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POST-NUPTIAL SACRIFICES ON KOS (SEGRE, *ED* 178) AND ANCIENT GREEK  
MARRIAGE RITES

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Segre's collection of epigraphic material from Kos, published in 1993,<sup>1</sup> has received some immediate attention from scholars, but much more work needs to be carried out on the inscriptions in this corpus.<sup>2</sup> Some of the inscriptions were previously published but many are published for the first time in this collection.<sup>3</sup> One of the previously unpublished inscriptions, *ED* 178a(A), a public decree of the early second century BC, provides a new and welcome piece of evidence concerning wedding ceremonies in ancient Greece. Practically all of the evidence for such ceremonies comes from literary and iconographic evidence, and to date only the Cyrene cathartic law has provided epigraphic evidence for such rituals being required by the state at Cyrene, and therefore possibly elsewhere. Kos, it is now clear, had a similar provision to the Cyrene decree: *ED* 178a(A).15-20. While Artemis, as would be expected, is invoked as the deity receiving sacrifices from brides (nymphai) at Cyrene at some unspecified time after their marriage, women on Kos had to sacrifice within one year of marriage to Aphrodite Pandamos. The entire inscription is quoted below for the benefit of those who do not have access to Segre's collection. The primary focus here will be on lines 15-20, but comments will also be made on other features of the inscription, as it and others in Segre's collection provide useful sources of information for Greek cult practices. In addition, as the Koan marriage provision has received no comment to date,<sup>4</sup> it is worthwhile to examine the sacrifices which have to be made in the general context of what is known about marriage sacrifices in other places. In addition, *ED* 178b(A) deals with specific projects to be paid for from the goddess' resources, as well as a perquisite for the priestess of the cult, while a(B) and b(B) provide evidence about donations made by women to sanctuary rebuilding, in this case because of an earthquake. *ED* 178a(A) will be examined first, then 178b(A), and lastly 178a(B) and b(B).<sup>5</sup>

1. *ED* 178a(A)

- Ἄγαθῆαι τύχαι. ἐπὶ μονάρχου Θευδώρου, μηνὸς Δαλ[ί]-  
ου ἑκκαίδεκάται. τάδε ἀπ<ή>νε< γ>κ<α>ν τοὶ ἄνδρες τοὶ αἰρεθέν-  
τες ἐπιγράψαι περὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας τὰς Ἀφροδίτας τὰς
- 4 Πανδάμου, Κλεινίας Φιλίτα, Κλεύμαχος Φανομάχου,  
Δαμοφῶν Μένωνος· τοὶ πωληταὶ ἀποδόσθων τὰν ἱε-  
ρωσύναν μηνὸς Ἀλκείου ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις. ἃ πριαμένα  
ἔττω ὑγίης καὶ ὀλόκλαρος καὶ τελέα, ἱεράσθω δὲ ἐπὶ
- 8 βίου. τὰ μὲν ἄλ<λ>α κατὰ τὰς πρότερον διαγραφάς· κατα-  
βολὰς δὲ ποιηεῖται<ι> τοῦ εὐρόντος ἀργυρίου ποτὶ μέ-  
ρος τέσσαρας, τὰν μὲν πρῶταν ἐμ μηνὶ Ἀλκείῳ τῷ  
ἐπὶ Θευδώρου, τὰν δὲ δευτέραν ἐμ μηνὶ Γερα<ς>τίῳ

<sup>1</sup> Segre's work is edited by D. Peppas-Delmousou and M.A. Rizza: M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, I. *Testo*; II *Tavole* (Rome 1993); for bibliographical details on Segre, see *Testo* 5; C. Habicht, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 83; *SEG* 43.549 p. 179. The corpus is divided into public decrees (*ED*) and private inscriptions (*EV*).

<sup>2</sup> See *SEG* 43.549; Habicht 83-94; P. Ceccarelli, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 287-305; P. Gauthier, *REG* 108 (1995) 576-585 (on *ED* 145.20-69, and *ED* 215.11-15); *REG* 107 (1994) *BE* no. 450, pp. 559-560, *REG* 108 (1995) *BE* no. 448, pp. 500-504, *REG* 109 (1996) *BE* no. 313, pp. 614-615; A. Chaniotis, *Kernos* 10 (1997) no. 219, pp. 298-306 provides a good overall treatment of the contents of Segre's corpus.

<sup>3</sup> For new and previously published inscriptions in Segre's corpus, see *SEG* 43.549, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Brief comments have been made on the date and the subscription list of this inscription by Habicht (n. 2) 88, and a few other details in *REG* 108 (1995) *BE* no. 448 pp. 501, 503; Chaniotis (n. 2) p. 300 summarises the main points.

<sup>5</sup> The printed brackets <> represent missing or incorrectly inscribed letters.

- 12 τῶι μετὰ μόναρχον Θεόδωρον, τὰν δὲ τρίταν ἐμ μην-  
νὶ Ἀλκείῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονάρχου, τὰν δὲ τετάρταν  
ἐμ μηνὶ <Γ>ερα<σ>τ<ί>ωι ἐπὶ μονάρχου ὅς κα γένηται τρίτος  
16 εὖν Θευδώρωι. Ἴνα δὲ ἐπαύξηται τὰ τίμια τὰς θεοῦ  
φαίνωνται τε ταὶ γαμοῦσαι πᾶσαι τὰν τε πολιτίδω-  
ν καὶ νό[θ]ων καὶ παροίκων κατὰ δύναμιν τὰν αὐτῶν τι-  
μῶσαι τὰν θεόν, ὅσαι κα γαμῶνται, χρηματικθεΐσαι  
εἰσωμοσίας θυόντω πᾶσαι τὰι θεῶι ἱερῆον μετὰ τὸν  
20 γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῶι· ταῖ<σ> δὲ συντελούσαις τὰ ἐσαφικ-  
μένα ἄμεινον ἦμεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀκολούθως τοῖς  
προκεκυρωμένοις συντελῶντι τὰς θυσίας τοῖ{σ} τε  
ἔμποροι{σ} καὶ τοῖ{σ} ναύκλαροι{σ} τοῖ{σ} ὀρμώμενοι{σ} ἐκ τὰς π-  
24 ὀλιος· ὅσσοι κα μὴ θύσωντι ὡς γέγραπται, ἐπιτίμιόν τε  
αὐτοῖς ἔστω, καὶ ὀφειλόντω ἐπιτίμιον τᾶ<σ> ἱερείαι δραχμὰς  
δέκα, ἃ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω αὐτῶι καθάπερ ἐγ δίκας. τοὺς δὲ  
ἀγερμοῦς τὰν σαλαίδων καὶ τᾶλλα περὶ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι  
28 πάντα κατὰ τὰ προκεκυρωμέν<α> ἐπὶ μονάρχου Λευκίπ-  
που· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀ<σ>ερμῶν θυέτω ἕκαστος τῶν προε-  
στακότων τῶι Ἀφροδίται τῶι Πανδάμωι <τ>αῖ ἐνάται τοῦ  
Πανάμου μηνὸς ἱερεῖον τέληον. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ δι[ἃ τὸν γεγινό]-  
32 [τ]α σεισμὸν τὰ μὲν προπέπτωκε τῶν [ τῶν ]  
τε ἰστιατορίω[ν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ]  
χρηστηρίω[ν, τὰ δὲ ]  
κινδυνε[εύται ]

### The preamble (lines 1-5)

Theodoros is the *monarchos*, the annual eponymous magistrate of Kos, and as with the eponymous archon at Athens and the eponymous ephor at Sparta, his patronymic is not given. Kleumachos son of Phanomachos, one of the three men inscribing ‘the things concerning the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos’ (2-5) is also known from the long list of financial contributors towards military expenses when the ‘common safety’ of Kos was threatened (*PH* 10c 47-8). With his brother Phanomachos, Kleumachos made a joint contribution of three thousand drachmas. *PH* 10 is usually dated to the end of the third century BC, c. 205-01,<sup>6</sup> and *ED* 178 must accordingly be dated to the same period.<sup>7</sup>

### The auctioning of and payment for the priesthood (lines 5-6, 8-15)

The inscription prescribes that the *poletai* were to sell the women’s priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos in the month Alseios at the time of the election of the magistrates. The payments for the priesthood were to be in four instalments: the first in the month of Alseios when Theodoros was *monarchos*, the second and the third in the months Gerastios and Alseios respectively in the time of the *monarchos* after Theodoros, and the fourth in the month Gerastios in the succeeding *monarchos*’ term. The final payment is to be made in the year of the second *monarchos* after Theodoros, but as the Greeks counted inclusively, the second *monarchos* is referred to as the ‘third after Theodoros’ (lines 14-15).

There was no fixed price for this priesthood but rather it was to be auctioned by the *poletai* in the month Alseios at the time of the election of the magistrates. That auction is the method of sale is indicated by the phrase τοῦ εὐρόντος ἀργυρίου (line 9). While another Koan inscription refers to fines if

<sup>6</sup> W.R. Paton and E.L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Kos* (Oxford 1891), henceforth *PH*, 10 dated it to c. 260, but see now S.M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen 1978) 121 with n. 204 (c. 200 BC).

<sup>7</sup> *PH* 367-68 is also relevant for dating *ED* 178; see the note below on Klymene Thrasyandrou in the discussion of *ED* 178b. For Koan names, note the prosopography of Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (n. 6) 387-551.

the payments for a priesthood are not made punctually, there is no such measure in ED 178a(A). No indication is given of the cost of the priesthood, but the fact that it is to be paid in four instalments suggests that it was not cheap, and moreover, the first instalment was to be used to help finance building projects (b[A].8). A women's priesthood of Aphrodite Pandemos sold for 200 drachmai at Erythrai in the third century, but this is no guide to the price on Kos; at Erythrai, the women's priesthood of Aphrodite in Embatos sold for 2040 drachmai.<sup>8</sup>

### The prerequisites for the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos (lines 6-7)

The woman who purchased the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos<sup>9</sup> was to be physically healthy and sound of body: ἀπριαμένα ἰέτω ὑγιῆς καὶ ὀλόκλαρος (6-7). Just as the offering to a god had to be ὀλόκλαρος (e.g. LSCG 65.70, Andania, 1st century BC), so too did the priests and priestesses in any cult, and inscriptions prescribe that the priest of a cult be both ὑγιῆς and ὀλόκλαρος.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the priestess of Demeter and the priest of Zeus Polieus on Kos had to avoid pollution of various kinds (LSCG 154A.21-45, 156A.7-16). In the cult of Dionysos Thyllophoros on Kos the purchaser of the women's priesthood was also to be both ὑγιῆς and ὀλόκλαρος,<sup>11</sup> as was the purchaser of the priesthood of Asklepios, Hygieia and Epiona (ED 2A.13-15), for the priesthood of Herakles Kallinikon (ED 180.15-16), and for the priesthood of Zeus Alseios.<sup>12</sup> An example not from Kos is that of the priest of Asklepios at Chalcedon, who had to be ὀλόκλαρος (LSAM 5.9-10 [SIG<sup>3</sup> 1009], c. 200 BC.).

The comic poet Anaxandrides shows that it was the custom that priests be ὀλόκληρος and Plato in the *Laws* prescribes that priests be ὀλόκληρος and also γνήσιος (presumably legitimate), while a lexicographical entry claims that at Athens the archontes basileis and the priests were examined to ascertain whether they were ἀφελεῖς (unblemished) and ὀλόκληροι.<sup>13</sup> These regulations concern physical purity, and it is interesting to note that at Athens a male citizen who had prostituted himself was debarred from holding priesthoods because he was not pure of body.<sup>14</sup>

For the priestess of Aphrodite Pandamos on Kos, in addition to being healthy and sound of body, there was a further provision that she be *teleia*, 'unblemished'. In the inscriptions specifying the sale of priesthoods, health and wholeness are usually accompanied by a specification concerning age, usually a minimum age requirement. Purchasers of priesthoods needed to be over eight, ten, twelve, twenty or

<sup>8</sup> LSAM 25.70 (Aphrodite Pandemos), 25.42 (Aphrodite in Embatos).

<sup>9</sup> For Greek priestesses, see esp. J.A. Turner, *Heireiai. Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods in Ancient Greece* (University of California, unpublished PhD 1983); see also D.D. Feaver, *YCS* 15 (1957) 125, 132, 137-138, 140-142, 145-146, 153-154, 157; B. Jordan, *Servants of the Gods. A Study in the Religion, History and Literature of Fifth-Century Athens* (Göttingen 1979) 28-36, 77-80; R.S.J. Garland, *ABSA* 79 (1984) 76-77, 70, 86-87, 88-89, 90-101, 112; idem, "Priests and power in classical Athens", in M. Beard and J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (London 1990) 74-80; I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987) 69-72; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What is polis-religion?" in O. Murray and S. Price (eds), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) 320-322; L.B. Zaidman, "Pandora's Daughters and Rituals in Grecian Cities" in P.S. Pantel (ed.), *A History of Women in the West I* (Cambridge, MA, 1992) 372-375; R.S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings* (Oxford 1992) 80-92; U. Kron, "Priesthoods, dedications, and euergetism. What part did religion play in the political and social status of Greek Women?" in P. Hellström and B. Alroth (eds), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World* (Uppsala 1996) 140-155.

<sup>10</sup> In addition to these prescriptions, note also the requirements on Kos that the priestess of Demeter, and the priest of Zeus Polias, had to avoid pollution of various kinds (LSCG 154A.21-45, 156A.7-16 respectively).

<sup>11</sup> ED 216.7-8 (end of 3rd century BC), LSCG 166.8-10 (2nd or 1st century BC). The age of the priestess in the cult of Dionysos Thyllophoros is given as twelve in ED 216.7-8, but as ten in LSCG 166.8-10, indicating a change over the course of time; there were several pre-puberty priesthoods in ancient Greece, for which see below.

<sup>12</sup> ED 215.8-9 (1st century BC), restored in LSCG 162.14 (3rd century BC; Kos, Asklepios) and ED 182.5-7 (2nd century BC; priesthood of King Eumenes).

<sup>13</sup> Anaxandrides fr. 40 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* II, p. 258; Plato *Laws* 759c; *EM* s.v. ἀφελής. For the religious duties of the basileus archon, see [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 57. On the physical soundness of priests, see R.S.J. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder. Deformity and Disability in the Greco-Roman World* (Ithaca 1995) 64; cf. idem, *ABSA* 79 (1984) 85; see also M.P.J. Dillon, *Ancient Society* 26 (1995) 48 with n. 103; idem, *Ancient History* 25 (1995) 164.

<sup>14</sup> Aesch. 1.19-21, 188; see K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978) 24-25.

forty years, depending on the individual cult; two of the ages specified are for priestesses.<sup>15</sup> In *ED* 178, no specific age is mentioned. It can be noted that while in *LSCG* 166 the state of Kos pays for the costs of the priest's induction, and the *poletai* actually call for contracts for the expenses which were to be involved in the ceremony,<sup>16</sup> no similar ceremony or procedure exists in *ED* 178a(A).

**'To be priestess for life' (lines 7-8, ἱεράθω δὲ ἐπὶ ἰ βίου)**

A similarity in the provisions of *ED* 178 and those for other priesthoods on Kos is that those who bought priesthoods were said to have them for life, which is to be expected given that the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos was to be paid for in four instalments and was therefore presumably expensive.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, there are some individual priestesses who can be named who held office for life. Euamera was priestess of Artemis for life at Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2874).

Lysimache was priestess of Athena Polias at Athens for 64 years.<sup>18</sup> Thucydides records that when the Peloponnesian War broke out Chrysis had been priestess of Hera at Argos for 48 years, and was priestess for another eight and a half years after that, ending her priesthood when she put a lighted lamp near the garlands, which caught fire; the temple burned down, and she fled.<sup>19</sup> Myrrhine, priestess of Athena Nike at Athens, could have served for about forty years, or perhaps twenty, depending on when she first took up office.<sup>20</sup>

**'Let them all sacrifice' (lines 15-19)**

All the free women of Kos, regardless of whether they were of the class of citizens, *nothai* or *paroikoi*, were to sacrifice to 'the goddess' (Aphrodite Pandamos, as lines 3-4 indicate), in accordance with their means within a year of their marriage. This recalls the situation at Epidaurus where a temple servant requested that a father bring the thanks-giving offering within a year if his son was cured.<sup>21</sup>

A difficulty in this section is with the phrase *ψηρηματικθείαα ἰ εἰσωμοσίαα* (18-19). Gauthier noted that this is 'énigmatique',<sup>22</sup> while the editors of *SEG* suggest *ἐξωμοσίαα* for the stone's *EICΩMOCI-*

<sup>15</sup> Eight: *ED* 215.8-9 (the priesthood of Zeus Alseios); ten: *ED* 109.10, *ED* 180.16, *LSCG* 166.8-10 (Kos); twelve: *ED* 216.7-8 (the same cult as *LSCG* 166 but earlier); twenty: *LSAM* 49A.6; or forty years of age: *ED* 2A.14, *LSCG* 162.14-15 (Kos), all depending on the individual cult. Priestesses: *ED* 216.7-8 and *LSCG* 166; cf. *ED* 177.6. For priesthoods requiring virgin girls, see Paus. 2.10.4, 33.2; 7.19.1, 26.5; 8.47.3; 10.34.8. Priesthoods requiring older priests: Paus. 6.20.2, Plut. *Mor.* 404a (with consequences when the usual custom was not followed), and for the case of the Pythia at Delphi, see M.P.J. Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece* (London 1997) 247 n. 143. Boys as priests: Paus. 7.24.4, 9.10.4, 10.34.8.

<sup>16</sup> *LSCG* 166.20-23 (cult of Dionysos Thylophoros); the purchaser of the priesthood of Asklepios in Chalkedon was to pay for his own induction: *LSAM* 5.22-23.

<sup>17</sup> *ED* 178.7-8; *ED* 180.15-16, 182.7, 216.7-8, cf. 109.11; *LSCG* 166.10; cf. *ED* 177.6; elsewhere, e.g. *LSAM* 56.9, 63.4, 73.8.

<sup>18</sup> Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 34.76; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3453 where her name is restored; see D.M. Lewis, *ABSA* 50 (1955) 4-7; H.B. Mattingly, *AJA* 86 (1982) 385; idem, *The Athenian Empire Restored* (Michigan 1996) 470.

<sup>19</sup> Thuc. 2.2.1, 4.133.2-3; cf. Paus. 2.17.7, 3.5.6.

<sup>20</sup> The decree (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 35; see also *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 36) which first instituted the priesthood of Athena Nike and stipulated her salary is traditionally dated to c. 448, and the epitaph of Myrrhine, the first priestess of Athena Nike, in which she proclaims that she was the first priestess of Athena Nike, has usually been dated to c. 405 (*SEG* 12.80). Mattingly has argued that *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 35 is one of the inscriptions which has been dated too early, and that the date needs to be revised to c. 430; see *Historia* 10 (1961) 170 n. 103 and *AJA* 86 (1982) 385 (*The Athenian Empire Restored* [n. 18] 30 and 470 respectively). This is criticised by B.D. Meritt and H.T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 83 (1963) 110 n. 57. For Myrrhine, see also J. Papademetriou, *Arch. Eph.* (1948/49) 146-53; D.M. Lewis, *ABSA* 50 (1955) 1-7; C. Clairmont, "The lekythos of Myrrhine" in G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore (eds), *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology. A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (New York 1979) 104; P.J. Rahn, *ABSA* 81 (1986) 195-207, esp. 201-207; G. Sissa and M. Detienne, *La vie quotidienne des dieux grecs* (Paris 1989) 240 (Detienne); N. Loraux, *The Children of Athena* (Princeton 1993) 247 (English trans. of French edition, with postscript).

<sup>21</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 121, iama 5; see M.P.J. Dillon, *ZPE* 101 (1994) 254.

<sup>22</sup> *REG* 108 (1995) *BE* 448, p. 503, suggesting that Pollux 8.55 might be useful in interpreting *εἰσωμοσίαα*.

AC.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the women had to swear an oath before they made the sacrifice that they were sacrificing to the best of their financial ability, rather than making the minimum offering possible.

As noted in the introduction above, only the Cyrene cathartic law provides evidence for marital sacrifices required by the state. The relevant section of the Cyrene law (§2.9-14) is as follows:

[νύ]μφαν δὲ τὸ νυμφήιον ἐς Ἄρταμιν κατ[εν-]  
 [θ]ὲν δεῖ, ὀπόκα κα δῆληται Ἄρταμιτίοις, [ὥς]  
 [τά]χιςτα δὲ λῶιον. ἂ δὲ κα μὴ κατένθη [οὐ]  
 12 [θ]υ]κεῖ τῶι Ἄρτάμιτι ἂ ν[ομί]ζετ[αι] τοῖς [Ἄρταμιτί-]  
 [οι]ς, μὴ κατεληλε[υθ]υῖα δὲ καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερ-  
 [ὸν] καὶ ἐπιθυκεῖ ζ[αμίαν] βοτὸν τέλευν].

‘A bride must go down to the bride-room to Artemis, whenever she wishes at the Artemisia, but the sooner the better. Any woman who does not go down [shall not sacrifice] to Artemis [what is customary at the Artemisia]; not having gone down, [she shall purify the shrine] and sacrifice in addition [a full grown animal as penalty].<sup>24</sup>

At Cyrene the bride "must go down" to the bride-room to Artemis at the Artemisia whenever she wishes but "the sooner the better" before she shall offer the sacrifice customary at the Artemisia. If the reconstruction of the inscription is correct, then the young woman who does not "go down" to the bride-room must atone for this in a more onerous and costly manner by purifying the shrine and by sacrificing, in addition, a full grown animal. Although restored, the reference to pollution could indicate that the woman by entering the married state had incurred pollution which makes her unfit to sacrifice, before she has been cleansed by the ritual of "going down" to the bride-room to Artemis. If without undertaking this ritual of purification she would take part in the customary sacrifices at the festival, the sanctuary itself would be polluted and must therefore be purified by the woman. Certainly, the lines (§2.2-8) concerning women immediately prior to their marriage seem to suggest that voluntary sexual intercourse with their husbands without first sacrificing to Artemis incurred pollution. The brides of Kos must sacrifice after their marriage; however, they do not seem to have been fined for any failure to do so (see commentary on lines 24-6). In addition, a pregnant woman at Cyrene also had to sacrifice to Artemis (§2.15-23).

### Sacrifices ταῖς δὲ τελευμέναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπινυμφευμέναις

The Koan prescription in ED 178a(A) for post-marriage sacrifices to be made to Aphrodite Pandamos could well be reflected in another Koan cult inscription,<sup>25</sup> dealing with the cult of Demeter at Antimacheia, Kos, and the regulations and perquisites for the priestess; it probably dates to the fourth century BC. The inscription refers to rites to be held ταῖς δὲ τελευμέναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπινυμφευμέναις. There is difficulty in interpreting these categories, and different solutions have been offered; the problem centres mainly around ταῖς ἐπινυμφευμέναις, which probably refers to those being betrothed, but which is sometimes interpreted as a type of initiate.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> SEG 43 (1993) 549 p. 180. See the photograph in Segre.

<sup>24</sup> The text is that of F. Solmsen and E. Fraenkel, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae* (Stuttgart<sup>4</sup> 1966), no. 39, B§2.9-14, with Calhoun's suggestion of [οὐ | θυ]κεῖ in lines 11-12 (*CPh* 29 [1934] 345-46), rather than their [ἐπι|θ]υ]κεῖ ("shall sacrifice in addition"); the translation is modified from that of R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford 1983) 345; for the Cyrene cathartic law, see esp. SEG 9.72; *LSCG Suppl.* 115; Buck 115.

<sup>25</sup> *LSCG* 175.4-5; *SGDI* 3721; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1006; *PH* 386; R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* (Berlin 1929) no. 17.

<sup>26</sup> Paton and Hicks considered the two categories to be women being married (for the first time) and women being married for the second time (*PH* 386 p. 277, followed by *SGDI* 3721, and *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. ἐπινυμφεύομαι citing this inscription). Von Gaertringen (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1006) noted that the only other occurrence of ἐπινυμφεύομαι is Eumathios, where it has the meaning 'betroth' (Eumathios xi 12; see W.A. Hirschig, *Erotici Scriptores* [Paris 1856] p. 593). Ziehen (*LGS* 132) sees the ἐπινυμφεύομαι as a category of initiates, taking τελευμέναις (who also appear in line 9) as initiates; this is quite plausible. Sokolowski (*LSCG* 175 p. 306) thinks that the inscription is dealing with marriages in the sanctuary, because a regulation for the cult of Nike on Kos refers to marriages in the Nike sanctuary (*LSCG* 163.1, τὸς γάμος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ; second century BC).

If ἐπινυμφεύμενοι refers to those betrothed, then the *teleumenai* belong to a similar category (those marrying); the evidence for marriage rituals which will be discussed below points to the role of Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia in marriage sacrifices, and to the *proteleia* as an important element of marriage ritual. If this inscription does refer to rites to be conducted by the priestess of Demeter for the betrothed and those getting married, it is interesting to note that Demeter, like Aphrodite Pandamos, was thought to take an interest in this category of women. While the reference in *ED* 178a(A) is only to women marrying—and they have a year after their marriage in which to make the sacrifice—in *LSCG* 175.4-5 those betrothed and those about to be married (ἐπινυμφεύμενοι and τελεύμενοι) are to make sacrifices.

The goddess Artemis was a divinity par excellence associated with marriage, and in particular with the transition of the maiden to the state of married woman (the *parthenos* became a *gyne* under her patronage). Artemis as a goddess presiding over rites of passage initiating young girls into adult life is particularly evident at Brauron, where young girls served her as *arktoi*, bears, prior to puberty. But other deities besides Artemis were associated with marriage and the transition from one stage of life to another, and Demeter and Aphrodite, for example, appear as sponsors of marriage on Kos. It is not surprising that deities other than Artemis, notably Aphrodite, received marriage offerings. Moreover, Aphrodite's worship is 'better represented' on Kos than that of Artemis,<sup>27</sup> and so Aphrodite, particularly as an important deity on Kos, might have been considered just as appropriate a goddess to worship in the marriage context as Artemis, and this could explain her involvement here. More probably, however, as an examination of the cult of this goddess will show, it is Aphrodite in her role as a deity involved in marriage, and the possibility that Aphrodite Pandamos had not only a significance for the state but also for the individual, that explains why she received such post-marriage sacrifices on Kos.

### The nature of the cult of Aphrodite Pandamos

Aphrodite Pandamos might seem a deity more connected with the state than with individuals, but it is precisely her role as a unifier of the *demoi* which makes her role as a recipient of sacrifices from Koan wives explicable. Sherwin-White (n. 6) discussed Sokolowski's suggestion that Aphrodite Pandamos could be linked to Kos' *synoikismos* in 366, in much the same way as Aphrodite Pandamos was associated with Attika's *synoikismos*.<sup>28</sup> As she noted, this 'political origin' of the cult of the Koan Aphrodite Pandamos is 'hypothetical' but possible. A connection between Aphrodite Pandamos at Athens and Aphrodite Pandamos at Kos on the ground of *synoikismos* is possible because of Pausanias' statement (1.22.3) that Theseus established the cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Peitho at the *synoikismos* of Attika, and 'pandamos' would in this case represent the coming together of the Athenian *demoi* as one political unit. Apollodoros in his work *On the Gods* gave a different version, writing that the epithet *pandamos* was given to the goddess Aphrodite because of her presence in the old agora at Athens, where people gathered for assemblies (Apollodoros *FGrHist* 244 F 113).<sup>29</sup> Aphrodite Pandamos was therefore

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Sherwin-White (*Ancient Cos* [n. 6] 306) sees the two groups as the initiated and the married. Robertson (*TAPA* 113 [1983] 165 with n. 49), discussing the reference to ritual begging in line 12 of this inscription, prefers von Gaertringen's interpretation, and argues for ritual begging in the cult for these two categories, which would be in the context of begging rituals carried out for the benefit of child-bearing.

<sup>27</sup> Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (n. 6), 304. For Aphrodite and the Aphrodision in Koan inscriptions, see the list in Sherwin-White 304-305; also Segre *EV* 2.11; 156; 171; *ED* 3 B7; Aphrodite Pandamos is found in *ED* 178 a(A).3-4, b(A).11, and *LSCG* 169a.

<sup>28</sup> Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (n. 6) 304; *LSCG* 172 p. 301, *LSCG* 39 p. 74; for the *synoikismos*, see Sherwin-White 43-46, 154-155, 292, 304.

<sup>29</sup> But cf. N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends, the Formation of Greek Cults in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto 1992) 49-51, esp. 50; he argues that this is implausible because there is no trace of the Pausanias story in other sources, for example, in Plutarch's *Theseus*, where Aphrodite's connection with Theseus is dealt with (Plut. *Thes.* 18.3). Similarly, Robertson considers that Apollodoros comes close to the truth but not quite. He sees the true meaning of the epithet as relating to the opening up of political office to a wider group of candidates.



a deity associated with the unity of the citizen body. On Kos, therefore, she is not necessarily connected with the island's synoikismos, but perhaps rather with the goddess' unitary aspect.

Modern scholars in dealing with Aphrodite Pandemos tend not to discuss the ancient versions most closely connected with what many would see as Aphrodite's main function, as goddess of love. The Athenian New Comedy poet Philemon had a comic scene in the *Adelphoi* describing how Solon set up brothels and stocked them with prostitutes, while Nikander in his *History of Kolophon* (second half of the second century BC) embellished this comic and fictional account by writing that Solon established the first temple of Aphrodite Pandemos from the prostitutes' income.<sup>30</sup> Clearly Solon cannot be credited with such a state-run brothel system,<sup>31</sup> and this is not to be included amongst his genuine measures, but can be placed in the category of laws and customs ascribed to Solon, either to gain his authority for them, or as in Philemon's case to provide material for a comic scene.<sup>32</sup> Nikander connects Solon with Aphrodite Pandemos, but it can be noted that Philemon does not make this connection. Xenophon (*Symp.* 8.9-10) writes that Aphrodite Pandemos and Aphrodite Ourania had different altars and temples, and sees the distinction as being that Pandemos oversaw sensual love, while Ourania oversaw love of a higher sort, of the spirit. Similarly, Plato (*Symp.* 180d-182d) notes the two different 'types' of Aphrodite, with Aphrodite Pandemos having charge of a base love, while Aphrodite Ourania presided over a higher type, not of the body but of the qualities of the beloved.<sup>33</sup> Aphrodite Ourania was certainly associated with marriage rituals concerning fertility, as will be argued below. Aphrodite Ourania had a sanctuary in Athens itself, and a dedication to her by Aristoklea, a Kitian, which was discovered in the Piraeus, is probably to be associated with the sanctuary of Aphrodite which the Kitians were permitted to establish in 333/2.<sup>34</sup>

However, Pindar has the sacred prostitutes of Corinth making offerings to Aphrodite Ourania (F122 Snell). Moreover, Xenophon's and Plato's descriptions of Aphrodite Pandemos are not found elsewhere, and even Nikander's fictional connection of Solon and Aphrodite Pandemos does not reveal the true nature of this divinity. Other sources reveal more about Aphrodite in general. Sokolowski discusses various examples of votive inscriptions dedicated by magistrates to Aphrodite and notes that these were generally made towards the end of their terms of office. Aphrodite in these inscriptions is revealed as a 'patroness of friendship and of harmony', and she is a deity of good relations amongst the members of the board, or between them and the community (F. Sokolowski, *HTHR* 57 [1964] 1-8, quote from 6). Over half of the dedications made by magistrates on Thasos were to Aphrodite, who was clearly adopted as the patron of magistrates, and received an epithet reflecting their duties.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Philemon fr. 3 Kassel-Austin, *PCG* VII, p. 230; Nikander *FGrHist* 271-272 F9. See the general comments with Loeb translation in V.J. Rosivach, *LCM* 20 (1995) 2-3; note D.M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (London 1990) 100-101, missing the point in drawing a connection between Solon's prostitutes, and therefore their easy accessibility, and the nature of Athenian democracy. Numerous pieces of legislation became attached to Solon's name (see the various reforms described in Plut. *Sol.*, most of which probably have nothing to do with the reformer), and the comic effect of Philemon's imaginings is that of a Solonian utopia in the past where the state not only regulated the prostitute trade to some degree (*Ath. Pol.* 50.2; Aesch. 1.119) but provided the prostitutes (but not free of charge); cf. L. Kurke, *ClAnt* 16 (1997) 128-129.

<sup>31</sup> E. Ruschenbusch, *Solonos Nomoi* (Wiesbaden 1966) fr 125, p. 119.

<sup>32</sup> J.H. Oliver, *Demokratia, the Gods, and the Free World* (Baltimore 1960) 116-117 is prepared to accept a combination of Apollodoros' explanation, and Nikander's attribution of a cult of Aphrodite Pandemos to Solon, by arguing that one of Solon's reforms was to allow all citizens to sit in the assembly.

<sup>33</sup> L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States II* (Oxford 1896) 658-663 discusses Aphrodite Pandemos and notes (660a) the suggestion that Plato deliberately misconstrued the meaning of pandemos because of his anti-democratic sentiment.

<sup>34</sup> Dedication: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4636 (fourth century BC), cf. 4637; sanctuary: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 337.

<sup>35</sup> F. Croissant and F. Salviat, *BCH* 90 (1966) 460-471, esp. 464, 468-469 (see J. and L. Robert, *REG* 72 [1959] *BE* no. 325 pp. 229-230). Similarly, W. Burkert (*Greek Religion, Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan [Oxford 1985] 155) sees Aphrodite Pandemos as "the one who embraces the whole people as the common bond and fellow-feeling necessary for the existence of any state."

Information about the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos at Athens is otherwise limited. There was a sanctuary to her on the south-west slope of the acropolis,<sup>36</sup> where a priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos and her son dedicated an *aedicula* to her.<sup>37</sup> One inscription of the third century concerns purification of the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos but throws little light on the nature of the cult. The *astynomoi* are to take care of the shrine, and to purify it for the time of the procession. But this cult was not associated with prostitution.<sup>38</sup>

### Aphrodite Pandemos and the deity Nympe at Athens

Aphrodite Pandemos and the deity Nympe were associated at Athens in the imperial period, and this might indicate that the sacrifices to Aphrodite Pandamos on Kos were made to the goddess primarily because of an association with marriage. The cult of Nympe at Athens and the dedication of *loutrophoroi* to her may be of relevance in this regard.

Two types of vases in particular were associated with wedding rituals: the *loutrophoros* and the *lebes gamikos*. Other types of vases, of course, represent wedding scenes, especially the mythical marriage of Peleus and Thetis, but the majority of wedding scenes are found on *loutrophoroi* and *lebes gamikoi*. The *loutrophoros* is the older of the two types, known at Athens from the late eighth century BC, while the *lebes gamikos* came into use in the second quarter of the sixth century. Another development was that while the black-figure *loutrophoroi* depicted mainly the wedding procession, red-figure vases (which had superseded black-figure vases by 470 BC) show other details of the wedding preparations and ceremony as well. The *loutrophoros*, an amphora or hydria vase, with one or two handles, was used in the drawing of water for the pre-wedding bath of the bride at Athens,<sup>39</sup> and was decorated with wedding scenes, many in fact depicting the procession in which the *loutrophoros* was carried to the bride's house. One *loutrophoros* depicts a *loutrophoros* itself being carried in a procession away from a fountain-house to the bride's door, which is shown. Several Attic red-figure *lebetes gamikoi* show an attendant holding the *loutrophoros* during the bride's preparations. The *lebes gamikos* was a glazed pottery bowl; it had handles on its shoulders, and rested on a base. These are often shown in wedding scenes as being given, presumably as a present, to the bride, or placed at the door of the room where she is being prepared for the wedding, or sometimes on the floor near where she sits.<sup>40</sup>

A shrine to Nympe existed at Athens, on the south slope of the acropolis, below the theatre of Herodes Atticus. It is not attested in any of the literary sources, but a *horos* (boundary) inscription on the site reads: 'Horos: the shrine of Nympe'. Here Nympe does not refer to an individual nymph,<sup>41</sup> but to Nympe in the sense of *nympe* as the 'Bride'. Numerous pottery fragments were discovered on the

<sup>36</sup> J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) 2, 4, 8, fig. 5 (6); R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora III, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) 224-225 no. 731; idem, *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 286, 289-290.

<sup>37</sup> Inscription: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 4596* (P.A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca II; saeculi IV A. Chr. n.* [Berlin 1989] no. 775); *aedicula*: L. Beschi, *ASAA* 45-46 (ns 29-30; 1967-68) 521-526 with figs 7-9; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica, an Archaeological Commentary* (Wisconsin 1983) 49 fig. 7, pl. 15.1.

<sup>38</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup> 659 (LSCG 39)*. Ziehen (*LGS II* 36, p. 108) suggested that as the purification was to be overseen by the *astynomoi*, officials who had charge of prostitutes at Athens, that this cult was one of prostitutes. This is an unlikely connection, in that the *astynomoi*, while in charge of the flute-girls, harp-girls and lyre-girls, also had other duties such as to prevent buildings and balconies encroaching on to roads, to regulate water conduits, and windows opening on to the street, to prevent the dumping of dung too close to the city walls, and to remove the bodies of those who had died in the streets. That is, they had charge of several spheres of activity ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 50.2); see P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaiion Politeia* (Oxford 1981, with suppl. 1993) 573-575.

<sup>39</sup> For the prenuptial bath, see R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè, recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris 1962) 265-282, esp. 267-269; note also A.B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, III.1 (Cambridge 1940) 370-396; R. Rehm, *Marriage to Death. The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rites in Greek Tragedy* (Princeton 1994) 14, 30-31.

<sup>40</sup> For a definition of these terms and vases, see esp. J.H. Oakley and R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Wisconsin 1993) 6, esp. 119 fig. 119; for *lebetes gamikoi* and depictions of marriage ceremonies, see H. Metzger, *BCH* 66-67 (1942-43) 232.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. A.N. Oikonomides, *The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens* (Chicago 1964) 23, 48.

site, of which most belonged to loutrophoroi, some of which had graffiti of the deity's name, Nympe, scratched on them by the dedicant.<sup>42</sup> The remains of the ellipsoid building serving as the shrine date to the second quarter of the fifth century BC but loutrophoroi of the mid-seventh century have been found here, pointing to an ancient shrine long connected with wedding rituals.<sup>43</sup> It should be noted that loutrophoroi were not solely associated with Nympe but have also been found in the acropolis shrine of Artemis, and in the cave of the nymphs at Vari.<sup>44</sup> Loutrophoroi were also dedicated on the Athenian acropolis and at Eleusis.<sup>45</sup>

The shrine appears to have gone out of use by the first century BC. In the imperial period, the cult of Nympe is found in connection with that of Aphrodite, judging from an inscription on a seat in the theatre of Dionysos below the acropolis, which reads [ιερ]έ[αυ 'Αφρ]ο[δίτ]ης Πανδήμου, Νύμφης, ---<sup>46</sup> It is possible that by this period the shrine of Nympe was no longer in use and that the cult had been absorbed into that of Aphrodite Pandemos; the seat indicates that one priestess served Aphrodite Pandemos, Nympe and another deity (possibly associated with the general area of love or marriage) whose name is lost from the stone. Aphrodite Pandemos' association with Nympe indicates that not only was she a deity presiding over goodwill and good feeling between fellow citizens, but also that between conjugal partners. The family unit was the basis of Greek society; Aphrodite presided over marriage as a reflection of her wider concern with social order and stability as reflected in the maintenance of goodwill between citizens.

### Customary pre-marital rituals and sacrifices

Kos and Cyrene are the only two states which to our knowledge seem to have legislated concerning post-marriage sacrifices. These offerings decreed by the state need to be differentiated from those which were made by custom elsewhere; even from those that were clearly performed by parthenoi. Moreover, the rituals in Kos and Cyrene will help determine the range of deities involved in marriage. They demonstrate why it should not be too much of a surprise that Aphrodite Pandamos and not Artemis received these particular offerings at Kos.

Offerings which were made before marriage in ancient Greece included the dedication of toys to Artemis by girls prior to marriage,<sup>47</sup> or as preparation for finding a husband and having children.<sup>48</sup> More significant as a rite of passage before marriage was the ritual of hair cutting. Generically, Artemis received the maiden locks of girls prior to marriage.<sup>49</sup> But instead of her, heroines received these at some places; these were heroized virgins, who had not married because they had died. Like Artemis, the sacrifice to them was almost certainly of a propitiatory character, the idea being that those who had not

<sup>42</sup> I. Meliades (1957), *Praktika*: 25; *Ergon* (1955) 11.

<sup>43</sup> Horos stone: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1064 (*SEG* 17.10); for the horos, see Meliades (n. 42) 26 (fig. 2); G. Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958) 366-367 (fig. 5), cf. 660; Travlos, (n. 36) 363 pl. 465; dedication of loutrophoroi on the site: *Ergon* (1955) 11; Meliades (n. 42) 52; Oikonomides, *Two Agoras* (n. 41) 16-17, 22; Travlos 361 (and for the shrine); E. La Rocca, *ASAA* 50-51 (1972-73) 443-444; M. Guarducci, *Epigraphia graeca* IV (Rome 1978) 58-59, fig. 19; eadem, *L'epigrafia greca dalle origini al tardo impero* (Rome 1987) 334-335, fig. 107; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding* (n. 40) 6; C. Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetärenum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland* (Munich 1993) 70.

<sup>44</sup> L.S. King, *AJA* 7 (1903) 320-327, esp. 322; some of the loutrophoroi were inscribed with "sacred to the Nymphs" or simply "Nymphs" (327). For the cave at Vari, see M.P.J. Dillon, *ZPE* 118 (1997) 120.

<sup>45</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1469 B89 (accounts of Athena and the Other Gods), also mentioning two nuptial hypobathra (footstools): 1485.54; 1544.63 (Eleusinian accounts).

<sup>46</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5149; see Oikonomides, *Two Agoras* (n. 41) 7-8; R.E. Wycherley, *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 294; Guarducci, *Epigraphia graeca* IV (Rome 1978) 59, fig. 19.

<sup>47</sup> e.g. *Anth. Pal.* 6.280 (A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. A Hellenistic Epigrams* [Cambridge 1965] 3826): a virgin dedicates her toys, a tambourine, ball and dolls, to a virgin, κόρα κόρα). W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge 1902) 249-251; Burkert, *Greek Religion* (n. 35) 70; M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore 1990) 72, 75.

<sup>48</sup> e.g. *Anth. Pal.* 6.276 (Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* [n. 47] 510).

<sup>49</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6.276, 277 (Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* [n. 47] 510, 1375); Pollux 3.38.

crossed into the married state would nevertheless aid those about to do so.<sup>50</sup> This was the bride's 'maiden's hair',<sup>51</sup> and cutting it was an indication of the impending end to her status as a parthenos, marking her coming transition to that of a gyne, woman. At Megara, girls before marriage brought pitchers to the memorial of Iphinoe, who had died a virgin, and cut a lock of hair on it. Pausanias also states that there was a similar custom on the island of Delos, where girls cut their hair before marriage.<sup>52</sup> At Sparta, the bride's hair was shorn close to the skull by the nympheuteria (bridal attendant) (Plut. *Lyk.* 15.5), but with no mention of dedication. A lock of hair could be dedicated to another virgin goddess, to Athena, in gratitude for finding a husband (*Anth. Pal.* 6.59) or to Hera when a girl married (Archilochos 326 West). But Hippolytos, Artemis' male votary and male virgin who renounced Aphrodite and marriage, was also the recipient of hair offerings: as he is dying through Aphrodite's wrath, Artemis promises him that unmarried girls prior to marriage will cut their hair for him (Eur. *Hippol.* 1423–27).

There were other ceremonies of dedication which indicate the deities invoked for marriage. The girdle of a parthenos was dedicated as part of the transition from girl to married woman, and girdles could be dedicated before the wedding (Apostolios 10.96). The girdle, worn since puberty, was taken off on the wedding night.<sup>53</sup> But a woman could also dedicate a girdle to Artemis for the successful completion of childbirth;<sup>54</sup> the garments of women who died in childbirth could be dedicated to Iphigeneia at Artemis' sanctuary at Brauron.<sup>55</sup> More significantly, one Attic red-figure lekythos is interpreted as depicting a bride loosening her belt in the presence of Artemis. Similarly, a bride and mother approach a statue of Artemis seated in her temple on a red-figure pyxis.<sup>56</sup> Oakley and Sinos note that on one Attic red-figure loutrophoros, which depicts the groom grasping the bride's left hand in the standard *χεῖρα ἐπὶ καρπῶι* gesture (Rehm, *Marriage to Death* [n. 39] 14–17), a belt is conspicuous on the bride's dress and that this detail is deliberate as it was the loosening of this belt that was synonymous with marriage. At Troizen, girls dedicated a girdle to 'Deceitful Athena' before marriage (Paus. 2.33.1).

In addition, various deities were sacrificed to as part of the wedding preparations. Photios defined the proteleia as the sacrifice before marriage.<sup>57</sup> For the *Suda*, the proteleia was the day on which the parents of the girl about to be married led her to the acropolis and made sacrifices to the goddess (Athena; *Suda* s.v. *προτέλεια*). First fruits would also be offered (Hesychius s.v. *γάμων ἔθῃ*). Several deities received sacrifices before marriage in order to invoke their goodwill. Adrastos found the bridal room full of the coils of serpents because when making sacrifices for his marriage he had forgotten to sacrifice to Artemis (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.105). The Athenians prayed and sacrificed to their ancestors before marriage for the birth of children (Phot., *Suda*, *EM*, s.v. *Τριτοπάτορες*; cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1066–67). Ge and Ouranos also received a proteleia for marriage at Athens (Procl. *In Tim.* III.176.27–28 Diehl).

<sup>50</sup> Cutting hair as a rite of passage: J. Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Wisconsin 1985) 73, cf. 120; W.B. Tyrrell, *Amazons; a Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore 1984) 74; see Hdt. 4.33–35; Eur. *Iph. in Aulis* 1423–27; Paus. 1.43.4; Plut. *Lyk.* 15.5; *Anth. Pal.* 6.59; Archilochos 326 (West). The bride's hair would then be adorned for marriage: Sappho 194 Voigt.

<sup>51</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6.281 (Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* [n. 47] 2239).

<sup>52</sup> Paus. 1.43.4, cf. Hdt. 4.34f., see also 33.3) see Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage* (n. 15) 128; N. Robertson, *TAPA* 113 (1983) 49–53.

<sup>53</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.182 (Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* [n. 47] 4680); Plut. *Lyk.* 15.6.

<sup>54</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6.200, 272 (Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* [n. 47] 2199, 2863), .201 (Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip* [Cambridge n1968] 1379), 59.

<sup>55</sup> Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 1462–67; Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage* (n. 15) 202.

<sup>56</sup> Loutrophoros: Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding* (n. 40) 32, 96 figs 82–4; lekythos: Oakley and Sinos 56 fig. 9 (Artemis stands with torch and bows and arrows; while dedication of a girdle could occur at times other than a wedding (to be discussed), the youthfulness of the female figure, and Artemis' torch, point to a wedding context); pyxis: Oakley and Sinos 53 figs 3–5. The examples of Attic vases depicting wedding scenes are taken from the Oakley and Sinos who have excellent plates of Athenian vases depicting weddings.

<sup>57</sup> s.v. *προτέλεια* (Menander fr. 903: A. Koerte, *Menander Reliquiae* II [Leipzig 1959] 263); see also Pollux 3.38; Hesychius s.v. *γάμων ἔθῃ*; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, tr. P. Bing (Berkeley 1983) 63 n. 20; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Life* (Ithaca 1990) 219–220.

At Hermione, girls before marriage and widows who intended to remarry sacrificed to Aphrodite (Paus. 2.34.12). Artemis Eukleia had an altar and image in each market-place in Lokris and Boeotia, and she received sacrifices before marriages from both brides and bridegrooms (Plut. *Arist.* 20.7-8). At Haliartos, girls before marriage sacrificed the proteleia to the nymphs at the Kissoessa spring (Plut. *Mor.* 772b). Diodoros (5.73.2-5) notes that even though Aphrodite was given the care of the youth of maidens, the time in which they have to marry, the care of other things connected with marriage, and the sacrifices and libations which men make to this goddess, nevertheless all men make their first marriage sacrifices to Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia, clearly referring to Zeus and Hera as marriage deities (for Hera Teleia, see also Pollux 3.38). At Plataiai there was a temple to Hera with a statue of Hera Teleia and another statue of Hera which was called *Nymphuomene*.<sup>58</sup> Hera Teleia was worshipped at Erythrai on Euboa (*LSAM* 25.155, 163), and Zeus Teleios in the deme Erchia, Attica (*LSCG* 18 G 39-40). Hera also received offerings as Hera Gamelia, 'Hera of the Wedding' (Plut. *Mor.* 141e-f).

An early fourth-century inscription on a thesauros (treasury box) at Athens reads: 'Thesauros, first-fruits to Aphrodite Ourania as proteleia for marriage: one drachma'.<sup>59</sup> The thesauros was built into a house not far from the acropolis, and Tsakos who initially published the inscription therefore connected it with the so-called Aphrodite sanctuary on the north slope of the acropolis.<sup>60</sup> If this was a sanctuary of Aphrodite it was not, however, the sanctuary of Aphrodite 'in the gardens', to which Pausanias (1.27.3) refers, in which there was a statue of this goddess inscribed as Aphrodite Ourania (1.19.2); he also mentions a separate sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania (1.14.7). Further, Pausanias mentions no sanctuary of Aphrodite on the acropolis or its slopes,<sup>61</sup> and the thesauros must belong to the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in the agora, for which the foundation myth is relevant. Pausanias relates that Aigeus instituted her cult and built this sanctuary because he and his sisters were childless, and he considered that this was because of a curse of Aphrodite Ourania.<sup>62</sup> The first-fruit of a drachma is obviously offered to secure Aphrodite Ourania's blessing for the fertility of marriage.

Other deities were connected with pre-marital sacrifices and offerings. In the *Eumenides*, Athena tells the Erinyes that at Athens they will receive sacrifices on behalf of children and of marriage (Aeschyl. *Eum.* 834-836, cf. 854-857), and the Moirai also received offerings (Pollux 3.38). The people of Praisos on Crete sacrificed pigs but particularly as a preliminary sacrifice before marriage, as a sow gave suck to baby Zeus and her grunting drowned out his cries (Agathokles *FGrHist* 472 fr 1a; Neanthes of Cyzicus *FGrHist* 84 fr 15). Young men sacrificed to Aphrodite Kourotrophos before leading their brides from their homes.<sup>63</sup>

Plato intended that men should consult the exegetai (interpreters) about the form which the proteleia should take (*Laws* 774e). Plutarch refers to the ancestral rite performed by the priestess of Demeter for the nuptial couple before they went to the nuptial chamber; he may be referring to a Boiotian rite or to a Greek one in general (*Mor.* 138b). Plutarch notes that the nuptial pair had need of five deities: Zeus Teleios, Hera Teleia, Aphrodite and Peitho, and finally Artemis, whom women called upon in the labour of child-birth (*Mor.* 264b). The sacrifice of virgins in myth was sometimes referred to as a proteleia: virgins could normally expect marriage; when mythical virgins were sacrificed their death was a type of

<sup>58</sup> Paus. 9.2.7; for the aetiological myth of this statue, see M.P.J. Dillon, *CQ* 43 (1993) 327-329.

<sup>59</sup> *SEG* 41.182; K. Tsakos, *Horos* 8-9 (1990-91) 17-21; G. Kaminski, *JDAI* (1991) 106; 154 no. 15; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion, A History* (Oxford 1996) 196; inscription: Θησαυρὸς ἀπαρχῆς ὁ Ἰ' Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ προτέλεια γάμο ἰϛ.

<sup>60</sup> Aphrodite in the Gardens at the foot of the north slope of the acropolis: Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary* (n. 36) 228; cf. O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 31-55.

<sup>61</sup> The so-called cave of Aglauros must now lose this identification, and the route of the arphoroi restored to make sense of Pausanias' description of their nocturnal activities at the festival of the arphoria; see G.S. Dontas, *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 48-63.

<sup>62</sup> Paus. 1.14.7 (see Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* III 49-50 no. 106; Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary* [n. 36] 79-80, 82 pl. 105).

<sup>63</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6.318 (Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* [Cambridge 1981] 2034).

marriage to Hades, or they themselves were the proteleia. Aeschylus has Iphigeneia referred to as a proteleia for the ships, which cannot sail to Troy without her death.<sup>64</sup> In Euripides *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, the metaphor is more developed, with Agamemnon pretending that Iphigeneia is to be married rather than sacrificed.<sup>65</sup> Even Herakles was associated with marriage on Kos (Plut. *Mor.* 304c-e). An inscription from the sanctuary of Nike on Kos refers to sacrifices to be made in the shrine on the occasion of a marriage (LSCG 163.1, second century BC). Clearly, therefore, several deities were associated with marriage, including Aphrodite as Pandamos, Ourania and Kourotropfos.

### Compulsory pre-marital sacrifices at Athens?

All of the above examples deal with customary pre-nuptial rites. While there might have been social pressure on brides to undergo these rituals, they were ones ordained by tradition but not required by the state. But at Athens there is some evidence which might suggest that there were compulsory pre-nuptial ceremonies at Athens. *Suda* (Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίσις) in commenting upon the rite of the arkteia at Brauron, in which girls served the goddess Artemis as arkttoi (bears) prior to their being married, notes that the institution arose when a bear mauled a young girl which had been teasing it and her brothers killed it. In retaliation, Athens was struck by a plague, which was stopped by the institution of the arkteia in which parthenoi had to ‘act the bear’ (not dress up as bears or play as bears but to serve the goddess as substitutes for the dead bear). The notice concludes: καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ πρότερον συνοικίζεσθαι ἀνδρὶ παρθένον, εἰ μὴ ἀρκτηύσειε τῇ θεῷ. The Ravenna scholium on Ar. *Lys.* 645 mirrors this wording. If the Athenians had decreed that a parthenos before she went to live with a man had to act as a bear for Artemis, then there is a third example of a state decreed marriage ritual.

But the *Suda* and scholium are the only sources that directly state this. The evidence of Aristophanes in the *Lysistrata* strongly suggests that acting the bear for Artemis was not something every Athenian parthenos had to do, but rather that this was a ritual carried out by a select group of Athenian girls. The chorus of women in the *Lysistrata* sing of the rituals they have carried out for the city:

ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶς· εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρου·  
εἶτ’ ἀλετρις ἢ δεκέτις οὐσα τάρχηγέτι·  
645 καὶ χέουσα<sup>66</sup> τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίσις·  
κάκνηφόρου ποτ’ οὐσα παῖς καλὴ ἄχου·  
ἰσχάδων ὄρμαθόν·

But it is not to be imagined that all Athenian girls were *arrhephoroi*; in fact only four each year were<sup>67</sup> (and of these, only two performed the secret rites), while only certain girls acted as basket-bearers (*kanephoroi*) in processions.<sup>68</sup> About the grinding of the corn little is known, but this does not sound like a duty all girls performed. But for the bears at Brauron the archaeological evidence of the site indicates that there was not room for every Athenian girl to be a bear for Artemis at Brauron, and the myths point to both Brauron and Mounychia as sites for the bear ritual in honour of Artemis. Other scholiasts note that Athenian girls acted as bears for Artemis, without mentioning any compulsory nature for

<sup>64</sup> Aeschyl. *Ag.* 227; cf. 65 on the Greeks and Trojans falling in battle as a proteleia for Helen; Rehm, *Marriage to Death* (n. 39) 43.

<sup>65</sup> Eur. *Iph. in Aulis* 432-439 (esp. 433), 718-719, with H.P. Foley, *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 161; R. Seaford, *JHS* 107 (1987) 109.

<sup>66</sup> For the reading καὶ χέουσα, see T.C.W. Stinton, *CQ* 26 (1976) 11-13.

<sup>67</sup> Paus. 1.27.3-4; Harp. s.v. ἀρρηφορεῖν; *Suda* s.v. ἀρρηφορία; EM s.v. ἀρρηφόροι καὶ ἀρρηφορία; ἀρρηφορεῖν.

<sup>68</sup> Aristocrats such as the sister of the aristocrat Harmodios served as *kanephoroi* at festivals. Harmodios refused the Athenian tyrant’s advances, and Hipparchos countered by turning his sister away as a *kanephoros* for the Panathenaia; see Thuc. 6.56.1 (cf. 1.20.2), [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 18.2, Arist. *Pol.* 1311a36-39 (mentions only an insult to the sister but not the Panathenaia or basket bearing); Ael. *Var. Hist.* 11.8; Max. Tyr. 18.2 d (G.L. Koniaris, *Maximus Tyrius* [Berlin 1995] 219); a scholiast notes that it was the eugeneis who were *kanephoroi* (Ar. *Ach.* 241-262, with schol. 242a); see also M.P.J. Dillon, “Did Parthenoi attend the Olympic Games?”, forthcoming, *Hermes*.

this.<sup>69</sup> In these lines there is not evidence for a series of initiation ceremonies and rites of passage performed by all girls. Rather, a small group of girls of aristocratic background serve the deities.<sup>70</sup> Acting the bear was not therefore, despite the *Suda*, a compulsory pre-nuptial ritual decreed for by the state. Only Kos and Cyrene made marriage offerings of any kinds compulsory as far as is known.

### The religious role of nothoi and nothai (line 17)

A few comments on the nothai and the religious implications of their presence in ED 178 are required;<sup>71</sup> the nothai are to make the sacrifices, just as the citizen men and women of the paroikoi (metics) do: ἵνα φαίνωνται τε ταὶ γαμοῦσαι πᾶσαι τᾶν τε πολιτίδων καὶ νό[θ]ων καὶ παροίκων κατὰ δύναμιν τὰν αὐτῶν τιμᾶσαι τὰν θεὸν, ὅσαι κα γαμῶνται, --- θυόντω ---. The three categories of persons mentioned here, citizens, nothai and paroikoi, are known from other Koan inscriptions.<sup>72</sup> Nothoi also feature in two other Koan inscriptions. In an inscription listing financial contributions for the ‘common safety’, those who contributed are grouped as the male citizens, female citizens, nothoi and paroikoi.<sup>73</sup> The nothoi are mentioned after the citizens but before the paroikoi, and this indicates something about their status: they are not full citizens but they are not outsiders. Interestingly, another inscription makes it clear that in the religious sphere, as in the political, nothoi were considered inferior to Koan citizens. In an inscription concerning a private religious cult set up by Diomedon to worship Herakles, nothoi could participate in the rites but not in the priesthoods of the cult.<sup>74</sup>

Those who wished to participate in the cults of Apollo at Halasarna on Kos had to register and prove their citizenship (as the old lists had become difficult to read), registering by tribe: their name, patronymic, metronymic and maternal grandfather’s name were listed on a large octagonal column, 1.5 metres high, with each face 18 centimetres. These cults were clearly for citizens only, and the registration requirements reveal that citizenship on Kos was of the ἐκ τριγωνίακ (‘from three generations’) variety, although the decree authorising the listing of the citizens does not use this term explicitly.<sup>75</sup> Each citizen provides his mother’s and her father’s name, indicating quite clearly that he was a legitimate citizen, rather than being a nothos, as the mother’s with her father’s name indicated that the mother had come from citizen stock. This is clearly the same principle being used in at least one Athenian phratry.<sup>76</sup>

The idea that only citizens were to hold priesthoods is evident at Halikarnassos, where the priestess of Artemis Pergaia was to be from two citizen parents, with citizens on both sides for three genera-

<sup>69</sup> *Suda*, Bekker, *Anecdota* s.v. (1.444-45), Ἀρκτεῦσαι.

<sup>70</sup> That acting the bear was not compulsory is accepted by some scholars: e.g. H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103 (1983) 94.

<sup>71</sup> Nothoi on Kos are discussed by Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (n. 6) 171-173; D. Ogden, *Greek Bastardy* (Oxford 1996) 310-316; see also L. Migeotte, *Les Souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Genève 1992) 159.

<sup>72</sup> F. Papazoglou, *Laoi et Paroikoi, recherches sur la structure de la société hellénistique* (Beograd 1997) briefly discusses five occurrences of the term paroikoi on Kos: (1) P15a, p. 184 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 398.37-38) which mentions citizens, paroikoi and τὸς ἄλλος τὸς ἐνδαμειντας, ‘the others living in Kos’, which must refer to both nothoi and xenoï (cf. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* [n. 6] 172); (2) P15b, p. 185 (*PH* 10.7-11); (3) P15c, p. 186 (*SEG* 33.675.6-7; 188-168/6 BC) mentioning the citizens, the paroikoi and those living in Kos; (4) P15d, p. 186 (R. Herzog, *Parola del Passato* 46 [1991] 135-140, text at 137-138, lines 40-41; cf. *REG* 105 [1992] *BE* no. 341, p. 490; G.P. Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 [ns 25-26] 1963-64, pp. 156-157 [no number]) which mentions citizens and paroikoi; (5) P15e, p. 187 (*ED* 178a.16-17, the inscription under discussion here); Papazoglou notes that he has not seen Segre’s corpus, and so he does not discuss the metoikoi of 178b[B] col. II, 3. For paroikoi on Kos see also Papazoglou 225, 227, 238.

<sup>73</sup> *PH* 10A.7-11 (Michel 642; *SGDI* 3624; Migeotte, *Souscriptions* no. 50; towards the end of the third century). See now also *ED* 206.8-10, a copy of *PH* 10A; *ED* 122 is a fragment of another copy, but without the relevant lines. The paroikoi are clearly metics.

<sup>74</sup> *PH* 36D.33-36 (cf. A.1-5); R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* (Berlin 1929) 10; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1106 D.145-148; *ED* 149.

<sup>75</sup> *PH* 367-368; re-edited by G.P. Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 (ns 25-26) 1963-64, nos 26A and B, pp. 183-187 (26A) (*LSCG* 173, c. 200 BC); note esp. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (n. 6) 153-154; cf. Carratelli nos 9-13, pp. 165-179 (Isthmos deme lists). Note πατριαστὶ in 26A.III.32.

<sup>76</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1237; see S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Michigan 1993) T3, 285-293; M.P.J. Dillon and L. Garland, *Ancient Greece. Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Socrates* (London 1994) 10.22 p. 304.

tions.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, in 21 BC when the priests of Apollo at Halasarna were listed, they had to be πατριακτεῖ (having a citizen father) and there is a similar case from Rhodes (*LSCG* 174.13-14, Halasarna; *LSCG* 138.14, Rhodes). The decree in [Dem.] 59.106 (cf. 57.48) purports that the Plataians granted citizenship in 428 were to be barred from the nine archonships, priesthoods, and rites belonging to a particular family, but their descendants would be eligible for all of these. Aristotle in the *Politics* (1329a 29-30) notes that priests should be drawn from the citizen class.

#### **Sacrifices by merchants and ship-captains (lines 21-26)**

The merchants and the ship-captains (or skippers, as ναύκλαροι is usually translated) setting out from the city were to make sacrifices, and were to be fined if they failed to do so. But there is no provision that the women who do not sacrifice would be similarly fined. While this might seem surprising, it is also clear that the merchants and ship-captains have been the subject of a previous decree, and presumably because the decree was not being obeyed the provision has been tightened up with a fine, which was to be ten drachmas, sacred to the god, with the priestess to receive the customary share of this. Such a perquisite would be one of the benefits of the priesthood, and a compensation for the fact that she would have received a share in any sacrifice which was made. While it is the goddess who is the recipient of these sacrifices in *ED* 178a(A), the shrines of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia ('sea') are mentioned in b(A).11, where references to naval works are also found (3-5). Presumably Aphrodite is receiving sacrifices from merchants and ship-captains in her capacity as Pontia.

#### **Ritual begging by the priestess? (lines 26-31)**

In these lines there are two references (27, 29) to agermoi, 'collections'. Gauthier<sup>78</sup> could make nothing of τοὺς δὲ ἄγερμοὺς τῶν καλαίδων (26-27), but the reading is definitely correct. There seems to be a parallel in *PH* 369.4, where it was suggested to be an error for κιαλίδια, 'little pigs', as the context mentions goats.<sup>79</sup> This will not do for the present context and in fact on analogy with the context in *ED* 178, in *PH* 369 it would appear that the reference is to some fund of money from which sacrifices are to be paid.

But what are these collections? Agermoi are also mentioned in *ED* 215.23 and 236.7-8,<sup>80</sup> but the context does not yield any relevant information. The best known example of a begging priestess is from Aeschylus' *Xantriai*, where Hera is in disguise as a begging priestess for the local nymphs (Aeschyl. fr 168.16-17, *TrGF* III pp. 283-285).<sup>81</sup> There are other examples, but for *ED* 178 the most important example is from the cult of Demeter at Antimacheia, Kos, where there is a reference to ritual begging.<sup>82</sup> The priestess or women in the cult are perhaps similarly involved in ritual begging, with the money going towards sacrifices.

#### **Did an earthquake prompt the sacrificial regulations? (lines 31-35)**

An earthquake is mentioned in *ED* 178a(A).32, and although the context is fragmentary, an oracle is mentioned, which seems to suggest that an oracle, possibly Delphi, had been consulted. Earthquakes are common in the Aegean, and Thucydides specifically states that the one which struck Kos prior to its

<sup>77</sup> *LSAM* 73.4-8 (third century BC); see Sokolowski's note (p. 171) on πριάμενος and πριαμένη.

<sup>78</sup> *REG* 108 (1995) *BE* no. 448, p. 503 ("énigmatique").

<sup>79</sup> *PH* 369.4, p. 261; *SGDI* 3707 p. 393 doubted the suggestion of *PH* but (understandably) offered nothing in its place.

<sup>80</sup> In *ED* 236.7-8 the priestess was to carry out a collection on the first day of the month Artemision, in the same manner as was written for Artemis Pergaia. Note that the provision in *LSAM* 73.2-28 regulating when the priestess could beg can be compared with *ED* 236.

<sup>81</sup> Robertson has collected and discussed material concerning begging priestesses; see *TAPA* 113 (1983) 143-169 (153-162 for this example); cf. Parker, *Athenian Religion* (n. 59) 162 with n. 32, 193, n. 146, 195 with n. 55; Burkert, *Greek Religion* (n. 35) 101.

<sup>82</sup> *LSCG* 175.12; Robertson (n. 26) 164-165.





These lines concern how the first instalment of the amount to be paid by the priestess for her priesthood (7-9) is to be spent (3-7). Given that the goddess' monies are to be spent on naval works (esp. 3, 5) and that this might represent a situation that has been on-going, it is not surprising that *ED* 178a(A).21-26 stipulates that merchants and ship-captains make sacrifices to the goddess, particularly as she is also being worshipped in her aspect as Aphrodite Pontia. What is particularly interesting is that each year, after other outlays have been made, the treasury of the goddess was to be opened and half the amount was to be given to the priestess, and half to the goddess (12-16).<sup>87</sup> This was apparently a common procedure on Kos, and is known from elsewhere.<sup>88</sup>

### 3. *ED* 178a(B), b(B)

a(B)	Ἐπὶ ἱερείας Λυκαονίδος τᾶς Φανομάχου· αἶδε ἐπανγείλαντο εἰς τὴν συντέ- λειαν τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τῶν ποτικα- 4 τασκευαζομένων τᾶι Ἀφροδίται κατὰ τὸ ψάφιμα· [Λ]υκαονίς Φανομάχου ΔΔΔ κτλ.	
b(B)	Φιλ[ Φιλιάς Ἀρχον[ Νόθαι	Μέτο[ικοι]
4	Ἐκαταία Ἐκατοδώρου Δ Ζωπυρὶς Ἀγέα Δ κτλ.	Θευγενὶς Μόσχου ΔΔ Θευδοσίη Θευδώρου ΔΔ κτλ.

Fragments a(B), b(B) of *ED* 178 concern donations of money which were made by women of three classes, citizens, nothai and metoikoi, for the completion of the sanctuary of Aphrodite, according to the decree. All of the donations come from women, and it appears that, as a few have fathers with the same name, that some are sisters. The priestess Lykaonis is the first name in the list of those who have contributed money to Aphrodite, and her name appears first, not because she contributed the most money (that honour went to the contributor of sixty drachmas in line 22), but presumably because as priestess she was the leader of the religious community particular to this cult. Lykaonis the daughter of Phanomachos is presumably the sister of Kleumachos son of Phanomachos, one of the three men (*ED* 178a[A].2-5) who had been chosen to inscribe the decree concerning the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos and Phanomachos son of Phanomachos, who with Kleumachos made a joint contribution of three thousand drachmas for the safety of Kos (*PH* 10c 47-8).<sup>89</sup>

The contributors are listed at first without designation as to their political status (a[B].6ff, b[B].1-2), but then the heading Νόθαι appears (b[B].3), so presumably all of the names which appear above this are citizen women. The heading Μέτο[ικοι] with a list of names also appears in b(B); the term *paroikoi* would have been expected given the general use of the latter on Kos, and in this very inscription (*ED*

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *LSAM* 73.32-35 for a similar wording but for priestly expenses.

<sup>88</sup> Kos: *SEG* 1.344 (cult of Aphrodite); *LSCG* 163.20-21; *LSCG* 164.6-7; heavily restored at *LSCG* 175; elsewhere: *LSCG* 65.86-88, 93-95 (Andania: Mnasistratos, who refounded the Andanian Mysteries, was to receive all of the sacrifices made at the fountain, and one-third of the money given at the fountain or placed in the treasury); cf. for this phenomenon, G. Kaminski, *JDAI* 106 (1991) 178-181.

<sup>89</sup> A. Chaniotis, *Kernos* 10 (1997) no. 219 p. 300 identifies Lykaonis as a daughter of Phanomachos son of Thessalos, who dedicated land and houses in order to fund a festival (of Zeus and the Demos): *ED* 146A (which would need to date to the late third or early second century for this connection).

178a.17).<sup>90</sup> About half of the citizen women contribute 30 drachmas, but others 20 or 10, most of the nothai contribute 10, and the metoikoi mainly 10, but with three metoikoi contributing 20 drachmas each. Individual citizen women contribute more than individual nothai, and this could well have been pre-arranged.

The contributors are women, whatever their status; this was not an exclusive citizen only cult, and this is, of course, supported by the injunction that all three categories of women are to make sacrifices. But the citizen women who made contributions to the rebuilding seem to include some from the upper socio-economic echelon of Koan society (as would be expected). Their names include aristocratic ones such as Kallistrate, and Hegemon twice. There are two daughters of Philinos ([B].12-13, 18-19), and perhaps two daughters of Thrasyandros; presumably these are two sets of sisters (a[B] col. II.23-6, the reading of 26 is uncertain). As these names are those of women, and marriage sacrifices are to be offered by women in this cult, it seems probable that this cult of Aphrodite Pandamos is particularly the preserve of women. However, the evidence of male control is very clear: men are responsible for the drawing up of the cult regulations.

As is usually the case with women making monetary contributions, the question must be asked whether the money is theirs or that of a male who has given them this money. This could be a husband, father or perhaps brother in the case of Lykaonis. The amounts are relatively small, and it is possible that the women possessed this money in their own right, perhaps as part of their dowries or other personal property; while women could not technically own property at Athens, their Dorian counterparts at Sparta could.

When Koan women ‘donated’ large amounts of money in *PH* 10, it was their fathers and husbands who gave money ‘on their behalf’. Diogenes Diomedontos, for example, contributed money himself and on behalf of his daughter. But fathers also made donations on behalf of themselves and their sons.<sup>91</sup>

It can be noted that there are several lists of contributors in Segre’s corpus. In *ED* 13-14 women make donations to the shrine of Demeter; in *ED* 37, where there is a reference to the safety of the polis, chora and peripolis, there is a list of contributors similar to that of *PH* 10; in *ED* 198, men and women make contributions for an unknown purpose; a solitary woman appears in *ED* 199.18 in a list of male contributors, but there is also a donation by a man on behalf of himself and his wife (lines 24-25); in *ED* 212 women made contributions of wine and grain for an unknown purpose; finally, in *ED* 227, donations for an unknown purpose are made on behalf of wives and children. Women are clearly expected, and willing, to make contributions; these are either made in their own right, or husbands make them on their own behalf and that of their wives, which in itself indicates something of social importance: the men wanted their wives associated with them in making contributions.

#### **Klymene Thrasyandrou (a[B] col. II.23-24)**

Klymene Thrasyandrou, one of the citizen women making contributions (in her case of ten drachmas) for the rebuilding of the sanctuary (*ED* 178a[B] col. II.23-4; that a sister of hers might also have made a contribution, depending on the restoration of col. II.26, has been noted above), is also found in *PH* 367-8, as the mother of two citizens: Apollodoros Diokleus and Nikostratos Diokleus (*PH* 368 I.46-49).

#### **Conclusion**

At Kos, the compulsory sacrifices to be made by women within one year after marriage—be they the daughters of citizens, nothai or paroikoi—have probably nothing to do with any synoikism of Kos but

<sup>90</sup> Μέτο[ικοί] in *ED* 178b(B) col. II.3 can now be added to the discussion of Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (n. 6) 172-173 n. 124 on the use of the term metoikos on Kos. She gives two examples, both from the imperial period (*PH* 344; A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigraphica di Rodi e Cos* [Florence 1925] 503). *ED* 178 provides an earlier isolated use; paroikos rather than metoikos was the term used in Asia Minor and the islands (Sherwin-White).

<sup>91</sup> The following examples are provided by Migeotte, *Souscriptions* (n. 64), 159: *PH* 10, fathers B.34-35, 56-57; husbands A.52-53, C.36-37, 71-72, D.5-7, 20-21; note now also *ED* 122, 206.

were made not only to Aphrodite Pandamos as a deity who represented political and social cohesion, but also to Aphrodite in two other related roles: as a marriage deity, and also as the object of a major and well-organised cult on Kos, to whom sacrifices by women would be fitting. Aphrodite Pandamos secured the lasting nature of the marriage but as it is the wives who make the sacrifice it is clear that this was achieved through invoking Aphrodite to aid in the fertility of the woman and the birth of children, just as it is clear that it is Aphrodite who helped the wives, when they were adolescents, to gain a husband. The priestess obviously paid a great deal of money for her priesthood and this reflects the standing of the cult. While the Koan prescription is very similar to the provisions in the Cyrene cathartic law, the situation is dissimilar; despite the sacrifices to Aphrodite Pandamos, the Koan women may also have sacrificed to Artemis, not simply because of the practice of sacrificing to several deities before marriage, but because she was the principle goddess of the transition from girl to woman, from the unmarried to the married state.

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