

# SACRIFICE AT THE AMPHIAREION AND A FRAGMENTARY SACRED LAW FROM OROPOS

## ABSTRACT

The rules and norms affecting the pre-incubation sacrifice at the Amphiareion at Oropos are reexamined here in light of a new fragment, *I.Oropos* 278. The study of this fragment together with other evidence for sacrifice at the sanctuary suggests that the rules governing the pre-incubation sacrifice at the Amphiareion were more flexible during the 4th century B.C. than they appear from Pausanias's later description of incubation on a ram's skin. *I.Oropos* 278 is shown here to incorporate a sacrificial tariff. Representative sacrificial tariffs listed in an appendix further support this interpretation.

Among the inedita in his monumental *Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού*, Vasileios Petrakos included two fragmentary sacred laws.<sup>1</sup> One of these, *I.Oropos* 279, is preserved in a transcription made by Ioannis Papadimitriou and appears now to be lost. The other, *I.Oropos* 278 (= *SEG* XLVII 488), is a small fragment now housed at the Peiraieus Museum (inv. 408), where I studied it in July 2001.

Despite its fragmentary state, the new law contributes to our knowledge of sacrificial practice at the Amphiareion at Oropos during the 4th century B.C. Previously, evidence for this practice derived primarily from a passage in the great code of the sanctuary, *LSCG* 69 (*I.Oropos* 277), and Pausanias's discussion (1.34.5) of incubation on the skin of sacrificed rams. I discuss these two sources below, as well as three votive reliefs from the Amphiareion, in an attempt to interpret the new fragment and explain its significance for our understanding of sacrificial rules and norms at the sanctuary. Further evidence supporting my interpretation of the new fragment can be found in the examples of sacrificial tariffs listed in the appendix.

1. I am grateful to the Greek Ministry of Culture, the 2nd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and Georgios Steinhauer, Ephor, for permission to study the stone and to publish the results of my study and the photographs of the squeeze.

I would also like to thank Yannis Samantas of the Peiraieus Museum for his expedient help. For assistance in obtaining the necessary permits I am grateful to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, especially Maria Pilali and Venetia Barbopoulou.

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*Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού* is referred to throughout as *I.Oropos*.

SACRIFICE IN *LSCG* 69

*LSCG* 69, which probably dates between 387 and 377 B.C. (see below, note 73), regulates the rights and duties of the priest and the *neokoros* at the Amphiareion and the behavior of worshippers, devotes an entire paragraph to sacrifice. This paragraph seems to have been regarded as unsatisfactory in antiquity and the stone underwent erasures, perhaps, as Angeliki Petropoulou suggested,<sup>2</sup> on three different occasions. It is inserted in the middle of the section of the law that regulates incubation, distinguished from it by the *rasura* in line 25 and by the *vacat* in line 36.

Petropoulou's text runs as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Stoich. 35

- 25 [. . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . .] κατεύχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπι-  
 ἰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιτιθεῖν, ὅταν παρῇ, τὸν ἱερέα.  
 ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, τὸν θύοντα. καὶ τεῖ θυσίει α-  
 28 ὑτὸν ἑαυτοῖ κατεύχεσθαι ἕκαστον, τῶν δὲ δη-  
 μορίων τὸν ἱερέα.<sup>10</sup> τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἐν τοῖ ἱε-  
 ροῖ πάντων τὸ δέσμα [ἱερ[ὸν εἶναι]], θύειν δὲ ἐξ-  
 εἶν ἅπαν ὅτι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος, τῶν δὲ κρεῶ-  
 32 ν μὴ εἶναι ἐκφορὴν ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος.<sup>11</sup> τοῖ δὲ  
 ἱερεῖ διδοῦν τὸς θύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερήου ἕκ-  
 ἄστο τὸν ὦμον, πλὴν ὅταν ἡ ἐορτὴ εἴ· τότε δὲ ἀπ-  
 ὸ τῶν δημορίων λαμβανέτω ὦμον ἀφ' ἑκάστου<sup>12</sup>  
 36 <sup>13</sup> τοῦ ἱερήου.<sup>14</sup> κτλ

When he is present, the priest shall pray over the divine portions and place (them) on the altar; when he is not present, those who offer the sacrifice (shall do so), and at the festival (τεῖ θυσίει), each shall pray for himself, while the priest (shall pray) over the public (victims). The skin of all victims offered in the sanctuary [[shall be] sacred];<sup>4</sup> each person shall be allowed to offer anything he wishes but meat shall not be carried out of the sacred precinct. Those offering sacrifice shall give the priest the shoulder of the victims except when the festival takes place, on which occasion the priest shall receive the shoulder of each one of the public victims.

*LSCG* 69 distinguishes between two types of sacrifice, namely private and public, and determines the roles of the worshippers and the priest. It does not for the most part specify the occasions for sacrifice, probably because these were regarded as self-evident. Only one occasion is mentioned directly, i.e., the festival<sup>5</sup> at which the priest would pray over the public victims (those provided by the state), while private persons would pray over their own victims. Other occasions for sacrifice are not named; even sacrifice related to the sanctuary's main activity, incubation, is not mentioned directly, although incubation itself is discussed in relative detail.<sup>6</sup> In respect to occasion, we learn only that worshippers ought to handle the sacrifice themselves whenever the priest is not present.

The law is more specific in respect to priestly prerogatives, the treatment of the skins, the consumption of the sacrificial meat, and the choice

2. Petropoulou 1981, pp. 60–63.

3. Petropoulou (1981, p. 44) suggests that the *vacat* at the beginning of line 36 (and perhaps the one at the end of line 35) resulted from the stone-cutter's attempt to avoid flaws in the marble. For the use of vacant spaces for punctuation in this document, see Petropoulou 1981, pp. 43–44. In line 26, Petropoulou prints τόμ; Petrakos τόν. The photographs in both publications show nu.

4. I.e., it would belong to the sanctuary.

5. Two *apobates* reliefs dating to the late 5th–early 4th century B.C. seem to be the earliest attestations for an agonistic festival in honor of Amphiaraos. The earliest victor catalogue from Oropos, *I. Oropos* 520, dating before 338 B.C., mentions the Greater Amphiareia, a pentaeteric festival to be distinguished from the postulated yearly Lesser Amphiareia (Petrakos 1968, p. 94; cf. Dürrbach 1890, p. 128). See Petrakos 1968, pp. 194–198; Petropoulou 1981, p. 56, n. 54; for the reliefs see Petrakos 1968, pp. 121–122, nos. 16, 17, pls. 38, 39.

6. Lines 20–24, 36–52.

of victims. The stipulation in lines 30–31 that refers to private sacrifice, as the wording *ὅτι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος* (whatever *each person* may wish) suggests, leaves the choice of victims to the discretion of the worshippers, allowing them to sacrifice victims they choose. This stipulation is somewhat peculiar. In certain cultic contexts one finds requirements to sacrifice particular animals or prohibitions against sacrificing others.<sup>7</sup> A prohibition might be expressed indirectly by stipulating what can be sacrificed,<sup>8</sup> but an all-embracing positive stipulation such as that in the present law is exceptional.

Furthermore, the license to sacrifice whatever one wishes may contradict what we know about pre-incubation sacrifice at the Amphiareion, which seems to have demanded the sacrifice of a specific animal. We might ask ourselves why the sanctuary's authorities inform worshippers that they can offer whatever they wish without making any exception for the most common sacrifice at the Amphiareion if it allowed only a specific animal. For an answer we need to consider the evidence of Pausanias and the votive reliefs from the Amphiareion.

## PAUSANIAS AND VOTIVE RELIEFS

In the course of his description of the Amphiareion, Pausanias informs us (1.34.5) that prior to incubation, the worshippers at the sanctuary must purify themselves. This purification was obtained by offering sacrifice to Amphiaraos and “to all those whose names appear on the altar.” While the specifics of the practice are not clear from the description, the purification offering seems to have taken place at the great altar of the Amphiareion. In 1.34.3 Pausanias describes the altar as consisting of five parts belonging respectively to five groups of divinities: the first includes Herakles, Zeus, and Apollo the Healer (Παιών); the second, heroes and their wives; the third, Hestia, Hermes, Amphiaraos, and, of Amphiaraos's children, Amphilochos;<sup>9</sup> the fourth, Aphrodite, Panakeia, Iaso, Hygieia, and Athena the Healer (Παιωνία); and the fifth, the nymphs, Pan, and the rivers Acheeloos and Kephisos. Pausanias's testimony has been at least partially corroborated by the discovery of two 4th-century stelai<sup>10</sup> stating that they belong to Amphiaraos and Amphilochos (perhaps together with Hermes: *I. Oropos* 280, Ἀμφιαράο | Ἀμφιλόχο | [Ἑρμῶ]) and to Hestia (*I. Oropos* 281). Pausanias adds that once the purification rites have been completed, prospective incubants may proceed to the next stage: they must sacrifice a ram on whose skin they will lie down to sleep.<sup>11</sup>

7. For example, the sacrifice of birds “or anything one might wish except he-goats and she-goats” is prescribed in *POxy.* XXXVI 2797.6 (see Robert 1966, pp. 192–210); *LSCG* 114 A allows sacrifice of anything one wishes, but sheep and pigs are forbidden. More examples are listed below, ns. 8, 21–22; cf. n. 78.

8. See Parker and Obbink 2000,

pp. 416–417, lines 4–5. *LSCG* 161 (*Ischr. Cos* ED 62), A, lines 2–3, 5–7, which mentions customary victims (ἱερεῖα τὰ νομιζόμεν[α]), notes that sacrifice of a certain other animal is permitted, evidently because this animal was not considered customary (Sokolowski's καλαῖδιον, i.e., chicken, makes good sense but the exact restoration is uncertain; cf. M. Segre's note

here). See in general Robert 1966, pp. 196–197.

9. Or “the children of Amphilochos,” which is less likely considering *I. Oropos* 280 (discussed immediately below); see Petrakos's comments, *I. Oropos*, p. 185; also Schachter 1981, p. 26, n. 3; Dürrbach 1890, p. 111.

10. Petrakos 1968, p. 96.

11. Cf. Dürrbach 1890, pp. 131–132.



Figure 1. Fragmentary 4th-century B.C. votive relief from the Amphiareion at Oropos showing a pig and a sheep being led to sacrifice. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1395. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Pausanias's testimony has again been corroborated by further archaeological discoveries. A fragmentary 4th-century B.C. votive relief from the Amphiareion<sup>12</sup> depicts the incubant on what is clearly sheep fleece.<sup>13</sup> Another 4th-century B.C. relief from the site (Fig. 1) portrays a family (man, woman, child) with two attendants leading a sheep and a pig to sacrifice.<sup>14</sup> As Folkert van Straten notes,<sup>15</sup> the pig or piglet would be offered for purification; the sheep, or rather, ram, would be offered for its skin. What we have here and in Pausanias's description is, in fact, a double sacrifice: the first is offered to a group of concerned divinities; the second is likely to go to the main divinity.<sup>16</sup> Together they comprise a preliminary step leading to the main event, incubation.

Despite the evidence of these reliefs and of Pausanias, there is reason to believe that while a ram was the offering of choice for the pre-incubation sacrifice, it was not always mandatory, nor was sleeping on its skin. As both Petropoulou and van Straten have noticed,<sup>17</sup> in addition to the license granted in *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31, to worshippers at the Amphiareion

12. Petrakos 1968, p. 123, no. 21, pl. 41:b.

13. See Petropoulou 1985, pp. 170–171.

14. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1395; Petrakos 1968, p. 123, no. 20, with p. 133,

pl. 41:a; *I. Oropos*, p. 182.

15. See van Straten 1995, pp. 73–74.

16. A similar process is seen—not without variants—in sanctuaries of Asklepios. See Petropoulou 1991, esp. pp. 26–27. Despite the considerable merits of the work, the discussion

in Edelstein and Edelstein 1945 [1998], II, pp. 186–187 (testimonia in I, pp. 290–294, nos. 511–517) is outdated.

17. Petropoulou 1985, pp. 175–176; van Straten 1995, pp. 73–74.

Figure 2. Relief from the Amphiareion at Oropos dedicated to Amphiaraos by Archinos (400–350 B.C.). Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 3369. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens



to sacrifice whatever they wish, no animal skin is evident in the Archinos relief from the Amphiareion; the incubant is lying on a sheet of cloth that also covers him as his upper body rests against a pillow (Fig. 2; *I. Oropos* 344, 400–350 B.C.).<sup>18</sup>

I assume that the sacrificial relief in Figure 1 depicts what was or was becoming the norm; in reality and in agreement with the stipulation in *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31, worshippers could choose their animals.<sup>19</sup> Whether this would depend on financial<sup>20</sup> or other reasons is not easy to determine. One must, however, distinguish between rules and norms. Greek sacrificial regulations are in general less concerned with normal practice and what can be considered common knowledge than with modifications of or deviations from normal practice. For example, normal practice included the sacrifice of goats or pigs and there is no need for a law to state this. For cases in which the sacrifice of such animals was undesirable, it would be explicitly forbidden,<sup>21</sup> in the same way as the sacrifice of a particular animal might be explicitly prescribed.<sup>22</sup> This may help to explain the stipulation in *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31. At the Amphiareion, the sacrifice depicted in the sacrificial relief and described by Pausanias was or became the norm. It was not the rule, however, at least not while *LSCG* 69 was in effect, and the possibility of departing from the norm is the reason why the law states this rule so explicitly.

An indication that in the 4th century the rules allowed sacrificial freedom can be found in the new fragment, *I. Oropos* 278, which incorporates a section addressing the general license to sacrifice anything one wishes in a more specific way, by providing a list of animals. Before proceeding to the interpretation of this fragment, I present here my text based on autopsy, with restorations, epigraphical commentary, and a discussion of previous scholarship.

18. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 3369. Note Georg Kaibel's comment on the linen cushion and pillow in *Ar. Amphiaraos*, fr. 18, quoted in *PCG* III 2, p. 43.

19. It is not inevitable that at one time or another only one sacrifice would be offered or that bloodless offerings were employed in the sacrificial process; see Petropoulou 1985, p. 175.

20. So Petropoulou 1985, p. 176. But Archinos, who had not slept on a ram's skin, was wealthy enough to afford a high-quality relief.

21. For prohibitions see, e.g., *LSCG* 126, line 7 (no pig); *LSCG Suppl.* 57, line 12 (no goat); *LSCG* 14 B (neither goat nor pig).

22. For such requirements see, e.g., *LSCG* 140, line 4 (pig); 170, line 1 (goat).

## THE NEW FRAGMENT

*I. Oropos* 278

Fig. 3

H. 0.27, W. 0.071 (top)–0.08 (bottom), Th. 0.08 m

L.H. 0.007–0.008; O, Θ, and Ω 0.005 m; interlinear space 0.009 m

Surviving uninscribed surface above the first line ca. 0.023–0.028 m

A small, weathered fragment of a white marble stele broken on all sides. The original rough-picked back survives. “Discovered behind [north of] the Curio monument.”<sup>23</sup> The letters are not deeply cut and the inscribed face is rather worn. The lower part of the last letter in line 7 is covered by a drop of what appears to be cement and the left side, which may be cut rather than broken, is covered by rough, corroded matter. Above the first line, there is vacant space that may establish it as the original first line, or, less likely, may represent a space between paragraphs or different documents.

*saec. IV a.*

Non-stoich.

-----  
*vacat*  
 [- - -] ας με. [- - - - -]  
 [- - -] τραπεζ[- - - - -]  
 [- - -] τήν δεξ[ιάν κωλήν - - -]  
 4 [- - -] τρ[ι]ποδι τω[- - - - -]  
 [- - -] α <sup>επερ</sup>ε[- - - - -]  
 [- - -] ἐμβά]λλειν τ.(?)[- - -]  
 [- - -] ὄρ]νιθος ὀβ[ολόν, - - -]  
 8 [- - -] ος δύο ὀβ[ολούζ/ώ, - - -]  
 [- - -] βοὸς δε[- - - - -]  
 [- - -] ὡν χρεία [- - - - -]  
 [- - -] μισθωμ[- - - - -]  
 12 [- - -] σχιζῶ[ν - - - - -]  
 [- - -] Θ[- - - - -]  
 -----

*Line 1:* [- - -] ας με[- - -] Petrakos; [τ]ὰς με[ρίδας?] Chaniotis ||*Line 3:* δεξ[ιάν] supplied by Petrakos; [κωλήν - - -?] Chaniotis ||*Line 4:* Petrakos || *Line 6:* [ἐμβά]λλειν τ[ὸ ἀργύριον?] Chaniotis ||*Line 7:* [- - -] ὄρ]νιθος Petrakos; ὀβ[ολόν, - - -] Lupu ||*Line 8:* ὀβ[ολ- - -] Petrakos; ὀβ[ολούζ/ώ, - - -] Lupu ||*Line 9:* βοὸς δὲ [- - -] Chaniotis || *Line 12:* Petrakos

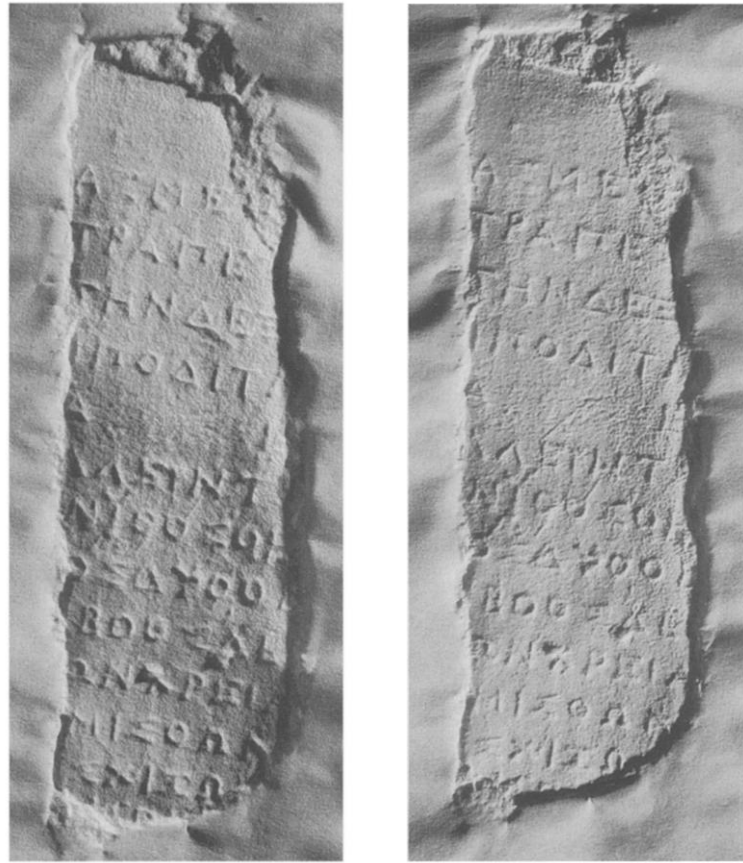
## EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The letters are, on the whole, nicely executed though with a few irregularities. They are more crowded and at times relatively smaller in the lower part of the fragment.

*Line 1.* What look like the upper left and bottom tips of T appear on the stone, although the upper left tip is closer to the preceding letter than T is elsewhere on the stone and might be a scratch.

23. B. Leonardos, in *I. Oropos*, p. 183, no. 278. For the monument see no. 444 and pl. E, no. 15.

Figure 3. *I. Oropos* 278. Photographs of squeezes, taken in different light. Photos author



*Line 6.* The last trace might be taken for a lower tip of a somewhat slanting stroke. The closest parallel is the left lower stroke of the  $\Omega$  in line 10 but a scratch is likely.

*Line 7.*  $\beta$ : The lower part of the letter is concealed by what looks like a drop of cement and the right part is damaged by the break. The letter P (so Petrakos) is possible.

*Line 9.* Before the B there is a trace, very likely a scratch, which may be the middle part of a vertical stroke.

#### COMMENTARY

Petrakos dated the inscription to the 4th century B.C., identifying it as a sacred law listing offerings and sacrifices to a divinity.<sup>24</sup> He referred to this inscription in his comment on *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31, noting that leaving the choice of victims to the worshippers was a result of the broader policy of the sanctuary and adding a reference to the sacrificial relief discussed above (Fig. 1) and to Pausanias's description of incubation on a ram's skin.<sup>25</sup> The inscription was also discussed twice by Angelos Chaniotis. In *EBGR* 1997 he observed that the fragment seemed to concern sacrifices, recognizing the mention of a table of offerings, animals, an amount of two obols, and a lease of an item referred to by  $\mu\sigma\theta\omega\mu$  in line 11.<sup>26</sup> In *SEG* XLVII 488 he suggested  $[\tau]\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \mu\epsilon[\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma?]$  in line 1;  $\delta\epsilon\Xi[\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu \kappa\omega\lambda\eta\gamma\nu - - ?]$  in line 3;

24. *I. Oropos*, p. 183.

25. *I. Oropos*, p. 182.

26. Chaniotis and Mylonopoulos 2000, p. 206.

and [ἐμβά]λλειν τ[ὸ ἀργύριον?] in line 6.<sup>27</sup> In line 2 he recognized a form of τράπεζα, noting that τραπέζωμα and τραπέζω were also possible. In line 9 he recognized a δέ after βοός. In line 11 he noted that μισθωμ suggested that this document “may concern the duties and rights of a person who leased a priesthood.” In line 12 he recognized a “provision for the supply of wood for sacrifices.”

Despite the extremely fragmentary state of the document, it seems possible to distinguish, if only for the sake of discussion, between two or perhaps three sections, the first two divided by the *vacat* in line 5. The sense of lines 6–9 is clear: this is a sacrificial tariff enumerating requirements for private persons who offer sacrifice at the Amphiareion. It relates, as Petrakos hinted, to the stipulation of sacrificial freedom in *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31. Sacrificial context is evident in lines 1–5 and probable in lines 10–13, although articulation of the latter lines is considerably more difficult.

In line 2 the presence of a cult table is enough to suggest a sacrificial context and, more precisely, a clause dealing with distribution of the parts of a victim. Cult tables are normally mentioned in sacred laws in such clauses for the simple reason that parts of the victim would be placed on them.<sup>28</sup> In practice, these parts are likely to have gone to the priest.<sup>29</sup> As Chaniotis noted, both a verbal form<sup>30</sup> and (perhaps more likely) a noun<sup>31</sup> are possible here. If a noun is correct, one might restore [ἐπὶ (δέ?) τῇ] τράπεζ[αν] as in *LSCG* 28 (*SEG* XLVI 173) 3–4, 9, 10–11, 14–15, 18, 23 (where the restorations are secure).

In line 3, δεξι[άν] is most likely a reference to a part of a victim. Κωλῆ (thigh, ham) suggested by Chaniotis is very probable.<sup>32</sup> When a distinction between right and left legs is made, right legs usually go to the priest.<sup>33</sup> It is therefore very likely that the right thigh is mentioned here and would be assigned to a priest as a prerogative for the sacrifice.

In line 4 the possible reference to a tripod could make sense in a sacrificial context since a tripod can simply be a three-legged stand for a cauldron used to cook the meat of the victims.<sup>34</sup> This use is evident on a

27. For line 3, Chaniotis cites the κωλῆν διανε[χ]ῃ δεξιάν received by the priests in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1361 (*LSCG* 45), line 5 (see appendix: 1). For line 6, he cites *I. Oropos* 276 (*LSCG Suppl.* 35), lines 4–5, and *IG* VII 235 (*I. Oropos* 277, *LSCG* 69), lines 13 and 40, all of which prescribe deposition of money in the Amphiareion's *thesauros*.

28. The table of Amphiaraios is mentioned in the late-3rd-century B.C. *I. Oropos* 324 (*LSCG* 70), lines 4–5 (cf. line 10). It stood inside the great temple built around the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. (see Petrakos 1968, p. 69), where a base possibly belonging to it has been discovered (Petrakos 1968, p. 99). Cf. also the inscribed votive cult

table, *I. Oropos* 408 (3rd century B.C.).

29. These parts should, of course, be distinguished from divine portions put on the altar, consisting of inedible organs such as thighbones wrapped in fat. On priestly prerogatives and portions and cult tables, see Puttkammer 1912, pp. 1–16; Gill 1991, pp. 15–19; Le Guen-Pollet 1991; van Straten 1995, pp. 154–155.

30. For verbal forms (restored in instances in brackets), see *LSCG* [64, lines 13–14]; 65, line 86; 125, lines 2, [7, 9]; *I. Perg.* III 161 A, lines 1, 7.

31. There are many examples. For a few representative cases see *LSCG* 28 (*SEG* XLVI 173), lines 3–4, 9, 10–11, 14–15, 18, 23; 163, line 17; *LSAM* 24 A, lines 15–20; *I. Kallatis* 47,

line 3 (*LSCG* 90, line 5).

32. Another possibility is ἡμίκραυρα (half the head): *LSCG* 28, lines 4, 9, [11, 15], 19, [23]; 29, line 8; *SEG* XXXV 113, lines 16, 17; cf. also Amipsias, *Connus*, fr. 7 (*PCG*).

33. Left legs may go to the divinity (who might have to settle for only the bones); so, too, as may the left half of the head, as is mentioned in Amipsias, *Connus*, fr. 7 (*PCG*). See Puttkammer 1912, pp. 23–25; for the right thigh see also Jameson et al. 1993, p. 38.

34. Tripods were dedicated at Oropos at the sanctuary of the nymph Halia (Petrakos 1968, pp. 54–58; for inscribed tripod bases from this site, some now at the Amphiareion, see *I. Oropos*, nos. 511–516).



Figure 4. Fragment of an Athenian black-figure volute crater showing a sacrificial scene. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. Akr 654. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens



fragment of an Athenian black-figure volute crater with a sacrificial scene (Fig. 4),<sup>35</sup> depicting *inter alia* the cooking of sacrificial meat in a lebes on top of a tripod over a fire.<sup>36</sup> The original use of tripods as cauldron stands during sacrifice may account for some tripod dedications in sanctuaries.<sup>37</sup>

Although the exact restoration of lines 5–9 is very difficult, the nature of the original text is hinted at by the use in line 7 of the genitive case for the animal, followed by what appears to be a reference to a monetary value; the possible genitive-case ending in line 8, followed again by a possible reference to monetary value; and the animal in the genitive case in line 9. The formula of animal in the genitive plus monetary value occurs in a number of sacred laws that prescribe fees to be paid by worshippers for the sacrifice of particular victims, with or without listing specific parts of the respective animals. As these documents tend to regulate private sacrifice,<sup>38</sup> they may mention small animals<sup>39</sup> that are less likely to appear in documents regulating public sacrifice in which large quantities of meat are distributed.<sup>40</sup> Documents (or sections in documents) of this kind may be referred to as sacrificial tariffs. An annotated list of representative examples is presented in the appendix.

Chaniotis's [ἐμβά]λλειν, referring to money put in the sanctuary's *thesauros* (treasury/offertory box),<sup>41</sup> the existence of which at the Amphiareion is well documented,<sup>42</sup> is undoubtedly correct. Restoring ὀβ[ολόν] in line 7 and ὀβ[ολούς/ῶ] in line 8 seems equally secure to me. The sums of money put in the *thesauros* here, however, are likely to have been paid neither for

35. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. Akr 654. See further van Straten 1995, pp. 147–148, fig. 154.

36. Cf. an Athenian red-figure vase in the British Museum (E 163) showing Jason and Medea flanking a three-legged cauldron over a fire with a live ram inside and another vase in Leiden, Rijksmuseum PC 32 (ex Canino 1345), showing two men next to a similar apparatus with a boy inside; *LIMC* V, 1999, p. 634, pls. 59, 62, s.v. *Iason* (J. Neils). For a pot, obviously for cooking meat, in a sacrificial context, see *SEG* XXXV 113, lines 21–22, [ἐ]ύλα ἐπὶ τὸν χύτρον “wood for the pot” (cf. *LSCG* 7 B, line 25, and *LSCG Suppl.* 19, line 92: ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν “wood for the altar”).

37. Their original use as cult implements certainly accounts for dedications of cult tables and altars that have little other use, but does not necessarily mean that all such objects were used or intended to be used; some might be representations preserving only the original idea. Small tripods (τριποδοίσοι) are mentioned in the list of ex-votos that follows the decree concerning old ex-votos in the Amphiareion (late 3rd century B.C.; *I. Oropos* 324, lines 65, 66 [*LSCG* 70 has only lines 1–52]) and in the fragmentary 4th-century B.C. inventory list, *I. Oropos* 19, line 10. A tripod is depicted on a votive relief of Apollo (second half of the 4th century B.C.) from the Amphiareion: Petrakos 1968, p. 124, no. 26, pl. 43:b.

38. See appendix: comment 5.

39. See appendix: 6 (hare) and 7 (rooster). The bird in 4 may have a cultic significance due to its special relationship with Aphrodite; see Parker and Obbink 2000, p. 438.

40. See, e.g., *LSCG* 33 B; *LSCG Suppl.* 11; *SEG* XLV 1508 A.

41. For a study of which see Kaminiski 1991; cf. Knoepfler 1998; Parker and Obbink 2000, pp. 436–438.

42. For the deposition of money in the *thesauros* of the Amphiareion, see *LSCG* 69, lines 13, 23, 40; *LSCG Suppl.* 35, line 4. For the allocation of money collected, see *I. Oropos* 324 (*LSCG* 70), lines 33–39, and *I. Oropos* 290, lines 16–25, which are discussed in the appendix: comment 8.

incubation (*LSCG* 69, lines 23, 40; *LSCG Suppl.* 35 [*I. Oropos* 276], line 4) nor as a penalty (*LSCG* 69, line 13) but, as examples 3–8 in the appendix suggest, relate directly to the animals mentioned thereafter. These sums are fees that worshippers were to pay for the sacrifice of these animals.

The first animal mentioned (line 7) may be a chicken: the general ὄρνις refers mainly, though not exclusively, to chickens.<sup>43</sup> In the beginning of line 8, ]ος ought to be taken as a genitive ending referring to an animal<sup>44</sup> larger than the ὄρνις, since tariffs tend to list animals according to size.<sup>45</sup> A number of animals such as hare (i.e., δασύπους, [δασύποδ]ος),<sup>46</sup> goat (αἴξ, [αἰγ]ός),<sup>47</sup> or, if the bird is not a chicken, chicken or rooster (ἀλεκτρούων, ἀλεκτρούων]ος; κάλαίς, [καλαῖδ]ος;<sup>48</sup> ἀλέκτωρ, [ἀλέκτορ]ος)<sup>49</sup> are possible. Evidence can be cited for and against each of these possibilities.

The next animal that appears in the text (line 9) is a bovine. Since the line's length cannot be restored with any degree of probability, it is impossible to know which animals (if any) were mentioned in between and whether they were named specifically<sup>50</sup> or referred to generally in classes such as “quadrupeds” or “adult/young victims.”<sup>51</sup> Δέ (suggested by Chaniotis) following βοός would ideally distinguish the bovine from smaller animals, but μέν would ordinarily be required, and as early as after [ὄρ]νιθος.<sup>52</sup>

Little else can be said with any certainty. The sense of lines 6–9 is, however, quite clear. It is a sacrificial tariff. The original might have said something like εἰς δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐμβάλλειν τ[οὺς θύοντας (lacuna?) ὄρ]νιθος ὀβ[ολόν, (lacuna)] - - -]ος δύο ὀβ[ολούς/ώ, (lacuna)] βοός δε[- - -] (Those who offer sacrifice shall put in the *thesauros* [- - -] an obol for a bird [- - -], two obols for a [- - -] for a bovine [- - -]).

In line 10 compare for [- - -]ων χρεία [- - -] *SEG* XXX 1119, lines 28–29 (Nakone; ca. early to mid-3rd century B.C.):

καὶ τὰ ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν ὅσων χρεία ἐστί  
ὁ ταμίας παρεχέτω. κτλ

The treasurer shall provide anything else needed for sacrifice.

The resemblance might be coincidental, but a similar phrase, assigning the provision of “anything else that might be needed for the sacrifice” to someone—be it worshippers or the sanctuary's authorities—would make sense here.

43. See Robert 1966, p. 196, n. 127. Cf. LSJ s.v. ὄρνις III.

44. See appendix: 1–4, 7, and comment 4.

45. See appendix: comment 1.

46. See appendix: 6.

47. A common victim but perhaps too large if it is to follow the bird directly.

48. For the accent see LSJ s.v. κάλαίς, the identification of which as a chicken may not be entirely secure.

49. See appendix: 7; cf. Ar. *Amphiaraios*, fr. 17 (*PCG*), discussed below (pp. 332–333). Outside of private

sacrifice, chickens tend to be offered with other victims: the rooster (ἀλεκτρούων) in *LSAM* 67 B, line 3, is offered together with a number of other, larger animals; the chickens/roosters (κάλαίς) in *LSCG* 60, lines 5, 6, 23, are offered in connection with cattle sacrifice; in *LSCG* 172, line 4, καλαῖδια are offered together with a goat. Three chickens/roosters appear in *LSCG* 51: the first (ἀλεκτρούων, line 5) is probably wholly burnt; the others (ἀλέκτορες, line 27) are offered together.

50. As in examples 2 and 3 in the appendix.

51. As in 4 and 7 (cf. 8) in the appendix. Both 4 and 7 specifically name the smallest animal—bird, rooster—and the largest—bovine; note the similarity to the present tariff; animals between the smallest and largest are referred to in general terms.

52. See appendix: 1, 3, and 4. A number, i.e., δέ[κα], is unlikely here since the sum of ten obols is not a fraction of a drachma (six obols per drachma) and the sum of ten drachmas would be much too high.

In line 11, *μισθωμ[* may preserve part of either a nominal (*μισθωμα*) or verbal form (perfect middle/passive of *μισθόω*). A lease of a priesthood<sup>53</sup> seems unlikely. During the Hellenistic period the sale of priesthoods became common in parts of Asia Minor and adjacent islands but it is rarely attested elsewhere. In mainland Greece the practice appears to have been almost entirely avoided.<sup>54</sup> The one allusion to it in a sacred law from the mainland comes from the early-2nd-century A.C. document of an Athenian cultic association, *SEG XXXI* 122, lines 17–18. Considering this, other possibilities, such as leasing of sacred property<sup>55</sup> or contracting services essential for the performance of cult,<sup>56</sup> seem more probable.

In line 12, *σχίζω[ν]* (i.e., firewood; *ξύλα* and *φρύγανα* are common) is, as Chaniotis suggested, a likely reference to the provision of wood for sacrifice.<sup>57</sup>

### THE NEW FRAGMENT, *LSCG* 69, AND PRE-INCUBATION SACRIFICE

It should by now be clear that lines 1–5 of the new fragment relate to sacrifice; the same is probable for lines 10–13. It is difficult to determine, however, whether these are self-contained sections and what their relationship, if any, is to each other. Similarly, their relations to the tariff are a matter for conjecture and it is not clear whether the entire document was general, i.e., intended to consider different aspects of sacrificial activity at the Amphiareion (like *LSCG* 69, lines 25–36), or specific, regulating a particular activity.

More precision is possible in defining the tariff itself (lines 6–9) because of its obvious relationship to the stipulation of *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31. Like *LSCG* 69, the tariff deals with offerings made by private individuals. Both allow these individuals a choice of animal. Whereas the sacrificial freedom thus envisioned is expressed in *LSCG* 69 in a general way, it is given a more concrete form in the tariff by the listing of possible victims. As we have seen, the stipulation of *LSCG* 69 affects pre-incubation sacrifice; I suggest the same was true for the tariff. The sums of money mentioned in the tariff are fees paid before incubation for the sacrifice of the animals listed. These fees need not have canceled the incubation fee:

53. Suggested by Chaniotis, *SEG XLVII* 488, citing *LSCG Suppl.* 47; Andros, 1st century B.C.

54. The custom is first documented in the late 4th century B.C. See *GGR II*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 77–78, cf. *I*<sup>3</sup>, p. 732; Debord 1982, pp. 63–71; Parker and Obbink 2000, pp. 421–422, n. 16. Most evidence comes from Ionia, Caria, and Cos. For Chios see *LSCG Suppl.* 77–78. The custom is also documented in Egypt (Debord 1982, p. 338, n. 117). Otherwise see Thasos: *LSCG Suppl.* 71 (2nd century B.C.; sale of the eponymic

title of an association of Sarapists); Tomi (a colony of Miletos): *LSCG* 87 (3rd century B.C.). A recently published fragment from Samos, *IG XII* 6 I 170, is likely to have originated on the Ionian mainland (Klaus Hallof, pers. comm., August 2002).

55. Perhaps including, by analogy to the charter of the shopkeepers at the Samian Heraion (*IG XII* 6 I 169; *SEG XXVII* 545), leasing of shops such as those mentioned in *I. Oropos* 290, line 18 (see appendix: comment 8).

56. If *μισθωμ* (line 11) pertains to

“contract price,” as in the 4th-century B.C. regulations for the Lesser Panathenaia, *LSCG* 33 B, line 28.

57. See *σχίζαι*: *LSCG* 55, line 11; *LSCG Suppl.* 22, line 7 (discussed below, p. 332). *Ξύλα*: *LSCG* 7 B, line 25; 17 A b, line 6; 96, line 18; 177, line 39; *LSCG Suppl.* 7, line 5; 19, lines 86–92 passim; *SEG XXXV* 113, lines 21–22. *Φρύγανα*: *LSCG* 2 A, lines 2, 8–9; B, line 6; D, lines 5–6; 28 (*SEG XLVI* 173), lines 2–8 passim, 22; 151 C, lines 13–14.

incubation fees would be paid at the very outset of the process;<sup>58</sup> sacrificial fees would be paid upon sacrifice.<sup>59</sup>

Pre-incubation sacrifice may have been the most common occasion for sacrifice at the Amphiareion, but other occasions must have existed, including perhaps a thanksgiving offering for the cure<sup>60</sup> or even sacrifice to other divinities, particularly those whose names were inscribed on the great altar.<sup>61</sup> The tariff may be as concerned with such occasions as with pre-incubation sacrifice. Yet, in oracular and healing sanctuaries fees are predominantly connected to consultation.<sup>62</sup> The fragment shares key elements with pre-incubation documents from sanctuaries of Asklepios and a comparison suggests that it is not impossible for the document to be concerned in its entirety with pre-incubation sacrifice. Provision of firewood (σχιζαί) is mentioned alongside other items (barley groats, wreaths) needed for the pre-incubation sacrifice at the Epidaurian Asklepieion in *LSCG Suppl.* 22 (4th century B.C.).<sup>63</sup> Prospective incubants are charged half an obol for wood for the sacrifice of a suckling victim and an obol for wood for the sacrifice of a full-grown victim.<sup>64</sup> *I.Perg.* III 161 (2nd century A.C.)<sup>65</sup> prescribes table offerings (A, lines 7–8) and three obols to be put in the *thesauros* (A 8, lines 22–23) at pre-incubation sacrifices at the Pergamene Asklepieion. The very fragmentary sacrificial regulations pertaining to the cult of Asklepios from Amphipolis, *SEG XLIV* 505 (ca. 350–300 B.C.), mention incubation (lines 3, 8), one drachma (line 4), money (line 11), and possibly payment (line 15); even without the restorations, pre-incubation sacrifice is very likely. One can pursue such analogies further<sup>66</sup> but I avoid doing so since the fragmentary state of the present document calls for caution.

Sheep fleece is known to have been ascribed particular purificatory value.<sup>67</sup> Substituting a chicken for a ram would seem ridiculous. Yet, the notion of substitution may well be anachronistic, and one also might wonder what role the chicken (ῆ ἀλεκτρούων) plays at the Amphiareion in Aristophanes' *Amphiaraios*.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps it would be sacrificed as a

58. *LSCG* 69, lines 20–22, ἐπαρχὴν δὲ διδοῦν τὸν μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτλ: Whoever *intends* to be healed by the god shall pay as a fee, etc. Cf. *LSCG Suppl.* 35, lines 3–5.

59. The sequence of payment–sacrifice–incubation is in fact evident in the arrangement of *LSCG* 69.

60. Cf. *LSAM* 24, lines 30–36 (Erythrai, 380–360 B.C.). In Pausanias's time persons cured at the Amphiareion expressed their gratitude by throwing money into the god's sacred spring (1.30.4). In *I.Perg.* III 161 A, lines 31–33 one *phokais* for Apollo and one for Asklepios are to be put into the *thesauros* as payment for the cure at the Pergamene Asklepieion.

61. On these divinities see Petrakos 1968, p. 96; Schachter 1981, p. 26. For other gods at the Amphiareion see

also *I.Oropos* 282–283, 336(?), 345(?), 347(?), 357, 392, 463. On sanctuaries of other gods at Oropos see Petrakos 1968, pp. 54–55. Sacrifices, obviously public, both to Amphiaraos and the other gods of the Amphiareion are referred to in the honorific decree, *I.Oropos* 297, lines 14–15 (332/1 B.C.).

62. See Sokolowski 1954, pp. 153–154, 158 (Petropoulou's [1991, pp. 25–26] interpretation of the fees in *LSCG Suppl.* 22 seems more correct) and add *SEG XLIV* 505 and *I.Perg.* III 161 A, lines 8, 22–23.

63. Fuller text in Peek 1969, no. 336; see, on this inscription, Petropoulou 1991.

64. Cf. in this respect *LSCG Suppl.* 7 (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 129) where firewood seems to be provided (perhaps with a payment) for the sacrifice of a suckling pig. It is

a purificatory offering but the cult in question is unknown.

65. The law itself is probably quite a bit earlier. See M. Wörle's commentary, *I.Perg.* III, pp. 169–170.

66. For example, analogy to *LSCG Suppl.* 22 could suggest that [- -]ων χρεία [- -] (line 10) might have something to do with provision of other pre-incubation items such as the barley groats and wreaths mentioned there.

67. See Jameson et al. 1993, pp. 83, 95. For the use of fleece in the purification of a murderer, add *LSCG Suppl.* 115 B, line 52.

68. Fr. 17; note, on the role of the chicken, Kaibel's comment quoted in *PCG* III 2, p. 42. The play was produced in 414 B.C.; see Petropoulou 1981, pp. 57–58.

thanksgiving<sup>69</sup> or other offering. Perhaps those who would be incubants brought it to offer before incubation. After all, they might have known that at the Amphiareion “each person shall be allowed to offer anything he wishes.”<sup>70</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The Amphiareion, founded in the late 5th century, became in the course of the 4th century a prosperous and popular healing sanctuary. These years, during which the powers controlling the Amphiareion changed repeatedly,<sup>71</sup> are marked by intensive building activity,<sup>72</sup> undoubtedly prompted by the growing popularity of the cult. With the gain in popularity came a growing need to codify cultic activity. It was necessary to update the earliest known sacred law from the Amphiareion, *LSCG Suppl.* 35, which probably precedes the King’s Peace (387/6 B.C.) and has unfortunately reached us in an extremely fragmentary state. The updated law, *LSCG* 69, dating from between 387 and 377 B.C., regulates the duties of the priest, the *neokoros*, and the conduct of worshippers; sets down rules for incubation; and deals in a general way with sacrifice at the sanctuary.<sup>73</sup> It is sufficiently well preserved to be identified as a general law code for the Amphiareion, summarizing the policies governing different aspects of the sanctuary’s activities.

But factors such as the growing popularity of the sanctuary, a wish to take advantage of this situation,<sup>74</sup> increasing building and maintenance costs, and the change of rulers resulted in a continuing need to rework the regulations even after the publication of the code—evident in the erasures it underwent. The incubation fee changed: *LSCG Suppl.* 35, line 6, had required at least one Boiotian drachma; in *LSCG* 69, lines 22–23, the sum of no less than nine obols, payable in any legal currency, is inscribed in a *rasura*.<sup>75</sup> The stipulation in *LSCG* 69, line 30, which had originally pronounced all skins of sacrificial victims sacred property, was at one point erased though no new information was given.<sup>76</sup> In *LSCG* 69, lines 24–25,

69. Cf. the “Rooster to Asklepios” (Pl. *Phdr.* 118a); see Edelstein and Edelstein 1945 [1998], I, nos. 482, 523–531; II, pp. 188–190.

70. Healing at the Amphiareion cannot further concern us here. It did not necessarily end with incubation, but little can be said with any certainty except that the fragments of Aristophanes’ *Amphiaraios* and anecdotal comments in late sources (Philostr. *VA* 2.37: three-days’ abstinence from wine and a one-day abstinence from food prior to incubation; *Geoponica* II 35.8: abstinence from beans in the cult of Amphiaraos) suggest a complex process. For dietary practices see in general Deubner 1900, pp. 14–17.

71. For chronology see Petrakos’s testimonia in *I. Oropos* 495–502, updating Petrakos 1968, pp. 22–32.

72. Especially between 377 and 338 B.C. For a summary see Petrakos 1968, pp. 68–70.

73. For the relations between the two documents and their dates, see Petropoulou 1981, pp. 55–63 (esp. pp. 58–59), where she argues that *LSCG Suppl.* 35, which requires no less than one Boiotian drachma as an incubation fee, ought to antedate the King’s Peace and the dissolution of the Boiotian league. She dates *LSCG* 69 between 387 and 377 B.C., when Oropos was autonomous and accepted payment in any legal currency from the incubants. These dates are accepted

by Petrakos in *I. Oropos*, p. 439; cf., however, Knoepfler’s reservations, esp. 1988, p. 233; 1992, p. 452; 1998, p. 105, n. 28.

74. “Greediness resides at Oropos” (τὴν μὲν αἰσχροκερδίαν κατοικεῖν ἐν Ὀρωπῷ) [Dicaearchus] *GGM* I 104.25, cf. 100–101.7 (= *FHG* II 259–260.25, cf. 256–257.7); Dürrbach 1890, pp. 83–84.

75. See Petropoulou 1981, pp. 62–63; cf. p. 54, suggesting that the raise was due to inflation.

76. Petropoulou (1981, pp. 60–63) suggests that the erasure reflects the inclusion of the pentaeteric Greater Amphiareia among the Athenian festivals subject to Lykourgos’s *dermatikon* tax (for the festival see above, n. 5).

an erasure affected either the preceding discussion of incubation or the following section on sacrifice; in lines 37–38 two more erasures affected the discussion of incubation resumed in line 36.<sup>77</sup>

The exigencies that brought about these changes might have occasioned further legislation, and the extant sacred laws, *LSCG Suppl.* 35 and *LSCG* 69, may represent only a part of a larger group of related documents. The new fragment is likely to belong to this group. As we have seen, a close relationship between the sacrificial tariff and the stipulation in *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31, is obvious. Besides introducing a new source of income (assuming that the sacrificial fee did not abolish the incubation fee), the tariff may represent a wish to elaborate upon the general stipulation of *LSCG* 69, lines 30–31, or state it in more precise terms.<sup>78</sup> Whether a comparable wish to elaborate upon the sacrificial policies of the sanctuary regarding a single event or multiple events motivated the publication of the law I cannot say with any certainty. Likewise, the variables are too many to determine when exactly it was published, by whom, and for how long it was in effect.

The importance of this fragment goes beyond indicating that cult administration was a dynamic matter at the Amphiareion at Oropos in the 4th century B.C. Studied in the light of other available evidence for sacrifice at the sanctuary, the fragment informs us about the cult itself by supporting the notion that the rules affecting the pre-incubation sacrifice at the Amphiareion were more flexible than they appear from Pausanias's account. This is by no means to discredit Pausanias, who no doubt provides an accurate description of the norms prevailing at the Amphiareion in his time. It is only to suggest that these norms were not necessarily the rule, at least not some 400 years earlier.

77. Cf. Petropoulou's discussion (1981, p. 61).

78. Various reasons may underlie the need for precision. For example, providing a list of animals would make it clear that the choice of victim was not limited to animals commonly offered, but also included some not commonly offered such as a bird/chicken. Permission to sacrifice a specific animal, perhaps a chicken (see n. 8 above), is explicitly given in *LSCG* 161 A, lines 2–3, 5–7, because that animal was not a customary victim (*ἱερεῖα τὰ νομιζόμεν[α]* line 2) and the permission was not self-evident.

# APPENDIX

## SACRIFICIAL TARIFFS

The term sacrificial tariff as used here refers only to lists prescribing payment in cash with or without payment in kind for the sacrifice of victims listed alongside. The best example of such a list is the ca. late-4th to early-3rd-century B.C. Punic inscription known as the Marseilles Tariff (*CIS* I 165; *KAI* 69; *COS* 1.98), comprising twenty-one partially preserved lines. Comparable Greek tariffs are shorter and usually form sections in longer documents. I append here a list of select representative examples with a few technical comments to support my discussion above.<sup>79</sup>

1 *LSCG* 45, lines 2–7 (Peiraieus, 4th century B.C.). The sacrificial fee is accompanied by quite extensive prerogatives in kind:

ἐὰν δέ τις θύῃ  
τῇ θεῷ τῶν ὀργεῶνων οἷς μέτεστι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς θύειν·  
[ἐ]ὰν δὲ ἰδιώτης τις θύῃ τῇ θεῷ διδόναι τῇ ἱερέαι γαλαθηνοῦ μὲν :  
IC :  
[κ]αὶ τὸ δέσμα καὶ κωλῆν διανε[κ]ῇ δεξιάν, τοῦ δὲ τελέου : III : καὶ  
δέσμα καὶ  
[κ]ωλῆν κατὰ ταῦτά, βοὸς δὲ : IC : καὶ τὸ δέσμα διδόναι δὲ τὰ  
ἱερεώσυνα τῷ-  
[ν μὲ]ν θηλ[ε]ῶν τῇ ἱερέαι, τῶν δὲ ἀρρένων τῷ ἱερεῖ·

When one of the *orgeones* who share the sanctuary sacrifices to the goddess,<sup>80</sup> they shall sacrifice free of tax. When a private person sacrifices to the goddess, he shall pay the priestess for a suckling victim one and a half obols and the skin and the right leg in its entirety; for a full-grown victim three obols and the skin and the thigh in the same way; for a bovine one and a half obols and the skin. Priestly prerogatives from female victims shall be given to the priestess; those from male victims to the priest.

79. For a general discussion see Sokolowski 1954; cf. Parker and Obbink 2000, pp. 437–438.

80. Bendis.

81. Cf. the later sale of this priesthood, *LSCG* 166, lines 62–65. The date is according to Parker and Obbink 2000, p. 422.

2 *Iscr. Cos* ED 216 B, lines 4–8 (Cos, ca. 225 or ca. 175 B.C.).<sup>81</sup> A woman who sacrifices to Dionysos Thylophoros shall give the priestess as prerogatives (γέρη):

τῶν μὲν μῆλ[α] τῶν ἱερείων καὶ τελείων  
 [σ]κέλος καὶ δέρμα καὶ τριώβολον, τῶν δὲ ἐτέλων κεφα-  
 [λ]άν καὶ πόδας καὶ δέρμα καὶ ὀβολόν. ὑὸς δὲ σκέλος καὶ  
 [τρ]ιώβολον, χοιρίου δὲ κεφαλάν καὶ πόδας καὶ ὀβολόν.  
 [β]οῦς δὲ σκέλος καὶ δέρμα καὶ δραχμάν·

For full-grown sheep victims the leg, skin, and three obols; for yearlings the head, skin, trotters, and an obol; for a pig the leg and three obols; for a piglet the head, trotters, and an obol; for a bovine the leg, skin, and a drachma.

In a number of cases the money is to be put into a *thesauros*. The verb ἀπαρχεσθαι is employed in the following examples:

3 *LSCG* 88, lines 11–15 (Olbia, around 230 B.C.).<sup>82</sup> The law is written under a list of the members of the board of seven in charge of the *thesauros*. The large sums are explained as the actual prices of the victims rather than as sacrificial fees.<sup>83</sup>

τοὺς θύοντας ἀπαρχεσθαι  
 [ε]ἰς τὸν θησαυρόν·  
 βοὸς μὲν χιλίους διακοσίους  
 ἱερείου δὲ καὶ αἰγὸς τριακοσίους  
 . . . οὗς δὲ ἐξήκοντα.

Those offering sacrifice shall first pay to the *thesauros*: for a bovine 1,200; for a sheep<sup>84</sup> and for a goat 300; for - - (?) 60.

4 Parker and Obbink 2000, pp. 416–417, lines 10–12; sale of a priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia (Cos, late 2nd century B.C.). Lines 16–22 postulate that the keys of the *thesauroi*<sup>85</sup> be kept by the *prostatai*, who would open them in the presence of the priestess, who would receive half the sum collected therein. The other half would be deposited in the goddess's account in the public bank and be used for sanctuary construction and repairs as determined by the assembly:<sup>86</sup>

ἀπαρχέσθων δὲ καὶ τοὶ λοιποὶ πάντες τοὶ θύοντες ἐς τὸν θησαυρόν  
 τᾶ[ι]  
 Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐπὶ μὲν βοῖ δραχμὰς δύο, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν μὲν τελείων δραχμάν, τῶν δὲ ἀτελείων τριώβολ<ο>ν, ὄρνι|σι|θος δὲ ὀβολόν·

All the rest of those offering sacrifice shall pay to the *thesauros* for Aphrodite for a bovine two drachmas, for the rest a drachma for full-grown victims, three obols for non-full-grown victims, and an obol for a bird.

5 *LSCG Suppl.* 72 A, lines 1–3 (Thasos, 1st century B.C.), inscribed on a *thesauros*, prescribes a flat fee and sentences transgressors to a bad conscience; each year the *thesauros* money would be handed over to the *hieromnemon* for safekeeping. Once the sum of 1,000 drachmas had been

82. For the date, Kaminski 1991, p. 178.

83. See Sokolowski's commentary, *LSCG* 88; in line 15, he prints [ . ], but the earliest editors he cites print traces.

84. Literally "victim"; see *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. ἱερεῖον, and commentaries.

85. Parker and Obbink (2000, pp. 436–437) suggest that *thesauroi* are referred to in the plural because each Aphrodite had one.

86. Cf. the similar stipulations in an older sale of this priesthood, *Iscr. Cos* ED 178 b (A), lines 12–16; see further Parker and Obbink 2000, pp. 437–439.



collected, the council and the people would deliberate on the dedication or construction for Theo(a)genes on which it should be spent:

Τοὺς θύοντας τῷ Θεογένει  
[Θα]σ[ίω]ι ἀπάρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν θη-  
σαυρὸν μὴ ἔλασσον ὀβολοῦ·

Those offering sacrifice to Thasian Theogenes shall pay to the *thesauros* not less than an obol.

The verb ἐμβάλλειν is used in the following examples:

6 *LSCG* 125 (Mytilene, 2nd century B.C.) enumerates victims, the distribution of their parts, and sums of money (now lost) to be put into a *thesauros*, obviously as a fee for the sacrifice. Specific parts that are to be placed on the cult table probably go to the priest. The phrase [ἐνβαλ]λέτω εἰς τὸν θησα[υρὸν] occurs in line 5 and can be securely restored in lines 7–8. Lines 6–8 read:

<sup>vac.</sup> ὁ δέ κε δασύπο[δα θύη τρα]-  
[πεζώ]σθω μὲν ταῦτ[ά, εἰς δὲ τὸν θη]-  
[σαυρ]ὸν ἐνβαλλέ[τω - - -]

Whoever sacrifices a hare shall place on the cult table the same parts (described in lines 2–3) and put into the *thesauros* [- - -].

7 *LSCG Suppl.* 108, lines 8–12 (Rhodes, 1st century A.C.):

καθ' ἀδίτους θύοντα  
ἐνβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θη-  
σαυρὸν βοὸς <ἀ', τῷ[ν]  
ἄλλων τετραπόδων [.],  
ἀλέκτορος ε'.

Whoever sacrifices in the adyton shall put into the *thesauros* one drachma for a bovine, [half a drachma?] for other quadrupeds, a fifth(?)<sup>87</sup> of a drachma for a rooster.

8 *LSAM* 73, lines 29–32 (Halikarnassos, 3rd century B.C.), stipulates the preparation of a θησαυρός for the goddess (Artemis Pergaia) and requires (lines 30–35) that:<sup>88</sup>

ἐνβαλλέτωσαν δὲ οἱ  
θύοντες ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ<ι> τελείωι ὀβολοὺς δύο, ἐπὶ  
δὲ γαλαθεινῶι ὀβολόν· ἀνοιγόντων δὲ οἱ ἐξε-  
τασταὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτ<ὸ>ν τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ δι<δ>ό[ν]-  
των τῇ ἱερείαι εἷς τε τὴν ἐπικουρίαν {κ<α>ι εἰς}  
{[ἱ]ματισμὸν} καὶ εἰς ἱματισμὸν καὶ εἰς Σ[- - -].

Those offering sacrifice shall put in two obols for a full-grown victim and an obol for a suckling victim. The *exetastai* shall open the *thesauros* annually and give to the priestess for the *epikouria* sacrifice, for clothing and for [- - -].

87. In line 12, E may denote “a fifth” (see *LSCG Suppl.*, p. 177); Kaminski (1991, p. 180) understands five obols, which makes the fee only one obol short of the drachma paid for a bovine.

88. I correct Sokolowski’s text on the basis of notes in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1015.

## COMMENTS

1. Animals are listed, by size, according to species (2, 3, 7), age (8), or both (1, 4). Sometimes only the largest and smallest are named (4, 7). When classification according to species is used, subclassification according to age may be employed (2, cf. 4). The order is either ascending (1, 2) or descending (3, 4, 7, 8). Similar principles can be observed in the Marseilles Tariff, which is arranged in a descending order.

2. The fee generally increases according to the size of animal (3, 4, 7, 8).

3. In 1 and probably 2, where the money is explicitly said to be a part of the priestly prerogatives, an equal subtotal value of cash and in-kind prerogatives seems to be intended. In 1 the differences between the prerogatives in cash and in kind between the full-grown (non-bovine) and the bovine victims may be due to an equality in the combined value of the prerogatives, i.e., the skin of a bovine plus one and a half obols equaled the value of the skin and the leg of a non-bovine full-grown victim plus three obols. Compare the differences in prerogatives in the adult/yearling categories in 2.

A similar principle might be observed in the fragmentary Latin tariff from Rome, *CIL* VI 820. The following points should, however, be noted: 1) Even in 1 the yearling does not conform to this principle. The reason may be a wish to allow a more affordable offering. Significantly, the Marseilles Tariff has a special category for the poor (line 15): “For each sacrifice that a person poor in cattle or in bird sacrifices, the priests shall not receive [a thing].” 2) The cash plus in-kind value of the bovine in 2 seems greater than that of the full-grown non-bovine victims.

4. The animal usually appears in the genitive. Ἐπί with the dative is also possible as in 4 and 8. Example 6 employs an entirely different construction consisting of two clauses.

5. Private sacrifice is evident where the context is clear (3 is not clear). In the more detailed Marseilles Tariff, lines 16–17 consider sacrifice offered by groups: “Any association, any clan, any fellow-drinkers’ association (in honor) of a god, and any men who sacrifice [– – –] these men [shall pay] a fee for each sacrifice according to what is set in the written document [– – –].” Even it does not discuss public sacrifice. The Delphic *pelanos* tariffs, prescribing cultic fees paid by particular cities and their inhabitants, are a different case; see *LSCG Suppl.* 39 (*CID* I 8) and 41, lines 8–12 (*CID* I 13); cf. 38 A (*CID* I 7), lines 25–32; *CID* I 1.

6. Ἀπάρχεσθαι vs. ἐμβάλλειν. Both verbs prescribe the deposition of money in the *thesauros*. Whereas ἐμβάλλειν simply refers to the action, ἀπάρχεσθαι defines it as an offering.<sup>89</sup>

7. Money formally included in priestly prerogatives is given directly to the priest (1, 2).

89. See LSJ s.v. II 2, III; cf. Parker and Obbink 2000, p. 436.

8. When a *thesauros* is involved, whoever has control over it is in control of the money (obviously 3, considering the list of those in charge inscribed above the tariff; also 4, 5, 8). The money may be divided between the priestess and the divinity (4). In 8, money given to the priestess is to be used for cult-related expenses. In 4 and 5, sacred money is used for sacred expenses.

The treatment of money from the Amphiareion's *thesauros* is known in two cases, *I. Oropos* 290, lines 13–25 and 324 (*LSCG* 70), lines 33–39. In the first case, the decree of Pandios (369/8 B.C.),<sup>90</sup> the priest is required to use twenty drachmas from the money collected in the *thesauros* for inscribing a stele with the *syngraphai* describing the repair works of the fountain and the conditions according to which they have been leased out. The rest of the money from the *thesauros* and money from the shops should be used for an ἄρεστήριον<sup>91</sup> and for reimbursing the *neokoros*; the remainder is to be handed over to those in charge of sacred works who are to transfer it to the contractor. In the late-3rd-century B.C. ex-voto decree *I. Oropos* 324, lines 33–39 (*LSCG* 70 contains only lines 1–52 of the inscription), money from the *thesauros* is spent in the course of melting old dedications.

90. See Knoepfler 1986.

91. A special sacrifice made upon the occasion of alterations to divine property. See Stengel 1920, p. 134; Rudhardt 1992, p. 269.

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## Eran Lupu

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS  
P.O. BOX 39040  
RAMAT AVIV, TEL AVIV 69978  
ISRAEL

elupu@hotmail.com