

HELMUT ENGELMANN

THE DELIAN ARETALOGY
OF
SARAPIS



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ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES
AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES
DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

M. J. VERMASEREN

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HELMUT ENGELMANN

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SARAPIS



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1975



The column of Apollonius II
(Photograph: École française d'Archéologie d'Athènes)

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE AND 1 FIGURE



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FOREWORD

The following is a commentary on the great Sarapis inscription on Delos—an inscription of particular interest for the spread of the cult of the Egyptian deities in the Mediterranean region.

A first version of this paper appeared in German in 1964. I have learned a great deal from written and oral criticism by Gerhard Binder, R. Etienne, Ludwig Koenen, Christian Habicht, Jeanne and Louis Robert, and Pierre Vidal-Naquet (*Rev. phil.* 92, 1966, 143-5) and have taken most of their objections into account in preparing the English edition; not a single page has remained unchanged.

The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation) awarded me a grant in 1963/64 and thereby enabled me to produce the present study. I should like to repeat my thanks to this beneficent institution.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bernand	Inscriptions métriques de l'Egypte Gréco-Romaine, Paris 1969
C.E. 30	Inscription No. 30 in Roussel
Corp. Herm.	Corpus Hermeticum, <i>ed.</i> Nock-Festugière, Paris 1945 f.
Cumont	Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum ⁴ , Darmstadt 1959
Durrbach	Choix d'inscriptions de Délos, Paris 1921-1923
Harder	Karpokrates von Chalkis und die memphitische Isispropaganda, <i>Abhandl. der preuss. Ak. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse</i> , nr. 14, 1943 (Berlin 1944)
Heitsch	Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit ² , Göttingen 1963-1964
I.d.D.	Inscriptions de Délos (Paris 1926 ff.)
I.G.	Inscriptiones Graecae
Kaibel	Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta, Berlin 1878
Leipoldt	Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums (<i>Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte</i> 9-11), Leipzig 1926
Longo	Aretalogie nel mondo greco I, Epigrafi e papiri, Genova 1969
Manifestation	of Isis. <i>Cf.</i> Harder, Kaibel, Müller, Peek
Michel	Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, Brüssel-Paris 1900-1912
Müller	Ägypten und die griechischen Isisaretalogien, <i>Abhandl. der Sächs. Ak. der Wiss. zu Leipzig</i> , 53, 1, Berlin 1961
O.G.I.	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, Leipzig 1903-1905
P.G.M.	Papyri Graecae Magicae, <i>ed.</i> K. Preisendanz, Leipzig 1928-1931.
Pap. Oxy.	The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, London 1898 ff.
Peek	Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte, Berlin 1930
Powell	Collectanea Alexandrina, Oxford 1925
Roussel	Les Cultes Egyptiens à Délos du III ^e au I ^{er} siècle av. J.-C., Nancy 1916
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, Strassburg-Heidelberg 1915 ff.
Syll. ³	Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum ³ , Leipzig 1915 ff.
Tran Tam Tinh	Essai sur le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi, Paris 1964
U.P.Z.	U. Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemaierzeit, Berlin 1927 ff.
Vermaseren	Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae, Den Haag 1956 f.
Vidman	Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, Berlin 1969
Weinreich	Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion, Tübingen 1919 = Ausgewählte Schriften I (Amsterdam 1969) 410-442 [cited in the reprint-edition 1969]
Wilhelm	Symbolae Osloenses 13, 1934, 1-18

INTRODUCTION

In the course of their excavations on Delos, the sacred island of Apollo, archaeologists discovered considerable remains of an Egyptian cult. These did not, at first, receive much attention : the search was for the Greek god of measure, not for an Oriental. The first to make a systematic examination of the evidence for the Greek religion at Delos was Pierre Roussel : his magnificent essay *Les Cultes Égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* was published in 1916.

The history of the cult of Sarapis at Delos is related in a long inscription : it starts with the modest beginnings of the cult and ends with the building of the first temple for the god (about 280-200B.C., *cf.* note on line 4 below). This history survives in two versions : first the prose account of the priest Apollonius II (line 1-28), followed by the hymn to Sarapis composed by the poet Maiistas (line 29-94).

The founder of the cult of Sarapis at Delos was a priest from Egypt; his (presumably Graecized) name was Apollonius. Apollonius I came from Memphis, a city which had long been an Egyptian religious centre. Indeed Egypt remained the true home of Isis and Sarapis even after their cult had spread throughout the Hellenistic world. To the believers it was the holy land where the mystic « revelation » had taken place. The inscription proudly relates that Apollonius I had come « from Memphis itself ». He had belonged to the priest caste there but presumably had not occupied a senior post in the hierarchy.

When Sarapis arrived at Delos nothing as yet presaged the future splendour of the deity. Apollonius I brought with him, in his baggage, a small statue of the god and placed it in a rented room. For many years Sarapis resided in these temporary quarters, unknown.

We do not know what made Apollonius I leave Egypt. Perhaps it was the hope of economic success, the belief that he would make his fortune at Delos. At the time of his arrival Delos was still under Ptolemaic influence. However, Apollonius I went to Delos on his own account, without the official support of the Ptolemies; otherwise Sarapis would not have waited for a temple for so long.

Apollonius I was succeeded by his son, Demetrius I : the priesthood

remained in the family. After the death of Demetrius I the cult was taken over by his son, Apollonius II. It was he who built a temple for Sarapis. This led to his involvement in a law suit, but he successfully defended himself. It appears that Apollonius II had omitted to obtain official permission for the building of the temple; that was why a conservative Delian group preferred charges against him. Its motive seems to have been mainly religious. Delos owed its fortune and prosperity to Apollo; it had always been his sacred island. To tolerate a strange god alongside him must have seemed like blasphemy to a conservative Greek.

Having won his law suit, Apollonius II raised a column to Sarapis in token of gratitude. It is a 125 cm (=49 in.) free-standing column in the temple courtyard; it does not support anything. Engraved on it in 94 horizontal lines is the history of the temple.¹ For a hellenistic Delos this is an unusual way of setting out an inscription; presumably Apollonius II deliberately applied an Egyptian-style practice. In Egypt the columns of many temples are covered with figurative accounts and hieroglyphs. Every 30th Khoiak the Zed pillar was erected in Egypt as a symbol of the victory won by Horus over Seth in the suit heard by the tribunal of the gods.

The inscription remains silent on a lot of things we should like to know. It tells us nothing about the general life of the priest's family, it reveals very little about the community which had gathered around the new god at Delos, and we do not even know on what grounds the charges preferred against Apollonius II failed. The inscription, in fact, is not so much an outline history of the temple and its priests as a religious document, a votive offering to Sarapis and the deities of his circle.

But the inscription does offer a good insight into the way of thinking of its two authors. The priest Apollonius II has certain achievements to show for himself : he bought a plot of land, built the temple of Sarapis, and won the law suit laid against him. And what does he say in his report? Anything that had been achieved had been brought about by Sarapis. The priest Apollonius II had merely implemented his god's instructions and not done anything off his own bat. Sarapis had appeared to him in a dream at night and had told him what to do and what not

¹ Cf. Frontispiece and the photographs in Ph. Bruneau, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, Suppl. I., 1973, 131-2.

to do. Demetrius I, too, depended on such nocturnal instructions by Sarapis. If one looks more closely at these dreams one is inclined to regard them as day dreams or wishful thinking. The situation outlined by the inscription in connection with the building of the temple is roughly like this : the god had long been inadequately housed and the task of building a temple had been passed on by one generation to the next. Picture, then, Apollonius lying in his bed one night, meditating, keenly aware of the obligation imposed on him of erecting a temple. Suddenly he makes a decision : the following morning he would go to the *agora*, where building land was forever being offered for sale. If there was a suitable plot he would snatch it up. Thus, in the morning, he gets up, guided by the decision he had taken the night before—and all goes well. In his eyes last night's decision, now surprising to himself, could only have been sparked off by the god himself. Indeed, thinking back to the past night, that was exactly what had happened : he had been restlessly drowsing and meditating—and suddenly everything had become clear and straightforward. Sarapis had appeared to him and implanted the correct decision in him.²

Such instructions received in dreams are not just a literary fiction. They are common throughout the ancient world. Thus interpreters of dreams (*ὄνειροκρίται*) are attested in the cult of the Egyptian gods at Delos; many a Delian inscription refers to instructions received from a god in a dream (*κατὰ πρόσταγμα*). Carpocrates is called *ὄνειρόφοιτος* in Eretria (Vidman 88).

The hymn of Maiistas³ differs substantially from the one-sided account given by the priest Apollonius II. Maiistas has Demetrius I longing for a statue of himself (*cf.* lines 43-46). Apollonius II reflects on where and how he should build a temple for the god (*cf.* lines 49 f.) In Maiistas the individual's aspirations and will emerge clearly; the god only confirms the individual's intentions by his nocturnal instruction. Action here springs from the will of the human being and the help provided by the god; the two stand alongside each other as equal factors. To the contemporary Delian Greek the hymn of Maiistas was no doubt more readily comprehensible than the account of the priest.

² Cf. R. Merkelbach, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 10, 1973, 53-4.

³ For the characterization of Maiistas *cf.* line 29.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THE INSCRIPTION

P. Roussel, I.G. XI 4 nr. 1299.

P. Roussel, *Les Cultes Égyptiens à Délos* (Nancy 1916), 71-83, nr. 1.

O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion* (Tübingen 1919) 31 ff. = *Ausgewählte Schriften I* (1969) 436 ff.

Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*³ 663 (without the hexameters).

I.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925) 68 ff.

P.M. Fraser, *Opuscula Atheniensia* III (Lund 1960) 50.

V. Longo, *Aretalogie nel mondo greco I* (Epigrafi e papiri). Genova 1969, 106-116 nr. 63 (with commentary).

A few difficult problems of textual criticism and contents were solved by A. Wilhelm, *Symbolae Osloenses* 13 (1934) 1-18.

THE DELIAN ARETALOGY OF SARAPIS

TEXT

- ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνέγραψεν κατὰ
πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ γὰρ πάππος ἡμῶν
Ἀπολλώνιος, ὢν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων,
4 τὸν θεὸν ἔχων παρεγένετο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου,
θεραπεύων τε διετέλει καθὼς πάτριον ἦν,
ζῶσαι τε δοκεῖ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτά.
διαδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρός μου Δημη-
8 τρίου ἀκολούθως τε θεραπεύοντος τοὺς θε[ο]ύς,
διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐστεφανώθη ὑπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνι χαλκεῖ, ἣ ἀνάκειται ἐν τῷ ναῶι
τοῦ θεοῦ · ἔτη δὲ ἐβίωσεν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑν.
12 παραλαβόντος δέ μου τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προσκαθη-
μένου ταῖς θεραπείαις ἐπιμελῶς, ὁ θεὸς μοι ἐχρη-
μάτισεν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὅτι Σαραπιεῖον δεῖ
αὐτῷ ἀναδειχθῆναι ἴδιον καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐν μισ-
16 θωτοῖς καθὼς πρότερον, εὐρήσειν τε τόπον
αὐτὸς οὗ δεῖ ἐδρασθῆναι σημανεῖν τε τὸν
τόπον. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος ἦν
κόπρου μεστός, ὃς προεγέγραπτο πω-
20 λούμενος ἐν βιβλιδίῳ ἐν τεῖ διόδῳ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ βουλομένου συνετελέ-
σθη ἡ ὥνῃ κατεσκευάσθη τε τὸ ἱρὸν συντόμως
ἐν μηνσὶν ἑξ. ἀνθρώπων δὲ τινων ἐπισυνστάντων
24 ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπενενκάντων κρίσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
καὶ ἐμοῦ δημοσίαν « τί χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι », ἐπην-
γείλατο δ' ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὅτι νικήσομεν.
τοῦ δ' ἀγῶνος συνετελεσθέντος καὶ νικησάντων ἡμῶν
28 ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀξίαν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες.

- γράφει δὲ καὶ Μαίιστας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην.
μυρία καὶ θαμβητὰ σέθεν, πολύαινε Σάραπι,
ἔργα, τὰ μὲν θείας ἀνὰ τύρσιαις Αἰγύπτιοι
32 ἠϋδῶνται, τὰ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, σείο θ' ὀμέενου

- *Ισιδος · ἐσθλοῖσιν δὲ σαώτορες αἰὲν ἔπεσθε
 ἀνδράσιν οἳ κατὰ πάντα νόωι ὅσια φρονέουσιν.
 καὶ γάρ τ' ἀμφιάλει Δήλῳ ἀρίσσημα τέλεσσας
 36 τὰ πολλῶν ἱρὰ καὶ εἰς μέγαν ἤγαγες αἶνον.
 <πα>τ<ρ>ὸς δ' οἳ δηναιὰ πατὴρ ἐκόμισσεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
 Μέμφιδος, ὁππότε νηὶ πολυζύγῳ ἤλυθεν ἄστυ
 Φοίβου · ἔνδον εἰῶι δ' ἀέκων ἴδρυσε μελάθρῳι
 40 καὶ σε φίλως θυέ<ε>σιν ἀρέσσατο · τὸμ μὲν ἄρ' αἰὼν
 γηραιὸν κατέπεφνε, λίπεν δ' ἐν σείῳ τεράμνῳι
 νῆα θυηπολέεν Δημήτριον, ὧι ἐπίπανχῳ
 γήθησαν θέραπες. τοῦ μὲν κλύες εὐξαμένοιο
 44 εἰκὼ χαλκείῃν νειῶι θέμεν εὖ δὲ τέλεσσαι,
 ἔννυχος ἀντιπάτρ<ωι δέ> καθυπνώοντι φαανθεῖς
 δεμνίῳ ἥνωγες τελέσαι χρέος. ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ τὸν
 γηραλέον λίπε μοῖρα, πᾶς γε μὲν ἐσθλὰ διδαχθεῖς
 48 ἐκ πατρὸς μεγάλως σέβεν ἱερά, πᾶν δὲ κατ' ἤμαρ
 σὰς ἀρετὰς ἤειδεν, αἰὲ δ' ἐλλίσ<σ>ετο νειόν
 ὅππῃ σοι δείμειεν ἀριφραδέως κατάλεξαι
 ἔννυχο<ν> ὑπνώοντι, διηνεκὲς ὄφρα κε μῖμνοις
 52 σηκῶι ἐνιδρυθεῖς μηδ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλοδαπῶι ἐν
 οὐδὲ ἐνι χρίμπτῳ. σὺ δ' ἔφρασας ἀκλέα χῶρον
 ὄντα πάρος καὶ ἄσημον, αἰὲ πεπληθότα λύθρῳι
 παντοίῳ μετὰ πολλὸν ἔτι χρόνον · ἐννύχιος γάρ
 56 εὐνῇ ἐπιπρομολὼν λέγεις · " ἔγρεο · βαῖνε δὲ μέσσα
 παστάδος ἀμφὶ θύρεθρα καὶ εἴσιδε γράμμα τυπωθέν
 τυτθῆς ἐκ βύβλοιο τό σε φρονέοντα διδάξει
 ὅππῃ μοι τέμενος τεύχῃς καὶ ἐπικλέα νειόν."'
 60 αὐτὰρ ὁ θαμβήσας ἀναέγρετο, βὰς δὲ μάλ' ὠκύς
 ἀσπ<α>σίως ἴδε γράμμα καὶ ὥπασεν ἀργυραμοιβόν
 τιμὴν οὐ κτέαρ ἔσκε · σέθεν θ' ἄμα βουλομένοιο
 ῥῆϊδίως καὶ νειὸς ἀέξετο καὶ θυόεντες
 64 βωμοὶ καὶ τέμενος, τετέλεστο δὲ πάντα μελάθρῳι
 ἔδρανά τε κλισμοὶ τε θεοκλήτους ἐπὶ δαίτας.

37 αὐτος lapis, <πα>τ<ρ>ὸς Wilhelm 40 θυεσσιν lapis, corr. Roussel 45
 ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΙΟ lapis, ἀντιπάτρ<ωι δέ> Merkelbach, ἀντὶ πατρὸς<s δέ> Wilhelm
 49 ἐλλισετο lapis 51 ἐννυχος lapis, corr. Robin 61 ἀσπισιως lapis, corr. Roussel

- καὶ τότε δὴ ῥα κακοῖσι κακὸς Φθόνος ἔμβαλε λύσσαν
 ἀνδράσιν οἳ ῥα δίκη ἀνεμωλίῳ ἐκλήϊσαν
 68 δοιῶ σὸν θεράποντα, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ θεσμόν ἔτευχον
 « ἢ τί χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἐκ τίνα τίσαι ἀμοιβήν
 θωῆς » ἐνγράψαντα. κακῶι θ' ὑπὸ δείματι πᾶσαν
 ἡῶ τε {ιν} νύκτας τε περὶ κραδίην ἐλέλιζεν
 72 τάρβος θειοπόλοιο · σὲ δὲ σταλάων ἄμα δάκρυ
 λίσσετ' ἀλεξῆσαι μῆδ' ἀκλέα τεῦξαι ἀμοιβήν
 σῶι ἰκέτει, θανάτου δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρύξαι.
 οὐδὲ σύ, παμνήστοισιν ἐφespόμενος πραπίδεσσι,
 76 λήσαιο τοῦ, νύχιος δὲ μολὼν ἐπὶ δέμνια φωτός
 ἠϋδῆσας · ὃ μέθες ἄλγος ἀπὸ φρενός · οὐ σέ τις ἀνδρός
 ψῆφος αἰστώσει, ἐπεὶ εἰς <ἐ> μὲ τείνεται αὐτόν
 ἦδε δίκη, τὴν οὔτις ἐμεῦ περιώσιον ἄλλος
 80 ἀνὴρ αὐδήσει · σὺ δὲ μηκέτι δάμναο θυμόν."·
 ἀλλ' ὅποτε χρόνος ἴξε δικασπόλος, ἔγρετο ναοῖς
 πᾶσα πόλις καὶ πάντα πολυμυγέω <ν> ἄμα φύλα
 ξείνων ὄφρα δίκης θεομήτιδος εἰσαΐοιεν.
 84 ἔνθα {σα} σὺ κείνο πέλωρον ἐν ἀνδράσι θάνβος ἔτευξας
 σὴ τ' {ε} ἄλοχος · φῶτας γὰρ ἀλιτρο <νό>ους ἐπέδησας
 οἳ ῥα δίκην πόρσυνον, ἐνὶ γναθμοῖς ὑπανύσσας
 γλῶσσαν ἀναύδητον τῆς οὔτ' ὅπιν ἔκλεεν οὐθίς
 88 οὔτε γ <ρ> ἄμμα δίκης ἐπιτάρροθον · ἀλλ' ἄρα θείως
 στεῦντο θεοπληγέσιν ἐοικότας εἰδώλοισιν
 ἔμμεναι ἢ λάεσσιν · ἅπας δ' ἄρα λαὸς ἐκείνῳ
 σὴν ἀρετὴν θάμβησεν ἐν ἡματι, κα <ι> μέγα κῦδος
 92 σῶι τεῦξας θεράποντι θεόδμητον κατὰ Δῆλον.
 χαῖρε, μάκαρ, καὶ σείο συνάορος οἳ τ' ἐνὶ νειῶι
 ἡμετέρῳι γεγάασι θεοί, πολύνυμνε Σάραπι.

71 *ιν* del. Wilamowitz 78 *εισιμε* lapis, corr. Roussel 82 *πολυμυγεω* lapis, corr. Roussel
 84 *σα* del. Roussel 85 *αλιτροους* lapis, corr. Wilamowitz 88 *γαμμα* lapis, corr. Wilamowitz
 91 *κα* lapis, corr. Roussel

COMMENTARY

THE PROSE ARETALOGY (1-28)

1-11 *Foundation of the Cult of Sarapis at Delos by Apollonius I and Demetrius*

1 ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος : Apollonius II.

1-2 ἀνέγραψεν κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ : ἀναγράφειν is used for the public recording of an official document; cf. A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1909) 284 ff.; G. Klaffenbach, *Griech. Epigraphik*² (Göttingen 1966) 52 ff. Here the reference is not to an official document (such as a popular resolution) but an aretalogy. Sarapis appeared to Apollonius in a dream; he commanded him to make public record of the history of the temple.

2 τοῦ θεοῦ : Of Sarapis. Apollonius does not utter the name of his god; cf. lines 4, 10, 11, 13, 21, 24, 26, 28, below.

πάππος ἡμῶν : Plural in place of singular. Apollonius is fond of assured speech; cf. lines 24, 27, 36, 91 ff.

3 Ἀπολλώνιος ὢν Αἰγύπτιος : Apollonius I was an Egyptian though he bore a Greek name; we do not know whether he previously also bore an Egyptian name. In any case both Apollonius and his son Demetrius have theophoric names : Apollonius relates to Apollo-Horus, Demetrius relates to Demeter-Isis; cf. Roussel pp. 245 f.

ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων : Apollonius I was regarded as belonging to the priest caste. This means that his father was a priest before him. In Egypt the priestly offices, as a rule, were hereditary; anyone born into the caste was accepted among the priests (Herodotus II 38 ἐπεὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσται. Diodorus I 88; Athenagoras 28; cf. also Norden, *Agnostos Theos* 290; Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès trismégiste* I 332-354). The lower-ranking priests in Egypt had a livelihood; service in the temple was only a part-time occupation for them;

cf. the Gnomon of Idios Logos, Art. 83 (*Berliner Griech. Urkunden* V [1919]; S. Riccobono, *Il Gnomon dell' Idios Logos*, Palermo 1950). Apollonius presumably was one of these. He was not a wealthy man when he came to Delos, and he was not a 'missionary'; otherwise he would not have set up the place of worship of Sarapis in rented premises; *cf.* lines 15-6 and 39.

Priests from Egypt are frequently mentioned outside their homeland. Coming as they did from the sacred land of Sarapis and Isis (*cf.* line 31 below) they knew the cult better than anyone else. The tombstone of such an Egyptian was found at Demetrias (near Volos) : *Οὐάφρης Ὡρου Ποσειρίτης, ἱερεὺς Ἰσιδος, χαίρει* (3rd century B.C.; Vidman 100). The « father » in the association of *τάξις τῶν Παιανιστῶν τοῦ Σαράπιδος* was the Egyptian *Ἐμβης* (Rome, 164 AD. Vidman 384 = Moretti, *Inscr. gr. urb. Rom.* 77. On the name *Ἐμβης cf.* Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* I 2 p. 109 note 1 : « the man from the white wall », « the Memphite »).

Anyone buying the priesthood of Sarapis in Priene had to employ an Egyptian for the sacrifice; only an Egyptian possessed the necessary knowledge : *παρεχέτω δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τὸν συντελέσονται τὴν θυσίαν ἐμπείρως* (Vidman 291, lines 20 f.). On a fresco in the temple of Isis at Herculaneum Anubis is represented by a dark-skinned priest—suggesting an Egyptian (Cumont, plate III 1; Leipoldt, ill. 53; Tran Tam Tinh, plate 23). Harnouphis, a *hierogrammateus*, saved the Romans in the country of the Quadi by a rain miracle (Dio Cassius 71, 8, 4; *cf.* the inscription set up by him in Aquileia : Vidman 613). Licinius had Egyptians in his entourage as augurs (Eusebius, *Vita Const.* II 4). Porphyrius refers to an Egyptian priest in Rome (*De vita Plotini* 10).

Egyptian priests are also frequently attested in literature : Apuleius has Zatchlas, an Egyptian *propheta primarius*, raising a seemingly dead man (Apul. II 28-9), Kalasiris is a prophet from Memphis (Heliodorus II 24).

4 τὸν θεὸν ἔχων : Apollonius had the god, i.e. he had a statue of Sarapis with him. This was probably a copy of the well-known ritual image of Bryaxis. In the Egyptian view the god lived within his statue; *cf.* Cumont p. 244 (71); Morenz, *Ägypt. Religion* (Stuttgart 1960) 105 ff.,

158 ff. There is a statue from Tyre of a priest carrying a picture of Osiris; the inscription reads : *Sacerdos Osirim ferens*, προφήτης "Οσειριν κομίζων (Vidman 359). In a votive inscription from Athens we read, with reference to a servant of the Egyptian gods : βαστάζων τὸν 'Ηγεμόνα (i.e. a statue of Anubis; Vidman 33a, line 25 f.). It was the custom in antiquity to take the god of one's native land along into foreign parts. When the Cappadocian princess Stratonike settled in Pergamon she brought Sabazius with her from her native land : βασ[ί]λισσα Στρατονίκη ... πρὸς ἅπαντας μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς προσηνέχθη, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὸν Σαβάζιον, πατροπαράδοτον αὐτὸν κομίσασα εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἡμῶν (C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* No. 67). Greek settlers took the deities of their mother cities with them to their new colonies; the statues they carried were copies of their native cultic images; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13, 1965, 122-4; *Loadicée du Lycos*, 1969, 331.

παρεγένετο : The inscription does not indicate the year when Apollonius I came to Delos. But it is possible to argue on something like these lines : The palaeographic indications (form of the letters) suggest that the column was erected about the turn of the 3rd and 2nd centuries (Roussel p. 245 and note 3). The inscription contains two dates : Demetrius reached an age of 61 and the age of Apollonius is given at about 97. It is also expressly stated that each son only assumed the priestly office after his father's death : the formulation of the verse version leaves no doubt on this point.

Assuming therefore that Apollonius II took over the priesthood after Demetrius's death in about 205 B. C., we get 266 as the date of Demetrius's birth. Assuming further that Demetrius held the priesthood for ten years (about 215-205), then we must conclude that Apollonius I lived from about 312 to 215. Demetrius would have been born when his father was 46 and presumably was already living at Delos.¹ It seems probable, after all, that Apollonius came to Delos at the time when the island and the Islanders' League were under Ptolemaic hegemony,

¹ If one assumes that Demetrius held the priesthood for 20 years (from 225 to 205), then Apollonius I must have lived from about 322 to 255 B.C. and Demetrius would have been born when his father was 56. One would hardly want to shift Apollonius's dates further back.

i.e. from 287 until the Battle of Kos which is variously dated between 262 and 245.² The assumption of the priesthood by Apollonius II was postulated above for 205 B. C.; this is probably the latest possible date since the Sarapieion B appears to have been in existence about 202 (Roussel p. 250). One will therefore have to consider the years between 210 and 205 as the date of the assumption of priestly office by Apollonius II.

ἐξ Αἰγύπτου : Apollonius came from Memphis, *cf.* verses 37 f.

5 θεραπεύων τὲ διετέλει καθὼς πατριον ἦν : Apollonius performed the ritual in the manner he had learned from his father; ἐσθλὰ διδασθῆναι ἐκ πατρὸς μεγάλως σέβειν ἱερά is what the verse version has to say about Apollonius II, lines 47 f.; *cf.* also lines 8, 12, 42. The cult of Sarapis was performed in the manner customary in Egypt. However, certain limitations were probably inevitable : for one thing, the cult was now practised in a purely Greek environment and, for another, it still lacked a temple of its own. The inscription mentions θεραπεύειν (line 13), offerings of incense (lines 40, 63), the chanting of divine miracles (line 49) and the joint ritual meal (line 65); *cf.* Roussel 267 ff.; Cumont 87 ff.

6 Apollonius reached an age of about 97; the figure is not exactly stated. The grandfather probably did not know himself the year when he was born. For the chronology *cf.* line 4 above.

Long life is a divine gift. Thus an aretology of Sarapis relates that the god saved the life of one of his servants by letting an evil man born under the same constellation die instead of him (Abt, *Archiv f. Relig.-Wiss.* 18, 1915, 257 ff.; Weinreich 419-21; Wilamowitz, *Griech. Verskunst* [1921] 149 ff.; Page, *Select Papyri* III 96; Heitsch No. L). Isis similarly governs destiny and prolongs life, *cf.* Apul. XI 6 : ... *quodsi*

² For the beginnings of Ptolemaic hegemony *cf.* I.G. XII 7, 506 = Syll.³ 390; on the date of the Battle of Kos *cf.* Volkmann, *R.E.* XXIII 1653 (with bibliography), also Guggenmoos, *Die Geschichte des Nesiotenbundes* (Würzburg 1929) 32 ff.; Wilcken, *Sitz. Berichte der preuss. Akad.* 1938, 309; Fraser-Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford 1954) 154-8 (not until 245 B.C.); E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* I (1966) 201 ff.

sedulis obsequiis et religiosis ministeriis et tenacibus castimoniis numen nostrum promerueris, scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia vitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere. Even a mortally sick man may still hope for her help (Isidore; Bernand 175 II 7 f.) :

καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νούσοις θανατώδεσι μοίρῃ ἔχονται
σοὶ εὐξάμενοι ταχέως σῆς ζωῆς ἔτυχον.

A priestess is called off to the ἡμιθέοι at an advanced age, having served Isis faithfully for 45 years : ἐξήκοντα δ' ἐτῶν ὅτε δὴ χρόνον ἡ λάτρις ἔσχεν ... σέμνη ἄπασιν ἄστρ' ἔβα, ὡς ἀνόσως ὥχετ' ἐς ἡμιθέους (Vidman 42; cf. Dunand, *Zeitschr. f. Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 1, 1967, 219 f. and Henrichs, *ibid.* 3, 1968, 109 f.). An inscription from Philae lists riches and long life among the gifts Isis offers her pilgrims : Ἴσιν τὴν ἐν Φίλαις προσκυνήσας τις εὐτυχεῖ, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον πλουτεῖ, πολυζωεῖ δ' ἄμα τούτῳ (L. Robert, *Hellenica* II 119; E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* II [1969] No. 168). An early hymn from the 18th dynasty praises Amûn : "He gives long life, doubling the years of him who pleases him" (Mariette, *Les papyrus égypt. du Musée de Boulaq*, II tab. 11-13; Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (1923) 350 ff.; Ed. Meyer, *Sitz. Ber. Berlin* 1928, 508; cf. also Nock, *Gnomon* 21, 1949, 222 n. 5).

7-8 Demetrius is the son of Apollonius I, cf. line 42. He takes over the ritual statues and is therefore the new priest. Just as the priesthood was hereditary in Egypt (cf. note on line 3), so it was at Delos : Apollonius I was succeeded as priest by his son Demetrius, and he in turn was succeeded by his son Apollonius II. The transmission of the office from father to son is particularly emphasized, cf. lines 12-13, 41-2, 46-7; also Roussel p. 248 : "(La transmission héréditaire) s'imposait plus strictement encore à la famille, qui, en pays étranger, détenait les secrets permettant le commerce avec la divinité". Cf. also Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès trismégiste* I 332-354.

As is well known, tradition played an important part in Greece, too, in all spheres relating to cult and religion. In Egypt, moreover, tradition is enshrined in a mythical model : Horus takes the place of his father Osiris and assumes his duties. This myth represents an obligation. Apollonius's family, by so strongly emphasizing this tradition,

demonstrates that it has lived in accordance with this mandatory example. The same idea is found in the decree of Rosette, O.G.I. 90, lines 7-8 : *πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν τῆς παραλήψεως τῆς βασιλείας ... ἣν παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ*. This is a historical record; its formulation to an Egyptian at the same time proclaims the legitimate kingship of the ruler : like Horus he has taken over his father's office. Similar references are found as early as in the Decree of Canopus (238 B.C., Ptolemaios III, O.G.I. 56 = A. Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien* I 990, line 4); even in the enthronement song of Rameses IV we read : "... the King ... has taken over his father's office" (Maspero, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* II 116; Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter* [1923] 347).

8 ἀκολούθως τε θεραπεύοντος : Demetrius performed the rite like his father; *cf.* line 42 (*ὕψι θυπολέειν*), 5, 12 and 47. Confessing the deeds of his life, a dead Egyptian said of himself : *ἐγὼ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς οἱ γονεῖς μοι παρέδειξαν, εὐσεβῶν διετέλουν ὅσον χρόνον ἐν τῷ ἐκείνων αἰῶνι τὸν βίον εἶχον* (Euphantos in Porphyrius, *De abstinentia* IV 10).

τοὺς θεοὺς : The statues (*cf.* line 4) of Sarapis and, presumably, Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates. These four deities are the most frequently mentioned in the Delian inscriptions. Also venerated at Delos were : Osiris, Amûn, the Hydreion (with sacred Nile water), Asclepius with Hygieia (i.e. Sarapis and Isis as the healing deities); *cf.* Rousel 273 ff.

9 διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν : Demetrius's loyal service is rewarded by Sarapis; the Greek world similarly has examples of a god rewarding his priest's devotion; *cf.* L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11/2 (1960) 542 ff.

9-10 ἐστεφανώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνι χαλκεῖ : The formulation is taken from the language of Greek decrees, but not the mode of thinking. A Greek community honours a member who has deserved well for the community. Thus Crito, the priest of Sarapis at Demetrias, repeatedly stood up for his community and finally endowed a major sum of money for its annual festivities; the community honours him : *δεδοχθαι τοῖς ὑποστόλοις · στεφανῶσαι Κρίτωνα Κρίτωνος [χρυσῷ στε]φάνῳ καὶ*

εἰκόνι γραπτῇ ... (Vidman 102). At Delos it is Sarapis—not the community—who decides to honour his devout priest; the statue is erected according to an instruction received in a dream. Demetrius had been hoping for this distinction (*cf.* line 43), but neither he nor the Egyptian community could have fulfilled his wish. Just as Apollonius II did not embark on the building of the temple on his own initiative (lines 14 f.), so Demetrius did not himself give instructions for his own statue. The command had to come from Sarapis, appearing to the priest in a dream.

There are many statues extant of priests of Egyptian deities : *cf.* e.g. H. W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent* (1969) p. 95 f. No. 284 with plate 30 (1), p. 102 No. 286 with plate 32 (1), p. 106 No. 288 with plate 30 (2); M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire* (1972) p. 324 No. 9 with plate 64; p. 266 No. 27 with plate 46; from Hellenistic Egypt a superb statue of Hor is reproduced in Rostovtzeff, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der hell. Welt* II (Darmstadt 1955) plate C (2).

10 χαλκεῖ : Attic spelling of -ει for -ηι *cf.* Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (1900) 38.

ἡ ἀνάκειται ἐν τῷ ναῷ : “which is (now) standing in the temple”. To begin with, the statue stood in the old temporary cult premises (ἐν μισθωτοῖς, line 15): subsequently it was placed in the Sarapieion. But *cf.* Wilhelm p. 8 and Roussel p. 78 (3) : “La statue n’a peut-être été consacrée qu’après l’érection du Sarapieion”.

11 ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἓν : That was an impressive age in antiquity; *cf.* lines 46 f. below : ἀλλ’ ὅτε καὶ τὸν γηραλέον λίπε μοῖρα and the note on line 6 above.

12-23 *The Building of the Temple by Apollonius II*

12 παραλαβόντος : *Cf.* note on lines 7-8.

δέ is anacoluthic, as also in line 26; *cf.* Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (1954) 181 f.

τὰ ἱερά : The statues of the deities (*cf.* line 8) and whatever else belonged to the ritual inventory.

12-13 προσκαθημένου : This word is carefully chosen. The duties of the devotee included *contemplatio*; while engaged in it the mystic would sit in front of the image of the deity : *cf.* the representation on the sarcophagus of Tetratia Isias, Egger, *Mitt. deut. arch. Inst.* 4, 1951, 35 ff. with plate 13 ff., Apuleius XI 17, 4 : *nec tamen me sinebat animus ungue latius indidem digredi, sed intentus <in> deae specimen pristinos casus meos recordabar.* 19, 1 : *me rursum ad deae gratissimum mihi refero conspectum.* 24, 5 : *inexplicabili voluptate simulacri divini perfruebar ... provolutus denique ante conspectum deae.* Chairemon in Porphyrius, *De abstin.* IV 6 ἀπέδοσαν ὅλον τὸν βίον τῇ τῶν θεῶν θεωρίαι καὶ θεάσει ... διὰ δὲ τῆς θεωρίας τὴν ἐπιστήμην (ποριζόμενοι). *Cf.* also Roussel 284 ff.; Cumont 246 (89) and 250 (109).

13 ταῖς θεραπαίαις ἐπιμελῶς : *Cf.* line 5 θεραπεύων ... καθὼς πάτριον ἦν; line 8 ἀκολούθως τε θεραπεύοντος; lines 48 f. *Ministerium* is frequently found in Apuleius (XI 6, 7; 15, 5; 21, 1; 22, 1); μακάρων μήποτε ληθομένη a devotee prides herself (Rome; Vidman 398). Herodotus II 37 says about the priests in Egypt : *θηρησκείας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας.*

ὁ θεός : Sarapis, *cf.* note on line 2 above.

13-14 ἐ χρημάτισεν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον : *Cf.* lines 50-1 below : ἀριφραδέως καταλέξαι ἔννυχον ὑπνῶντι. *χρηματίζειν* is the usual term for such a manifestation in a dream; *cf.* Vidman 348 *χρηματισθεὶς κατὰ ὄναρ*, U.P.Z. 71, Pap. Cair. Zen. 59 034, line 4, and L. Robert, *Hel-lenica* I 72, 1; II 148; *Noms indigènes en Asie Mineure* (1963) 381; *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1968, 587. On the same subject *cf.* verses 49-51 below.

Appearance in a dream counts as an oracle; *cf.* Apuleius XI 7 and 13; Damascius, *Vita Isidori* 12.

14 δεῖ : *Cf.* 17 οὐδὲ δεῖ ἐδρασθῆναι and 46 ἤνωγες τελέσαι χρέος. Apollonius is instructed by Sarapis to build the temple. What appears here as a command of the god is presented in the poem as a wish of Apollonius (line 49 ff.).

15 ἀναδειχθῆναι : Cf. Vidman 297 (Ephesus) τὸ τέμενος ἀνέδειξεν ἱερόν; also O.G.I. 383, line 45; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* Nos. 52, 64; I.G. IX, I² 1, No. 179; Plutarch *Pomp.* 52, 5.

15-16 ἐν μισθωτοῖς : The god had been living in a rented room since Apollonius I came to Delos; cf. lines 39 and 51 f.

16 καθὼς πρότερον : One expects “as now”. But the new temple was already in existence when the present text was composed.

16-17 εὐρήσειν τε τόπον αὐτός : Sarapis himself will find a suitable spot. Most temple construction rituals (and myths) presume that the deity will indicate the right spot. Cf. e.g. I. Priene 196, 4 ff. :

ὄψεσι δ' ἐν τρισσαῖς ἡρῶα τόνδε σέβειν
ἡνωγον πόλειως φύλακοι χῶρόν τ' ἀπέδειξαν.

Also Hom. *Hymn. Dem.* 270; Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 285; Pseudo-Callisthenes I 33; Vermaseren No. 423 (quoted in note to line 22-23); I.G. XII 3 No. 248 (Anaphe).

17 δεῖ : Cf. note on line 14.

σημανεῖν : Sarapis will show his priest the spot he has found. The “showing” is done in a dream; the dream instruction is fully described in the verse version (lines 55 ff.).

18 δ καὶ ἐγένετο : What Sarapis had foretold actually took place; cf. lines 60 f. below. Isis says of herself : ὁ ἂν ἐμοὶ δόξηι, τοῦτο καὶ τελεῖται (Manifestation, paragraph 46).

18-19 δ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος ἦν κόπρου μεστός : The spot was in the valley of the Inopus, a good residential area, cf. Ph. Bruneau, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, Suppl. I, 1973, 135 (quoted with ref. to lines 53-4). The plot was not built on and had long (line 55) been used as a rubbish tip. But even a despised location (ἀκλέα χῶρον ὄντα πάρος καὶ ἄσημον lines 53 f.) is hallowed by the god's choice. Wilhelm (pp. 12 ff.) in interpreting this passage refers to a Christian tomb epigram from Geresa; these are the

words of a tombstone erected on a former rubble tip (Kaibel 1068; Germer-Durand, *Revue Biblique* 4, 1895, 397-9 No. 30; *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. Kraeling, New Haven 1933, *The Inscriptions* [C. B. Welles] 476 f. No. 299) :

- θάμβος ὁμοῦ καὶ θαῦμα παρερχομένοισιν ἐτύχθην ·
 πᾶν γὰρ ἀκοσμῆς λέλνται νέφος, ἀντὶ δὲ λήμης³
 τῆς προτέρης πάντῃ με θεοῦ χάρις ἀμφιβέβηκεν ·
 4 καὶ ποτε τετραπόδων ὅποσα μογέοντα δαμείη,
 ἐνθάδε ῥιπτομένων ὁδμῇ διεγείρετο λυγρῇ ·
 πολλάκι καὶ παριῶν τις ἐῆς ἐδράξατο ῥινός
 καὶ πνοιῆς πό[ρ]ον⁴ εἶρξε κακοσμήν ἁλεείνων ·
 8 νῦν δὲ δι' ἀμβροσίῳ πέδον περόωντες ὁδεῖται
 δεξιτερὴν παλάμην σφετέρῳ προσάγουσι μετώπῳ
 σταύρου τιμήεντο [ς ἐπὶ σφρ]ηγίδα τελούντες ·
 εἰ δὲ θέλεις κ(αὶ) τοῦτο δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῆς ·
 12 Αἰνεῖας τόδε κάλλος ἐμοὶ πόρεν ἀξιέραστον
 πάνσοφος, εὐσεβίῃ μεμελημένος ἱεροφάντης

L. Robert moreover has referred to two epigrams from the Greek Anthology (*Hellenica* IV 131 f.); in Anth. Pal. IX 662 tribute is paid to the rebuilding of a latrine block in Smyrna, where the official in charge had turned a formerly contemptible spot (χωρος) into a magnificent one, θῆκεν ἀρίζηλον τὸν πρὶν ἀτιμότατον. In IX 615 a certain Theodoros is praised for having established a bath-house in a formerly dark and dirty place :

χωρος, τίς μερόπων σε λιπανγέα τὸ πρὶν ἔοντα
 πλούσιον ἐν φέγγει θήκατο λουομένοις ;
 τίς δὲ καὶ αἰθαλόεντι ρύπῳ πεπαλαγμένον ἄρτι
 κεῖνον ἀϋστῶσας φαιδρὸν ἔδειξε δόμον ;
 φρὴν σοφὴ ὥς πᾶσιν Θεοδωριάς⁵ (κτλ)

Wilhelm p. 14 referred to the dream book of Artemidorus II 9 p. 110 Pack. If a poor man dreams that lightning has struck in a place where refuse is dumped then this is a good sign. Just as lightning transforms

³ “eye secretion”, “grease”, “filth”. Kaibel wrote λ(ύ)μης.

⁴ I write πό[ρ]ον, the passer-by pinches his nose, “he blocks the air’s path”. Hitherto the gap was filled to read πό[θ]ον.

⁵ “How very wise is Theodoros’s mind in all things” (I place the accent in Θεοδωριάς on the last syllable, not the penultimate).

the quality of a spot, so such a dream heralds a better fate for the poor man : *εοίκασιν οἱ πένητες χωρίοις λιτοῖς καὶ ἀσήμοις, εἰς ἃ κόπρια ῥίπτεται ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν φαύλων. ... ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ κέραννος τὰ μὲν ἄσχημα τῶν χωρίων ἐπίσημα ποιεῖ διὰ τοὺς ἐνιδρυμένους βωμοὺς καὶ τὰς γινομένας ἐν αὐτοῖς θυσίας, ... οὕτως ὁ ὄνειρος πένητα .. ὠφελεῖ.* Thus Sarapis has transformed the local character of the rubbish dump by the Inopus : he has chosen the spot for his temple and thereby ennobled it. Perhaps the choice of such an “ignoble” spot may also be interpreted in the sense that Sarapis has thereby revealed himself as the god of the poor and despised.

20 ἐν βιβλιδίῳ : : The plot had been offered for sale on a poster.

20-21 ἐν τεῖ διόδῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς : The poster was displayed at the passageway through which one entered the agora from the colonnade adjoining it to the south; *cf.* lines 56 f. below : *βαῖνε δὲ μέσσα παστάδος ἀμφὶ θύρεθρα.* As a lot of people would use this passageway day after day, this was a suitable spot for publicizing offers of sale. A plan of the agora with the colonnade is in Ph. Bruneau - J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (1965) 76 No. 4 with plate I.

τεῖ : *Cf.* note on line 10.

21-23 The plot was purchased and the temple erected because Sarapis desired it. Success for Demetrius depended on this divine assistance; *cf.* note on lines 62-3; also I. Magnesia 100, lines 11 f. : *ἐπειδὴ — θείας ἐπιπνοίας καὶ παραστάσεως γενομένης τῷ σύνπαντι πλήθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ ναοῦ—συντέλειαν εἴληφεν ὁ Παρθενών.*

For the structural lay-out of the Sarapieion *cf.* note on lines 63-65 below.

22 ἰόν : The Ionic form is strange in a prose piece (Roussel 81); *cf.* line 36.

22-23 συντόμως ἐν μηνὶ ἔξ : The swift implementation of a plan was regarded as a sign of divine power. Thus, what the god-king plans

in the morning is achieved by nightfall : ἐσπέριος κεῖνός γε τελεῖ
τά κεν ἤρι νοήσῃ (Callimachus, *Hymn*. I 87).

The Homeric Hymn to Demeter relates that King Celeus of Eleusis commands his people to build a temple at the behest of Demeter (297-301) :

ἦνωγ' ἡϋκόμωι Δημήτερι πίονα νηόν
ποιῆσαι καὶ βωμόν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῶι ·
οἱ δὲ μάλ' αἰψ' ἐπίθοντο καὶ ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος,
τεῦχον δ' ὥς ἐπέτελλ' · ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονος αἴσῃ ·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τέλεσαν κτλ.

By the intervention of the goddess (δαίμονος αἴσῃ) the temple was thus rapidly completed.

There is a similar inscription from the Mithraeum below the Basilica San Lorenzo in Damiano, in Rome, (Vermaseren No. 423; cf. Vermaseren-van Essen, *Exc. S. Prisca*, 340 f.). Mithras (presumably in a dream) had instructed Proficentius, a *pater sacrorum*, to build him a grotto; he then urged him to complete the task speedily and rewarded him with welcome gifts :

*Hic locus est felix sanctus piusque benignus
Quem monuit Mithras mentemque dedit
Proficentio patri sacrorum
Utque sibi spelaeum faceret dedicaretque
Et celeri instansque operi reddit munera grata.*

ὁ ταχύτεργος is a name given to Horus on an amulet (SB No. 5620).

Apollonius believed that the Sarapieion was completed in six months through the help of Sarapis. This, however, is not the opinion of the archaeologist who excavated the miserable buildings : “pour élever ces bâtiments mesquins, il n'était pas besoin d'un grand espace de temps. Le temple même, qui aurait dû être soigné avec une attention particulière, est d'une construction détestable” (Roussel 29). Seen in this light, six months was a long time for building the temple. Basically all that was needed, once the plot had been cleared, was the erection of the temple (4.10m × 3.20, or 13½ × 10½ feet) and of a refectory (about 40 m² or 430 sq. ft.); cf. lines 63-5 below. Apollonius lacked the money for speedy and good-quality construction.

For inscriptions indicating the time needed for the completion of

constructions cf. L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos, Le Nymphée* (1969) 340-3.

23-28 *The Law Suit*

23 ἀνθρώπων δέ τινων : Apollonius avoids giving the names of his opponents, who were also opponents of his god—out of contempt, but no doubt also because he was still filled with anger. For this use of τινές L. Robert has compiled numerous examples (*Le sanctuaire de Sinuri* I 1945, 37 f.; *Hellenica* VII 67 f.; XI 115; *Noms indigènes dans L'Asie-Mineure* 474, 1). Cf. also Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* 402.

ἐπισυνστάντων : A group of enemies were ganging up—rebels against the deity, as it were—and conspiring as Seth and his 72 comrades (συνωμόται) once did against Osiris (Plutarch, *Is.* 13). ἐπισυνίσταμαι is found in the same meaning in Satyrus, *Vita Euripidis* (Pap. Oxy. 1176, fr. 39 X 23); Parthenius 35, 2; Strabo VII fr. 18 p. 330; Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac.* 7, p. 227A; Dio Cassius 60, 21.

24-25 ἐπενενκάντων κρίσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ δημοσίαν :

A public charge was laid; it was directed against the temple and against Apollonius who had built the temple. For law suits laid in the public interest (δίκαι κατὰ τινος) cf. J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Leipzig 1908) 246 f. It is possible that a double charge was laid, cf. notes to lines 66 and 81 below.

25 τί χρή παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι : This turn of phrase is a rigid formula in Attic legal language. παθεῖν means a penal sentence, ἀποτεῖσαι a fine. The prosecution was free to choose either kind of punishment : the demand was either for the accused to be punished bodily (παθεῖν) or to be fined (ἀποτεῖσαι). The prosecution was only allowed to plead for one of the two punishments; cf. J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* (1908) 252 f.

ἐπηγγέλματο : Cf. lines 77 f. below.

26 δ' is anacoluthic as in lines 9 and 12.

νικήσομεν is presumably direct speech; *cf.* Weinreich 426.—In Egyptian mythology there is a great trial in which the conflict between good and evil is decided, once and for all, in favour of Osiris-Sarapis, Isis and Horus. The evil Seth had succeeded in killing Osiris, the good king, and thus in gaining possession of Egypt (and the world). The good deities had fled Egypt and Seth's rule seemed secure. But Isis secretly succeeded in bringing up Osiris's lawful heir, his son Harpocrates-Horus. When he had reached manhood he confronted Seth to revenge his father. After a long and cunning contest the decisive trial was held before the tribunal of gods, and Isis and Horus succeeded in unmasking Seth as a false king, a deceiver, and the murderer of his brother Osiris. The trial thus ended with a great victory by Horus over Seth. Horus was able to assume rule over Egypt as the legitimate heir and to bring back the golden age of his father Osiris. Now again this new attack by the forces of evil is doomed to failure—as in the ancient myth—and good will come out victorious in the law suit.

27-28 **νικήσάντων ἡμῶν ἄξιως τοῦ θεοῦ** : The accusers were unable to state their case; Sarapis had tied their tongues. The suit had been decided by a miracle, *cf.* lines 81 ff. below.

Many votive offerings are addressed to Isis and Sarapis, the victorious deities; *cf.* I.d.D. 2059 *Νίκη* *Ἰσιδι* ... *κατὰ πρόσταγμα*, I.G. X 2, 1 No. 82 (Salonika) *Ἰσιδι Νίκη* ... *καθ' ὄραμα* and Vidman Nos. 389, 393, 402, 407, 413, 474, 479, 583, 609, 660, 669, 685, 700, 718, 719, 743, 797.

Amulets also carry similar inscriptions. *νικᾷ ἡ Εἰσις* (Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* [1950] p. 257 No. 21), *νικᾷ ὁ ἐπήκοος* (representation of Sarapis; Bonner p. 256, No. 19), *σὺ νικᾷς πάντες* (representation of Horus; Bonner p. 263, No. 61); *πάντα νικᾷ ὁ Σάραπισ* (Delatte-Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* [1964] p. 160, No. 209); *cf.* also Weinreich 426-8 and 438-40 and E. Peterson, *EIS ΘΕΟΣ* [1926] 152-63.

28 The aretology concludes by thanking the deities. In addition to the chronicle on the column a votive tablet was erected to (Isis) Nike, C.E. 3 = I.G. XI 4, No. 1290 *ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ οἱ συμβαλλόμενοι τῶν θεραπευτῶν Νίκει*. Perhaps the following two votive

inscriptions likewise refer to the favourable issue of the law suit : C.E. 4 = I.G. XI 4, No. 1230 : Σαράπι, Ἴσι, Ἀνούβι, θεοῖς νικηφόροις, Μνησικλείδης Καλλία ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς Τελεσίππης, κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ and C.E. 5 = I.G. XI 4, No. 1304 Ἐρωτος νικηφόρου (Eros = Harpocrates); cf. Roussel 86 and Weinreich 427 ff.

τοὺς θεοὺς : cf. lines 93 f. below.

29 Μαίιστας : A name not elsewhere attested; according to Hiller an Egyptian : *hunc aretalogon fuisse apparet, nomine Aegyptium, sicut Σαίστης in lapide Rhodum aliunde (Telmesso) allato* I.G. XII 1, 33 (Syll.³ 663, note 8).

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ : Maiistas works for the temple as an encomiographer; he was probably a devotee of Sarapis himself. There is something touching about his verses; clearly versification did not come easily to him. Although he had read Homer and, of the tragedians, especially Euripides, and, of the Alexandrians, Theocritus and perhaps Lycophron, the Greek language of poetry remained unfamiliar to him. Thus he confused similarly-sounding words (ὄπιν and ὄπα), jumbled up established Homeric turns of phrase (cf. notes on lines 40-41 and 70-71 below), and misunderstood a basic concept of early Greek (θεσμός, cf. note on line 68 below). He was evidently unaware that the poetic style of the Homeric epic was not suited to his subject; cf. also Powell p. 71.

ὀπόθεσιν : The history of the cult and of the miracle of Sarapis at Delos.

The paean composed by Demetrius of Phaleron after Sarapis had cured him of blindness is a parallel to the religious hymn in which Maiistas praises the ἀρετή of Sarapis (Diogenes Laertius V 76); the cure was an ἀρετή of the god just as his intervention in the Delian law suit.

II. THE HYMN OF MAIISTAS (30-94)

30-36 *Hymnic Proem*

30 **μυρία** is a favourite epithet in hymns of praise, e.g. in Theocritus's encomium of Ptolemy (lines 11 f.) : τί πρῶτον καταλέξω ; ἐπεὶ πάρα μυρία εἰπεῖν οἷσι θεοὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐτίμησαν βασιλῆων. Cf. also Pindar, *Isthm.* 4, 1 ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία παντᾶι κέλευθος. Bacchylides 5, 31 τὼς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεῖν. 19,1 πάρεστι μυρία κέλευθος ἀμβροσίων μελέων. 9,47 στείχει δι'εὐρείας κελεύθου μυρία πάντα φάτις.

θαμβητός is elsewhere attested only in Lycophron, *Alex.* 552.

πολύαινε : The epic epithet is transferred to Sarapis. In Homer the sirens call out to Ulysses (μ 184) δεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰὼν, πολύαινε 'Οδυσσεῦ, μέγα κῆδος 'Αχαιῶν. The words πολύαινε Σάραπι are matched by πολύνυμνε Σάραπι in the last line.

31 **ἔργα** is synonymous with ἀρεταί (cf. note on line 91 below). In them Sarapis manifests his power : οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοῖός ἐστιν ἢ οἷος ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ δείκνυται (Ael. Aristides II, p. 357 Keil).

τύρσις : "Ramparts, castles, cities"; a poetic word, cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 2, 70 and Lycophron, *Alex.* 834.

θείας Αἰγύπτου : Egypt beloved by the gods. The Egyptians have always been regarded as the devout nation of the ancient world, cf. Herodotus II 37 θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων. Within the cult of Isis the Egyptians occupy the place of the chosen people. They alone know the true name of the deity : cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiuigo totus veneratur orbis — Aegyptii ... appellant vero nomine ... Isidem (Apuleius XI 5,2 f.). The arcane writings of the cult are written in their languages (Apul. XI 22, 7). The ritual vessels are adorned with their sacred symbols (Apul. XI 11, 4). A relief of sacred Egypt was found in the temple of

Isis at Carthage ⁶. In many temples there were statues imported from Egypt or at least worked in a style deliberately suggesting Egypt; for Pompeii *cf.* Tran Tam Tinh (esp. Nos. 81 and 105), for Rome *cf.* A. Rouillet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leyden 1972), for Benevento *cf.* H. W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent* (Berlin 1969).

Αἰγύπτου : a spondee at the end of the verse, in line with Hellenistic technique.

32 ἤδηται : a poetic word. Everywhere the talk is about the god's miracles; *cf.* Pap. Oxy. 1381, lines 215 ff. εἰς πάντα γὰρ τόπον διαπεφοίτηκεν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις σωτήριος.

πᾶσαν ἄν' Ἑλλάδα : Greece is only named after Egypt. But here, too, Sarapis is now universally known; *cf.* P. M. Fraser, *Opuscula Atheniensia* III, Lund 1960, 20 ff.

32-33 σεῖο θ' ὁμύνου Ἰσιδος : Sarapis is the consort of Isis; *cf.* the Carpocrates inscription of Chalcis (Vidman 88) *Καρποκράτης εἰμι ἐγώ, Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἰσιδος υἱός*. Isis was not mentioned in the prose version. At Delos she bears a multitude of epithets : Agathe Tyche (C.E. 11 = I.G. XI 4, 1273), Artemis Phosphoros (C.E. 36 = I.G. XI 4, 1275), Soteira (C.E. 49 = I.G. XI 4, 1253), Meter μεγάλη (C.E. 50 = I.G. XI 4, 1234), μήτηρ θεῶν Astarte (C.E. 82 = I.d.D. 2101), Dikaiosyne (C.E. 117, 122, = I.d.D. 2079, 2103), Tyche Protogeneia (C.E. 119, 120 = I.d.D. 2072/3), Nike (C.E. 121 = I.d.D. 2059), Artemis Hekate (C.E. 127 = I.d.D. 2375), Nemesis (C.E. 138-40 = I.d.D. 2038, 2062, 2063), Taposirias (C. E. 142 = I.d.D. 2064), Bubastis (C. E. 200/1 = I.d.D. 2186, 2110), Euploia (C. E. 147 = I.d.D. 2153), Aphrodite (C.E. 69, 151, 162 = I.d.D. 2098, 2080, 2158), Soteira Astarte Aphrodite Euploia (C. E. 194 = I.d.D. 2132).

⁶ Picard, *Mélanges Maspero* II (Le Caire 1934-37) 331-34; Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica* (Rome 1959) 31 with plate 47; Charbonneaux, *L'art au siècle d'Auguste* (Paris 1948) 67; Picard-Schmitter, *Rev. archéol.* 1971, 29 ff.

33-34 **σαώτορες αἰὲν ἔπεσθε** : Sarapis and Isis bear the epithets *σωτήρ* and *σώτειρα* respectively; cf. C.E. 49 = I.G. XI 4, 1253; Vidman 179 (Rhodes); 247 (Kos); 389 (Rome). In Egypt : Bernand No. 165; I.G. Philae Nos. 5, 6, 59, 134; O.G.I. No. 94, SB. Nos. 596, 597, 2136, 5863. In an aretology on papyrus : ὁ Σάραπῖς ἐστι σωτήρ (verse 1) and σὲ σῶζω (verse 7) [Page, *Select Papyri* III 426 No. 96 = Heitsch p. 166 No. L]. Among numerous literary attestations mention need only be made of Lucius's prayer to Isis : *tu quidem sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua* (Apul. XI 25). A hymn from Egypt lists the occasions when Isis helps (Bernand 175 I 29 ff.) :

ὅσσοι δ' ἐμ μοίραις θανάτου συνέχονται ἐν εἰρκτῇ,
καὶ ὅσοι ἀγρυπνίαις μεγάλαις ὄχλοῦντ' ὀδυνηραῖς,
καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῃ χώρῃ πλανοώμενοι ἄνδρες,
καὶ ὅσοι ἐμ πελάγει μεγάλῳ χειμῶνι πλέουσι
ἀνδρῶν ὀλλυμένων νηῶν κατὰ ἀγνυμένων,
σῶζονθ' οὗτοι ἅπαντες, ἐπεύξαμενοί σε παρεῖναι.

Many people give thanks to these deities for having been saved from peril. Cf. C. E. 72 = Syll.³ 1130 = I.d.D. 2119; Vidman 198, 261, 280, 406.

ἐσθλοῖσιν .. ἀνδράσιν : The gods appear to them and aid them; cf. Callimachus *hymn.* II 9 f. ὡπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαείνεται, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἐσθλός, hymn of Isidorus, Bernand 175 III 4 f.; also Pfister, *RE* Suppl. IV 319 f. The god's adversaries are *κακοί*, ruled by envy (line 66) and delusion (line 85).

35 With the words *καὶ γάρ* Maiistas moves on to describe the miracle wrought by Sarapis at Delos. The god is great : this has also (*καί*) been demonstrated again since (*γάρ*).—In Greek hymns the justifying *καί* is very often found in addressing the deity. Cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* 157 f.

ἀμφιάλει Δήλῳ : In Homer, Ithaca is the ἀμφιάλος νῆσος (e.g. *a* 395); the adjective, of course, had two endings. It is difficult to decide whether ἀμφιάλει here should be understood as the Attic rendering of an (incorrect) feminine form ἀμφιάλη or whether it should be derived from an otherwise unattested ἀμφιάλης.

ἀρίσημα : Cf. e.g. Hom. *Hymn. Herm.* 12 ἀρίσημα ... ἔργα.

36 τὰπολλωνίου : Such crasis is un-Homeric but customary in Attic; e.g. Aristophanes, *Birds* 982 τὰπόλλωνος = τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Sophocles, *Philoct.* 572 οὐδυσσεύς. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 838 τὰγοράι.

ἱρά : epic form.

εἰς μέγαν ἡγαγες αἶνον : he made Apollonius's temple famous; αἶνος in the sense of ἔπαινος e.g. Homer *φ* 110, Aesch. *Agamemnon* 1547.

37-46 The foundation of the Delian cult of Sarapis

37 αὐτὸς δ'οἱ πατὴρ ἐκόμισσεν : the inscription on the stone reads : "the father himself brought it a long time ago". Just previously the reference is to Apollonius II whose father was Demetrius. But the statue of Sarapis was brought to Delos by Apollonius I, and it is to him that the next verses (as far as 41) refer. Wilhelm therefore put πατρός for αὐτός. In this way the correct sequence is restored : πατρός δ'οἱ δηναιὰ πατὴρ ἐκόμισσεν. Instead of the possessive, the dative of the pronoun is frequently used with terms of kinship; cf. Wilhelm p. 4. For πατρός πατήρ cf. e.g. Homer *Ε* 118, τ 180. Roussel (p. 81) kept αὐτὸς πατήρ with the observation : "Il faut évidemment donner un sense large à ce mot". In consequence πατήρ would have to be understood as meaning "grandfather", which after all is not entirely impossible.

δηναιά : presumably adverbially, "a long time ago"; Roussel reads it adjectivally (ἱρά δηναιά).

37-38 ἀπ'αὐτῆς Μέμφιδος : Memphis was the centre of the cult of Isis and Sarapis. It was from there that Sarapis came to Alexandria. ἦλθον δὲ ἐπὶ Μέμφιν τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς Ἰσιδος is what Xenophon of Ephesus says (IV 1). The manifestations of Isis originate from a stele in Memphis : τὰδε ἐγράφη ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐν Μέμφει (§ 1). In Thessalonike Isis bears the epithet of Μεμφίτις (I.G. X 2, 1 No. 102). Tetratia Isias, a woman worshipper of Isis from Ravenna, bears *Memphius* as her signum (Vidman 586). In Rome a priest dedicates a *sigil-*

lu(m) memphiticu(m) [Vidman 410]. A *Sortis* (presumably *Fortunae signum memphiticum*) is mentioned in Tarracina (Vidman 510). A devotee is described as a *vere Memfiana* (Vidman 424). The prophet Panchrates, whose magic skills impressed Hadrian, boasted of coming from Memphis, cf. P.G.M. IV 2447; *RE* 18 (2) 2071. Alongside Memphis other famous Egyptian cultic centres are mentioned in Delos: Taposiris (C.E. 142 = I.d.D. 2064), Canopus (C.E. 157, 199 = I.d.D. 2129 and 2176) and Bubastis (C.E. 200/1 = I.d.D. 2186 and 2110).

νηι πολυζύγῳι : a turn of phrase used only once in Homer (*B* 293).

ἤλυθεν ἄστῳ : Homeric accusative of direction without εἰς.

38-39 ἄστῳ Φοίβου : Delos; formed in line with Homeric *Πριάμοιο ἄστῳ*.

39 εἰῶι : thus the stone : metre and meaning demand the reading εἰῶι. The ι is a consonantal glide; many examples in Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1900) pp. 46-7 (5).

ἀέκων ἵδρυσε μελάθρῳι : He placed the statue in a rented room. This he did reluctantly : he would have preferred to place the statue in a temple straight away.

μελάθρῳι : It was a rented room, cf. line 15 above.

40 θυέεσσιν ἀρέσσατο : He propitiated the god with generous offerings of incense; cf. Hesych α, ἀρέσσατο · ἡϋφρανεν and note on lines 63/5 below, also Roussel p. 286.

40-41 τὸν μὲν ἄρ'αἰὼν γηραιὸν κατέπεφνε : "Aion killed him as an old man". Since αἰὼν means "life" we have here a catachrestic usage. Cf. lines 46-7 ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ τὸν γηραλέον λίπε μοῖρα "when, as an old man, the μοῖρα left him", with similar catachresis since μοῖρα means "fate, death-lot". It looks as if Maiistas confused the meanings of αἰὼν and μοῖρα; cf. e.g. *E* 685 and *η* 224 λίποι αἰὼν. *Π* 453 ἐπὴν δὴ τὸν γε λίπηι ψυχὴ τε καὶ αἰὼν and, on the other hand, *Π* 849

μοῖρ' ὀλόη ... ἔκτανεν. *E* 83 ἔλλαβε ... θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή. *M* 116. *P* 478. *Σ* 119. *ρ* 326; etc. Homeric language was an unfamiliar idiom to Maiistas.⁷

41 *τεράμνῳ* : in his provisional sanctuary. The word is first attested in Euripides.

42 *θυηπολέεν* : The word is likewise first attested in the tragedians. It is possible that Maiistas had the Doric infinitive in his ear as a poetic form from Theocritus.

ἐπίπανχῳ is elsewhere attested only in Theocritus 17, 104. One can also write *ὦι ἔπι πάγχῳ γήθησαν*, *cf.* Apoll. Rhod. III 511 *ἔῃ ἐπὶ πάγχῳ πέποιθεν ἡγορέῃ*.

43 *γήθησαν θέραπες* : The community was pleased with him. Lucius requests a priest “famous for his observance of the religious rules” (*religionis observatione famosus*, Apul. XI 21, 2) to perform the consecration. In Anaphe a priest of Sarapis is honoured because the gods were pleased with his zeal in their service : *ὥς δόξαν ἤμεν πᾶσιν ἅμιν χαίρεν ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις αὐτοῦ τὸς θεός* (Vidman 136).

θέραπες : poetic form of *θεράποντες*, *cf.* Eur. *Ion* 94 ἀλλ', ὦ Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες. Here, presumably, the community which met at the Sarapieion A; they call themselves οἱ θεραπεύοντες in the inscrip-

⁷ I stick to this sentence in spite of the critique practised by P. Vidal-Naquet in his valuable review of the German edition of my book. He says (*Rev. phil.* 92, 1966, 144) : “(Maiistas) aurait interverti les sens d’αἰών et de μοῖρα. Mais ces deux mots sont placés sur le même plan, avec des sens très voisins, dès Euripide (*Héraclides*, 898-900)”. In Euripides we have :

πολλὰ γὰρ τίκτει Μοῖρα τελεσσιδάτειρ

Αἰὼν τε Χρόνου παῖς.

Euripides use of language is of course entirely correct, unlike that of Maiistas : Moira is the goddess of fate who makes everything come to an end and can therefore, in a different context, also mean death; Aion is a long time, the period of a long life. It is impossible to think that Aion (later “eternity”) could kill or that Moira could abandon a human being.

tion C.E. 2b (I.G. XI 4, Nos. 1217). In the Delian cult there was also a group which was called *θεραπευταί*⁸; cf. Roussel pp. 253 ff. In addition there were other groups, principally the *μελανηφόροι*.⁹

44 *εἰκώ* : This contraction in the singular accusative is elsewhere attested only in Aesch. *Sept.* 559, Eur. *Med.* 1162 and Herodotus 7, 69.

νειῶι instead of *νηῶι* cf. note on line 10 above, and verses 49, 59, 93 below.

43-46

*τοῦ μέγ κλύες εὐξαμένοιο
εἰκὼ χαλκείην νειῶι θέμεν εὔ δὲ τέλεσσαι
ἔννυχος ANTIΠΑΤΡΟΙΟ καθυπνώνοντι φαανθείς
δεμνίωι ἥνωγες τελέσαι χρέος.*

These verses present various difficulties. To start with, *κλύες* and *ἥνωγες* are standing asyndetically alongside each other. Wilamowitz therefore changed *καθυπνώνοντι* into *καὶ ὑπνώνοντι*, relating *Ἀντιπάτροιο* to *τοῦ*. The sentence would then read : “You heard Antipatros as he ...and at night you appeared to the sleeper and commanded him ...”. But who is this Antipatros? The passage refers to Demetrius: the only other persons mentioned both in the prose text and in the poem are Apollonius I, who introduced Sarapis to Delos, and Apollonius II, who built the Sarapieion. This leaves no room for Antipatros, even though Longo has again argued in detail that Antipatros should be understood as a proper name. Could Demetrius’s other name have been Antipatros? Or could the stone-engraver have made a mistake?

⁸ CE 41 = I.G. XI 4, 1215; CE 42 = I.G. XI 4, 1062; CE 133e = I.d.D. 2169; CE 175B and D = I.d.D. 2618 and 2620.

⁹ CE 95 = I.d.D. 2075; CE 98 = Michel 1159 = I.d.D. 2076; cf. CE 26 = I.G. XI 4, 2228; CE 58 = I.G. XI 4, 1249; CE 131 = Syll.³ 977a = Michel 1166 = I.d.D. 2085; CE 133c and d = I.d.D. 2167/8; CE 173 = I.d.D. 2087/8. Cf. RE XV 408f., s.v. *Melanephoroi* (Poland); U.P.Z. 8, 19; Cumont 241 (78); Robert, *Hellenica* VI 9f. *Therapeutes* and *Melanephores* are mentioned together in : CE 21 = I.G. XI 4, 1226; CE 105 = I.d.D. 2077; CE 115 = I.d.D. 2078; CE 117 = I.d.D. 2079; CE 151 = I.d.D. 2080; CE 160 = I.d.D. 2039.

A. Wilhelm tried to read *ANTIΠΑΤΡΟΣΔΕ*
for *ANTIΠΑΤΡΟΙΟ*,

ἐννυχος ἀντὶ πατρός δὲ καθυπνώνοντι φαανθείς.

This conjecture provides for three different interpretations :

(a) ἀντὶ πατρός “facing the father”. Sarapis and Apollonius had both appeared to Demetrius, and Sarapis had stood facing the father.

(b) ἀντὶ πατρός “in the place of the father”. Sarapis had appeared to Demetrius in his father’s guise.

(c) ἀντὶ πατρός could be brought into an inner connection with εἰκῶν. Demetrius was to erect a statue to redeem a pledge made presumably by Apollonius. Wilhelm, who prefers interpretation (c), believes that this was a statue of Sarapis.

Van Groningen (*Mnemosyne* IV 4, 1951, 302; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1953, 147) follows a different line from Wilhelm : he reads *ANTIΠΑΤΡΟΙΟ* as the genitive of the adjective ἀντίπατρος and translates it as “viva effigies patris mortui”.

Merkelbach assumes that a word ἀντίπατρος existed, in the meaning “who has moved into the place of his father, who is performing his father’s service” and conjectures : ἐννυχος ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ καθυπνώνοντι φαάνθεις “At night you appeared to the sleeper who was performing the service of his father”. In the Mithraeum of Dura Europos there is a religious rank ἀντίπατρος or ἀντιπάτηρ (Vermaseren Nos. 57 and 63). I have provisionally accepted this conjecture for the text : Apollonius had left his son behind as a priest (λίπεν ... υἱα θυηπολέον Δημήτριον). The son had performed his father’s office so well that the community rejoiced in his service (γῆθησαν θέραπες). He had also instructed his son in the doctrines of the inherited faith (ἐσθλὰ διδάχθεις ἐκ πατρός). He had thus been a worthy successor of his father in every respect and could therefore be honoured by a nocturnal appearance of Sarapis.

Finally P. Vidal-Naquet (*Rev. phil.* 92, 1966, 144) has proposed the reading τέλεσσας instead of τέλεσαι (“le couple μὲν ... δὲ impose, me semble-t-il, cette correction”), to be followed by Wilhelm’s reading ἀντὶ πατρός δὲ. This would result in a syntactically very satisfactory text : τοῦ μὲν κλύες εὐξαμένοιο | εἰκὼ χαλκείην νειῶι θέμεν, εὖ δὲ τέλεσσας· | ἐννυχος ἀντὶ πατρός δὲ καθυπνώνοντι φαανθείς | δεμνίῳ ἡνωγες τελέσαι χρέος.

Unfortunately this reading would give rise to great difficulty in terms of contents, since 44 *τέλεσσας* would imply that the god has fulfilled Demetrius's wish. But this was not so : the temple was only built in the next generation and after a renewed dream appearance (verses 53 ff.). Moreover, 44 *τέλεσσας* (instead of *τέλεσσαι*) would have been said by the god and 46 *τέλεσαι* by the priest Demetrius. The meaning of the word, therefore, would be "complete" in 44 but "fulfil, redeem" (a debt, a pledge) in 46.

On the basis of the contents I relate verses 43-6 to the account of Apollonius II, as given in the prose version, lines 9-11. Sarapis, it is stated there, allowed his pious servant Demetrius to put up a statue of himself *διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐστεφανώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνι χαλκεῖ*. Verses 43-6 give a more extensive account of the affair.

Roussel, too, connects the two accounts with each other, but Wilhelm disputes the equation. In his view (p. 8 ff.) the two accounts refer to two different statues—the prose version to a statue of Demetrius and the verses to one of Sarapis. Wilhelm explains at length why he postulates two separate statues :

The wording of the two accounts (he argues) rules out a reference to one and the same statue. The statue of Demetrius (in the prose account) had been erected at Sarapis's behest, while the statue in the verse passage had been put up in fulfilment of a pledge by Demetrius. One statue, therefore, had been put up on the grounds of a vow while the other had been put up by divine command. These (Wilhelm argues) are two different causes and the statues, in consequence, cannot be identical. "... what argues against any attempt to reconcile the statements of the account and that of the poem concerning the *εἰκὼν χαλκῇ* is the fact that Demetrius's honouring by the god by way of an *εἰκόνι χαλκῇ* is based in the account on a decision by the god, whereas the erection of the rather unspecified *εἰκὼν χαλκῇ* in the poem is based upon a vow by Demetrius. This circumstance seems to me so essential that I am inclined to refrain from equating the *εἰκὼν χαλκῇ* of the account and that of the poem, interpreting the former as an *εἰκὼν* of Demetrius and the latter as an *εἰκὼν* of the deity" (Wilhelm p. 9).

If each of the two versions of the chronicle mentions one of the two statues only, Wilhelm continues his argument, then this is due to their different approach. "Apollonius's account represents the story of Apol-

lonius as a sequence of actions performed by his grandfather Apollonius I, by his father Demetrius, and by himself, with the support of the deity...; Apollonius was therefore anxious to emphasize in his account the honour which the god had bestowed upon his father Demetrius. The aretalogy pursued another object : even though it ... relates the story of the temple in the form of the story of its custodians, its real objective is the glorification of the god's effectiveness as shown in actions. ...To the aretalogist ... the erection of an εἰκὼν χαλκῇ of the god, based on a vow by Demetrius and a command of Sarapis, must have been more important than Demetrius's distinction by an εἰκόني χαλκεῖ, if this in fact meant the erection of his own effigy by the god".

The vow to erect a statue of Sarapis had probably first been taken by Apollonius I, though it had not been implemented by him. Demetrius (Wilhelm argues) had later redeemed his father's pledge. This is one possibility arising from the conjecture ἀντὶ πατρός in line 45; cf. under (c) above.

Wilhelm's last objection does not stand up to scrutiny, implying as it does that Apollonius I had failed to redeem a vow. But the chronicle reveals a family who had performed their services over three generations, even in the face of adverse circumstances. An unredeemed vow would not fit into that picture.

The first objections raised by Wilhelm are weightier. There is no doubt that the two accounts differ in their formulation. From this Wilhelm concluded that the statues referred to are two different statues. If this were so then the two versions would diverge on this important point; but in every other particular of the history of the temple the prose version and the poem are in substantial agreement. One would therefore be entitled, initially, to assume that the reference is to one and the same statue.

Wilhelm explains the putative difference by referring to the different objectives of the two accounts : Apollonius II had wanted to emphasize his family's services to the temple whereas Maiistas had wished to emphasize the god's miraculous intervention in its support. But this argument does not sufficiently explain why each of the two accounts mentions only one statue. Apollonius II, it is suggested, omitted to mention the statue which his father had vowed to erect to Sarapis; but would not such a votive gift be counted among the services which his family could

pride itself on? Maiistas, it is suggested, omitted the statue which Sarapis had commanded to be made of his devout servant; but would not such a command be more fittingly included in an aretalogy than a god's reminder that a vow remained to be implemented?

If the reference really were to a statue of Sarapis one would expect ἄγαλμα; εἰκὼν is the effigy of a human. The two terms—at least in prose—are strictly distinguished (J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1966, 283; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11/2, 1960, 124 n. 2).

The two accounts, therefore, refer to the same statue but differ in their formulation. In the prose version Sarapis commanded that a statue be put up to Demetrius. In the verse version he answered Demetrius's prayer asking for a statue of himself and commanded him to set up such a statue. εὐχομαι here has the meaning of "ask, pray"; in the epic language used by Maiistas this is a common meaning of the word. Demetrius was not allowed to fulfil his wish himself; only when the deity had acceded to his wish was it possible to implement it. Cf. the note to lines 9-10 above.

This then explains why the two versions are not entirely in agreement in their formulations. The verses relate the entire event : Demetrius desires a statue and the god meets his request. Apollonius's account, on the other hand only refers to the god's command. To a Greek the account presented by Maiistas would have sounded more familiar than that of Apollonius.

46 χρέος : Either in the meaning of χρή "it is (now) necessary" or χρέος "duty, obligation"; Sarapis having acceded to the request, Demetrius was now obliged to put up his own statue. Cf. lines 14 and 17 above for the categorical δεῖ.

46-65 *The Building of the Temple*

47 γηραλέον : Cf. notes on lines 11 and 6 above.

λίπε μοῖρα : Cf. note on lines 40-41.

47-48 ἐσθλὰ διδασχθεῖς ἐκ πατρός : His father had taught him how to perform the rites. Cf. lines 5, 7, 12 and 42 above.

48 **μεγάλως σέβεν ιερά :** Cf. lines 5, 8, 12, 40, 42 above. A decree from Anaphe commends a priest's services as follows : *ἐπεὶ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν Σεράπιος καὶ Ἴσιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἰάσων Ἰάσωνος τὰν ποθεδρίαν καὶ τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀξίως ἀεὶ τῶν θεῶν κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν φαίνεται ποιούμενος καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς δέουσι χρόνοις ἐπιτελῶν, ὡς δόξαν ἡμεν πᾶσιν ἀμὴν χαῖρεν ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις αὐτοῦ τὸς θεὸς καὶ ἀδέεως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεραίρεσθαι ...* (Vidman 136).

48-49 **πᾶν δὲ κατ' ἡμᾶρ σὰς ἀρετὰς ᾗιδεν :** Apollonius sang daily paeans of praise about his god's miracles. Aelius Aristides says of Sarapis (20, II p. 358 Keil) : *πῶς οὖν οὐ τοῦτον ἀνακηρύττειν χρή ἐν πανηγύρεσι τε καὶ πάσαις ἡμέραις κηδέμονα καὶ σωτήρα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, αὐτάρκη θεόν;* In Rome a *ἱερὰ τάξις τῶν Παιανιστῶν τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Διὸς Ἥλιου μεγάλου Σαράπιδος* is attested (Vidman 384 = Moretti, *I. gr. urb. R.* 77). Chairemon reports that the priests in Egypt sang their gods' praises four times a day (in Porphyrius, *De abstin.* IV 8). Outside Egypt aretalogies of Egyptian deities have been found in Eretria (Vidman 88), Gomphoi (Vidman 92), Ios (I. G. XII 5,14), Andros (I.G. XII 5, 739), Kyme (Salač, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 51, 1927, 378 ff. = Roussel, *Rev. et. gr.* 42, 1929, 137 ff. = Peek, 122), Kios (Vidman 325), Salonika (I.G.X. 2, 1 Nos. 254 and 255, commentary by R. Merkelbach, *Zeitschr. f. Papyrologie u. Epigraphik* 10, 1973, 49-54). The god's miracles were collected in special books; cf. Artemidorus II 44, Strabo XVII 1, 17 p. 801; Ael. Aristides (29, II p. 361 Keil); Pap. Oxy. 1382. Cf. also O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (1909) 118 ff.

Other *aretalogoi* are recorded on Delos : C.E. 60 = I.G. XI 4, 1263 and C.E. 119 = I.d.D. 2072 = Syll.³ 1133. As for bibliography on aretalogies, mention should be made of R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (1906) 1 fff.; Weinreich, *l.c.*; A. Kiefer, *Aretalogische Studien*, Leipzig 1929; Aly, *RE Suppl.* VI 13 (s.v. Aretalogoi).

49-53 Apollonius asks Sarapis to indicate a suitable spot for the temple; cf. line 16 above. He wants to see Sarapis set up in a temple of his own, protected against the indignities to which the god was exposed in his temporary quarters. All the requests made here by Apollonius appear as a command by Sarapis in the prose account; cf. notes on lines 14 and 43-6.

50 ἀριφραδέως attested elsewhere only in Theocritus 25, 175.

51 ἔννυχος : thus the stone. C. E. Robin conjectures the evidently correct ἔννυχον (in Powell 245). The word must refer to Sarapis, not to Apollonius : the god is to answer the query in a dream.

52 σηκῶι : In a real temple; cf. Eur. *Rhesos* 501 ὃς εἰς Ἀθήνας σηκὸν ἔννυχος μολών.

ἄλλυδις ἄλλοδαπῶι (ἐν οὐδαι) : In Homer we have ἄλλυδις ἄλλῃι.

53-54 ἀκλέα χῶρον ὄντα πάρος καὶ ἄσημον : The plot (χῶρος) was not built on and had long served as a tip for every kind of refuse. Only the temple of Sarapis lent the plot respectability and fame; cf. the parallels listed in connection with lines 18-19 above. Ph. Bruneau interprets the passage differently (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* Suppl. I, 1973, 135) : “Même dans un quartier construit, un lopin de terre non bâti, et en pente, n’échappait pas à la pollution. C’était le cas de l’emplacement du futur Sarapieion A. Mais cela ne signifie nullement que la position fût misérable; tout en contraire, ... le Quartier de l’Inopos apparaît, après la région du Sanctuaire d’Apollon, comme la zone la plus urbanisée de Délos à l’époque de l’Indépendance. Le lieu choisi par Sarapis n’était donc pas si ἀκλέης que Maiistas se plaît à le proclamer. ... Les expressions employées dans la ‘Chronique’ perdent alors de leur force; le contexte épigraphique et archéologique prouve que la saleté et la médiocrité du lieu n’étaient qu’une demi-réalité et que nous avons affaire à un thème aréatalogique...”. χῶρος is identical with the τόπος in line 18 : it means the purchased plot only and not the wider surroundings of the Sarapieion. It is to χῶρος that the adjectives ἀκλέα and ἄσημον refer. The plot was not built on, and the elegant neighbourhood had dumped all its refuse there. This refuse was no demi-réalité, nor was it an “aréatalogical” invention of Maiistas; the refuse was lying on the plot, disfiguring it. Maiistas was entirely justified in describing it as ἀκλέα and ἄσημον. Especially in a well-kept residential neighbourhood would a plot on which all kinds of refuse had accumulated strike one as unpleasant.

54 πεπληθότα λύθρῳι : “Full of clotted blood” if the words are

used in their Homeric meaning. But Maiistas presumably only means “full of refuse, full of dirt”. The prose version (line 18-19) states clearly :
ὁ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος ἦν κόπρου μεστός.

56 εὐνήι ἐπιπρομολῶν : The dreamer believes that the god has approached his bed. In prose the words used for this approaching are ἐφιστάναι (especially in the participle, ἐπιστάς) and παριστάναι. Cf. Wikenhauser, *Die Traumgesichte des Neuen Testaments*, in “*Pisciculi F.J. Dölger dargeboten*” (Münster 1939) 320-33; L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI 544. In the Sarapis aretalogy of Thessalonica we find (I.G. X 2, 1 No. 255) : ἔδοξε καθ’ ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα παρ’ αὐτὸν Σάραπιν ἐπιτάξαι (κτλ.). Cf. note on verse 77 below.

ἐγρεο : This invocation is related to the situation, but it is also a *symbolon* of the cult of Isis (attested also elsewhere as a ritual invocation, cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 340; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 47, 162). Gregorius is the sign of Isis mystics : Vidman 586, 593, 620. Cf. also Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (1970) 130 ff.

56-57 μέσσα παστάδος ἀμφὶ θύρεθρα : Cf. note on lines 20-21 above.

57-58 εἶσιδε γράμμα τυπωθὲν τυτθῆς ἐκ βύβλοιο : There was a note offering a rubbish tip plot for sale. The epic style has an odd ring. The lettering on the note was not cursive : each letter was individually “impressed” on the papyrus, as though by a stone mason.

58 τό σε φρονέοντα διδάξει : which will instruct you if you understand it correctly.

59 ὀππηι μοι : literally picks up the question of 50 ὀππηι σοι δέιμειν.

ἐπικλεής first attested in Apoll. Rhod. VI 1472.

60 θαμβήσας ἀναέγρετο : The god’s epiphany alarms the believer but also lends him strength. Cf. Lucius’s awakening after Isis had appeared to him in his dream : *nec mora, cum somno protinus absolutus pavore et gaudio ac dein sudore nimio permixtus exurgo* (Apul. XI 7).

βάς δὲ μάλ' ὤκνῳς : Apollonius immediately obeys the god's command; cf. Apul. XI 21 ... *ac neque vocatus morari nec non iussus festinare deberem*.

61 ἀσπασίως ἴδε γράμμα : The dream had not deceived him. Cf. Apul. XI 13 : *at sacerdos ... nocturni commonefactus oraculi miratusque congruentiam mandati muneris ... Nec me fefellit caeleste promissum*. The agreement of dream and reality convinces Apollonius that the dream had been sent by the god. The sequence of events was probably somewhat different; cf. p. 3 above.

61-62 ὥπασεν ἀργυραμοιβὸν τιμὴν οὗ κτέαρ ἔσκε : He paid the purchase price. Again a commonplace event is rendered in epic style. It is difficult to give an exact translation. ἀργυραμοιβός is normally the money-changer, the banker; here the word is used adjectivally. More readily understandable would be ἀργυραμοιβῶι : and he gave the estate agent the price for which the plot was for sale. κτέαρ : The singular is here first attested; in Homer we have κτεάτεσσιν.

62 σέθεν θ' ἄμα βουλομένοιο : Construction proceeded rapidly because Sarapis willed it. When the city of Colophon enlarged its ring of walls the gods were asked for a rapid conclusion (F. G. Maier, *Griech. Mauerbauinschriften* I [1959] No. 69, lines 12 ff.) : ἵνα δὲ συντελῇται κατὰ τάχος τὸμ μὲν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερέας καὶ τὸμ πρύτανιν [με]τὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἀποδειχθέντων ἐν τῶιδε τῶι ψηφίσματι ... εὐξασθαι τῶι Διὶ τῶι Σωτῆρι καὶ τῶι Ποσειδῶνι τῶι Ἀσφαλείῳ καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Κλαρίῳ καὶ τῇ Μητρὶ τῇ Ἀνταίῃ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἱ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν.

63 ῥηϊδίως : In divine lightness; cf. note to lines 22-23 above. Also Homer *Π* 690 = *P* 178; Hesiod, *Theogony* 90, 254, 442 f.; *Erga* 5-7.

63-65 Roussel pp. 19-32 gives an accurate inventory of the temple. Roussel's plan is here reproduced as fig. 1; the letters placed in brackets in the following description refer to that plan.

63 νεῖδς : It was a rather small and modest structure (A). It was 4.10 m ($13\frac{1}{2}$ ft) deep and 3.20 m ($10\frac{1}{2}$ ft) wide. The walls were built of broken stones and subsequently rendered. The location of the ritual image is no longer identifiable. Below the temple there was a crypt 1.10m (just over $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft) wide, 2.30 m ($7\frac{1}{2}$ ft) deep and 1.65 m ($5\frac{1}{2}$ ft) high; it was only just possible to walk upright in it. Access to it was by a staircase at the southern long wall of the temple; the staircase was low and one had to duck to walk up or down it. The only source of light in the crypt was the small amount reaching it from the staircase. At the eastern end of the crypt was a fount with the holy water of Sarapis; the fount was supplied by a channel from the Inopus reservoir. The Inopus has been equated with the Nile, *cf.* Callimachus *Hymn.* III 171 ἀγχόθι πηγᾶων Αἰγυπτίου Ἴνωποῖο and IV 206-8 ἔζητο δ' Ἴνωποῖο παρὰ ῥόον ὃν τε βάθιστον | γαῖα τότ' ἐξανίησιν, ὅτε πλήθοντι ῥέεθρῳ | Νεῖλος ἀπὸ κρημνοῖο κατέρχεται Αἰθιοπῆος; also Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* (Paris 1970) 17, note 1.

θυοέντες βωμοί : In addition to the altar outside the temple (B) there were two more altars in the court (F and H). Offerings of incense were customary in the cult of the Egyptian deities; *cf.* e. g. the frescoes from the Temple of Isis at Herculaneum (Tran Tam Thin, Plates 23-4; Leipoldt, Figs. 53-4).

64 τέμενος : The temple precinct included a courtyard (maximum depth 12 m = $39\frac{1}{2}$ ft, maximum width 6 m = just under 20 ft) a portico (C) and two spacious rooms (E and D).

μέλαθρον : The dining hall (E) had a floorspace of about 40 m² = 430 sq. ft. If this was large enough for a ritual meal the community cannot have been very numerous.

65 ἔδρανα : Some of the marble seats survive in the dining hall; they bear votive inscriptions (C. E. 2 = I.G. XI 4, 1216-22).

κλισμοί : Eating couches with several seats, *cf.* L. Robert, *Archeol. Ephem.* 1969, 13.

θεοκλήτους ἐπὶ δαΐτας : The god invites to the feast. καλεῖ σε ὁ θεὸς εἰς κλείνην γεινο(μένην) ἐν τῷ Θοηρείῳ αὐριον ἀπὸ ὤρ(ας) θ' (P. Colon. inv. 2555; L. Koenen, *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 1, 1967, 121-126); εἰ καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν καλεῖ, καὶ κοινὴν καὶ ἰσότιμον παρέχει τράπεζαν τοῖς ὀποθενοῦν ἀφικνουμένοις ... (Zeus of Panamara; J. Hatzfeld, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 51, 1927, 73 f. and especially P. Roussel, *ib.*, p. 135).

In Egypt many invitations to the *kline* have been preserved *cf.* e.g. Pap. Oxy. 1755 = M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci* (1964) No. 145 : ἐρωτᾷ σε Ἀπίων δειπνήσαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Σαραπίου εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ ὥρας θ'; Pap. Oxy. 110 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 99 = Vandoni nr. 140 : ἐρωτᾷ σε Χαιρήμων δειπνήσαι εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ ...

These invitations were often for religious feast days. A relief from Delos shows Sarapis and Isis feasting, reclining on a *kline* (Ph. Bruneau, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 92, 1968, 223-5); other such monuments are recorded in L. Castiglione, *Acta ant. Hung.* 9, 1961, 287-303. In Saloniki Aulus Papius Chilo set up his *συνκλίται* a feasting room (Vidman 109); *cf.* also Vidman 120 (Philippi), 265 (Thasos), 384 (Rome), 720 (Cologne), C.E. 20 = I.G. XI 4, 1223 (Delos). Aelius Aristides (27 II p. 360 Keil) says about these ritual feasts : καὶ τοίνυν καὶ θυσιαῶν μόνῳ τούτῳ θεῷ διαφερόντως κοινωνοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἀκριβῆ κοινωνίαν, καλοῦντές τε ἐφ' ἐστίαν καὶ προιστάμενοι δαιτυμόνα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐστιάτορα, ὥστε ἄλλων ἄλλους ἐράνους πληρούντων κοινὸς ἀπάντων ἐράνων οὗτός ἐστι πληρωτής, συμποσιάρχου τάξιν ἔχων τοῖς ἀεὶ κατ' αὐτὸν συλλεγομένοις.

The community met in the dining hall (E). There the ritual meal was eaten; only the initiated were permitted to take part; *cf.* Apul. XI 24, 5; Pap. Mich. VIII 511, 16 ff. All ancient mystic religions made provision for such feasts; *cf.* the Dionysian *στιβάδες*, the communion of the Mithraic devotees, the agape (love feasts) of the early Christians. The tomb of the Sabazios mystic Vincentius contains a representation of such a feast : the woman mystic Vibia is introduced, in the beyond, into the circle of the blessed and participates in a meal in their midst; *cf.* the reproduction and description in Nilsson, *Griech. Religion* II² 663; Cumont p. 60 and *Lux Perpetua* p. 257.

The *kline*, moreover, served as the social centre of the community. For the literature on ritual meals *cf.* Roussel 285; Cumont p. 220 (43); Roussel, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 51, 1927, 131-5; H. Youtie, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 41, 1948, 9-29 = *Scriptiunculae* I (1973) 487-509; L. Koenen, *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 1, 1967, 121-6; L. Robert, *Arch. Ephem.* 1969, 7-14.

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66 καὶ τότε δὴ ῥα : Connective formula; *cf.* line 35.

κακὸς Φθόνος ἔμβαλε λύσσαν : Envy had possessed the accusers and bereft them of their reason; they resembled men possessed. This is a familiar literary trope; *cf.* e.g. Euripides fr. 403 Nauck τίς ἄρα μήτηρ ἢ πατήρ κακὸν μέγα βροτοῖς ἔφυσε τὸν δυσώυμον Φθόνον; the λύσσα (rabies; the madness of dogs and wolves, etymologically derived from λύκος) is the senseless, destructive fury of the accusers. Maiistas was writing an aretology : this literary genre is not concerned with juridical facts. There is no indication of how the charge was justified or why it did not succeed. The reader is merely told : Evil men, blinded by envy, attacked Sarapis. But envy is a fundamental evil : Seth had earlier been led by it to rebel against Osiris : ὡς δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πάντα πράγματα ταραξας ἐνέπλησε κακῶν γῆν ὁμοῦ τε πᾶσαν καὶ θάλασσαν. But Seth was punished : εἴτα δίκην ἔδωκεν (Plutarch, *Is.* 27). These people will likewise fail with their accusation : νικᾷ ὁ Σέραπιδι τὸν Φθόνον (I.G. XIV 2413, 4).

An interesting parallel for the obstruction of outlandish cults is found in an inscription from Rhamnus (J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Paris 1954, p. 140 No. 24; Vidal-Naquet, *Rev. phil.* 92, 1966, 145). There certain people (τινές, *cf.* note on line 23 above) had prevented a man from Antioch from performing the cult of Agdistis; the *boule* decided that such obstruction was inadmissible.

The inscription makes no mention of the law or regulation on which the charge was based; presumably it was the law examined by P. Foucart in his *Associations religieuses*, Paris 1873, pp. 127 ff. : If foreigners wish to erect a temple to their deities this requires the approval of the popular assembly.

One would therefore have to assume that Apollonius omitted to obtain the appropriate permit. In any event, the accusers laid a public charge, possibly on the grounds *ὅτι Ἀπολλώνιος ξένους νομίζει θεούς*.

As, prior to coming to its decision, the court held a local hearing at the Sarapieion it is also possible that Apollonius was charged with another offence, such as having built the temple partially on the neighbouring plot; cf. note on line 81.

We do not know who his enemies were. What were their motives? Foucart assumes rivalry and private hostility : *Intentatur causa publica... nullo sane erga Sarapidem odio, quem universi Graeci gratia Ptolemaeorum libenter acceperant, sed privata individua in sacerdotem qui stipes cogendo et reditus dei augendo ditiescebat* (in the commentary on the I.G.). Roussel doubts that it was a case of private hostility; he believes that conservative circles in Delos laid the charge : “Rien n'autorise à croire qu'il existait alors un établissement rival, lequel voulut écarter la concurrence. Le sacerdoce apollinien craignait-il qu'une notable portion des offrandes fût détournée de ses temples? L'hypothèse est possible; mais peut-être n'est-il pas besoin, quoi qu'on nous en dise, de soupçonner des motifs de bas intérêt. Dans toutes les villes grecques, les citoyens conservateurs répugnèrent à l'introduction des cultes nouveaux. On admet que l'influence des Ptolémées ouvrit, si je puis dire, une route royale à Sarapis. J'ai cherché en vain la moindre preuve qu'à Délos cette influence se soit exercée dans ce sens.... La majorité des Déliens, attaché à cette religion d'Apollon qui avait illustré leur terre, dut être pendant longtemps rebelle à son prestige. ... D'autre part la population cosmopolite avait déjà envahi l'île sainte; si elle n'avait nul droit politique, peut-être disposait-elle du moins de quelque influence. L'attaque dirigée contre Apollonios apparaît donc comme un dernier effort de réaction” (P. 252).

It might be useful, for a comparison, to look at the inscription of the Heracleists from Tyre (from the period of Athenian suzerainty¹⁰). This guild sent a delegate to Athens to arrange for permission for the community to erect a temple to their Hercules of Tyre. The spokesman explained that the foundation of the temple would serve religious aims exclu-

¹⁰ Durrbach 85 = I.d.D. 1519.

sively; it would serve the veneration of Hercules who was the benefactor of mankind par excellence (ὅπως δοθῇ αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν ᾧ κατασκευάσουσιν τέμενος Ἡρακλέους τοῦ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν παραιτίου γεγονότος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. He also pointed out that Hercules had long been the principal deity of Tyre (ἀρχηγοῦ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχοντος). He finally gave an assurance that his community were loyal supporters of the Athenian state (ἐμφανίσας τε τὴν τῆς συνόδου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοιαν).

To understand Apollonius's situation let us try to transpose the arguments of the Tyrian devotees of Hercules to the position of the followers of Sarapis. The arguments, therefore, would go like this : (a) Sarapis is the benefactor of humanity; (b) he is the great god of (Ptolemaic) Egypt; (c) Apollonius loyally supports the Delian state.

The difference emerges clearly : Hercules of Tyre, politically speaking, was an insignificant god whereas Sarapis at the end of the third century B.C. might still be seen as a deity of the Ptolemaic great power. There could therefore be legitimate doubts on whether a priest of this deity would invariably act loyally vis-à-vis the Delian commonwealth. Moreover, official approval for the Delian temple of Sarapis might suggest a friendly gesture towards Egypt. And this might have led to complications with Macedon which then commanded the Island League. Added to all this was the religious element as described by Roussel. Should Delos allow a temple to a god behind whom the strange world of the Egyptian faith lay hidden? Must not authorization for a temple to this deity seem like an act of blasphemy to a conservative? Such political and religious considerations may have given rise to the laying of the charge. Why nevertheless it failed we do not know. Perhaps it was fear of offending the Ptolemies politically, or perhaps it was a case of commercial policy : Delos's reputation as a generous trade centre in the eastern Mediterranean was not to be jeopardized by any action against the temple of Sarapis.

Even though the charge against Apollonius failed, the conflict about the temple erected by him continued to smoulder : immediately the island returned under Athenian rule an attempt was made to close the temple. The priest at the time, Demetrius of Rhenaia—probably a son of Apollonius II—successfully appealed to the Romans¹¹. This renewed

¹¹ C.E. 14 = Syll.³ 664 = Durrbach 77 = I.d.D. 1510 = Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969) nr. 5.

quarrel is the more astonishing as the cult of the Egyptian deities had been officially introduced to Delos since 180 (*cf.* Roussel pp. 255 ff). Various hypotheses can be put forward about the causes of this renewed conflict :

(a) Conservative circles, like the ones who had laid the charge against Apollonius II, did not approve of the official recognition of the cult of Sarapis. They seized the opportunity of a change in political conditions for venting their displeasure. Admittedly, action was no longer possible against a cult sanctioned by the state, but it might have seemed feasible to conduct a successful suit against the existing private temple. This would have also been an indirect blow against the official cult.

(b) Since the days of Apollonius II the cult of Sarapis had gained many adherents in Delos; it is possible that the Delian state took over control of the cult in order to keep a more effective check on this expansion (*cf.* Roussel p. 256). The still existing private cult could have impaired the full effect of this measure, and that is why the old temple was to be closed down.

(c) Finally there is the possibility of private hostility surviving across the generations; for a private quarrel within the Egyptian community in Athens *cf.* Vidman 33a and J.-L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1966, 167.

(a) would seem the most likely hypothesis.

67 δίκη ἀνεμώλιω ἐκλήϊσαν : They summoned Apollonius to court with a “windy” (unsubstantiated) accusation. δίκη in the meaning of “accusation” is a term from Attic (and hence also Delian) speech. ἀνεμώλιος is a Homeric vocable. ἐκλήϊσαν must be derived from Ion. κληίζω, Att. κλήιζω, which was sometimes used in the meaning of καλέω (Soph. *O.R.* 48; Xen., *Kyrup.* I 2, 1; Callim. *Hymn.* 4, 276; *cf.* κλητήρ “herald”). κλητήρες was the term for the witnesses who accompanied the accuser when he notified his opponent of his charge and summons; *cf.* J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* (1915) 804 f. The Homeric form ἐκλήϊσα belongs to κληίω “close”.

68 δοῖω : Indeclinable, probably to be referred to δίκη ἀνεμώλιω : they charged Apollonius with two different “windy” indictments; *cf.* notes to lines 24 and 25 above. Thus, for instance, (a) ὅτι ξένους νομίζει θεούς and (b) of allegedly building beyond the boundary of his

plot. Indictment (a) would have been a capital charge, punishable by death (69 *τι ... παθέειν*) and indictment (b) would have attracted a fine (*ἐκτείνειν ἀμοιβήν*). Wilhelm related *δοιῶ* to two representatives of the opposing party.

κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ θεσμὸν ἔτευχον : Maiistas had Hesiod in mind, *Erga* 265 *οἱ γ' αὐτῶι κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλωι κακὰ τεύχων*. A Greek of the early period would never have referred to an “evil law”, *κακὸς θεσμός*.

69 *τί χρῆ παθέειν* : Apollonius was threatened with the death penalty; cf. note on line 74; *τί παθέειν* is a highly euphemistic circumlocution.

ἐκ ... τίσαι (instead of *τείνειν*, from *τίνω*) with epic tmesis.

ἀμοιβήν : Compensation, fine, as in Homer *μ* 382 (the companions who had slaughtered the cattle of Helios, *τείσουσι βοῶν ἐπιεικέ' ἀμοιβήν*).

70 *θωῆς* : *θωή* “punishment”, Homer *N* 669, *β* 192; *θωῆ* Callim. *fr.* 195, 22. Here “fine”, cf. Syll.³ 58, 13 (Miletum) and 984, 14 *θοάζειν* “to punish” (Attica).

ἐγγράψαντα : probably to be referred to *θεσμόν* : “They produced an evil law, prescribing what he (the law-breaker, here Apollonius) was to suffer (i.e. death) or what fine (*ἀμοιβήν θωῆς*) he would have to pay”. Admittedly this is not good Greek since the *θεσμός* does not write itself. Wilhelm made the correction *ἐγγράψαντ<ε>* and related the word to *δοιῶ* (according to him the representatives of the prosecution).

70 f. *κακῶι θ' ὑπὸ δέϊματι ... περὶ κραδίην ἐλέλιζεν τάρβος θειοπόλοιο* : “With bad fright did fear make the priest's heart tremble greatly”.

70-71 *πᾶσαν ἡῶ τε νύκτας τε* : In Homer we have either *νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ* (*κ* 28) or *πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε* (*ι* 26). To Maiistas *ἡῶς* appears to have been a synonym of *ἡμέρα*.

71 *περὶ* is presumably to be understood in the epic manner : “very”.

The verse ending *περὶ κραδίην ἐλέλιξεν* is presumably a contamination of *Odyssey* ε 314 (*κῦμα*) *δεινὸν ἐπεσσύμενον, περὶ δὲ σχεδίην ἐλέλιξεν* and *Iliad B* 171 *ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵκανε*, *Ψ* 47 *ἔξετ' ἄχος κραδίην*.

72 *Θειοπόλος* : only here attested.

σταλάων from *σταλάω* = *σταλάσσω* to shed (tears) (*Apoll. Rhod.* IV 1064). Weeping was prescribed during prayer, in witness of true feeling; cf. the tears of Agamemnon praying in battle, *Homer* θ 245, and of Aias, *P* 648. In the cult of Isis tears during prayer were part of the ritual, as emerges from Apuleius (XI 1, 4 *lacrimoso vultu*; XI 24, 7 *lacrimis obortis*). Thessalus of Tralles similarly implores and thanks an Egyptian priest among tears, I prooem. 16 *κλαίων τῶν ποδῶν εἰχόμεν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* ; 19 *ἡγχαρίστουν κρουνηδόν μοι τῶν δακρύων φερομένων* (*ed.* H.-V. Friedrich, Meisenheim 1968, column 51, 6 and 16). Cf. *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrétienne s.v. Larmes*, and Balogh, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 27, 1929, 265-8.

73 *ἀλεξῆσαι* : Cf. *Schol. Arist. Pac.* 277 f. (about the mysteries in Samothrace) *ἐν κινδύνοις δὲ γενόμενοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο τοὺς δαίμονας ... ἐπιφανῆναι καὶ ἀλεξῆσαι* and *Diodorus* V 49, 5 f. (about the mysteries of Demeter) *διαβεβόηται δ' ἡ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφάνεια καὶ παράδοξος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις βοήθεια τοῖς ἐπικαλεσαμένοις τῶν μυθθέντων*; Pfister, *RE Suppl.* IV 305 f.

ἀκλέα with a short final syllable also in *Homer* δ 728, there justified by hiatus shortening.

ἀκλέα ... *ἀμοιβήν* : a disgraceful fine, a fine which ruins his reputation.

74 *σῶι ἰκέτει* : Cf. Apuleius XI 2 *tu meis iam nunc extremis aerumnis subsiste, tu fortunam conlapsam affirma*. Isidorus invokes Isis : *εὐείλατος ἐμοί τε γεινοῦ, λύπης μ' ἀνάπαυσον ἀπάσης* (Bernand 175 I 36). Isis bears the epithet *ἐλήμων* (Bernand 175 III 34); in the manifestation of Isis we read (§ 36) *ἐγὼ ἰκέτας ἐλεᾶν ἐνομοθέτησα*.

θανάτου ... *κῆρας ἐρῶσαι* : Clearly one of the offences of which Apollonius was accused was punishable by death. — Sarapis and Isis save their servants from death; Isis says to Lucius (*Apul.* XI 6, 6) :

scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia vitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere. Sarapis can change the lots of destiny like garments :

οὐχ ὥς ἤθελε μοῖρα, παρὰ δὲ μοῖραν·
τὰς μοίρας γὰρ ἐγὼ μεταμφιάζω

(*Aretalogy on papyrus*, in Page, *Select Papyri* III 426 No. 96 = Heitsch No. L, verses 12 f.). Isis says of herself : ἐγὼ τὸ ἱμαρμένον νικῶ (§ 55).

75 οὐδὲ σὺ ... λήσας : The god does not abandon his servant; cf. Apul. XI 5 *adsum tuis commota, Luci, precibus ... adsum tuos miserata casus, adsum favens*. On a papyrus fragment Sarapis is invoked as λύτωρ [ὀδυνάων] (Heitsch p. 166 No. IL).

παμνήστοισιν ... παρίδεσσι : The god remembers everything and knows everything. “Remembering” (“not forgetting”) and, on the other hand, “forgetting” in Greek frequently carry a religious, at times almost mystic, nuance; one need only think of the spring of Lethe in the beyond, of the water of Lethe and of Mnemosyne in the grotto of Trophonios at Lebadeia (Pausanias IX 39, 8), or of the pond of Lethe on the Orphic gold disc of Petelia¹²; Diodorus I 96, 9 refers to a Gate of Lethe in Memphis.

If Sarapis here “remembers everything” he must be included among the “omniscient gods” about whom Pettazzoni has written (*Der allwissende Gott*, 1960); these, as a rule, are the gods of heaven. Zeus, who in Greece corresponded to Sarapis, was such a πανόπτης, an omniscient god. But the idea was natural enough also from the Egyptian point of view : the equation of Osiris with the sun god Ra is very ancient, and Sarapis is a downright combination of the god of death with the sun god. Next to the Alexandrian statue of Sarapis by Bryaxis sat Cerberus whose three heads symbolized past, present and future (Macrobius, *Sat.* I 20, 13; Pettazzoni, *Essays on the History of Religion*, 1954, 164-192); Sarapis-Aion knew the whole of time. — On “Mythologies of Memory and Forgetting” cf. Eliade, *History of Religions* 2, 1963, 329-44.

¹² Vorsokratiker I B 17 = Kern, *Orph. fr.* 32a = Harrison-Murray, *Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion* (1955) 659.

ἐφεσπόμενος : Cf. lines 33 f. above ἐσθλοῖσιν δὲ σαώτορες αἰὲν ἔπεσθε ἀνδράσιν and Aelius Aristides (20, II 358 Keil) κηδεμόνα ... πάντων ἀνθρώπων. A reliably attested present ἔσπεσθαι is not found until Apollonius Rhod. The Homeric manuscripts have repeatedly ἐσπόμενος (and similar) but always in a way that makes it possible to divide -ε σπόμενος.

76 νύχιος δὲ μολών : Cf. Pap. Oxy. 1381, 92 f. νύξ ἦν ὅτε πᾶν ἐκεκοίμητο ζῶον πλήν τῶν ἀλγούντων, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἐνεργέστερον ἐφαίνετο.

77 μέθες ἄλγος ἀπὸ φρένος : “Abandon fear, be brave”. θάρρει was a ritual call in the cult of Isis, cf. Firmicus Mat., *De errore XXII* θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου· ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία. When the besieging Lindians were about to surrender because of a lack of drinking water, Athena spoke words of encouragement to them (I. Lindos No. 2 = Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.* III B No. 532, p. 512, D 13 f.) καθ’ ὃν δὴ χρόνον ἃ μὲν θεὸς ἐνὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιστάσῃ καθ’ ὕπνον παρεκάλει θαρσεῖν ὡς αὐτὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αἰτήσευμένα τὸ κατεπεῖγον αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ. Cf. also Acts of the Apostles 23, 11 τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐπιστάς αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εἶπεν· θάρσει and 27, 23 παρέστη γὰρ μοι ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ... ἄγγελος λέγων· μὴ φοβοῦ. M. Simon, θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος. *Étude de vocabulaire religieuse*, in *RHR* 1936, 188-206.

78 ψῆφος αἰστώσει : A rare poetic word (αἰστώ “destroy”, Homer *υ* 79, etc.) is here linked with a juridical term : not a single voting pebble will be cast against you.

εἰς ἐμέ ... αὐτόν (ἐμαυτόν) : The charge is laid against the god, Sarapis himself is attacked; cf. lines 24-5 above.

79-80 οὐτις ἐμεῦ περιώσιον ἄλλος ἀνὴρ αὐδήσει : No other man will speak better than I (and thereby decide the law suit). But how is that to come about? Will the god appear before the judges in person? Sarapis’s promise seems paradoxical. The meaning behind “no man will speak more powerfully than I” does not become clear until later : None of the accusers will speak out in court. Longo translates : “Nessun altro

più di me parlerà". *περιώσιον ἄλλων* is found in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter 362.

80 *σὺ δὲ μηκέτι δάμναο θυμόν* = *μὴ φοβηθῆις*, *cf.* note on line 77 above.

81 *ἀλλ' ὁπότε* : A connective formula, *cf.* lines 35 and 66 above.

χρόνος δικασπόλος : A definite date had been fixed for the hearing of the suit. *δικασπόλος* : "judge", Homer *A* 238, λ 186 *δικασπόλον ἄνδρ'*; Hymn to Isis of Andros (I.G. XII 5, 739 = Peek 3 ff.) line 36 *ἅδε δικασπολῖαι ῥώμαν πόρον*.

ἔγρετο : "assembled", from *ἀγείρω* (Homer *H* 434, Ω 789).

ναοῖς : Everybody therefore assembled at the temple of Sarapis and not in the court building. The inevitable conclusion is that a local hearing was held on the spot and that the charges were proved to be unfounded. The precise nature of the charges cannot be guessed at but it is possible that Apollonius was accused by his opponents of having built the temple across the plot boundary, or that it was not sufficiently well constructed, etc.

82-83 *πάντα πολυμυγέων ἅμα φῦλα ξείνων* : Delos was a trade centre with a motley population; the court's decision on the admission of a strange cult was therefore a matter of general interest. No doubt the followers of Sarapis would have turned up in force to give their priest moral support and to influence the judges by applause for Apollonius and demonstrations of disapproval for his accusers.

83 *δίκη θεόμητις* : The god-guided *δίκη* (something like proceedings) is contrasted with the *δίκη ἀνεμώλιος* of the accusers: *cf.* note on line 67. *θεόμητις* is here first attested. The Egyptian deities see that justice is done and that a just verdict is reached; *cf.* the statements in the manifestation of Isis :

§ 4 *ἐγὼ νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἐθέμην καὶ ἐνομοθέτησα ἃ οὐθεὶς δύναται μεταθεῖναι*. § 16 *ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησα*. § 28 *ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρότερον χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐποίησα*. § 29 *ἐγὼ τὸ ἀληθὲς καλὸν*

ἐνομοθέτησα νομίζεσθαι. § 34 ἐγὼ τὸν ἀδίκως ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἄλλοις ὑποχείριον τῷ ἐπιβουλεομένῳ παρέδωκα. § 35 ἐγὼ τοῖς ἄδικα πράσσουσιν τιμωρίαν ἐπιτίθημι. § 37 ἐγὼ τοὺς δικαίως ἀμυνομένους τιμῶ. § 38 παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχύει. Carpocrates inscription of Chalcis (Vidman 88), line 8 τοῖς δικάζουσιν ἀεὶ πάρειμι ἵνα μηδὲν ἄδικον γίγνηται.

On Sarapis and Isis as givers of justice *cf.* also Wilcken, U.P.Z. I pp. 36-7. The hermetic *Κόρη κόσμου* (Corp. Herm. IV 67) says about Isis and Osiris : οὗτοι πρῶτοι δείξαντες δικαστήρια εὐνομίας τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπλήρωσαν.

84 The account of the miracle (ἀρετή) is framed by an introductory (84-5) and a concluding sentence (90-2).

πέλωρον ... θάμβος : It filled the people with great amazement: *cf.* line 91.

85 ἄλοχος : *Cf.* line 32.

ἐπέδηςας : Sarapis had tied the tongues of the accusers : they could not speak. Many a party in a law suit tried to achieve similar results with magical means. A lead tablet from Athens, dating from the 4th century B.C., begins : καταδῶ Θεαγένην γλῶτταγ καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ λόγον ὅμ μελετᾷ (Syll³ 1261). A shackled lead puppet had been placed into a forcibly tomb in the Ceramicus; the magic tablet belonging to it first curses several persons by name and then continues : καὶ ἔτις ἄλλος μετ' ἐκείνων ξύνδικός ἐστι ἔ μάρτυς (J. Trumpf, *Athen. Mitteilungen* 73, 1958, 94-102). A curse tablet in Istanbul reads : ποιήσατε ... τοὺς ἀντιδίκους μου ... περὶ ὧν ἄν μοι ἐγκαλῶσιν ... μήτε φροντίζειν, μήτε μνημονεύειν, καὶ καταψύξατε αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν, τὴν ψυχὴν (κτλ.) [P. Moraux, *Une défixion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul*, Brussels 1960, p. 12, lines 4 ff.]. In Delos magic puppets were found with limbs shackled and tongue pierced by a nail; *cf.* Ch. Dugas, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 39, 1915, 413-423 and A. Plassart, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du mont Cynthe* (1928) 292-3; *cf.* also note on line 89 and Ch. Picard, *Rev. archéol.* 1953, 93 f.

86 δίκην πόρσυνον : Just as they were preparing, i.e. about to read, their charges.

γναθμοῖς : Cf. Aristophanes *Vesp.* 947 f. ὅπερ ποτὲ φεύγων ἔπαθε καὶ Θουκυδίδης· ἀπόπληκτος ἐξαίφνης ἐγένετο τὰς γνάθους. A confusion of the suitors' minds is described in the *Odyssey* : (Ἀθήνη) παρέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα· οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελῶων ἀλλοτρίοισιν (v 346-7).

86-87 ὑπανύσσας γλῶσσαν ἀναύδητον : You made their tongues incapable of uttering a sound. What, we may ask, was the real reason for Apollonius's acquittal? We cannot be sure. But verse 82 states that many strangers had come to listen to the trial. It may well be that their presence intimidated the accusers (thus Vidal-Naquet, *Rev. phil.* 92, 1966, 145).

87 ὅπιν : Maiistas confuses ὅπιν "rumour" with ὅπα "voice, word" (Wilamowitz); cf. notes on lines 40-41 and 47.

ἔκλεεν in the sense of ἔκλυεν. This form ἔκλεεν, attested only in Maiistas, presumably is not a new formation but typologically old; Maiistas probably knew it from earlier, now lost, poetry. Klaus Strunk has written to me on this point as follows : "ἔκλεεν could, typologically, be an old root aorist of κλύω. In that case ἔκλεεν would be formed like Homeric ἔχκεν. Medially the corresponding participles of the root aorist would be κλύ-μενος (Antimachus of Colophon fr. 85 Wyss, Theocr. 14, 26, and the proper name Κλύμενος as early as in Linear B) and Homeric χύ-μενος. Active voice ending -ε of the 3rd sing. secondary as in the sigmatic aorists, hence ἔκλε(ν)-ε for *ἐκλεν-(τ) (Skr. áśro-t) just as ἔχε(ν)-ε for *ἐχεν-(τ)". Cf. his book "*Nasalpräsentien und Aoriste*" (Heidelberg 1967) p. 84.

88 ἐπιτάροθον : A Homeric vocable.

89 στεῦντο : The 3rd person plural is attested only here. This is a Homeric gloss whose modern interpretation is set out in Wackernagel, *Sprachl. Untersuchungen zu Homer* (1916) 202 and Leuman, *Homerische Wörter* (1950) 211. In antiquity there were two interpretations of στεῦτο (Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis homericis* 98) : (a) ἵστατο; (b) κατὰ διάνοιν ὥριζετο (he firmly determined), διεβεβαιόυτο (affirmed; thus Schol.

zu Hom. Φ 455 and Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 1204). One would therefore have to read either ἴσταντο, the accusers stood there as if turned to stone—in which case one must follow Wilhelm and change εἰκοτάς to εἰκοτ<ε>ς—or διεβεβαιοῦντο, the people affirmed that they (the accusers) stood as if struck by lightning and turned to stone (Powell p. 71). Since the witnesses are important in an aretalogy (cf. note on line 90-91) and no change in the text is therefore necessary this would seem to be the interpretation to be preferred.

θεοπλήξ : Only attested here; “struck by lightning, suffered a stroke”.

εἰδῶλοισι : They were like statues.

90 λάεσσιν : They were rigid and dumb like stones. In mythology the enemies of the gods frequently suffer this punishment.

90-91 ἄπας δ' ἄρα λαὸς ἐκείνῳ σὴν ἀρετὴν θάμβησεν ἐν ἡματι : The crowd is amazed over this great feat of Sarapis. For the aretalogy it is important that a great number of witnesses should be present at the miracle. Cf. Apul. XI 13 *populi mirantur* (λαὸς ... θάμβησεν), *religiosi venerantur tam evidentem maximi numinis potentiam* (ἀρετὴν)... *claraque et consona voce, caelo manus attendentes, testantur tam inlustre deae beneficium*; Xenophon *Eph.* IV 2,9 θαῦμα δὲ τὸ γενόμενον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἦν. V 13, 3 ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ῥοδίων ἀνευφήμησέ τε καὶ ἀνωλόλυξε, μεγάλην θεὸν ἀνακαλοῦντες τὴν Ἴσιν. Achill. Tat. VII 16, 1 οἱ δὲ παρόντες ... εὐφύμουν .. τὴν Ἀρτεμιν. Longus II 29, 2 θαύματι πάντων ἐχομένων καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα ἀνευφημοῦντων. *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* 50 : *mirantur cives et gaudent*. Miraculous cures by Asclepius in Rome, Syll.³ 1173 = I.G. XIV 966 = Moretti, *I.G. urb. Rom.* 148 (about a blind man) ἀνέβλεψε τοῦ δήμου παρεστῶτος καὶ συγχαιρομένου, ὅτι ζῶσαι ἀρεταὶ ἐγένοντο. Similarly in the Acts of the Apostles 3, 9-11, following the healing of the lame man by Peter and John : καὶ εἶδεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα ... καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν θάμβους ... συνέδραμεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ... ἔκθαμβοι, also 4,21 : διὰ τὸν λαὸν ὅτι πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι. Numerous other instances of amazement among the witnesses of a miracle are listed in Pfister, *RE* Suppl. IV 317 and E. Peterson, *EIS ΘΕΟΣ* (Göttingen 1926) 193-195.

89 λαός : “The community”, in Apuleius XI 13 : *populi*, in the Historia Apollonii : *cives* and in the Asclepius temple in Rome (*cf.* above) : *δημος*. The “communities” of mystery religions frequently used terms taken from the political life of the Greek *polis*, especially from the vocabulary of democracy; *cf.* in the cult of the Egyptian deities the *σύννοδος* Ὁσειριαστᾶν in Kos (Vidman 248), the *σύννοδος τῶν μελανηφόρων* in Delos (C.E. 95 = I.d.D. 2075). The same trend is later observed among the Christians; one need only refer to *ἐκκλησία, σύνοδοι, λειτουργία, ἐπίσκοπος, δόγμα*.

91 ἀρετή : The characteristic word in an aretalogy, roughly “the great feat, the miracle”. In Homer *ἀρετή* is a man’s virtue, his valour; *ἀρετάω* means “to thrive”. In Hesiod *ἀρετή* has the meaning “prospering, success”; virtue is thus manifested in success, and success in turn testifies to the power of him who has performed the feat. Similarly a god’s power *ἀρετή* is shown by his achievements; translated to a divine yardstick these must be very notable feats, almost miracles. Thus in the context of the aretalogy *ἀρετή* means “power, feat, miracle”. More or less synonymous terms are *δύναμις* and *ἔργον*, *cf.* note on line 31 above. *Cf.* also Aly, *RE Suppl.* VI 13 (*s.v.* Aretalogoi); Harder, p. 18, 1.

κῦδος : Apollonius became famous through his god’s miracle. *Cf.* Apuleius XI 15 : *videant inreligiosi, videant et errorem suum recognoscant: en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae providentia gaudens Lucius de sua fortuna triumphat*. Also J. Gruber, *über einige abstrakte Begriffe des frühen Griechischen* (Meisenheim 1963) 73-86.

92 θεόδμητον : The traditional epithet of Delos; *cf.* Pindar, *Ol.* 6, 59 *Δάλου θεοδμάτας* : *fr.* 33c (= 87) *χαῖρ’ ὦ θεοδμάτα*.

93-94 Hymnic Peroration

93 χαῖρε : The customary concluding formula of a hymn. *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, ἄναξ* in the Homeric hymns; *χαῖρε μέγα, Κρονίδη πανυπέρτατε, δῶτορ ἐάων ... χαῖρε πάτερ, χαῖρ’ αὖθι* Callim. *hymn.* I 91 and 94.

συνάορος : Referring to the consort first attested in Euripides (*Alc.* 824 and elsewhere).

93-94 οἱ τ' ἐπὶ νειῶι ἡμετέρῳι γεγάασι θεοί : These are the θεοί σύν-
ναοι, especially Anubis and Harpocrates. The concluding formula of
hymns often mentions deities particularly closely associated with the
god who is being glorified; *cf.* Hom. *Hymn. Dem.* 493; *Apoll.* 165.

πολύμνε : *Cf.* Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 19, 207; *Dion.* 26, 7, and the note
to verse 30 above.

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