctis 1923). Forbes' own view, however, that they and the Selinuntine Meilichios inscriptions were nothing but simple dedications is inadequate.

None of the inscriptions or monuments for the god suggests a connection with dead individuals or their remains. The symbolism of the snake, which, as we have seen, is not always found with Zeus Meilichios, has associations with the dead but also with the underworld in general and with such figures as the Eumenides (*cf.* Wüst 1956: 124f). It is also linked to household gods and the protection and fostering of the household's prosperity (*cf. supra* 94). Since material good fortune is known to be a concern of the Zeus Meilichios, it is not always evident which aspect is the more important. In any case, the snake has not so far appeared at Selinous.

Cook's interpretation of Zeus Meilichios as the embodiment of a dead king has not been taken up. He granted, however, that the god could be seen as “a chthonian power resembling the divinized dead” (Cook 1925: 111f, 1159f; *cf.* Zuntz 1971: 102). That seems, in fact, to have been the character of the Tritopatores (see 107–14 *infra*). The spirits of the dead, as opposed to their material, human remains, may, like heroes, be associated with the gods. It might be argued that in the *lex sacra* the Zeus Meilichios *ἐν Μύκρου* (A9) and the Zeus Meilichios *ἐν Εὐθυδάμου* (A17) are divinized forms of Myskos and Euthydamos respectively. But the language of the text keeps the gods and the men distinct. The gods are more likely the protectors of the two men, and if Myskos is correctly identified with the man whose Archaic gravestone has been found, of their descendants as well, since cult at the two plots is being continued.

ix. A consort for the god?

Zeus Meilichios usually appears without a female companion. Overall, the male figure alone serves both men and women. Exceptions are two dedications to Zeus Meilichios and *Miliche* at Thespiæ (*a–b*) and one to Zeus Meilichios and *Hera Melichia* at Hierapytna (first century A.D.). The Zeus (or Dionysos?) mentioned after Aphrodite Melichia in *IG IV* 2.1 282 (Epidauros, fourth/third cent.) may have been Meilichios. The appearance of a female *paredros* in two cities may show the assimilation of the cult, by the Hellenistic and Roman periods, to the common pattern.¹⁷

There is no exception at Selinous to the general absence of a *paredros* or consort for Zeus Meilichios. The worn head on stone *f* is described (optimistically) by Manni Piraino (MP 68) as a young male god, and the inscription explicitly identifies the stone as ὁ Μιλίχιος. The stone seems to have been set up by a kinship or pseudo-kinship group, a *patria*, of women who are the daughters or descendants of two men, presumably regarded as related. As elsewhere, women as well as men are involved in

¹⁷On an Attic relief Agathe Tyche is described as the wife of Zeus Philios, with whom Zeus Meilichios and the Agathos Daimon have much in common (*IG II* 2 4672; Cook 1925: 1162, fig. 970).

the cult, as worshippers in their own right and not solely as companions of males (besides the women of *f*, the dedicators of *d* and *i* may be female).

A number of so-called double herms, each with a female as well as a male head, none of which is identified by inscriptions, begin to appear after the fifth century, when the Greeks were no longer dominant in the city. This is in sharp contrast both to previous practice at Selinous and to the cult of Zeus Meilichios as it is known elsewhere. Indeed the double herms—with one possible exception—are not, so far as we know, found elsewhere in the Greek world (see 103–07 *infra*). They cannot be used as evidence for the earlier cult, and there is nothing to show with which, if any, of the Greek goddesses attested at Selinous the female partner should be identified.¹⁸

x. Aniconic representation of the god

The character of the Selinuntine stones as aniconic or roughly iconic representations has been the focus of much attention. Unfortunately a distinction has not always been made between the inscribed and at least roughly datable stones (which we have listed above) and the uninscribed, both unworked and sculpted, which are undatable except by the style of the sculpture of the latter. Excavation may yet provide clues in some cases. Assemblages of votive and sacrificial material containing, for instance, Corinthian pottery, could date the stones with which they are associated in the Greek period, but hitherto only the inscribed stones have been fully published. Except for stone *f*, of the fifth century, with its single head and unique groups of female worshippers, all the iconic stones appear to be of the fourth century or later (see 103–07 *infra*). Otherwise, to the end of the fifth century we have to do only with aniconic stones, more or less worked, of which fourteen bear inscriptions, and probably with an uncounted number of uninscribed stones.

Elsewhere in the Greek world, Zeus Meilichios inscriptions are found on rough blocks at Physkos in Ozolian Lokris, Thyrreion in Akarnania, Andros, Amorgos, and Kroton. None of the stones, however, explicitly identifies itself with the god, as at Selinous, and all but the last may have been boundary markers (*cf. supra* 93f).¹⁹ A pyramidal stone was said to

¹⁸Hekate: a mid-fifth century dedication from the Malophoros precinct (MP 53; Arena 1989: no. 38; Dubois 1989: no. 55). Malophoros: a dedication of the second quarter of the fifth century from her sanctuary (MP 56; Arena 1989: no. 39; Dubois 1989: no. 54). Malophoros and Pasikrateia, but not Meilichios, are among the gods listed in the mid-fifth century, or later, inscription from Temple G (MP 49; Arena 1989: no. 53; Dubois 1989: no. 78). Gabrici 1927: 103 identified the double herms as Zeus Meilichios and Kore-Persephone=Pasikrateia; *cf. Zuntz*, 1971: 103f, who rejected Pasikrateia in favor of "Meilichia," not attested at Selinous.

¹⁹Lazzarini 1976: 150, without considering this possibility, takes the Akarnanian, Andrian, and Krotonian examples as comparable to the Selinuntine stones.

represent the god at Sikyon (where a columnar stone represented Artemis: Paus 2.9.6; Pausanias also knew of a pyramidal stone representing Apollo Karinos at Megara Nisaia, 1.44.2). At Lebadeia in Boiotia four herm-like pillars of Meilichios have been found, with *omphaloi* rather than heads on top. Two of these display a snake on the front (*a, b*); there are male genitals on the other two (*c, d*, the latter also with stubby 'herm arms' on either side). All four are of Hellenistic date and may be understood as an adaptation of a local aniconic or semi-iconic tradition (in wood?) under the influence of the widely diffused Attic herm. At Elateia a cone-shaped block may be an aniconic version, but the significance of the inscription on it is uncertain.²⁰

There is a much larger body of parallels from other cults, such as the betyl form of Apollo Agyieus, the rectangular shafts topped by pyramids of Zeus (with various epithets) and other supernatural figures in Arkadia, and the stones sacred to Apollo Lykeios at Metapontion.²¹ Two general associations of these stones have been proposed: with fertility and with the dead. Schachter (1986: 148) speaks of the Lebadeian pillars as phallic and supposes that "the functions of Milichios at Lebadeia included the assurance of human fertility." The penises on two of the four stones are not, in fact, erect but are the perfunctory indications of male identity customary on most post-Archaic stone herms. Lazzarini (1976: 146) speaks of herms, *meilichioi*, and *lykeioi* all as images of the symbol of fecundity. Aside from the Archaic and early Classical Attic herms, none of these stones have phalloi. It could be argued that the overall shape of the stone—such as Lebadeia *a*, a plain pillar topped with a rounded cone, or the stone of Zeus Storpaios in Arkadia with its glans-like head (*IG* V.2 59)—is phallic, but the same shape is used for Artemis and Aphrodite. Some of the Selinuntine stones are long and narrow, but others are relatively squat and even approximate the shape of stelai. The problem has also arisen in the interpretation of grave markers, with no persuasive evidence emerging for an explicitly phallic character (*cf. Robinson* 1969: 21, Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 24–44). It appears that sexual symbolism and a fertility function are neither universally nor fundamentally

²⁰The *Iúvilas* stelai in stone and terracotta with inscriptions in Oscan from Capua (third century) seem to have a relationship to Jupiter similar to that of the various aniconic stones to Zeus Meilichios. *Cf. Heurgon* 1942; Franchi de Bellis 1981; for their interpretation see especially Duhoux 1988. We have Jan Bremmer to thank for calling our attention to this interesting parallel.

²¹The literature on the subject is large: see especially de Visser 1903; Maas 1929; Nilsson 1955: 201–07. On the Arkadian figures, *cf. Arvanitopoulos* 1906, Rhomaïos 1911: they are primarily "Hausgötter"; for the inscriptions: *IG* V.2 59–66; S. G. Miller 1975, particularly on aniconism in Thessaly; Le Roy 1965: 371–76 (a pyramidal block with a ram's head [=Apollo Karneios?]); Burkert 1985: 85. *Cf. also* the aniconic wooden images listed in Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.40. Stones could also be sacred because they were regarded as having fallen from heaven and because they were used in purification and other ceremonies: see Simon 1978: 1412f. For Apollo Lykeios at Metapontion, *cf. Manni Piraino* 1968; Adameşteanu 1970; Burzachechi 1979; Graf 1987.

associated with sacred stones, which is not to say that a guardian spirit of a household would not be concerned with the fecundity as well as the material prosperity of the family.

Although Zeus Meilichios has chthonic associations, we have seen that there is nothing in his cult to show that he is to be identified with a specific dead person or with dead ancestors in general. The stones also do not function as the equivalent of grave monuments, and there is no warrant to describe them as fluctuating in character between the votive and the funerary, as does Lazzarini (1976: 149). There are, to be sure, physical similarities: the stones from Lebadeia with *omphaloi* on top resemble grave monuments surmounted by *omphaloi*,²² and the unworked or roughly worked stones of the Selinuntine Meilichios precinct are like the rough gravestones found in the city's cemeteries.²³ What all these stones have in common is their function as markers, whether of a grave or of a sacred area. It has frequently been observed that plain or roughly worked stones serve to mark boundaries, a particularly important function of the god Hermes and the herms (e.g. Nilsson 1955: 205). We have noted (*supra* 92) that the *lex sacra* refers to two demarcated areas in which were located the Meilichioi of two individuals. It seems likely that each contained a stone which, whatever else its function, no doubt served to mark the two plots.²⁴

Simple stones in Sicily did not belong only to Zeus Meilichios. At Selinous the recently excavated sanctuary of Hera contained a number of roughly triangular stones that were set up near an altar, around which were also found votive objects and animal bones.²⁵ At Poggioreale a large, rough block was set up for Herakles in the early sixth century (MP 35; Arena 1989: no. 35; Dubois 1989: no. 84).

The common view is that the stones are images of gods, survivals of a primitive stage of Greek religion. Pausanias, in the second century of our era, reported that the people of Pharai in Achaia worshipped rectangular stones, to each of which they assigned a god's name, and that in ancient

²²Ch. Picard 1942–43: 100f interpreted these as funerary because of the use of *omphaloi* on graves (bibliography: Robinson 1969: 22). Cf. White 1987: 83, a monument topped by an *omphalos* in a hero relief at Kyrene also showing a rider, a snake, a small altar, and a woman and child. On the face of the monument, which White refers to as a large grave stele but which might also be a pillar, is an inscription with a man's name, his patronymic, and the designation *heros*.

²³Cf. MP 75–103, pl. 45–62. Selinous *m* (with a doubtful inscription) and a number of uninscribed stones (cf. 103, 105f *infra*) can be compared to the rectangular block with a rectangular 'head' found in a cemetery at Akragas (Salinas 1901: 29) though not to any known from Selinous' cemeteries. The type is also known from Corinth (Robinson 1969: 22f, pl. 9; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 244, fig. 52).

²⁴For stelai as markers of a place of ritual cf. Williams 1981 on stelai set up over destroyed houses at Corinth so that the family or group might continue to honor gods and heroes of the house. These stelai may have had painted panels depicting the gods.

²⁵Cf. Parisi Presicce 1985 and S. Tusa *et al.* 1986: 51, fig. 84. One stone is marked with a large X.

times all Greeks honored plain stones (*argoi lithoi*) instead of images (*agalmata*, 7.22.4). Fritz Graf (1987), in his important study of the stones of Apollo Lykeios at Metapontion, has taken issue with this interpretation.²⁶ He sees the stones at both Metapontion and Selinous as dedications marking the place where a group or an individual has performed a regular or special ritual, noting that at both cities traces of ashes, bones, and votive pottery were found with those stones still *in situ*. The published reports of more recent investigations at Selinous fully confirm earlier observations.²⁷ Graf suggests, in the light of comparable inscriptions by groups on Thera, Thasos, and Kos, that subdivisions of the community, such perhaps as the *patriai* of *f* at Selinous, conducted rituals of initiation into the community at those marked places. The use of the language of dedication at Metapontion and the cutting of the inscription on bedrock at Thera militate, in his view, against seeing any particular significance in the use of the nominative for the gods.²⁸ Specifically, he would not identify the stones at Metapontion and Selinous with aniconic images of the gods, and he would go so far as to question the validity of Pausanias' interpretation of the stones dedicated many centuries before his own time.

At Selinous, at least, it is difficult to avoid seeing an embodiment of the god. First, there is the explicit language of two of the inscriptions, "I am Meilichios" (*b*, *f*). The formulae in the genitive ("belonging to Meilichios") and the dative ("given to Meilichios") are no obstacle to supposing that the stones were regarded as images of Zeus Meilichios. Secondly, the variation between fully aniconic stones, as with the majority of the stones, and partly iconic examples, as with *b* (and perhaps *m*), shows that both forms serve the function. The question then is how to explain the nominative form of Zeus in the Theran rock-cut inscriptions. We suggest that they say, in effect, "Here is Zeus of so-and-so's group," i.e., "in this place he receives ritual and is manifest." The same would be the case for the rock-cut inscriptions of Kyrene.²⁹

²⁶Ch. Picard 1942–43 also did not regard the stones as images of the god but as *kolossoi*, substitutes for men like the clay images in the *lex sacra* of Kyrene (*LSSupp.* 115 B 35–39). On *kolossoi* see also Benveniste 1932a, b. In the light of the subject of Column B in our text the suggestion is intriguing but the differences in the character of the objects are not trivial.

²⁷Gabrics 1927: 156f; V. Tusa 1972: 409. Manni Piraino 1970: 268 speaks of many stelai found in the Meilichios precinct as showing traces of burning, and in her full publication (1973) she cites Gabrics for such traces surrounding stone *f* (= her no. 68) and notes that the upper right corner of *a* (= her no. 60) showed evidence of burning; if this is the upper right corner as shown in the photograph (her pl. 35), that would have been part of the end of the stone that was partly buried in the ground, and the damage to the stone would be consistent with a fire having been made on the ground in front of it. Cf. also V. Tusa 1984b: 14.

²⁸See the examples at Thera *supra* 86; there is a single case of Apollo's name in the nominative at Metapontion, Burzachechi 1979: 293f no. 12.

²⁹A rock-cut inscription of ca 400 B.C. near the entrance of a cave on Thera requires the *deipnon* and the *hiara* to be held *πρὸ τῷ καμνίῳ*, a marker of some sort (*IG* XII.3 452 and p.301; *LSCG* 133). Sokolowski compares *SIG*³ 976.5: κατὰ χιλιαστὸν καθίζειν ἐν-

In other respects we accept Graf's argument, to which the *lex sacra* gives strong support. The stones marked the place where sacrifice was made.³⁰ We would stress the private character of each stone. These are not versions of a single public, city statue (though one may well have existed at Selinous as at Argos, where it was made for a civic crisis, and probably in Hellenistic Larisa, where there was a temple), but the particular god of a person or a group before whose symbolic representation rites were performed. In Athens it was the bond between the image and the household before which it stood that made the herms so important and their mutilation in 415 so shocking. Everywhere we may suppose that the good fortune of the household was bound up with the Zeus Meilichios represented by a stone or a relief.

As we have remarked, the *lex sacra* does not speak of a number of individual or group Meilichioi but only those of two persons, Myskos and Euthydamos. Conceivably other persons' or groups' Meilichioi were referred to in the mutilated beginning of Column A, or perhaps they are the *ἑκατά* of A7 (cf. *Commentary* on A7). But if the latter and those of A18, which could be "taken out," were in fact aniconic figures, they are likely to have been smaller and more easily movable than the identifiable Meilichios stones of the Greek period, whose apparent function as markers, as well as their size, suggests that they were meant to be left in place permanently. Any portable figures would have been more comparable in size to the later iconic but uninscribed stones of the Punic period (103–07 *infra*). One set of them, τὰ δαμόκια (A18), may have been common to the whole community.³¹

μεῖα ποιήσαντες καὶ τ[όπον] διορίσαντες ἐκάστη τῶν χιλιετών (Samos, 3rd cent., in a secular context).

³⁰Bergquist: 1992, in the most detailed consideration of the subject so far, regards the Selinuntine stones, along with the Metapontine, as expressing "a particular emphasis on the remains of a singular or recurrent sacrifice. They form a sign commemorating the event of the collective sacrifice, a secondary, individual sacrifice and/or the subsequent sacrificial meal." She concludes that "the remains of ashes and animal bones and of cultic and feasting equipment ... derive from the worshippers' sacrificial meal, after the sacrifice, on their portion of the sacrificed animal(s) and that a ceremonial (secondary, individual sacrifice?) and/or practical (disposal?) burning took place in the cooking pit or barbecue-site of the individual family, kinship or tribal group" (46). The *theoxenia* of gentilitious groups would fit her hypothesis excellently.

³¹It is arguable that the Athenians used wooden herms more commonly than those of stone, in view of the relatively few examples that have been found of what is said to have been a very widespread practice, though that may have been an exaggeration (cf. Jameson 1990: 194). So too it may be that Selinuntine households and groups had wooden or terracotta figures totalling a much greater number than the stones that have been found in the precinct. There are more terracotta than stone versions of the *Lúvilas* stelai of Capua (Duhoux 1988: 334). The new excavations in the Meilichios precinct found terracotta figurines mixed with bones and ashes, but these seem to have been female and stereotyped votive offerings; cf. V. Tusa 1971: 56 fig. 10; Dewailly 1992: 38ff. On portable representations of gods, especially detachable heads, see S. G. Miller 1975: 241–50.

ix. Conclusions

This review of the evidence for Zeus Meilichios has shown his wide diffusion and popularity with individuals and families, his concern with prosperity and with purification from bloodshed, and his association with underworld powers though not explicitly with the dead. In our interpretation of the *lex sacra* we have set out what does not emerge directly from the previously known evidence but is consistent with it: the god is especially concerned with bloodshed committed both against the family and by the family. This rôle is comparable to that of Zeus Alastor and Elasteros elsewhere (see 116–20 *infra*) and of the Eumenides/Erinyes. That, we believe, is his distinctively chthonic concern, but it does not exhaust his possible rôles. Bloodshed between families within a community, and within families, looms larger in story and in the history of the Archaic and early Classical periods than it does in later Greek society, when we should suppose that the many dedications by women and non-citizens were aimed at the maintenance of the prosperity of the individual and her or his family rather than at the consequences of bloodshed.

3. The Uninscribed Stones

As we have seen, all the inscribed Meilichios stones of Selinous date from before the fourth century and thus from the period when the city was predominantly Greek. Of the hundred or so uninscribed stones now in the Palermo Museum—both unworked or sculpted, more or less crudely—a representative selection of eighteen was published by Gabrici (1927: 174–81, pls. XXVII–XXIX; the figure of ca 100 is his). He provided no details on the circumstances in which they were found. Dating has depended entirely on style. Gabrici believed the cult of Meilichios and his partner Kore (as he identified the female figure on twin herms) went back to the beginnings of the sanctuary and continued well into the fourth century. But because contrasting examples had been found in the same strata, he denied that a chronological progression could be observed from the crude to the more sophisticated.

All the iconic representations (the inscribed stone *f* with a single head was discovered only in 1970) were attributed by Di Vita (1961–64) and V. Tusa (1971) to the period of Carthaginian dominance of the city, from the end of the fifth to the mid-third century. Aside from stone *f*, their view seems justified. It follows, however, that there is then no evidence for a consort for Meilichios in the Greek period of the sanctuary. V. Tusa (1971: 63) identified the male and female figures of the Punic period as Ba'al Hammon and Tanit.³²

³²Di Vita (1961–64: 245) regarded all the non-Hellenic and almost all the hellenizing faces as having the eyes closed and therefore showing an absence of life and the presence of death. When the eyes are represented by a single horizontal line they could equally be

Gabrics's selection ranged from an aniconic stone with a rectangular 'head', through narrow stones with a single bearded head either in relief or fully in the round (he noted that all single figures were bearded males), to both very schematic and quite naturalistic, 'Hellenic' examples of twin heads topping a more or less rectangular block. A single example (his pl. XXVII.1) shows a male and a female seated figure on a rectangular base, the male holding a vessel in his left hand. It may be significant that in all but two of the fourteen twin figures that Gabrics published, the male is on the left, *i.e.*, from their point of view on the right (the exceptions are pl. XXIX.2, 7; although Gabrics thought pl. XXIX.4 was another example, from the photograph it is hard to tell). The three twin herms in the Getty Museum that we describe below (1, 2, 4) also have the male on the left. All are made from a yellowish or whitish tufa.³³

Gabrics wrote that only about ten of the hundred or so stones were at all reminiscent of Greek art. He suggested that artistic efforts were concentrated on the cult of the major figure in the sanctuary complex, Malophoros, and that therefore no artistic tradition was created for the two secondary deities, Meilichios and Kore (or Pasikrateia). Di Vita and V. Tusa explicitly compare the rest with examples of Punic art. Despite similarities to the Punic in the simple, schematic style, we are more struck by the difference in iconography.³⁴ Furthermore, we have noted that twin

regarded as open or closed. That is not the case with the more naturalistic representations. We do not believe any of the heads show the eyes closed. Cf. figs. 12-14, 15a.

³³Tamburello's description of the stones now in the Palermo Museum is worth quoting (Tamburello n.d.: 2): "Sono statuette votive di calcare, scolpite solo nelle teste e raffigurano divinità. Sono gemine, quadruple, singole, tutte hanno perduto l'originaria accessa policromia (rosso, giallo, azzurro, bianco); molti volti sono abrasati. Dedicate tra il VI ed il III sec. a.C. sono opere locali, ottenute con elementari mezzi tecnici: alcuni volti sono piatti, ricavati in un unico piano con una schematizzazione elementare e sgradevole, anche se non priva d'interesse. Qualche studioso rechiamo, per alcune, espressioni d'ambiente punico: invero solo alcuni volti sono ispirati ad opere greche. Avvicinate alla grandiosa decorazione scultoria dei templi selinuntini, le piccole steli appaiono come una fioritura di arte popolare in gran parte senza pretese, come era la richiesta dei devoti." No example of quadruple herms has been published. One, with two male and two female heads, with dimensions of 0.19 m. x 0.14 m., is mentioned by Dewailly 1992: 40. Would they represent the deities of two related families or groups?

³⁴Examination of the comprehensive collection of Punic stelai by Bisi (1967) shows that the prevailing types are very different from the Selinuntine, even when they share the same simple style of workmanship. The Punic examples are characterized by an abundance of symbols. Only one symbol on stone, not obviously Punic, is reported from the Gaggera (V. Tusa 1971: 56, fig. 13; cf. the small circle on the base of Gabrics 1927: pl. XXVII.1). Bisi is able to point to two stelai from Motya on which a schematic bearded face is rendered by a triangle and a few horizontal lines (143f, from Whitaker 1921: 273, fig. 53; cf. Gabrics 1927: pl. XXIX.5). She suggests that these may be the most ancient documents of the cult of Ba'al Hammon in a *tophet*, an inference she makes from the similarity to the Selinuntine stones. Is the influence moving not only to but also from Selinous? V. Tusa (1971: 63f) compares a rough, rectangular stele of sandstone from a tomb at Lilybaion (65 fig. 23; Bisi 1971b: figs. 7, 10). On a rounded knob at the top, eyes, nose,

herms, with male and female heads side by side, are, with the single exception described below, unique to Selinous, and that no Punic symbols have been discovered in this sanctuary. Without doubting the Punic involvement in the production and use of these stones in the period of Punic dominance, we should stress the unique, local development they represent. In one respect they continue the religious impulse of the earlier Meilichios stones: what was important was the manufacture and setting up of a stone, however simple, not the quality of the object. Essentially these were not dedications, gifts to the god, but embodiments of the deity, powerful objects in themselves.³⁵

In the absence of inscriptions, a further criterion for distinguishing the earlier from the later stones may be size. All the uninscribed figures published by Gabrics, with one exception, are between 0.18 m. and 0.40 m. high, while the unbroken inscribed stones are between 0.53 m. and 1.08 m. high. The exception in Gabrics's selection is his pl. XXIX.5, a stone 0.55 m. high with the outline of a face cut in relief (his pl. XXIX.4, with twin heads, is broken at the bottom). It may belong with the stones of the Greek period.

The only other twin herm of this type (with two figures or heads side by side) of which we are aware is a stone of very crude workmanship reported as stolen from the Tegea Museum (no. 165; see Palagia and Coulson 1993: 275 fig. 10). It appears that it should be classed with the other semi-iconic and aniconic stones from eastern Arkadia that have been discussed by Rhomaios (1911; *supra* 99 n.21). Since there is no reason to suspect direct influence in either direction between Tegea and Selinous, we take the similarities to be a case of parallel development in popular art, in both regions in the service of private or family cult.

In the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum there are three twin herms and two separate heads, probably broken off from herms, and four aniconic stones. All are of tufa, and the sculptured heads, at least, are unmistakably of Selinuntine origin, a view confirmed by Professor Vincenzo Tusa (*per epist.*), who has examined them. Their small size conforms to the criterion suggested above for a date in the fourth or third century. A small altar with a Punic inscription of four letters (discussed in Ch. IX) may belong with these stones. If it too comes from the Meili-

and mouth are crudely marked. We do not know that any of the stones topped with knobs at Selinous have the facial features marked. At such a rudimentary level it is difficult to speak of parallels or influence. Moscati and Uberti (1981: 61) see, in the severe schematization of essential features, stylistic similarities between stelai at Motya and non-Hellenic types at Selinous, but they adduce no iconographic parallels. Asheri's assertion (1988: 745), "A Phoenician veneer is easily discernible over a native Sican layer on the iconic stelae from Meilichios's *temenos* at Selinous," is, to say the least, overconfident.

³⁵If the single figure of Zeus Meilichios seen in stone *f* and the aniconic stones of the Greek period represents the protecting spirit of the patrilineal group, is it possible that the practice of including a female figure beside the male reflects a society in which the female as well as the male line is important?

chios sanctuary it may shed light on the cult carried on in that area by the Carthaginians.

(1) (PL. 12) Museum no. 81.AA.135: twin herm with bearded male head on the viewer's left, female head on right. Both heads are carved on cylindrical projections that continue above the simply-rendered band of hair. Cf. the effect of the polos-like headgear on Gabrici 1927: pl. XXIX.3 (=White 1967: pl. 106 fig. 22; V. Tusa 1971: 64, fig. 22). A feature no other published example exhibits is the projecting tenons, as in Attic herms and their derivatives, on both sides of the stone. In this case they are useful for lifting the stone. In style the heads most closely resemble Gabrici 1927: pl. XXVIII.4.

H. 0.213 m., W. 0.175 m., max. Th. 0.08 m. H. of heads 0.06 m. Roughly finished on the left side and back, smoothly finished but with chisel marks on the front. H. of tenons 0.027 m., W. approx. 0.018 m., Th. 0.025 m. The left-hand tenon is set higher and is slightly larger than the one on the right.

(2) (PL. 13) Museum no. 74.AA.44: twin herm with bearded male head on the viewer's left and the female head on right, very similar to the previous example except that it has no tenons, the 'polos' above the hair has almost vanished, and the two heads are closer together. The beard of the male figure lacks the vertical grooves of (1) and is very similar to that of Gabrici 1927: pl. XXVIII.4.

H. 0.22 m., W. 0.152 m., max. Th. 0.063 m. H. of heads *ca* 0.06 m. Smoothly finished on all sides; no chisel marks on front.

(3) (PL. 14a, b) Museum no. 81.AA.138: separate male head of similar style, from a herm, of the same size as (1) and (2). There is no 'polos', the nose is somewhat pushed in (perhaps damaged and then smoothed off), and the beard is frizzy. The effect aimed at is rather more naturalistic than (1) and (2).

Max. pr. H. 0.07 m., W. 0.045 m., Th. 0.055 m.

(4) (PL. 14c-f) Museum no. 81.AA.136: twin herm with bearded male head on the viewer's left and female head on right. The faces are on long 'necks' and are very flat and rendered by means of a very few cuts. In style the heads are most comparable to Gabrici 1927: pl. XXIX.2 and 3, XXIX.4.

H. 0.22 m., W. 0.135 m., max. Th. 0.065 m. The base is set off from the rest of the stone by a horizontal bevel (cf. Gabrici 1927: pls. XXVII.2 and XXIX.4). The base is bevelled vertically on the left and right sides. The back is flat. A roughly circular cutting, 0.03 m., runs from front to back towards the right side of the base. Two channels cut by a drill at the base of each head, on the inner side, show that the stone between the heads was removed by drilling.

(5) (PL. 15a, b) Museum no. 81.AA.137: separate male (?) head, similar in style to (4) and no doubt from a herm of roughly the same size.

Max. H. 0.05 m., W. 0.04 m., Th. 0.03 m.

In the same collection of objects there are three, possibly four, stones that may have been aniconic forms of a deity.

(6) (PL. 15c, d) Museum no. 81.AA.139.C: small semi-iconic stone with a knob for a head and two slightly damaged projections at the bottom, evidently representing feet. The back, slightly rounded, is rough. Two of the inscribed stones from Selinous (*supra* 90f) have such a knob on top, *b* (MP 63) and *m* (MP 69), but both are about five times as tall.

H. 0.14 m., W. 0.10 m., Th. 0.05 m. on top.

(7) (PL. 16a) Museum no. 81.AA.139.D: rectangular, chalky white stone with rounded pyramidal knob on top.

H. 0.132 m., W. 0.06 m., Th. 0.055 m.

(8) (PL. 16b) Museum no. 88.AA.139.A: rectangular stone with rounded knob on top.

H. 0.27 m., max. W. 0.13 m., max. Th. 0.088 m. H. of 'head' 0.05 m.

(9) (PL. 16c) Museum no. 81.AA.139.B: rectangular block on which a column has been roughly carved in relief on one side. The upper left is recessed in the form of two small rectangular cuttings. The top is broken and seems to have formed a decorative element. There are traces of a metal dowel for a repair when the breakage on top first occurred. It is likely that this object is not to be classed with the three preceding examples.

H. 0.40 m., of which the 'capital' is 0.10 m. and the base is 0.088 m. The base is 0.123 m. wide and 0.154 m. thick.

4. *The Tritopatores (or Tritopatris)*

i. Testimonia to the cult

Athens

(a) (PL. 17) Four inscriptions associated with a small temenos at the juncture of the Sacred Way and the Street of the Tombs, about 70 m. outside the Sacred Gate of the city of Athens (Travlos 1971: 302 fig. 391, 305 figs. 394f). The temenos is in two parts: an area in the shape of a truncated triangle on the east adjoining a walled trapezoidal area on the west. Three probably identical inscriptions mark the area as not to be entered. One is at the northeastern point of the truncated triangle, the

other two at the eastern corners of the walled trapezoid. On the first, only the last four letters are preserved: *IG* I³ 1066 (information kindly supplied by D. M. Lewis; *IG* I² 870; Brückner 1910: 102), *ἡρόος* : *ἡερό* / *Τριτοπατρέων* / *ἡάβατον* (454–410).

A fourth inscription is on an unworked block set into the face of the south wall of the precinct: *IG* I³ 1067 (Travlos 1971: 305, fig. 395; Brückner 1910: 105ff; cf. commentary on *IG* II² 2615), *ἡερόν* / *Τριτοπατρέων* (ca 500–480).

On the history of the temenos see Ohly 1965: 327f, Kübler 1973: 189–93, Knigge 1974, 1988: 25, 103–05. The cult actually goes back to the seventh century. The present wall was added after the fifth century (Knigge 1974: 191f). It is tempting to see a correspondence between the divided precinct in Athens and the pure/impure condition of the Tritopatores of Selinous. The whole of the Athenian precinct, however, is marked as out of bounds, not just the walled area, and division into two parts was not evidently an original or fundamental feature of the cult. There seems to have been an entrance at the southwest corner of the walled area, perhaps to allow access to cult personnel exempt from the prohibition. In the absence of any family or group name in the inscriptions we must suppose the shrine is that of the whole community of Athenians, as its prominent location suggests, at the crossroads just outside one of the important gates of the city. This is emphasized by Bourriot (1976: 1177ff). There is nothing, however, to support his contention (1154) that the triangular precinct is to be explained by the number three seen in the Trito- of Tritopatores.

(b) Sacrificial calendar (of a tribe, *genos*, phratry?) on a four-sided stele: *IG* I³ 246B15–17 (*IG* I² 842, *LSCG* 2), [...ἔ]το / [τῶ] ἱερέ[oc]: *Τριτ[ο]-πατρέ[oc]* / *τῆ* / - - - (470–450)

The calendrical and ritual context are lost. Jacoby on Phanodemos, *FGrHist* 325 F 6, is unjustified in assuming that this is the state cult.

(c) Boundary marker probably for the precinct of a *genos* or a phratry. Reported by Svoronos (1916–17: 141 n.4) to have been found near Agrai (cf. Zeus Meilichios at Agrai, *supra* 81). The last line was cut at right angles to the first four: *IG* II² 2615, ὅρος ἱερό Τριτοπατρέων / *Ζακυαδῶ*[v] (4th cent.).

(d) Boundary marker for the precinct of a *genos* or a phratry from the Athenian Agora: Meritt 1961: 264 no. 80, pl. 50, ὅρος ἱερό Τριτοπα/τρέων *Ε/ὕεργιδῶν* (early 4th cent.).

(e) Deme of Erchia, calendar of sacrifices: *LSCG* 18 Δ 41–46 (Daux 1963: 604–10; *SEG* 21.541), Μονιχῖνος δ/εκάτει ὑτέ/ραι, Τριτοπα/τρέυει, Ἐρχι/οῖς, νηφάλιος/ο, οὐ φορά : ΔΓ Γ (second quarter of 4th cent.)

The sacrifice occurs on the 21st or 22nd of Mounichion (depending on the length of the month), the day after the identical sacrifice of a male sheep to Leukaspis (Γ 48–53). The place of sacrifice for both is at Erchia but is not further specified. These are the only two sacrifices in the calendar for the month of Mounichion, and one suspects that they are connected. Both are to be performed without wine (νηφάλιος), whereas the sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios in the deme calendar (A 37–43) is only partly without wine. Leukaspis has been identified as a Sicilian hero (Dunst 1964: 482ff; Manganaro 1965: 166, arguing for an origin of the hero in old Greece; Giangulio 1983: 816f). The Tritopatores are too well established in the Aegean for us to suppose that they were imported along with Leukaspis. Perhaps the hero was given a place in their sanctuary.

(f) Calendar of the deme of Marathon in a sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetropolis: *LSCG* 20 B3–33 (*IG* II² 1358), *Κιροφοριῶνος*· *πρὸ* *Κίρων*· Ὑττηνίωι τὰ ὥρα[ι]/α οἷς ΔΓ Γ Κοροτρόφωι χοῖρος Γ Γ Γ ἱερώσυνα Γ Γ Γ / *Τριτοπατρέυει* οἷς ἱερώσυνα Γ Γ Ἀκάμασιν / οἷς ΔΓ Γ ἱερώσυνα Γ Γ. B51–54, *Κιροφοριῶνος*· *πρὸ* *Κίρων*· Γαλίωι κριός ΔΓ Γ / ἱερώσυνα Γ Γ φρέατος ΠΓ *Τριτοπατρέυει* / *τράπεζα* Γ (2nd quarter of 4th cent.)

Every year the *demarchos* of the Marathonians sacrificed a male sheep (wether) to the Tritopatores. Every other year (B39 τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος) he also furnished them with a table, i.e., he set out food offerings including sacrificial meat on a table when the hero Galios received a ram. (On the *trapeza* in sacrifice cf. Gill 1974, 1991.)

Two aspects of the Marathonian ritual may have bearing on the Selinuntine Tritopatores. In the annual rite they were associated with Hyttenios (a local hero), Kourotraphos (a female figure, “Nourisher of the Young,” widely worshipped in Attica), and the Akamantes, who also received a male sheep. The Akamantes are not well attested but in the great Kyrenian *lex sacra* the Ἀκαμάντια (*sic*) again appear to be associated with the Tritopatores (see *LSSupp.* 115 A 21–25 and Kyrene *infra*). Secondly, the offerings to the Tritopatores are to take place before the festival of the Skira in the early summer month of Skirophorion. At Selinous the rites prescribed in Column A are also dated before another festival, in this case the Kotytia. The unusual form of dating occurs in another place in the Marathonian inscription (B 5) and the similarity with the Selinuntine usage may not be significant. But it is possible that the Tritopatores and the figures with whom they are associated are not given a fixed date in the ritual calendar. Instead, their rites need to be accomplished before a larger festival, perhaps because of their chthonic connections. (However, no particular similarity between the Skira and the Kotytia is evident.) If, as appears to be the case at Selinous, they are figures worshipped more by individual families than by the community, a flexible date would be appropriate.

(g) Phanodemos, *FGrHist* 325 F 6, μόνοι Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσι τε καὶ εὐχονται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παίδων, ὅταν γαμεῖν μέλλωσιν, "Only the Athenians sacrifice and pray to them (the Tritopatores) for the sake of procreation when they are about to marry." It may be doubted, however, that this was an exclusively Athenian concern or practice.

Delos

A circular, hollow altar with an inscribed rim. *IDélos* I 66 (Cook 1940: 116–19), Τριτοπάτωρ / Πυρρακιδῶν / Αἰγίλιῶν (ca 400)

Remains of animal sacrifice were found below the altar, indicating that cult activity predated its construction (Roussel 1929: 161–71). The Pyrrhakidai were probably a branch of an Athenian *genos* of the Attic deme of Aigilia. Their eponym, Pyrrhakos, was said to have gone from Athens to Delos, where he set up the first wooden statue of Apollo; the Pyrrhakidai also had a cult of the Nymphs on Delos (*IDélos* I 67). This is the only example of the cult of a single Tritopator (*cf.* discussion by Bourriot 1976: 1165–69).

Troizen

Limestone stele, probably used as a boundary marker, found in an Early Christian church near the ancient city; now in the Museum of Poros (no. 620): Jameson [forthcoming], Τριτοπα/τρέων (4th cent.)

Kyrene

In the *lex sacra* of Kyrene (*LSSupp.* 115 A 21–25 [*SEG* 9.72; Buck 1955: no. 115]), with reference to purification and pollution, the founder of the colony Battos, the Tritopateres (*sic*), and Onymastos the Delphian are classed together as an exception to a more general rule (πλὴν ... Τριτοπατέρων). The passage is notoriously obscure. It is not even clear whether these three (through their precincts, their rites, or their meals) carry a particular danger, and if so whether that affects all persons or only "the pure" (ἄγνοί, cult personnel?)—or whether, on the contrary, they alone among the dead carry no danger of pollution (literally, "there is ὁσία for everyone"; *cf.* our *Commentary* on A12). We incline to the latter, but for gauging the character of the Kyrenian Tritopateres what matters most is the company they keep. Onymastos the Delphian is unknown. It has been suggested that he was a Delphic priest who accompanied the first settlers. Battos is surely the *oikistes* of the colony, well known from Herodotus and other sources. The group as a whole, then, represents the figures who established the settlement and set it on the right path—the

founding hero of the settlement, the community's ancestral spirits, and perhaps an early religious adviser.³⁶

ii. Discussion

The Tritopatores have a much narrower geographical range than does Zeus Meilichios. They are known from Attica, Athenian-dominated Delos, Troizen, Selinous (which presumably derived its cult from another Saronic Gulf city, Megara) and Kyrene. Their presence in that Thera colony suggests that they are not a purely Athenian phenomenon that influenced its neighbors but are rather another indication, along with the ninth part in ritual (A11f, *cf.* Mykonos and Thasos) and the elasteros (B1, 9, and 12, *cf.* Paros and Thasos [discussed 116f *infra*]), of a zone of shared cult practices that encompassed the central and western Aegean. In the case of Kyrene, however, the geographical link might have been between Sicily and North Africa, rather than via Thera.

There are cults of the city (Athens, Kyrene, and probably Troizen), of local communities (Marathon and Erchia in Attica) and of gentilitial groups (Euergidai, Zakyadai, Pyrrhakidai). Bourriot (1976: 1174f) argues that the communal Tritopatores, for whom the evidence is earlier, were prior to the gentilitial; Kearns (1989: 76f) suggests that in Athens they were associated more with phratries than with *gene* because of their concern with generation. But, in truth, neither proposition can be demonstrated. At Selinous it seems to us more likely that, although the public *hiara* of A18 may have been comprised of (or included) representations of the city's Tritopatores, the impure and then purified Tritopatores of A9–17 were the particular spirits of the group or family from which they received cult, rather than ancestral spirits of the city as a whole. Otherwise it is hard to see how several groups or individuals, the apparent subjects of the actions prescribed, would all need to convert impure Tritopatores into pure ones, or, if conversion did not occur, to deal with two categories of the city's Tritopatores.

³⁶For detailed discussion of these problems see Parker 1983: 336–39, Brunel 1984, and, most recently, Malkin 1987: 206–12. *Akamantia*="shrines of the Akamantes"? Possibly "a generic word meaning something like 'hero shrine'," Parker 1983: 337. In place of Ἀκαμαντίων some read ἄ κα παντίων. Parker (336) translates: "There is *hosia* in respect of the Akamantia for everybody, both pure and profane. Except for the man Battos the leader and the Tritopateres and from Onymastos the Delphian, from anywhere else, where a man died, there isn't *hosia* for one who is pure; in respect of shrines [*ton hiaron*] there is *hosia* for everybody." In one respect, however, the interpretation of Brunel (1984: 37) is attractive: ἀπ' ἄλλου ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε, "from anyone else who has died," rather than the local "from anywhere else." In other respects we agree with Nock (1944: 143) who, in a brief review of possible pollution from hero shrines and rites, assumes, without discussion, that there is a contrast here between the ordinary dead and the heroized men who receive cult. This seems also to be the preference of Parker (without reference to Nock). At Selinous we have two types or two conditions of Tritopatores, pure and impure. At Kyrene they and their associates are, in effect, either polluting or, as we think the context suggests, not polluting.

The Tritopatores are not known to have been represented iconically; the same is true for most examples of Zeus Meilichios, and like him they are found in defined spaces rather than in temples or shrines.³⁷ The impure Tritopatores of Selinous explicitly (and the pure implicitly) receive libations through the roof of a structure (A11); the verb ὑπολείβειν may reinforce the impression that the structure is low or below ground and not something one can enter in order to perform ritual (cf. *supra* 30f). The public *hiara* of A18 are, as we emend the text, to be “taken out,” perhaps from such a structure. It would be natural to look for these structures in the vicinity of the *Campo di Stele* and the Malophoros sanctuary, but it must be noted that nothing of the sort has been reported and that it is possible therefore that they were not physically adjacent to the Meilichios stones, but in a different sacred area. The analogy of the Tritopatreion in the Athenian Kerameikos (*supra* 107) might suggest propinquity to a cemetery.

The most important textual information about the Tritopatores is contained in a passage in Harpokration *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες (found also, more or less complete, in Photius, the *Suda*, and *Etym. Mag.* It contains quotations from Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 F 6, Demon 327 F 2, and Philochoros, 328 F 12; cf. also the *Physikos* of Orpheus [fr. 318 Kern] and the *Exegetikon* [*FGrHist* 352 F 1]). The generative force of the Tritopatores is indicated by the Athenian sacrifice and prayers to them at marriage, ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παίδων ὅταν γαμεῖν μέλλωσιν (Phanodemos [= *g, supra* 110]; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 821, πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίων τέλους), by Philochoros’ connecting them with Ge and Helios (τοὺς δ’ ἐκ τούτων τρίτους πατέρας) and description of them as γονεῖς αὐτῶν (*sc.* ἀνθρώπων) and as πάντων γεγονέναι πρώτους (cf. Hesychius *s.v.* γενέσεως ἀρχηγός), and by Demon’s identification of them with the impregnating winds (cf. Cook 1940: 121f). In the Orphic *Physikos* they are given names and called the guardians of the winds.

From these brief comments it has been deduced, no doubt correctly, that the Tritopatores represent a group’s collective ancestors who, as patrons of procreation, look out for the group’s survival in the future.³⁸ The first part of their name has been interpreted as indicating that they are the original or true fathers (Pötscher 1987: 150f; Chantraine 1968–80: *s.v.* Τριτογένεια) or that they were forefathers three generations back (Wüst 1939: 1325f; Jacoby on *FGrHist* 325 F 6; Bourriot 1976: 1450–53).

Recognition of ancestors in cult was an essential feature of religious observances of the *oikos*, a practice so much taken for granted that the testimonia are neither numerous nor very explicit. Thus in Plato (*Leg.*

³⁷Furtwängler (1905: 435–38) identified the triple-bodied “bluebeard” from a sixth-century pediment on the Athenian acropolis as the Tritopatores, an idea taken up by Benton (1965). It is an intriguing suggestion that cannot, unfortunately, be substantiated.

³⁸According to Rohde (1925: 171), “nothing else than the souls of the ancestors.” The fullest discussions are by Wüst (1939), Cook (1940: 112–40), Jacoby on Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 F 6, Hemberg (1954), and Bourriot (1976: 1135–39).

717b; cf. 931E) ἰδρύματα ἴδια πατρῶν θεῶν κατὰ νόμον ὀργαζόμενα (“private establishments of ancestral gods worshipped according to custom”) certainly refers to ancestors (γονέων), perhaps specifically to their images (cf. England 1921: 452f, and Morrow 1960: 462, who sees here an allusion to the Tritopatores). Lycurgus (25) speaks of τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῶα, clearly referring to objects, most probably images, that have been taken away from the native land of the accused. But since they are said to leave τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἣν κατεῖχον, the images would have included gods as well as ancestors. Isaeus (9.7), in speaking of the customary rites (τὰ νομιζόμενα) for a particular dead man and for the ancestors, makes clear the similarity of the honors to the two categories (Wyse’s commentary on the passage [1904: 69ff] contains the more important testimonia). The adjective πατρῶος occurs in reference to both and is found in the *lex sacra* at A17 and 22 (and more ambiguously in B7). πατρῶος has been understood as an adjective referring to personal ancestors, ancestors conceived of as particular individuals, rather than as having the more general sense of “ancestral” (Benveniste 1969: 220). Against this background, Tritopatores would seem to be a term used in relatively few areas for a concept that was universal in the Greek world.

Neither in conception nor in ritual does there seem to be a sharp distinction drawn between a specific dead forebear and the ancestors in general. Nonetheless, there are differences. The individual dead were commemorated on a given number of days (3, 9, 30, a year) after the funeral or the birthday and at the grave (cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 144–48), whereas the impersonal group of ancestors could be recognized in the festal calendar of the community, and not necessarily, perhaps never, at actual graves. Which would be chosen? All that were known to the descendants? In the best known part of the Greek world, Attica, the variable and on the whole limited attention and degree of continuity in the matter of family graves has been shown by Humphreys (1980). The Attic festival of the Genesia has been interpreted as an example of communal commemoration of the ancestors (Jacoby 1944; Bourriot 1976: 1126–31, who, however, dissociates it from the *gene*). In some respects the Attic and Ionian Anthesteria was an All Souls Day for the community’s collective ghosts (Deubner 1932: 111–14; Parke 1977: 116f). At Nakone in western Sicily, some two hundred years after the Selinuntine *lex sacra* was inscribed, public sacrifice was specified for the ancestors and for personified civic harmony, *Homonoia* (γενετόρεσσιν καὶ τῷ Ὁμονοίᾳ).³⁹

In the Selinuntine *lex sacra* the initial ceremony is not given a fixed date but must be performed by a certain time each year, and sacrifice is allowed again after one year (A18, 20, at home and with the *damosia hiara*, A20f), and again after two years (A23). In these respects the ceremonies

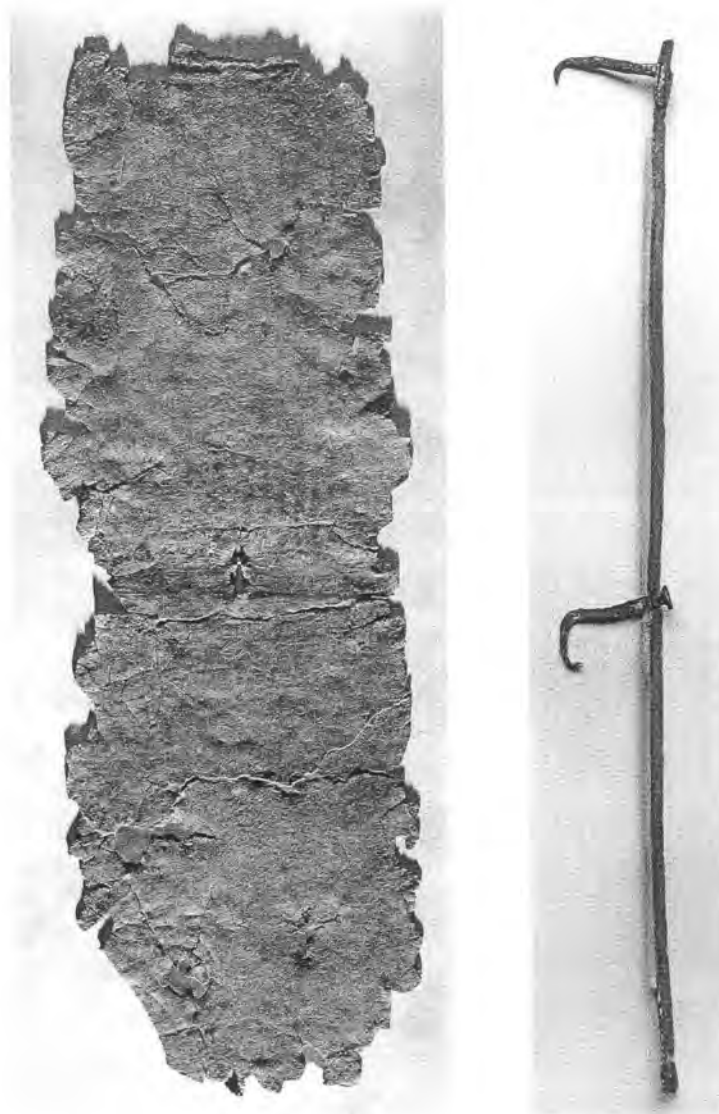
³⁹This took place at the time of the *dokimasia*, “when all the citizens have a festival with each other during the *adelphothesia*”: Nenci and Asheri 1982: 776f no. 3.28ff (*SEG* 32.358f); Daux 1984: 396.

resemble those for a particular person, and the distinction between the *homosepυοι* (A3), members of the household or restricted kinship group, and others (the subject of *καταλείποντας*?) would be consistent with such a procedure. The preserved text, however, makes no allusion to the usual funeral ceremonies, though there is, of course, the possibility that the fragmentary beginning of Column A did so. At the same time, the detailed ritual prescriptions for figures who are to some degree public (Zeus Eumenes and the Eumenides and the two Meilichioi), together with the use of public *hiara*, show that more than funerary or private commemorative cult is involved. An incident that affects a family, presumably a death of some sort, requires engagement in the complex of rites for these more or less public figures. It is interesting that in third-century Nakone the ancestors are linked in sacrifice with Homonoia. We have noted the rôle of Zeus Meilichios in stabilizing a society after *stasis* (Paus. 2.20.1f). The ritual expert Epimenides in the sixth century was said to have assisted Solon in introducing the Athenians to gentler funeral rites and to have made them more inclined to *homonoia* (a reference surely to their civil strife arising from the Kylonian incident) by means of *ἱλαρμοῖς τιτὶ καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἰδρύεσσι κατοργιάσας καὶ καθοσιώσας* (Plut. *Sol.* 12.5, cf. 21). There seems to be a linking of honors to the ancestors, civil harmony (after civil strife), and perhaps the reform of funerary rites.⁴⁰

5. The Cults of Groups

Our examination of the cults of Zeus Meilichios showed that while the larger community in some cities might undertake ritual in his honor, his cult was predominantly that of individuals, families, and the gentilital groups that appear as subdivisions of society throughout the Greek world. For the Tritopatores communal cult seems more common than that of groups; the reason is probably that some communities preferred the more specialized term, as against the generic *progonoi* or the like. The affinity of the cult of Zeus Meilichios at Selinous with other cults maintained by groups has long been recognized (cf. Hanell 1934: 178 n.4, who gives some examples collected by Martin Nilsson, and Nilsson 1951: 162–66). Rather than offering a survey of this large subject here, we call attention to a number of parallels that are especially relevant.

⁴⁰Restrictions were imposed on a family's or gentilital group's elaboration of commemorative rites in various parts of the Greek world, especially in the late Archaic and early Classical periods, and these might include the prohibition of a particular ritual, as was the case with the Thirty Day ceremony on Keos (*LSCG* 97 A 20f). At Gambreion in Asia Minor all rites had to be completed within three months (*LSAM* 16.9ff). At Selinous the explicit permission (*ἔστω*) for sacrifice after a year and after two years sounds like a clarification or modification of more general restrictions (cf. the declaration on Keos that the third day and annual rites did not cause pollution so long as the performers did not enter shrines: *LSCG* 97 B).



(a) The Tablet (without the bronze bar)

(b) Bronze Bar (from side)



Column A



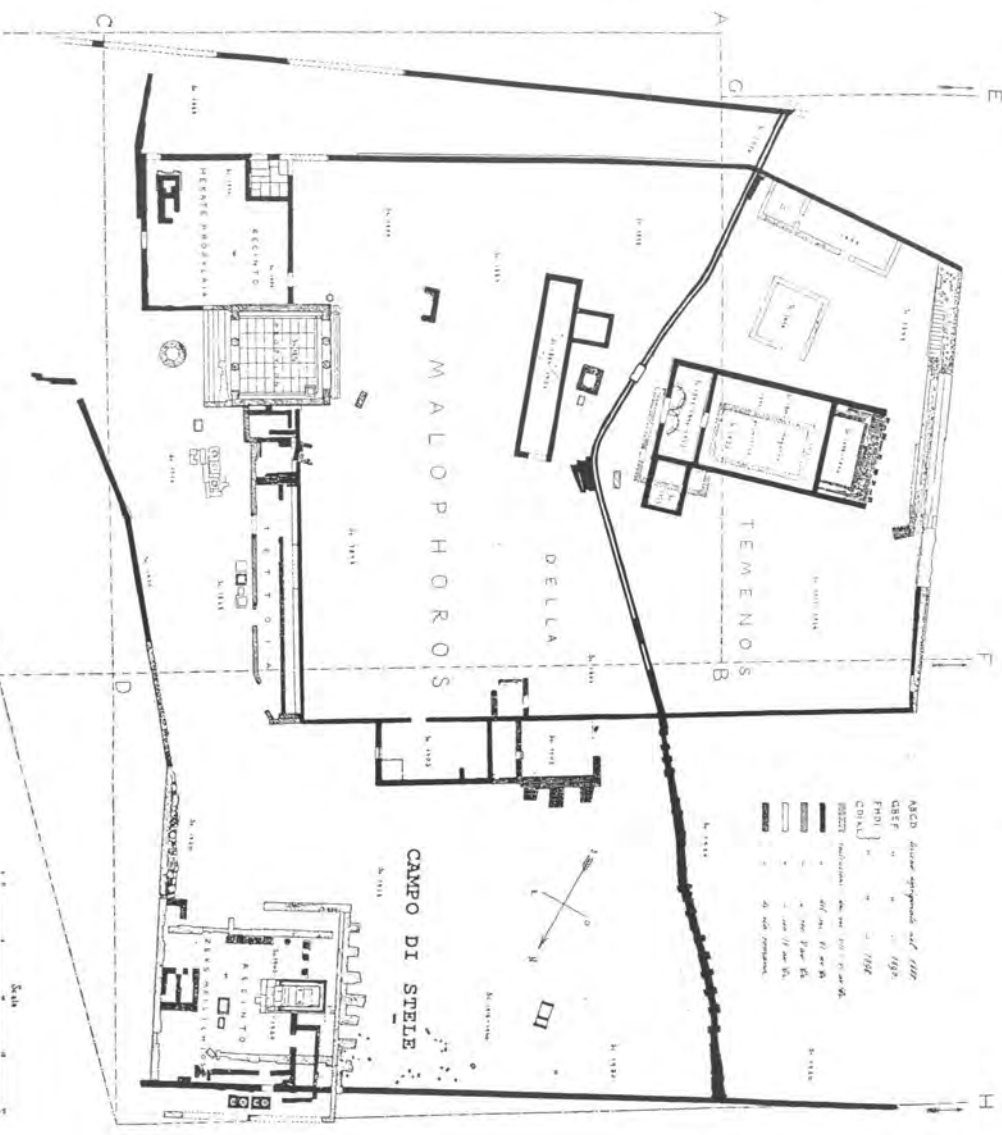
Column A, detail (lines 1-7)



Column B



Column B, with raking light



Sanctuary of Malophoros



(a) Campo di Stele, 1924 (from the south)



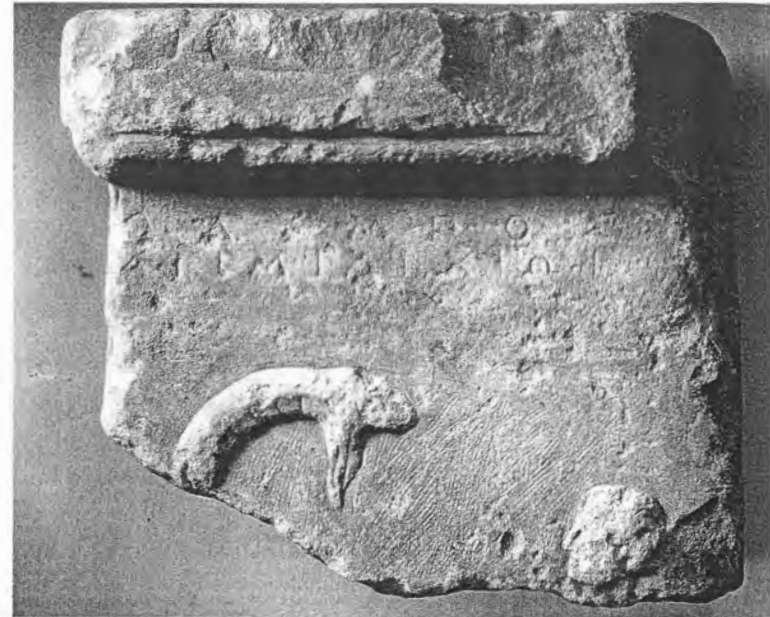
(b) Temple of Zeus Meilichios (?) and Campo di Stele, 1924 (from north)



(a) *Campo di Stele*, 1924 (from north)



(b) Votive and Sacrificial Deposit, 1970



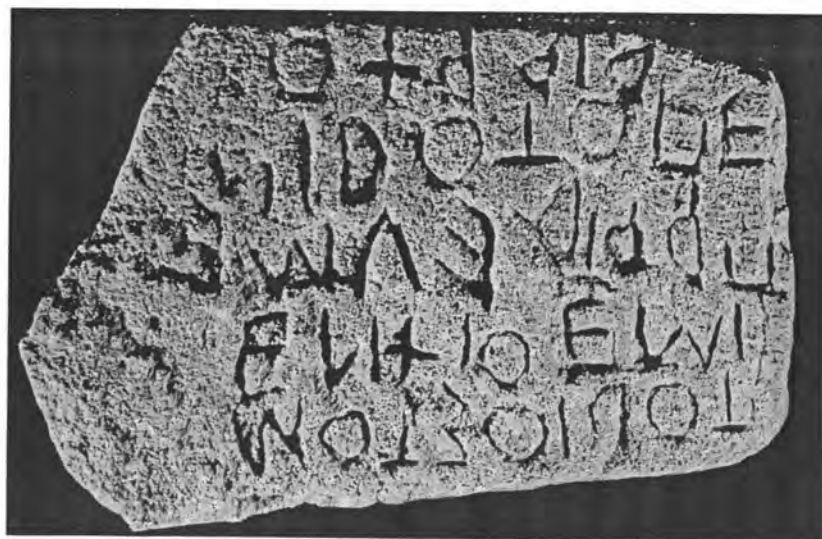
Dedication to Zeus Melichiös, Athens



(c)



(b)



(a)

(a) Meilichios stone, Selinous *a* (MP 60)
 (b) Meilichios stone, Selinous *b* (MP 58)
 (c) Meilichios stone, Selinous *c* (MP 61)



(b)



(a)

(a) Meilichios stone, Selinous *f* (MP 68)
 (b) Meilichios stone, Selinous *k* (MP 62)



Twin herm, 1 (81.AA.135)



Twin herm, 2 (74.AA.44)



(a)



(c)



(d)



(a, b) Head broken from a herm, 5 (81.AA.137)



(b)



(c)

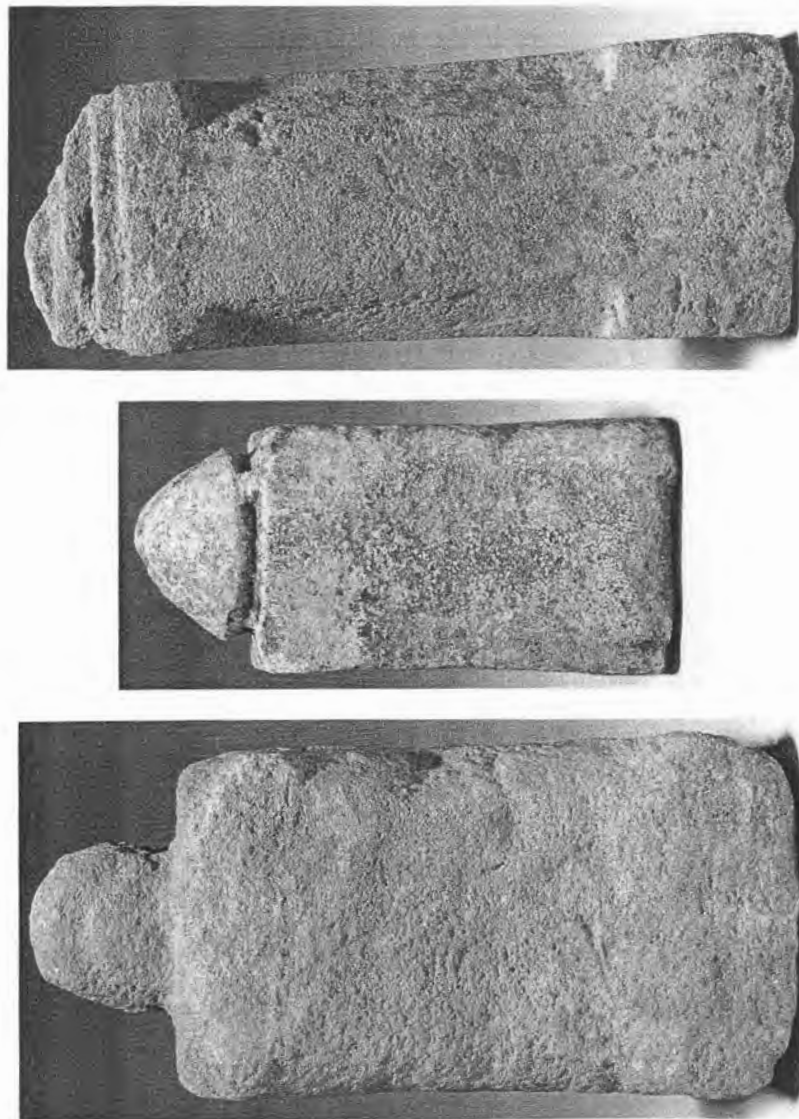


(f)

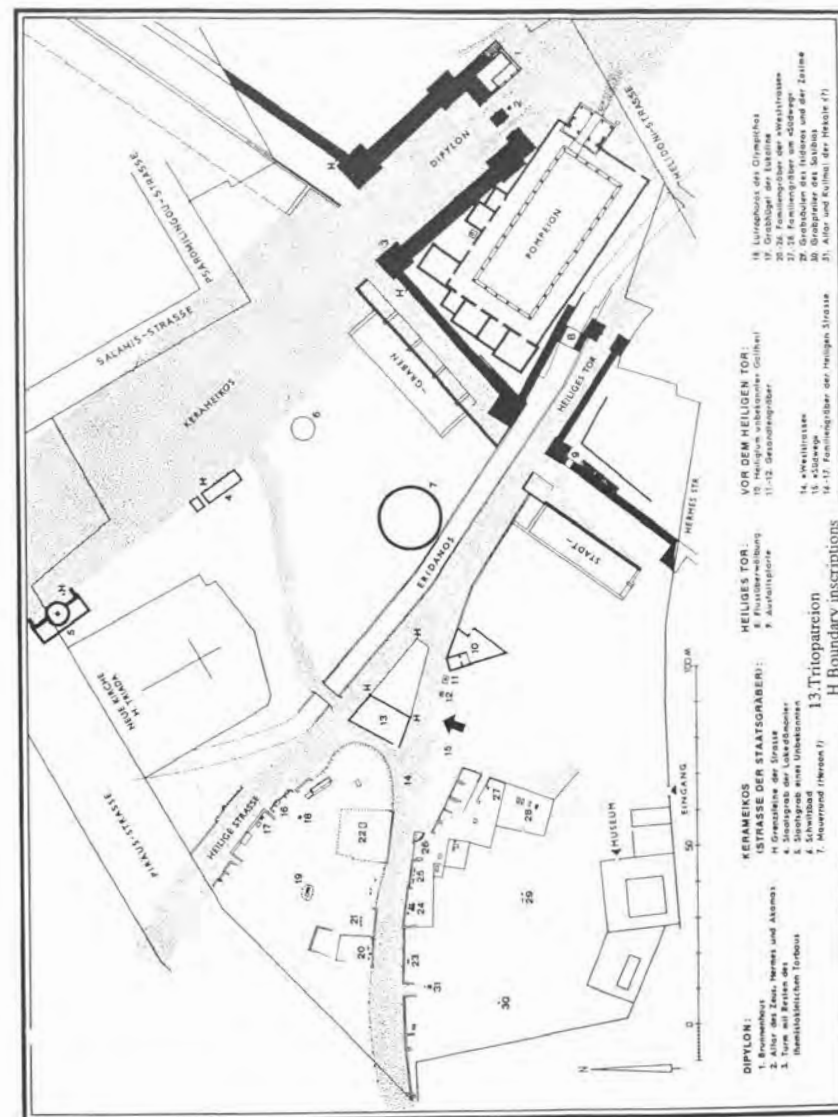
(a, b) Head broken from a herm, 3 (81.AA.138)
(c-f) Twin herm, 4 (81.AA.136)



(c, d) Semi-iconic stone, 6 (81.AA.139.C)



(a) Aniconic stone, 7 (81.AA.139.D) (b) Aniconic stone, 8 (81.AA.139.A) (c) Block with column in relief, 9 (81.AA.139.B)

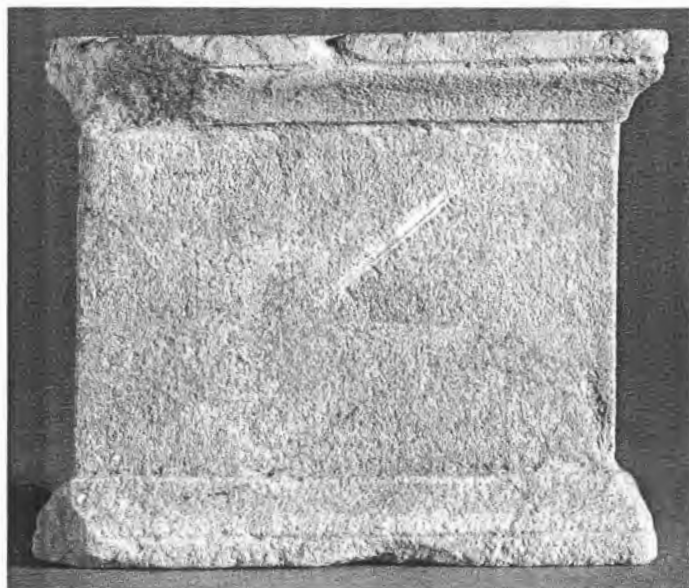


The Tritopatreion in the Kerameikos, Athens



(a) The Underground Shrine at Paestum (Posidonia)

(b)



(b) Miniature altar with Punic inscription (81.AA.143)

(a)



(b)



(a)

(a, b) Miniature altar with Punic inscription (81.AA.143)

On Thera two of the Doric *phylai* had spaces marked on bedrock for the Nymphs (IG XII.3 377, 378), just as the Pamphyloi of Megara had a space reserved for Zeus Meilichios (*supra* 84); at the place marked for the Nymphs of the Hylleis, sacrifice was to be made and consumed on the spot (378). The branch of the *genos* of the Pyrrhakidai on Delos had not only their Tritopator but also their Nymphs (*supra* 109). We have seen that on Thera (*supra* 86) various individuals and groups also reserved spaces for Zeus, probably Meilichios in most cases.

On Kos six stones, probably markers, bear the name of Zeus Hikesios in the genitive, followed in four instances by the name of a group in the genitive plural (Herzog 1928: 35; *cf.* Nilsson 1951: 163). Thirteen similar stones of various deities, both with and without group names in the genitive plural, and ranging in date from the fourth to the second century, may all have come from the Asklepieion of Kos. A private cult foundation of the second century includes Zeus Hikesios and the *Theoi Patroioi* with an Artemis whose epithet is lost (LSCG 171.2f). The groups were probably regular civic subdivisions, of gentilitial, not geographical, character (Sherwin-White 1978: 165–69). Three inscriptions on Thera are for *Hikesios*, the first two on bedrock, and are followed by the name of a man or a group (IG XII.3 402ff). The significance of the epithet *Hikesios* will be discussed with *Elasteros* (166–20 *infra*).

On Thera, Kos, and Thasos, and at Kyrene (*supra* 77ff) and Metapontion (Graf 1987 and *supra* 100f), gentilitial groups used areas outside their cities, in some cases precincts of major deities with special places marked for the particular deities of the group. At Metapontion the god is always Apollo Lykeios, just as in the Meilichios precinct at Selinous all the stones appear to be for Zeus Meilichios, although the *lex sacra* names other figures as well. Elsewhere a variety of deities are attested. At Kos, besides Zeus Hikesios there are stones of Zeus Patroios (two), Zeus Machaneus (without a group), Zeus Phratrion, Athena Phratrion, Zeus without an epithet, Apollo Karneios, and the Moirai (Herzog 1928: 35).

On Thasos a common sanctuary of the *patrai* of the city was located in the Thesmophorion, on the slope of the hill known as Evraiokastro (Rolley 1965). Its use is thought to go back to the foundation of the colony. Twelve short inscriptions of the classical period have been published (two of which are too fragmentary to be useful). All have a deity's name in the genitive and seven have the name of a gentilitial group (names ending in -δαί except for the Galeontes) also in the genitive. Seven of the divinities are each designated as πατήρ. The gods are Zeus (four times, with the epithet Alastoros twice and Ktesios once, but *cf.* also IG XII Suppl. 407, for Ktesios, perhaps originally from this sanctuary); Athena three times (once with the unique epithet Μυκεσίη); Artemis Orthosia (*cf.* the boundary marker of Artemis Orthosia of the Athenian Demokleidai, IG II 2 2615); the Nymphs Koradai; and the name Kore alone. The two inscriptions for Athena πατήρ stand somewhat apart;

one gives sacrificial specifications (Rolley 1965: 447 no. 6; *LSCG* 113; Guarducci 1978: 12f); the other (Rolley 1965: 448f no. 7) is an altar.

Taken as a whole, the Thasian inscriptions suggest that the Thesmophorion was the site of such ceremonies as the Apatouria (*LSSupp.* 69.1) for the introduction of members into the groups: at birth, on reaching puberty or adulthood, or at marriage. Analogous are the cults of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia at Athens (cf. Hedrick 1984) and elsewhere, e.g. on Kos (see above) and at Lindos (Blinkenberg 1941: no. 615). At the Thasian Thesmophorion the *lex sacra* for Athena specifies that women are to share in the sacrifice. The site gives support to Graf's contention that the stones at the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios at Metapontion were to mark places of ritual; and, as we have already noted (*supra* 100 and no. 27), the Meilichios precinct at Selinous was very likely the scene of similar ceremonies. The location of the Thasian inscriptions in a sanctuary of Demeter may be comparable to the relationship of the Meilichios precinct to the Malophoros sanctuary.⁴¹

6. *Elasteros*

One of the most remarkable features of the *lex sacra* is the rôle of the figure referred to in B12 as "the *elasteros*": "Whenever one needs to sacrifice to the *elasteros*, sacrifice as to the immortals. But slaughter (the victim so that the blood flows) into the earth." An *elasteros* is also mentioned in B9, "when he is purified of an *elasteros*," and the word is to be restored, probably in the plural, in B1 (ἐλ)ατέρον ἀποκα[---]. The sacrifice to the *elasteros* indicates that he is a supernatural figure, comparable to the immortals in terms of sacrifice. By contrast, the pure Tritopatores in Column A are to receive sacrifice "as to the gods," whereas the impure (μυαποί) Tritopatores receive sacrifice "as to the heroes" (A10, 17). The requirement that the blood should flow into the ground indicates the type of supernatural being the *elasteros* is: he belongs to the underworld. While the divinity of an *elasteros* seems beyond question, most of Column B is concerned with how a person is to be purified from an *elasteros*. Supernatural figures, in Column A the Tritopatores, in B *elasteroi*, are polluted or polluting.

A divine *elasteros* is known only from the island of Paros where inscriptions attest to the cult of Zeus with the title *elasteros*:

(a) An altar of the god: *LSSupp.* 62; Kontoleon 1948-49: 2 no. 3; Jeffery 1961: pl. 56; Guarducci 1967: 161f; *IG* XII.5 1027), βωμὸς Διὸς

⁴¹Bergquist: 1992 includes, in addition to the examples we have cited, from near the altar of the Heraion at Sicilian Naxos the flat stones interpreted as stele bases with which sacrificial remains have been connected (Pelagatti 1972: 215 and 216, fig. 2). Bergquist suggests that the use of stelai in this fashion, some perhaps originally coated with stucco on which inscriptions may have been painted (or, we would add, cut), was a distinctively western Greek practice, "very rare or non-existent in the mother country" (45).

Ἐ[λατέ]/ρο τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αν]δροθέμιος. μέλιτι / σπένδεται (480-450?). With the libations of honey to be poured on this altar, compare the honey mixture for the pure Tritopatores of Selinous (A13, and the discussion *supra* 72f).

(b) A small column on which another object rested, perhaps a basin for lustral water (perirhanterion): Kontoleon 1948-49: no. 1, Διὸς Ἐλατέρο (mid-5th cent.).

(c) A small white marble stele used as a boundary marker: Kontoleon 1948-49: 3 no. 2 (*IG* XII *Suppl.* 208), Διὸς Ἐ[λα]/τέρο πατρώϊο (early 4th cent.?).

(d) Altar of the god: Vérilhac [forthcoming], [Δ]ιὸς ἐμὶ Ἐλατέρο βωμὸς ΚΑΠΡ (followed by three more lines that have not yet yielded to interpretation; 5th cent.).

Marinatos (1950-51) perceived that Zeus *Elasteros* was a chthonic god of vengeance. He compared the epithet, derived from the verb ἐλαύνειν, to Alastoros at the Parian colony of Thasos (see *supra* 115 on the cults in the Thesmophorion).⁴² Orestes (Eur. *IT* 970f; cf. 934) speaks of the Erinyes who constantly pursue him (ἔσαι δ' Ἐρινύων ... ἡλάτρου μ' αἰεῖ; cf. Aeschin. 1.190, τοὺς ἡεβηκότας ... ποινὰς ἐλαύνειν καὶ κολάζειν, of the Erinyes of drama; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.23, δαμονίοις τις χόλοις ἐλατρηθέντες). But cognate words also describe the work of purification, as in Aesch. *Cho.* 966-68: "all pollution was driven from the hearth by purifications that drive out disaster" (ἀφ' ἐτίας πᾶν ἐλαθὴ μύκος καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτὰρ ἐλατρηίοις). Cf. the early sixth-century purificatory inscription from Kleonai (*LSSupp.* 56 [Jeffery 1961 pl. 25, no. 6]): τόλατρηϊον : ἀπόβαμα, probably referring to purificatory water (in general see Parker 1983: 223 n. 87).

The semantic context of these words leads inevitably to a comparison with Zeus Alastoros in Paros's daughter city Thasos (cf. Graf 1985: 35 n. 127). There are two inscriptions from the Thesmophorion: Φακταδέων / Διὸς Ἀλατ/ώρω πατρώϊο (450-430) and Διὸς / Ἀλατ/όρου / πατρώϊο / Πηλεϊδέων (late 5th/early 4th cent.; Rolley 1965: 442-46 nos. 1, 4).⁴³ The

⁴²Kontoleon (1948-49) saw the required restoration for *a* and *c*. His explanation of the epithet, however, as deriving from ἐλαύνω and ἀτήρ cannot be supported, *pace* Kalitsounakis 1965: see Nilsson 1951: 163 n.48 (quoting a letter from H. Frisk), Chantaine 1968-80, s.v. ἐλάστερος, and Schwabl 1972: 302f. H. van Effenterre (1961: 549 n.1), recognizing the derivation from ἐλαύνω, has proposed that Zeus *Elasteros* on Paros was not "un chasseur de criminels" but "un équivalent mâle à Artémis Agrotéra ... rassembleur des troupes d'un Mandrothémis."

⁴³Guarducci (1970: 253-55) proposed restoring [Ζ]ηνὸς Ἀλ[ασ]τόρο / καὶ Ἐ[λ]πίου (=Οὐ-ρίου) on a stone of the mid-fifth cent. found outside the Porta Rosa at Velia (Hyele). This is very uncertain. The second letter of the first epithet might as well be Μ, according to Guarducci, or Ν, according to Pugliese Carratelli 1965: 7, as Α. If Ἐπίου is correct it is the same epithet as is found on another stone from Velia (Guarducci 1966: 283f). The combination, however, of Zeus Alastoros with a Zeus of favorable winds is odd. For the first epithet should we think rather of an equivalent to that of Athena Ἀνεμώτις of Messenian Methone (Paus.4.35.8)?

form *alastoros*, reminiscent of *elasteros*, for the more familiar *alastor* is also attested for Aeschylus (fr. 92, 294 Radt). Zeus with this epithet was known to Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 175) who associated Zeus Alastoros with Zeus Hikesios (Jacoby's 'Ἀλάτορ, nominative, is a misprint). The more common form is seen in the lemma of Hesychius s.v. ἀλάτωρ· πικρὸς δαίμων. Ζεύς, and in Cornutus (9, p.10.20ff Lang) λέγεται (sc. Ζεύς) δ' ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ ἀλάτωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος τῷ τοῦ ἀλάτορος καὶ παλαμναίου κολάζειν.... Zeus Palamnaios is also mentioned in the *Suda*, Photius, *Etym. Gud.* (448.28ff) and *Etym. Magn.*, all s.v. παλαμναῖος. The two *Etymologica* localize him at Chalkis in Euboea. An inscription reading Ζηνὶ Παλαμνίῳ was seen at Gomphoi in Thessaly by Leake (*IG* IX.2 291).

Both ancient and modern commentators have remarked on the use of ἀλάτωρ/ἀλάτορος and a number of other words, such as ἀλιτήριος, παλαμναῖος, προτροπαῖος, to refer equally to a wrongdoer and to a punisher of wrongdoing.⁴⁴ The underlying concept is that the anger of a dead person who has been wronged pursues and exacts vengeance on the wrongdoer or on his kin. The force that embodies the anger may be referred to as a μήνιμα θεῶν, "wrath of the gods" (cf. *Il.* 22.358, *Od.* 11.73), as an *alastor* or *aliterios* (Antiphon *Tetral.* 3.1.3f, 2.8, 3.7, 4.10), or as a *daimon* (sometimes further defined as *alastor* and *palamnaios*, Plut. *Mor.* 418B; cf. 297A and Pollux 5.131).⁴⁵ Or it may take the form of such named supernatural figures as the Erinyes or, as it would seem, Zeus with corresponding epithets—Alastoros, Palamnaios, and Elasteros.

The notion of the wrath of the dead who have been wronged taking the form of vengeful spirits is widespread and has a long history in Greek culture. It has been argued that despite the rôle attributed to them in the achievement of justice in the late fifth-century *Tetralogies* of Antiphon, by the fourth century in Athens at least they were no longer taken seriously (Mikalson 1983: 50ff; Parker 1983: 124–28). The silence of the orators about them and Aeschines' reference to avenging Erinyes as being theatrical and not realistic (1.190) would seem to support this view. But except for Lysias 1, which was written for the defendant and not designed to call attention to supernatural sanctions, none of the fourth-century speeches are for cases of homicide, which was the principal source of vengeful spirits. The use in Classical Athens of curse tablets and other

⁴⁴Cf. Cornutus and the lexicographers, just cited; modern discussion can be found in Zacher 1877: 222–30; Hatch 1908; Rohde 1925: 174–82; Cook 1925: 1093–102 (significantly, in his discussion of Zeus Meilichios); Schwabl 1972: 267f, 302f, and 1978: 1452; Parker 1983: 107ff.

⁴⁵When the nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus* questions her mistress about her strange behavior, Phaidra says her hands are pure of blood but her mind has some *miasma* (φθὴν δ' ἔχει μιάσμα τ', 317). The nurse then wonders if the pollution comes from a harmful spell sent by an enemy (ἐξ ἐπακτοῦ πημονῆς ἐχθρῶν τινος, 318). Later, when Theseus hears of his wife's death, he wonders if an unperceived stain, i.e., pollution, from an *alastor* had driven her to suicide (κηλὶς ἀφρακτος ἐξ ἀλατόρων τινός; 820, cf. 831ff, the wrong-doing was that of someone in the past, presumably an ancestor).

forms of hostile magic (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 933B; Jordan 1980, 1985a, 1988a; Faraone 1985) is a reminder that traditional, irrational modes of thought were by no means banished from even that most sophisticated of Greek cities. In more isolated and provincial cities we may believe that public recognition of what might have been regarded as superstition in Athens continued throughout the Classical period and beyond.

The most detailed evidence of the enduring strength of such beliefs comes from the *lex sacra* of Kyrene, in an inscription of the late fourth century that nevertheless claims—no doubt justifiably—an ancient pedigree (*LSSupp.* 115 [*SEG* 9.72; Buck 1955: 115]). In a section (B 29–59) headed "Visitants" (ἰκέτιοι), rituals are described for dealing with three different types of these beings. That all three types are hostile spirits was demonstrated many years ago by Harold Stukeley (Stukeley 1937; Parker 1983: 344–51 accepted the interpretation for the first only, but Burkert 1984: 68–72 reaffirmed that all three are demonic). We have drawn attention to the parallels between the procedures prescribed at Kyrene and those in Column B of the Selinuntine text (*supra* 55, 76). In effect, the *elasteros* at Selinus corresponds to the *hikesios* at Kyrene.⁴⁶

We have seen that terms such as ἀλάτωρ, παλαμναῖος, and προτροπαῖος, used to describe dangerous, vengeful spirits, are also found as epithets of Zeus. The Kyrenian ἰκέτιος also corresponds to Hikesios, an epithet of Zeus linked by Pherekydes with Alastoros (*FGrHist* 3 F 175, ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἰκέτιος καὶ Ἀλάτορος καλεῖται) and by Apollonius Rhodius with Zeus Katharsios (4.275; cf. the Erinyes described as ἰκετὶν and paired with νέμεσις θεῶν at 4.1042). We have encountered evidence for the cult of Zeus Hikesios on stones set up by gentilitial groups on Kos (Herzog 1928: 35, cf. *LSCG* 171.2f and the discussion *supra* 114f) and in three inscriptions on Thera, two of which are on bedrock and followed the name of a man or a group (*IG* XII.3 402–04). Only at Thera do we find both Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Hikesios or Alastoros, which may suggest that they normally have the same functions.

Why would gentilitial groups have a cult of the protector of suppliants, the usual sense of Zeus Hikesios (e.g. Aesch. *Suppl.* 616)? It might be argued that they anticipate the need of the members to seek refuge with him, but it is equally if not more likely that the god protects them against *hikesioi*, "hostile spirits," sent to attack them, or that he acts as an avenger on their behalf. In his discussion of Zeus Hikesios, Alastoros, and *prostropaios* Cook (1925: II 1101) noted that "the protective and punitive powers of Zeus are fused."

Terminology and practice varied from place to place, but it emerges from our review that it was common in Archaic and Classical Greece for gentilitial groups to have cults of a Zeus who showed by his epithets that

⁴⁶The Assyrian ghosts, now fully discussed by Scurlock 1988, and the methods of dealing with them offer important parallels to the Kyrenean *lex sacra*, as pointed out by Burkert 1984: 68–72, 1992: 68–73, and Faraone 1991b: 181, 189.

he was concerned with the vengeance of the angry dead. We have seen that the words used applied both to the victim and the avenger, whether demonic or divine. At Selinous the dangerous spirit is supernatural but is not Zeus. Here, we suggest, Zeus Meilichios' rôle is to protect the group to which he belongs against hostile *elasteroi* from outside the group, but also perhaps to despatch *elasteroi* against any persons who did violence to the group. These functions are consistent with the god's close identification with a group or an individual and their welfare. But in some places it seems that he played this part with the title Elasteros, Alastor, or Hikesios.

The activity of the spirits seems to have been aroused primarily by bloodshed and could result in death, madness, or sickness for the wrongdoer or his descendants. There were, however, procedures for propitiating the spirits, i.e., purifying oneself from them (see the discussion *supra* 73ff). The spirits could also be directed against the living kin of the victim if they failed to take action against the wrongdoer (cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 269–305, esp. 283f, the attacks of Erinyes; Antiphon *Tetral.* 3.4.1; Pl. *Leg.* 866b, where the miasma turns against them). The responsibility not only of the kin but also of the putative kin, the victim's phratry, survives in Athens in the late fifth century. The republication of the law of Drakon on homicide specified that the members of the victim's phratry should participate in the prosecution and in any forgiveness of the murderer (Meiggs and Lewis 1969: no. 86.13–23). This was the legal, secular equivalent of the ritual action that it in no way precludes. In widely scattered parts of the Greek world, these at once vengeful and protective cults of Zeus were maintained primarily by gentilitial groups, roughly the equivalent of the Attic *gene* and *phratriai*. Archaic and Classical Greece, one is led to think, was a more violent and spirit-infested world than is usually supposed.

VI. The History of Selinous

THE CITY was founded either in 651 B.C., according to Diodorus Siculus (13.59, 64, following earlier authorities), or in 628, exactly a hundred years after the foundation of its mother city, Megara Hyblaia, according to Thucydides (6.4.2, followed by Pseudo-Scymnus 292). Historiographically either date is possible (cf. Dover 1970: 207–10), and the choice has varied depending on the dating of the earliest Greek pottery found there and its interpretation, as belonging to new settlers or to indigenous people. The Thucydidean date was favored before the archaeological campaign of 1978 (cf. Martin 1977: 50f; de La Genière 1977: 260 n.58; Graham 1982: 167f), but after it there has been a shift to the earlier date (Martin 1982: 186; Rallo 1982: 215; on the textual evidence for the history of the city, see Ziegler 1923).

The name of the *oikistes* was Pammilos, according to Thucydides (6.4.2; for the spelling see Dover 1970: 207), and it is usually supposed that he came from Megara in old Greece (Megara Nisaia, as it is sometimes called to distinguish it), the mother city of Megara Hyblaia. But it is arguable that he was from Megara Hyblaia and that the name of the *oikistes* from Megara Nisaia has been lost from the text (Dover 1970: 216f, following Stein). This leaves open the possibility, as we have pointed out (*Commentary* on A9), that either Myskos or Euthydamos, in each of whose lots a Meilichios cult existed in the fifth century, had been a co-founder of the city with Pammilos.

In the late seventh century a native settlement existed on the Manuzza plateau to the northwest of the later acropolis (Martin 1977: 53). Commercial relations with the peoples of the interior, notably the Elymians of Segesta (Graham 1982: 168), or with the Carthaginians and the western Mediterranean (Di Vita 1988: 10), have been seen as the reason for a settlement so far west (Graham 1982: 168); the opportunities for territorial expansion, however, have been regarded as more important (de La Genière 1977: 258ff). In any case, conflict with the Segestans had occurred by the early sixth century (Diod. 5.9.2, on Pentathlos' expedition to the territory of Lilybaion). In the later fifth century the hostility between these two cities, which alternated with periods of peace marked by treaties that raised such issues as intermarriage (Thuc. 6.6.2), led to Segesta's appeal to Athens. In Athens' ensuing Sicilian expedition, Selinous contributed troops to the Syracusan alliance (cf. Thuc. 6.46.5–47.1, 65.1, 67.2).

The most serious threat to Selinous, given its exposed position to the west of all of other Greek settlements, was posed by Carthage and the Carthaginian settlements at Motya and Lilybaion (for Carthaginian relations with Greek Sicily, including Selinous, see Huss: 1985). Antiochos (FGrHist 555 F 1) had Phoenicians as well as Segesteans engaged against the Selinuntines at the time of Pentathlos' expedition in the early sixth century. The gravestone of Aristogeitos, killed at Motya, if from Selinous, would point to fighting in the third quarter of the sixth century (MP 80; Jeffery 1961: 461, 1 and pl. 77). A Selinuntine defeat by Carthage mentioned in Polyaeus 1.28 is not dated. At the time of the great battle between the Greeks and Carthaginians at Himera in 480, Selinous was the only Greek city on the Punic side (Diod. 11.21.4f; 13.55.1). The city seems, however, to have escaped punishment in the aftermath of the war, and in 466 it assisted the Syracusans in ridding themselves of Thrasyboulos (Diod. 11.68.1). The victory celebrated in the inscription from Temple G (Meiggs and Lewis 1969: no. 38) probably dates from the second half of the fifth century, but the circumstances have not been determined (Calder 1963 proposed the defeat of Athens in 413).

After Athens' defeat, Selinous invaded the territory of Segesta which had put itself in the hands of the Carthaginians (Diod. 13.43f). Hannibal, whose father Giskon had been an exile in Selinous (13.43.3), defeated the Selinuntines in the field and proceeded to lay siege to the town, which he captured and destroyed—sparing the temples—after nine days. Sixteen thousand Selinuntines were said to have been killed and more than 5,000 made prisoners, while 2,600 escaped to Akragas (13.54–58; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.37, 2.8, 10). The survivors were allowed to return to farm their fields and live in the town in return for paying tribute to Carthage (13.59.1–3).

Thereafter Selinous was under Punic control with only brief interruption, as under Hermokrates in 408/7 (Diod. 13.63.3–4; the Carthaginians returned in 406, 13.80.1), Dionysios I in 405 (13.114.1), 397 (14.47.6), 383 (15.17.5), and 368 (15.73.2), and Pyrrhos in 276 (22.10.2). In treaties with Carthage by Dionysios I in 405 (13.114.1), 392 (14.96.4), and 383 (15.2), and by Timoleon in 339/8 (16.82f; Plut. *Tim.* 34) and Agathokles in 314 (Diod. 19.71.7) and 306 (20.79.5), the boundary between Greek and Carthaginian spheres was set at the river Halykos, and Selinous' tributary status was recognized. Finally, ca 250, the Carthaginians, in the course of their struggle with Rome, removed all the inhabitants of Selinous to Lilybaion (24.1.1). In the first century B.C. Strabo (6.2.6) spoke of the town as deserted.

The population in the last century-and-a-half of the town's existence was presumably Greek and Punic in varying proportions and degrees of mixture. In the early fourth century it would seem to have been sufficiently Greek to declare for Dionysios I when it had a chance (Diod. 14.47). By the later fourth century Selinous probably shared in the general depopulation of Sicily encountered by Timoleon when he arrived in the island (21.44.24; Martin 1977: 59f). Only toward the end of the century

(only after ca 306, according to de La Genière 1977: 263) is there archaeological evidence for vigorous rebuilding of fortifications, public buildings, and houses. The character of the construction is consistent with what is known of Punic techniques elsewhere.

The internal history of Selinous, as for all west Greek cities, is considerably more obscure than its foreign relations. Even in a sparse record, instances of tyranny and civil strife recur. A certain Peithagoras was ruling the city when Euryleon, a survivor of Dorieus' failed expedition to Drepanon near Eryx ca 510, expelled him and in turn seized power. Euryleon was overthrown by the citizens and killed, though he took refuge at the altar of Zeus in the agora (Hdt. 5.46; the epitaph quoted by Plutarch *Mor.* 217F [cf. *Lyc.* 20.5] may be connected with Peithagoras' overthrow, as Freeman suggested [1891: 96]). A Theron, son of Miltiades, made himself tyrant by a stratagem in the wake of a Selinuntine defeat by the Carthaginians (Polyaen. *Strat.* 1.28.2).¹ Asheri (1979; *SEG* 29.403), in re-studying a fragmentary inscription on bronze found at Olympia, detects a reconciliation between exiles and those in the city in the late sixth or early fifth century.²

None of these events can be brought into direct connection with the *lex sacra*, which belongs, in our opinion, to the middle years of the fifth century. With the powerful and dangerous presence of the Carthaginians nearby, however, Selinous was even more subject than were most Greek cities to the temptation of calling upon outside force to support partisan interests. The incident mentioned without comment by Herodotus (5.46), in which sacrilege was committed by the murder of Euryleon at the altar of Zeus, is not likely to have been unique; massacre of groups and factions would have been "the order of the day" (Asheri 1979: 496). Comparable sacrilege at Athens and Argos led, we believe, to recourse to Zeus Meilichios for purification (cf. *supra* 58, 60, 84 and Jameson 1965: 165–72). The *lex sacra* envisages the possibility of a continuing need for the procedures it sets out, but that does not preclude the likelihood that a particular outburst of bloodshed within the city prompted the formulation and recording of these measures.

¹Freeman (1891: 81ff) put the events ca 579, but that was only a guess. Martin (1977: 55) would relate a lack of habitation on the acropolis in the mid-sixth century to the coming of tyranny under Theron, but there is nothing in the story that provides a date for him.

²Selinuntine ties with Olympia are seen in the treasury they built (Paus. 6.19.10), as well as in the place of the Olympic truce in the *lex sacra*. Mention should also be made of a devastating plague that caused infertility among women; it was attributed to the unhealthy rivers nearby and was said to have been stopped by Empedocles' diversion of fresh waters (Diog. Laert. 8.70).

VII. Curse Tablets at Selinous

THE SANCTUARY of Malophoros and the *Campo di Stele*, which we think was the provenance of the *lex sacra*, was also the source of twelve other texts on lead, an important group of curse tablets dating to the fifth century.

Curse tablets are inscribed sheets intended to harm, by supernatural means, the persons whom they name. The 1,100 Greek examples excavated so far date from the late sixth or early fifth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. The tablets are found throughout the Mediterranean, but in the classical and Hellenistic periods chiefly in Sicily and Attica.¹ A discouragingly small number of findspots are known for the earlier curse tablets;² those found in recorded excavations seem to derive largely from graves and chthonic sanctuaries, and in this respect at least present a contrast to examples from later times, which come also from wells³ and from places close to the intended victims.⁴ They are almost always found rolled up into scrolls, and often the earlier tablets, particularly the Attic, have been pierced with nails. Our only early evidence for the Greek term for these tablets, *κατάδεσμοι*, is found in Attic writers and may reflect the fact that the texts of most early Attic examples begin with the word *καταδῶ*, "I bind"—and possibly the idea that the rolling up of the tablets was a kind of binding. In the literature of present-day scholarship curse tablets are often called *defixiones*; the Latin noun, from the verb *defigo*, "nail down," is late but seems to reflect the earlier Attic use of nails.⁵

Although the excavation record for curse tablets is far from complete, the earliest published examples, nineteen in number, come from Selinous.⁶ It will be convenient to list them here; three other early

¹The basic corpora are Wunsch 1897 and Audollent 1904; see Jordan 1985b for examples that have appeared subsequently, and, for general treatments, Preisendanz 1969 and Faraone 1991a.

²Wunsch 1897: 1 (=3 in 1976 reprint) tells how Prussian customs officials removed from most of the Attic examples the labels with records of their findspots.

³For a list of wells and other underground bodies of water that have yielded Greek curse tablets see Jordan 1985a: 207 n.3, 209. It cannot be demonstrated (so Jordan 1980: 232 n.24) that tablets earlier than the Roman period were *in situ*, if found in a well.

⁴E.g. the curse put on Germanicus, Tac. *Ann.* 2.30; for curses found in circuses at Carthage and elsewhere, directed against charioteers and such, cf. Jordan 1988b: 119.

⁵Versnel 1991 urges that both this term and the Greek *κατάδεσμοι* are inappropriate.

⁶The last few years have seen three publications, produced independently and appearing virtually at the same time, that include compilations of Selinuntine curse tablets: Dubois 1989, López Jimeno 1988–89 (a corpus of the curse tablets of Sicily), and Arena

Selinuntine examples remain unpublished. In all, the twenty-two constitute over half the curse tablets from Sicily. Whether this suggests an unusual situation at Selinous is a question that we leave open.

Buffa⁷

	Brugnone 1976	Dubois 1989	López Jimeno 1988–89	Arena 1989	Jordan 1985a
<i>a</i>	1 (2nd half VI)	29 (2nd half VI)	1 (1st half VI)	59 (VI/V)	94
<i>b</i>	4 (beg. V)	32 (beg. V)	7 (beg. V)	66 (V)	97
<i>c</i>	2 (end VI)	31 (VI)	3 (end VI)	60 (beg. V)	95
<i>d</i>	3 (end VI)	30 (VI)	2 (end VI)	62 (beg. V)	96
<i>e</i>	5 (1st half VI)	—	15 (1st half VI)	—	98

Campo di Stele⁸

Ferri 1944–45

<i>f</i>	168–75 (450 or earlier)	38 (475–450)	12 (475–450)	63 (475–450)	107
<i>g</i>	174	33 (ca 500)	13 (475–450)	67 (475–450)	108

Gabrici 1927

<i>h</i>	12 (earlier than 450)	37 (ca 500)	10 (500–475)	61 (beg. V)	99
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1989. Dubois and López Jimeno made use of published editions, neither consulting the tablets themselves—indeed, for presumably most of the curses from the Gaggera, autopsy may have been useless, as several of the tablets were badly corroded when found (Gabrici 1927: 385), and others have deteriorated since their discovery—but Arena has published good photographs, sometimes new, of several and presumably saw the tablets himself.

⁷Buffa, the area east of the river Modione, in the gorge of the river Cottone between the hill with the ancient city and the hill on which temples E, F, and G are located (see Adriani *et al.* 1971: map 17, and *supra* Fig. 1), had a cemetery (Tusa *ap.* Adriani *et al.* 1971: I 77, map 18) that has yielded pottery dating from the second half of the seventh through the end of the fifth century (Tusa: 226–30, pls. 81–84). Two early funerary inscriptions are in fact known from the site, MP 85 (Θεοξένο ἐμὶ κάμα τῶΝ[ι]φύλας) and 86 (οἶμοι δ[ὲ] -), both assigned to the second half of the sixth century. Unfortunately, we lack details about find-spots for the lead tablets from Buffa.

⁸On excavations at Selinous, see Ch. VIII. Two tablets (*f*, *g*) were chance finds from “near the outer side of the retaining wall of the sanctuary of Malophoros”; others (*h*–*q*) were excavated apparently in the various campaigns between 1889 and 1915 and appear in Gabrici’s final publication of the site, unfortunately again without any record of exact findspots or contexts. One (*i*), for example, is reported to come from sand overlying the *Campo di Stele*, and two others (*j* and *m*), from the *temenos* of Meilichios; from the excavation notebooks Dewailly (1992: 39f) cites the contexts of five inscriptions on lead, without, however, identifying them. Most of the tablets (Gabrici 1927: 385) were found folded or rolled up. “Raro è il caso, in cui la laminetta fu trovata piana”; that one exception seems to be *k*.

<i>i</i>	13	—	9 (500–475)	65 (1st half V)	100
<i>j</i> ⁹	20	—	—	—	p.176
<i>k</i>	15	36 (V)	19 (mid-V)	69 (450)	104
<i>l</i>	14 (end V)	40 (end V)	23 (end V–beg. IV)	—	106
<i>m</i>	19	—	14 (mid-V)	68 (450)	102
<i>n</i>	16	35 (V)	8 (end VI–beg. V)	64 (1st half V)	101
<i>o</i>	17	34 (V)	20 (V)	70 (V)	105
<i>p</i>	18	39 (ca 450)	4 (VI)	71 (450)	103
<i>q</i> ¹⁰	21	—	—	—	p.176

Selinuntine provenance inferred¹¹

r Simon 1989: 340 (ca 500)

s Simon 1989: 341 (V)

t–*v* Unpublished (Getty Museum)

With one possible exception (*l*),¹² no Selinuntine tablet is later than the fifth century, and most seem to be from the middle or earlier part of that

⁹Left untranscribed by Gabrici. From his fig. 188 we read:

- 1 [ca2]A ←
- 2 κατὰ- →
- 3 γράφ- ←
- 4 οἱ [2-3] →
- 5 [ca2]ΟΙΚΙ ←
- 6 vacat?

1 e.g. καὶ / ἐπεῖτα 4/5 e.g. τοῖς or τῶν / θεοῖς

The writing (assigned by Jeffery [1955: no. 8] to the fifth century), the tablet itself, and the margins are of the same size as in *p* (assigned by Jeffery [1955: no. 7] to the mid-fifth century or slightly earlier), but the hand seems different.

¹⁰Left untranscribed by Gabrici. From his fig. 189 we read:

- 1 ΜΥΠΙ[ca4]
- 2 ΥΜΑΠ[ca4]
- 3 .ΑΤ[ca2][
- 4 [ca2].[ca2]Π
- 5 [ca2].vacat?

Jeffery (1955: 73 no. 9) assigns the writing to the fifth century.

¹¹These are safely assignable to Selinous on the basis of their letter-forms and formulae.

¹²It is also the only Selinuntine tablet that was found pierced with a nail, and one of its phrases (lines 4–8, καὶ ὅστις / ὑπὲρ τήνων / μέλλει ἢ / λέγειν ἢ πράττειν, “whoever is about either to speak or to act on their behalf”) finds parallels in fourth-century curse tablets from Attica, e.g. Audollent 1904: no. 60.10ff, καὶ τοῦ[ς] ἄλλο[ς] ἀπαν[τας] τοὺς με[τὰ] Νερ[ε]ίδ[ος] κατηγόρου, “and all the others who are *katēgoroi* with Nereides,” and Wünsch 1897: no. 103a.8f, καὶ [ε]ῖ τις ἄλλος [φίλος?] / α[ἰ]τ[ὸ]ς, “and if anyone else is a friend (?) to them.”

century.¹³ One of the early tablets from the *Campo di Stele* (f) claims to have been deposited παρ' τὸν ἁγνὸν θεόν, but in general the texts from the sanctuary show no basic differences from those of the cemetery. Six early Selinuntine curses (a, n-p, s) consist of lists of names of their intended victims; others (f, h-j, r) have names plus references to bodily parts or faculties of the bearers of these names, usually with the verb ἐν-, κατα-, or ἐνκαταγράφο, "I inscribe." Later curse tablets from cemeteries and sanctuaries elsewhere present the fiction that someone is to read the texts and to act on their instructions; at Selinous, on the other hand, where there is no such suggestion of a reader, it is as if the act of inscribing or the place of deposit were enough in itself to affect the persons named.

Analogous or sympathetic magic is the usual term for such an operation. Tablets from the sanctuary exemplify it well:

two, consisting only of names, have their spellings reversed (e.g. n 1, CEAKYAOΠ for Πολυκλέης) or distorted (e.g. o 1, NOΘΠΙ for Πίθον), the letters facing right;

another (g) has the individual names spelled backwards, the rest written normally: "Sopatros and Sopatros' tongue (1 CO[P-TAΠOC καὶ ἡα OPTAΠOC γλῶ[ca])," etc.;

two are written in a spiral, as if the words are twisted:

(i) "Enormos and Enormos' tongue twisted (ἐ[α]πετραμμένα). Dysias and Dysias' tongue twisted. Damarchos and Damarchos' tongue twisted. All of these *syndikoi*'s tongues twisted, I inscribe;"

and (h) "Selinontios (?) and Selinontios' tongue twisted for the unfulfillment (ἐπ' ἀτελείᾳ) of them, I inscribe. And the foreign *syndikoi*'s tongues twisted for the unfulfillment of them, I inscribe. Timaso and Timaso's tongue twisted for the unfulfillment of them, I inscribe. Tyrrhana and Tyrrhana's tongue twisted for the unfulfillment of them, I inscribe."

¹³As for any closer dating, there is much room for agnosticism; for cautionary remarks see Jeffery 1955. Partly to illustrate the possibility of disagreement here, we have included in the list the dates proposed by the editors; the order of our list by no means implies a relative chronology. Of no Selinuntine tablet, for example, do we have any chronologically useful excavation context recorded. It should be stressed that this is true for every Sicilian curse tablet. A decade ago, with the publication of a curse tablet found between two graves in the cemetery at Passo Marinaro at Kamarina (Cordano 1984: 44-49), it was hoped that the exception had presented itself, for one of the graves contained a coin of Agathokles (317-310), but Di Stefano (1984) has argued that the tablet could have been washed there from elsewhere and should not be assumed to be *in situ*. We are fortunate, on the other hand, that Kamarina has yielded a large public archive of lead tablets, over 150 in number, probably to be assigned to the years 461 and following (Cordano 1989; 1992); their letter-forms may yield a chronology useful for dating early Sicilian curse tablets.

Here, what happens to the names themselves is to happen to their bearers, and we may assume that the 'magic' is in the act of inscribing the text in a special way. There seems to be a consistency in the places of deposit of early tablets from Sicily and Attica: cemeteries and chthonic sanctuaries, places connected with the dead (Jordan 1985b: 152). Presumably this connection with the dead was considered important. We may speculate that in the case of the tablets with twisted writing, it was the proximity to the dead that somehow activated the analogical magic.

As for the Selinuntine tablets inscribed in a normal manner, their 'magic' must consist in something other than their spelling.

(a) "For [-]ko, whatever she wants, let her works and words be unfulfilled (ἀτέλεστα), and for Sikana(s), let her (?) works and words, whatever she (?) wants (sc. be unfulfilled)."

(b) Two lines that have not yielded sense, plus "for unfulfillment (ἐπ' ἀτελείᾳ), whatever they want."

Although in later times lead itself came (possibly because of its increasing use for curse tablets) to have 'magical' associations,¹⁴ there is no evidence that in the early fifth century, when the Selinuntine curses were inscribed, the association had yet developed. For the 'magic' of these early tablets inscribed normally we should no doubt look not at the material of the tablets but rather to their places of deposit: among the dead at Buffa and at a scene of rituals for dead ancestors and divinities with chthonic association on the Gaggera.

The most obvious reason for depositing a tablet among the dead would be the miasma that the dead generate. Simple physical contact should be enough to ensure that the persons named on tablets so deposited will be affected by that miasma. At work again is a kind of analogical magic: just as the names written on the tablet are polluted by contact with the dead, so too the bearers of those names should be.

It will be seen that three of the Selinuntine curses quoted above—one with twisted (b) and two with 'normal' writing (a, b)—urge that their victims should suffer "unfulfillment" (ἀτέλεια) and that their victims' words and works be "unfulfilled" (ἀτέλεστα). This too is analogical magic, but of a kind best illustrated in curse texts from elsewhere. In phrases in a fragmentary Attic example (Wünsch 1897: no. 90) in which the inscriber has "bound down" the victim before Hermes, one reads καὶ πρὸς / τὸν κ(ά)τοχον Ἐρ(ι)μῆν / cὺ δὲ κάτοχος γίνου, "and before Hermes the controller (*katochos*); and you (i.e. the intended victim? the lead tablet?), come under control (*katochos*)" (a.i.1-5); and πρὸ(ς) τὸν δόλι(ο)ν / Ἐρμῆν / δόλια ἄπ(α)ντα / γίνεσθαι, "before the trickster (*dolios*) Hermes, may all affairs become tricky (*dolia*)" (a.iii.3-6). Here the

¹⁴Cf. e.g. the phrase ἡ γλῶσση αὐτοῦ μόλυβδος γένοιτο ("let his tongue become lead") on a fourth-century curse tablet from the Peiraieus, Wünsch 1897: 96.

analogical operation is in simple word-play. Phrases on a probably early fourth-century tablet of unrecorded provenance but no doubt from Attica (Audollent 1904: 68, Side B) illustrate this play with words built on *atel-*:

- 1 [ὥς] οὗτος [ἐ]ν[τ][α]ῦ[θ]α ἀτε[λ]ῆς κ[ε]ῖται, οὐ-
[τω]ς ἀτέλεστα εἶναι Θεοδώ[ρ]α πάντα,
[κα]ὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα τὰ πρὸς Χαρίαν καὶ
4 [πρ]ὸς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπος. καταδ[ι]ῶ Θεόδω-
[ρον] π[ρ]ὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸ(γ) χθόνιον κα[ὶ] πρὸς
[τὸς] ἀτελέστος καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τῆθυν· ἀ[τελέ]στ-
[α] καὶ ἔργα τὰ πρὸς Χαρίαν καὶ τὸς ἄλλος
8 [ἀνθ]ρώπος, etc.

Just as this (sc. dead person) lies here *ateles*, so let all things of Theodora, her words and deeds with respect to Charias and other men, be *atelesta*. I bind down (sc. Theodora) before chthonic Hermes and the *atelestoi* and Tethys; let her deeds with respect to Charias and other men be *atelesta*, etc.¹⁵

The modern reader who finds this punning far-fetched may also object that this technique of composition, if we may call it such, occurring as it does here in an Attic text, is not necessarily applicable to our Selinuntine texts. Against such a reasonable objection we would urge that the formula of Audollent 1904: 68 occurs also in Audollent 1904: 69 (its provenance also unrecorded), where instead of the Attic *καταδῶ* one finds the non-Attic (here Boiotian?) *καταδίδημι*. The evidence is too slight to support any hypothesis, but it may be that this early 'punning' is representative of an early stratum of analogical magic, now lost, that transcended geographical boundaries. We would instance a fifth-century curse tablet from a cemetery at Italian Kyme (SEG 4.93): "Let the affairs of Oporis and Akron be *ateleia*, and the words and deeds of Oporis and Akron. Let whoever else speaks on their behalf (sc. be *ateles*). I inscribe them all here."

In his edition of 1904 Audollent, commenting (*ad* 68) on the term *ἀτέλεστος*, referred the reader to Pl. *Phd.* 69C, ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς Ἄδου ἀφίκηται, ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται, "whoever arrives in Hades uninitiated and without *τέλη* will lie in mud." "Sunt igitur ἀτέλεστοι homines qui quod alicuius religionis τὸ τέλος non persolverunt ideo poenas dant in inferis," Audollent comments, but he should have put this as a question. These *ἀτέλεστοι* dead are called into play presumably because for the purposes of the writer of the curse tablets they are more

¹⁵The text given here differs from the published editions in certain of its readings (*vidit* Jordan), particularly in [ἐ]ν[τ][α]ῦ[θ]α in line 1, where editors had read [ὃ νεκρὸς]. The opening of Side A as published, [κα]ταδῶ Θε[ο]δώρα[ν] πρὸς [τ]ῆ[ν] παρὰ Φερρε[ι]φάττη καὶ πρὸς / τὸς ἀτελ[έ]ς[το]ς, is no longer tenable.

useful than other dead might be. It is at least as likely, we would suggest, that their usefulness—indeed their dangerous state—comes not from the fact that they are paying penalties for omissions in their lifetimes but because they have not received, after death, *τέλη* from others, the tendance due to the dead.¹⁶

"Leave me without proper marker and rites," Elpenor warns, "and I shall be an occasion for wrath (μήνιμα) of the gods towards you" (*Od.* 11.72–76), and Teiresias voices to Creon the conviction that this lack of tendance, this *ἀτέλεια*, surely brings miasma (*Soph. Ant.* 998–1032). If they are like the Attic curse tablet (Audollent 1904: 68) in this respect, the Selinuntine curses that urge *ἀτέλεια* on their victims urge on them, by analogy, this same miasma.

One of the purposes of the new *lex sacra*, we believe, was to deal with comparable miasma arising from deaths and perhaps from ineffective funerary rites for those dead (*cf.* the *miaroi* Tritopatores of Column A) and to provide ritual cleansing from the pollution of hostile spirits (Column B), similar to those instigated by curse tablets. While curse tablets are not mentioned in the *lex sacra*, their quantity at Selinous, and in particular in the *Campo di Steele*, suggests that the deliberate manipulation of miasma by means of them may have been one of the reasons why the law was written.

¹⁶We may compare the assurance that a poem inscribed on a fourth-century gold tablet offers to the dead woman in whose grave it was found at Pelinna in Thessaly (Parassoglou and Tsantsanoglou 1987: 10): its text ends (Jordan 1989) *κάπιμενεις* (ΚΑΠΥ tab.) *ὑπὸ γῆν τέλε'* ἅς(ς)απερ ὀλβιοὶ ἄλλοι, "and you will expect beneath the earth what τέλεα the other blessed (dead) expect."

VIII. The Archaeology of the Area Sacred to Zeus Meilichios

SELINOUS WAS BUILT upon three low hills near the sea (fig. 1). The easternmost was the site of the great temples. The central, separated from the eastern by the river Cottone, served at various times as the acropolis, city center, and residential area. Another residential area was located on the Manuzza plateau, adjacent to and northwest of the central hill, though in the earliest years of the Greek settlement it had had an indigenous settlement and a Greek cemetery. The westernmost and lowest of the three hills, the area known today as the Gaggera, was about a kilometer beyond the acropolis and separated from it by the river Modione (Selinous in antiquity).

Excavations on the Gaggera, begun in 1874, were conducted more intensively by Gabrici between 1915 and 1926. Sand has covered much of the hill, and until recently it was thought that there were but two sanctuaries upon it, those of Demeter Malophoros and Zeus Meilichios, with the latter sometimes taken to be merely a subdivision of the larger sanctuary of the goddess. But explorations since 1950 have revealed that there were at least five precincts here.¹

The precincts of Demeter and Zeus together cover approximately 110 m. by 80 m., with the area thought to belong to Zeus Meilichios lying in the northeast quadrant (Pl. 6). The earliest Greek material (pottery and terracotta figurines) is of the late seventh century, contemporary with the earliest found on the acropolis and indicating therefore that the sanctuary was established soon after the founding of the city (Dewailly 1992). It has also been shown that when a grid pattern of streets was laid out on the acropolis in the late sixth century, the northernmost street was aligned with the entrance to the main building in the Malophoros sanctuary, a fact that confirms the importance of the cult for the city (Theodorescu 1975: 115).

The sanctuary has been assigned to the goddess Malophoros, taken to be a form of Demeter, because of a dedicatory inscription of the second quarter of the fifth century (Jeffery 1961: 271, 277, no. 42; MP 56). The

presence of many female terracotta figurines (cf. Fanara 1984; Ferruzza 1987; Dewailly 1992) is consistent with this identification. The goddess is also named in the victory inscription of the mid- or late-fifth century, found in temple G (Meiggs and Lewis 1968: no. 38; MP 49).² A reference in this inscription to Pasikrateia has been taken to show that Persephone was also worshipped in the Malophoros sanctuary (cf. *supra* 98 n.18).

The name of a second goddess, Hekate, is attested in a dedicatory inscription of the mid-fifth century, found in front of the propylon that formed the entrance to the sanctuary (Jeffery 1961: 271, 277, no. 41; MP 53). The small rectangular area within the precinct to the south of the propylon has been thought to be sacred to Hekate, but it should be noted that the dedication to Malophoros was found there. The relationship of Hekate to Malophoros is discussed by Dewailly (1992: 146ff).

The chief building in the precinct was a rectangular structure without columns, divided internally into three parts and usually referred to as the megaron. Before it stood a long altar of ashlar blocks showing repairs made with small stones; its interior was composed of sand, ash, and fragments of pottery and figurines, the whole covered by tiles (Gabrici 1927: 53–62; Dewailly 1992: 23–36). At a lower level a small pile of rubble was identified as an earlier, primitive altar (Gabrici 1927: 145–48; Dewailly 1992: 1–9). The building had a smaller predecessor, built sometime after the mid-sixth century, before which there was have been a still simpler structure. White (1967) has argued that the last phase of the megaron shows distinct Punic characteristics and that it dates from the period of Punic control (fourth or early third century).

In the space between the Malophoros shrine and altar and the complex to the northeast there was found a great quantity of ash and animal bones, primarily sheep or goat but also some cattle, deer, and a few pig, dog, and perhaps chicken bones. Out of 2,800 pieces of bone, 2,620 were astragals (Gabrici 1927: 160f). It is not clear from Gabrici's reports to which of the two cults this material is to be assigned. Dewailly (1992: 38ff) gives from excavation notebooks lists of finds that are specifically to be associated with Zeus Meilichios. The more recent excavations, in the area of the Meilichios stones (the *Campo di Stele*), are said to have found sheep, bird, and rodent bones (V. Tusa 1977: 117). Comparison with other deposits of sacrificial remains suggests that the bird and rodent bones (easily confused) are not the remains of sacrificed victims (cf. Reese 1989).

At the northeast corner of the precinct are the remains of a small shrine, whose foundations measure 5.30 m. by 2.97 m., distyle prostyle-in-antis (Pl. 6, 7b). It has been assigned to Zeus Meilichios because of the inscriptions to that god found in the area to the west of it, the *Campo di Stele*. Gabrici, however, noted that when the shrine was first built the

¹Parisi Presicce 1984: 22, 1985; S. Tusa 1986: 15f with plans 1–2. For the excavations through 1926, see Gabrici 1927 and Santangelo n.d.; for a review of the more recent excavations, V. Tusa 1977 and 1984a; S. Tusa 1986. V. Tusa 1976 gives a general description.

²On Malophoros cf. Paus. 1.44.3 (on the name in Megara Nisaia); Gabrici 1927: 400ff; Hanell 1934: 175, 207; despite Pausanias and Mantzoulinou-Richards 1986, the stem *malo-* refers to fruits, not sheep, for which the Doric is *μεῖλον*.

precinct or sub-precinct in which it was located did not communicate directly with the *Campo di Stele* (1927: 102). The precinct is some 17 m. square. Two rectangular altars lie before the entrance, one larger than the other. Two porticos run parallel to the naiskos, to its northeast and southwest.³

The naiskos has been dated to no earlier than the fourth century (Santangelo n.d.: 93). Riotto (1985: 36), who alone describes it as Ionic rather than Doric, believes an older building was reconstructed at a later period, almost certainly after 409. S. Tusa *et al.* (1986: 96), however, are agnostic on the date. White (1967: 348–51), followed by V. Tusa (1977: 63ff), proposed that since the shrine was constructed under Punic control, it was dedicated to Tanit and Ba'al Hammon, with whom were also to be connected the stones surmounted by a male and a female head found to the west of this complex, the site also of the earlier Meilichios stones. (These virtually unique "double herms" have been discussed *supra* 103–07). The identification of the gods of the shrine is discussed below (Ch. IX). White stressed the popularity of distyle prostyle buildings in the Carthaginian sphere and their comparative rarity in the Greek world. His comparison of the façade of the naiskos with painted funerary stelai from Lilybaion is less compelling, given that the Selinuntine shrine apparently had a flat roof.

It is not clear what—if any—construction there may have been here in the seventh through fifth centuries B.C. Gabrici (1927: 96f) firmly denied that reused Archaic building material came from a predecessor in this area. This has been questioned by Riotto (1985: 35f) who, however, has not given the grounds for his view that the final building was of pre-Punic origin. Most recently Dewailly (1992: 36f), on the basis of a study of the surviving notebooks and photographs, reports that Gabrici saw peribolos walls of earlier date than those he published. To prevent flooding, the precinct of Meilichios was moved to the west and raised some 2 m. on black fill at the end of the sixth century. She believes the temple and portico were built at the beginning of the fifth century but provides no details in support of this view. The likely existence in the fifth century of a low shrine, or shrines, of the Tritopatores through whose roof libations were poured emerges from lines A10f and perhaps also for a low-lying place for the safekeeping of portable images from lines A7 and 18 (see *Commentary ad locc.*), but we do not know where they were located.

The *Campo di Stele*, perhaps some 40 m. by 25 m. but apparently not a delimited area, to the west of the structures attributed to Zeus Meilichios, is of particular importance for the *lex sacra*. It was the location of all the inscribed and unscribed stones associated with Meilichios, and of the smaller, two-headed stones of post-fifth century date. No count of the total number of stones nor of the different types has been published,

³Gabrici 1927: 91–101 and pl. XVI; Santangelo n.d.: 93 and pl. XV; White 1967: pls. 104f, figs. 12, 23–24; S. Tusa *et al.* 1986: 89–96.

and there has been no plan showing the position of the stones, most of which apparently had been displaced when found. There are photographs from the earlier and the more recent excavations, judging from which the area was crowded with stones, though not as closely packed with them as were Punic tophets (PLL. 7a, 8a; cf. Gabrici 1927: 104 fig. 61; V. Tusa 1971: pl. XXIX, fig. 4, and 1977: 55 fig. 9; Dewailly 1992: 37, fig. 12; for a tophet, cf. White 1967: pl. 104, fig. 13). Gabrici published eighteen stones, all but one figured (1927: 174–81), and we have reviewed the inscribed Meilichios stones (*supra* 89ff). The majority of the stones found would appear to have been roughly shaped and without markings (cf. V. Tusa 1971: 56 and fig. 12, which shows a stone bearing a circle divided in two by a vertical). From the recent excavations some 100 double stelai are reported, of which about ten are described as "Grecizing," *i.e.*, as approaching the style of Greek sculpture of the fourth century B.C. (V. Tusa 1971: 63f; 1977: 117). This suggests that ninety per cent are of the cruder type described as Punic (see our discussion of examples of both types in the Getty Museum, *supra* 105ff and PLL. 12–14). The marked difference in size we have observed between the inscribed Meilichios stones of the sixth and fifth centuries and the double-headed stelai of a later date is not mentioned by the excavators. It may be that there are larger examples of the later stones than we are aware of. A number of roughly triangular stelai, one marked with an X, have been found in the new shrine attributed to Hera (Parisi Presicce in S. Tusa *et al.* 1986: 51).

Thanks to the renewed study of the area by Professor Vincenzo Tusa and his associates, the information provided by Gabrici (1927) can be amplified. Of particular interest are the small, discrete deposits of ash and bone with pottery and terracotta figurines. Over 200 of these were observed, some with as few as three, five, or seven objects, others with as many as fifteen (on the hundreds of hearths found in the earlier excavations, see Dewailly 1992: 37f). The gender of the figurines from the new excavations is not mentioned, but like most such dedications they appear from the illustrations of the deposits to be female, as were the majority, it seems, from the earlier excavations. This could either indicate the presence of a female divinity not otherwise attested before the fourth century, unless the Eumenides of A9 are relevant, or that women worshippers might dedicate images as well as loom weights (cf. Dewailly 1992: 39 (for women in the cult of Zeus Meilichios here, cf. 97, Selinous f). V. Tusa also speaks of vases, lamps, and some plates (1971: 56 and figs. 10ff; 1977: 115 and pl. XXIX.1ff). Most of the curse tablets from the Gaggera were found either in the *Campo di Stele* or in the area of the naiskos (Dewailly 1992: 38ff; *supra* 126ff). As yet there has been no mention of the miniature terracotta altars and tables described by Gabrici (1927: 181–203). The pottery in the published photographs seems to include miniature votive vessels, especially kotylai, a shape to be expected in view of the predominantly Corinthian origin of the pottery; a lesser quantity is of East Greek type.

Precise descriptions of the contents of these deposits, their date, and their relationship to the stones are awaited eagerly. Were they associated with both the larger stones of the sixth and fifth centuries and the smaller two-headed stones of the later period, or only with the former? One gets the impression that the deposits represent routine ritual on a small scale; the miniature vessels, like the miniature terracotta tables published by Gabrici, seem more appropriate to dedication in a simple ceremony than to the more elaborate ritual prescribed in the *lex sacra* for problems arising from pollution. Each deposit, however, seems to have involved animal sacrifice, though not necessarily the holocaust assumed by Di Vita (1961-64: 240). On some of the inscribed Meilichios stones traces of burning have been reported, which could be the result of sacrifice being performed close to them (Gabrici 1937: 156f; V. Tusa 1972: 409; Manni Piraino 1970: 268).

The excavations of the 1970s went below the levels explored by Gabrici and reached virgin soil, on which rested a layer of mixed sand, soil, and burnt matter of some 0.70 m., in contrast to the pure sand mixed with burnt matter as much as 4.00 m. deep that lay above it. At that level in an area defined by blocks of stone were found two altars, one oval and the other rectangular (1.50 m. by 3.50 m.), composed of compacted sand, burnt matter, and the remains of sacrifice. The datable material runs from the seventh through the fifth century, with most of it from the sixth century (V. Tusa 1977: 117).

At a higher level, a rectangular stone altar that has long been known was fully uncovered. It had three upright slabs on top of it dividing the upper surface into two parts, one twice the size of the other.⁴ V. Tusa describes these stones as betyls and proposes an oriental source for the type of altar. The level of the altar, as best one can tell, seems to suggest that it is contemporary with the naiskos and its associated structures. It may date, therefore, from the period of Punic control and settlement when the double herms were set up and two divinities were worshipped, corresponding perhaps to the two sections of this altar, and the two altars, one larger and one smaller, before the naiskos. One might also point, however, to the two altars at the Archaic and Classical level as the antecedents of this stone altar.

⁴Gabrici 1927: 103ff; V. Tusa 1977: 116f; Riotto 1985: 37 fig. 6; Fama 1980: fig. 63; Shaw 1989: 179f and fig. 2. Shaw questions the basis for the reconstruction shown in photographs. One supposes that there were indications on the surface of the horizontal stones showing where the uprights stood. Unlike the triple pillars and columns Shaw surveys in his article, the uneven separation of these slabs and their appearance on an altar favors their use as dividers for the placement of offerings. Before the altar was excavated completely, much was written about the chthonic character of the monument, set directly into the earth, as it was supposed.

IX. Punic Religion and the Cult of Zeus Meilichios

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE shows that Selinous was effectively under Carthaginian occupation for most of the time between 409 and ca 250 B.C. The archaeological evidence offers confirmation, although, as we have indicated, it is not clear in what proportions Greeks and Phoenicians were represented in the population. The Punic element in Sicily and in Selinous in particular has been discussed by Di Vita (1953; 1961-64), V. Tusa (1961-64; 1971), and White (1967). The Malophoros sanctuary and its associated cult areas have been examined in the light of Punic dominance during the last century and a half of their existence. The most extreme view is that of White (1967) who believes that the naiskos to the east of the *Campo di Steele* and the structures around it are entirely of Punic date and inspiration and were dedicated to the cult of Ba'al Hammon and Tanit. Both Di Vita and V. Tusa had earlier expressed their opinion that the double-headed stelai represented this pair of Punic deities. We have noted that the paired deities only appear, as far as can be seen, in the fourth century or later, while to the period of Selinous' independence as a Greek city there can be attributed only single aniconic stones and a solitary figured stone, also single (*supra* 90, Selinous f, and 103-07). Under these circumstances the female figure at least is more reasonably equated with Tanit than with Pasikrateia, Kore, or Meilichia (as e.g. by Gabrici 1927: 175f).

Even so, to describe the precinct of Zeus Meilichios as a Punic tophet, as do Di Vita (1961-64: 240, "quasi") and White (1967: 342), is to scant both the long history of the cult before 409 and ignore the absence of characteristic features of the Punic sacred places. As we have seen (*supra* 114ff), the use of aniconic stones to represent a deity and to mark a sacred place is not uncommon in Archaic and Classical Greece. Zeus Meilichios belongs to that class of deity that is more usually recognized by a place or marker sacred to him than by means of an image. His worship by gentilitial groups lends itself to the proliferation of such aniconic markers. The cult of Zeus Meilichios at Selinous fits the pattern discernible elsewhere; no element in the cult of the sixth and fifth centuries is without parallel in Greek cult practice. If a Greek population, however attenuated, continued to live in Selinous and worship in the Malophoros precinct after 409, it needs to be demonstrated that a foreign cult displaced that of Zeus Meilichios. It is more likely that a syncretism occurred between the religion of the old and new inhabitants.

A sign of this may be the popularity of the double herms or stelai with a male and a female head, which is unparalleled in the Greek world. In terms of Punic culture, however, the double herms are no less anomalous. The Greek style of a number of them is, of course, not inconsistent with a Punic ambience, for Greek art was widespread and by the fourth century B.C. widely imitated throughout the Mediterranean. We have argued that the simpler examples are less distinctively Punic than they are evidence of unsophisticated, amateurish workmanship, whether by speakers of Greek or Phoenician.

When it comes to the specific features of the Punic tophet, the Meilichios area is strikingly unfruitful. The characteristic stelai of tophets are well known (cf. Bisi 1967, 1971a, 1971b; Bartoloni 1976), but none of the aniconic stones from Selinous we have seen shows any close resemblance to those from Punic contexts. The tophets make considerable use of symbols and inscriptions. No symbols or other signs have been reported from the Meilichios area or from the whole Malophoros precinct (unless the small circle on the base of Gabrici 1927: pl. XXVII.1 is to be so regarded). Two representations of the Tanit symbol are known from Selinous, but they are on the acropolis hill (V. Tusa 1971: 62 figs. 18f; 1980: 2131f). The quantity of ash and bone reported from the precinct is as characteristic of Greek sacrifice as of Punic and is found at the earliest Greek levels.¹

A tophet was the scene of child sacrifice. The bones of the victims were placed in urns and left at the tophet, which was at once a place of sacrifice and of burial (S. Brown: 1991). Such a combination is the antithesis of Greek practice. Human death polluted a sanctuary and required thorough purification (cf. Parker 1983: 33). The sanctuary itself has sometimes been spoken of as a necropolis (e.g. Ch. Picard 1942–43). No burials contemporary with the life of the town have been reported in or near the precinct. Of the actual cemeteries of the Greek period that have been located and explored, the nearest, the Gaggera group, is some 750 m. away (Kustermann Graf 1991). Nonetheless the belief that there was a significant connection between the cemeteries and the sanctuaries has been repeatedly asserted, without benefit of comparison with examples from elsewhere.² Neither Demeter nor Zeus Meilichios, for all their chthonic aspects, were gods of cemeteries, and nothing at Selinous indicates otherwise.

In sum, the fourth and third century continuation or revival of cult in the Meilichios area seems more like a development of the existing cult

¹Bergquist's recent study of the practice in Sicily and Magna Graecia of setting up stelai associated with sacrificial deposits is equally firm in distinguishing them from Carthaginian tophets (Bergquist 1992: 45f and n.19).

²E.g., Di Vita 1961–64: 239; Santangelo, n.d.: 97; Kustermann Graf 1991–102, cautiously, and with reference to the nearer Temple M, 500 m. away; cf. Zuntz 1971: 103 n.2: "it would be an excess of scepticism to deny the original interconnection of the sanctuary and the necropolis."

than a new start. No doubt the Carthaginian practice of erecting stone stelai³ and the reasonable translation of Zeus as Ba'al facilitated the participation of the new inhabitants alongside the old.⁴ The presence nearby of the Malophoros shrine and her cult may have encouraged the combination of god and goddess in the new type of stone dedications. But child sacrifice, still practiced in the fourth century B.C. (Diod. 20.14), and said by Tertullian to have continued into the third century of our era (*Apol.* 9.2), was not incorporated. Our own view is in agreement with White's general conclusion (if not his details) that after the fifth century there occurred a distinctive synthesis of Greek and Punic elements in the cults of this precinct. But in order to trace this process it is essential to keep the contributing elements distinct.

There may be a further piece of evidence bearing on this problem. Among the stone objects of evident Selinuntine origin in the J. Paul Getty Museum is a miniature altar of the same light, buff-colored limestone as the others (PLL 18b, 19). In view of the connection of the *lex sacra* and the figured images with the cult of Zeus Meilichios, it seems likely that this object also comes from that area. The stone has been worked very carefully, with a fine cavetto moulding, top and bottom, except at the back. On the left side of the altar is a short graffito in the Phoenician alphabet. It may be the first Punic inscription from the Gaggera.

Museum no. 81.AA 143. Height 0.05 m., width 0.061 m., thickness 0.035 m. Various readings have been proposed by scholars to whom we have shown a photograph of the graffito.⁵ Professor J. Naveh suggests tentatively:

ʿbmlk = ʿbdmlk

In the first line Naveh sees a rounded *ʿayin* followed by a cursive *bet*; in the second he reads three letters comprising *mlk*. There may be a trace of the righthand stroke of the *dalet* he restores. For the forms of the letters cf. Peckham 1968, but we do not attempt to assign a date to them. The altar itself is not likely to be earlier than the fourth century.

³Philon of Byblos speaks of betyls as *lithoi empsychoi* (*FGrHist* 790 F 2.23); cf. also the *massēbôt* of the OT: Heider 1985: 368; Pope 1981: 160f; Wolf 1991: 497. The Meilichios stones, however, did not embody or represent the dead, as they did in Phoenician belief (cf. Pope 1981: 161), but the divinity who was patron of a family or a lineage.

⁴Philon of Byblos (*FGrHist* 790 F 2.11) identified the Phoenician Χουκόρ, a craftsman god, with Hephaistos, but added that he was also known as Zeus Meilichios. Chousor is the Canaanite god Kogar-and-Hasis, according to Attridge and Oden 1981: 84 n.66; cf. Troiani 1974: 115–19. It is hard to see that this has any relevance to the cult at Selinous.

⁵Susan Ackerman, Franz Rosenthal, Mark Smith, and Michael Barré have at various times answered our questions knowledgeably and patiently.

This reading gives a personal name, "servant of MLK" (cf. Benz 1972: 164). We must leave it to others to judge what, if any, significance this has for the later use of the area sacred to Zeus Meilichios.

We have been at pains to show the Greek parallels to the cults mentioned in the *lex sacra*, dating as it does from a period when Selinuntine independence and its Greek traditions flourished. This background needs to be kept in mind if we are to understand what was contributed from either side when syncretism did occur. A degree of affinity between parallel but distinct traditions, we have suggested, would have facilitated the process. Despite the etymological connection both ancients and moderns have claimed for Meilichios and the Greek word for honey, *meli*, we have noted that linguistically no sure explanation for the name has been offered (cf. Chantraine 1937–38 and 1968–80: 677f; *supra* 91f). Contacts and borrowings in the realm of cult, as well as myth and art, between Greece and the Near East in the Archaic period have come to be regarded as plausible in recent years (cf. Burkert 1983, 1984=1992). Shaw (1989) has proposed that a shrine that contained three upright, tapering stones, established in the eighth century B.C. on the south coast of Crete, is Phoenician.⁶ Is it possible that through their contacts with Phoenicians in the Levant and the Aegean the Greeks adopted aspects of the cult of MLK/Molek (Moloch)—the name and simple stelai associated with the spirits of a gentilitical group or of ancestors—that helped to produce the cult of Me(i)lichios?⁷ The Greek divinity had chthonic aspects, was associated with the well-being of the lineage and with purification but not, as in the Near East, with necromancy and child sacrifice. The connection with Molek has been proposed before, and support has been seen in the presence of Phoenician metics in Classical Athens; their interest in Meilichios has yet to be demonstrated and in any case would be much too late to account for the origin of the Greek cult.⁸ Now that the contacts between the Greeks and the Near East earlier in the millennium are being reexamined, a Semitic etymology for Meilichios and the cult contacts it would imply deserve to be reconsidered. The vigorous continuity or revival of cult in the *Campo di Stele* after the fifth century may owe some-

⁶Stampolidis (1990) identifies an isolated stone from Eleutherna in northwestern Crete as a Phoenician funerary cippus. His article has an extensive bibliography.

⁷On Molek see Heider 1985, esp. 113–48 for the Ugaritic evidence. Cf. also the phrase *mlkt b'l* found on stelai dedicated to Ba'al Hammon: Franz Rosenthal in Pritchard 1969: 658; Garbini 1968.

⁸Foucart 1883, 1904; Cook 1925: II 1107–11, who gives the literature on the subject. A proposed connection with a Semitic word for "sailor," *mallaḥ*, finds no echoes in the Greek Meilichios. It is perhaps worth adding as a final word that our failure to discuss possible native Sicilian elements in the cults of the Malophoros sanctuary is no oversight: we have found no grounds on which to do so, such is the paucity of information on the indigenous religion of the island.

thing to the rapprochement of parallel practices after three or four centuries of separate development.⁹

⁹Cf. Dewailly 1992: 149, cautiously and with stress on the long period of contact with the Phoenician–Elymian sphere. We have not, however, seen evidence of this contact in the Selinuntine cult before 409.

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Corrigenda and Addenda to *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*

CORRIGENDA TO THE TEXT:

page 75, n. 13: for "preciosely" read "precisely"

page 134, eleven lines from bottom: for "Thie view" read "This view"

page 154, at Lukouri-Tolia, E.: for 'Ανθηδόνα read 'Ανθηδόνα,"

Plate 10 (c): the photograph has been inverted

Plate 11 (b): for "Meilinius" read "Meilichios"

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