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ΗΡΩΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΓΙΟΣ

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The ἥρωσ ἐπιτέγιος is known from one or two Athenian inscriptions as a partner of the Anakes, age-old deities worshipped in the centre of the city (in literary sources the Anakes are mostly equated with the Dioscuri). A theatre seat was reserved for the priest who served them jointly: ἱερέωσ Ἀνάκων καὶ ἥρωσ ἐπιτεγίου (*IG* II² 5071). They also appear together some six centuries earlier, in the inventory of the Treasurers of the Other Gods for 429/8 B.C., if the name was rightly restored by F. Hiller von Gaertringen: ... Ἀνάκο[ιν καὶ τῷ ἔροος τ]ὸ ἐπιτε[γί]ο (so *IG* I² 310.81-83).¹ Until lately, the restoration was universally accepted.² But D.M. Lewis now presents the text as Ἀνάκο[ιν] ... ο ἐπιτ[(*IG* I³ 383. 346-347).³ He was able to re-examine the stone, and reports that it "does not confirm" Hiller's restorations, either here or in the following line, where Hiller suggested παρακαταθέ]κε, and Lewis reads only]ε. It is therefore a question of two letters at a broken edge, ε[in line 346 and]κ in line 347. Surely we must admit the possibility, or even the likelihood, that the edges have suffered in the past hundred years. Earlier editors had no doubts about line 346. A. Kirchhoff read the same letters as Hiller and proposed ἐπεγένετ]ο ἐπὶ τῆ[ς ἀρχῆ[ς (*CIA* I 206.5-6). But even if they erred as to ε[, the analogy of the theatre seat still favours τὸ ἔροος τ]ὸ ἐπιτ[εγί]ο.

Who is he then, the ἥρωσ ἐπιτέγιος? The name has always been understood as "the hero on-the-roof", i.e. ἐπὶ τέγουσ. Whereas W. Dittenberger (on *CIA* III i 290, the theatre seat) hesitated between Adonis, bewailed by women on the roof-tops, and a functional protector of the household, Hiller von Gaertringen came down firmly for the latter.⁴ Again, he has been generally followed, and B. Hemberg makes explicit what Hiller perhaps assumed, that a hero so called is an apt partner for the Anakes *qua* Dioscuri, who among their several functions are undoubted protectors of the household.⁵ Yet this line of reasoning is not cogent. On the evidence of cult (mentioned below) the Athenian Anakes resemble the Dioscuri in a different way—as maritime deities, protectors of ships and sailors. It is true that in art and literature they are Dioscuri in all respects. Two fifth-century paintings in the Anakeion showed them at the

¹ Hiller, *Philologus* 55 (1896) 181, at first proposed ἀνάκο[ιν θεοῖν καὶ τ]ὸ ἐπιτε[γί]ο, but he improved on this in *IG* I².

² As by O. Gruppe, *Griechische Religionsgeschichte und Mythologie* (Munich 1906) I 719f (addendum to 607 n. 9); C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* I (Berlin 1920) 308 n. 5; *LSJ*⁹ s.v. ἐπιτέγιος; B. Hemberg, *ANAE, ANACCA und ANAKEC* (Uppsala 1955) 35 n. 4; R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) no. 147; T. Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions* (Meisenheim am Glan 1975) 80 n. 37.

³ Lewis' caution is noted by E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London 1989) 159.

⁴ *Philologus* 55 (1896) 180, comparing Demeter ἐποικιδία and Hermes ἐπιθαλαμίτης and still other functional deities with ἐπι- titles.

⁵ *ANAE* 35, adducing M.P. Nilsson's account of the Dioscuri. "The hero of the protecting roof", says Gruppe, *Gr. Religionsgesch.* I 719f, after S. Eitrem. "Hero of the rooftop", says Kearns, *Heroes of Attica* 159.

wedding of the Leucippids and among the Argonauts (Paus. I 18.1), and there were statues of their sons on horseback (*ibid.*). The shrine itself was said, obviously by the Attic chroniclers, to have been founded after they rescued their sister Helen from Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 33.1-2; Ael. *Var. Hist.* IV 5.8).⁶ But all this is only art and literature. The actual worship of the Anakes would continue as it had always done; it would not be affected by the myths of the Dioscuri, still less by their domestic cult at Sparta. The ἥρωσ ἐπιτέγιος belongs to that actual worship.

The worship is of maritime deities.⁷ Let us review the evidence. According to a decree of the later fifth century, an embarkation fee, *epibatikon*, is to be paid to the Anakes by all skippers and merchants, *naukleroi* and *emporoi*, probably at the main harbour of Peiraeus (*IG I³ 133*).⁸ The record of moneys received and promised is to be posted "after the festival" (line 10). The date of this civic festival is unknown,⁹ but at the old port of Thoricus the Anakes are honoured in Elaphebolion, i.e. early in the sailing season (*IG I³ 256 bis [SEG XXXIII 147]*, line 37). In any case, the civic Anakeia must be the festival of "the Great Gods" known from late Hellenistic inscriptions, when the corps of ephebes took part in a procession and a regatta at Peiraeus.¹⁰ We are further told that the numerous slaves who worked for hire congregated at the Anakeion;¹¹ in early days much of their employment was in the naval or mercantile domain. Of the two paintings in the shrine, the Dioscuri among the Argonauts prefigure their real-life function as saviours at sea.

If the ἥρωσ ἐπιτέγιος had a maritime role, it is easy to conjecture a suitable meaning for his epithet. Although the words *τέγος*, *κτέγος*, *κτέγη* mostly denote a "roof" or by extension a roofed building, *κτέγη* was also applied to the "deck" of a ship (*LSJ⁹ s.v. III*). The Romans adopted the word in this sense in their early days of seafaring, as we see from Plautus (*Bacch.* 278, *Stich.* 413). The phrase he twice repeats, *in stega*, corresponds to ἐπὶ κτέγης in Greek. The phrase behind the epithet, ἐπὶ τέγουσ, was doubtless used in the same way. On any ship, warship or merchant ship, the most prominent deck, the one most often referred to, is at the stern. Our ἥρωσ ἐπιτέγιος should be compared with other heroes proper to this part of a ship. Callimachus invokes a literal "hero at the stern", ἥρωσ ὦ κατὰ πρύμναν, who was worshipped at Phalerum and identified for some reason with Androgeos son of Minos (*Aetia* IV fr. 103). A hero "of the tiller", ἥρωσ οἰακτικῆς *vel sim.*, is presupposed by an association of Οἰακτικῆς

⁶ The Dioscuri on horseback appear on one side of the relief of Telemachus that stood at the entrance to Athens' Asklepieion (L. Beschi, *ASAtene* 45-46 [1967-68] 419-21; AAA 15 [1982] 32). This is a tribute to the nearby Anakeion. Whereas the Asklepieion, on the south slope of the Acropolis, is approached by an old processional way leading from the east, the Anakeion is now fixed at the east side of the Acropolis, just below the cliff with the cave of Aglauros: see Robertson, *Hesperia* 57 (1998) 295-297.

⁷ For general accounts of the Athenian Anakes, see Hemberg, *ANAE* (n. 2) 32-43, 47-52; Wycherley, *Agora* III nos. 133-151; Kearns, *Heroes of Attica* (n. 3) 148. They do not emphasize the maritime function.

⁸ Line 5, as Lewis remarks, seems to mention the "sign" at the entrance to the Great Harbor. The two per cent. levy of lines 25, 28 may or may not be the one on goods in transit; for opposing views, see R. Schlaifer, *HSCP* 51 (1940) 235, and Lewis *ad loc.* Embarkation fees at Sunium and Phalerum are assigned to other maritime deities, Poseidon and Apollo Delios, in *IG I³ 8* and 130.

⁹ The festival is however the earliest attested element: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford 1996) 97. Note that [Chionides] *PCG* IV F 7, on fêting the Anakes in the Prytaneion, is confessedly spurious.

¹⁰ *IG II² 1006* and *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 23-24 no. 11 (*a.* 123/2), lines 29, 71-72; 1008 (*a.* 119/1), lines 18-19; 1009 and *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 170 no. 69 (*a.* 117/16), lines 21-22. Cf. *IG II² 3268* (*a.* 41 *p.*), in which an *epimeletes* of Peiraeus serves or honours "the Great Gods". These instances are usually taken to denote the gods of Lemnos or Samothrace, not otherwise attested as a civic cult. Yet the ephebes will only join a festival of long standing, scil. the Anakeia; whereas the decrees of commendation will not shun a sonorous title like "the Great Gods"—it was used in the cult at Cephale in Pausanias' day (I 31, 1).

¹¹ Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* I 212, 12 *s.v.* Ἀνακείων (οἱ μικθοφοροῦντες δοῦλοι). Cf. Demosthenes 45 *Steph.* 80 and Paroem. Escor. *s.v.* ἐξ Ἀνακείων (roughnecks in general). [Xenophon], *Ath. Pol.* 1, 11, says that hiring out slaves is typical of a "naval power".

ταί in the Rhodian Peraea (*GDI* III i 4274.9, Hyda?).¹² The heroes at the stern and of the tiller are now joined by the hero on the aft deck.

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¹² On these and similar figures see D. Wachsmuth, ΠΟΜΠΙΜΟC Ο ΔΑΙΜΟΝ. *Untersuchung zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen* (Berlin 1967) 384-393.