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PRIESTESS ATHENODOTE: A NEW PIECE OF EVIDENCE FOR THE HISTORY  
AND THE CULTS OF LATE HELLENISTIC HALIKARNASSOS  
(*I.HALIKARNASSOS* \*294, WITH AN APPENDIX ON *I.HALIKARNASSOS* \*297)

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PRIESTESS ATHENODOTE: A NEW PIECE OF EVIDENCE FOR THE HISTORY  
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1. Monument and Text

*1.1. Find-spot*

According to information from Ali Uçarer of the Bodrum Museum, the stone was found between the terrace of the temple of Ares and the ancient stadium, approximately 180–200 m east of the north-east corner of this terrace. This is north of the modern private hospital and south of the main road to Milas. The stone was brought to the Bodrum Museum around 1990, where it can be seen in the lower courtyard (see Fig. 1).

The find-spot is situated a mere 200 m from the city-wall which had a gate in this area. Tomb monuments and inscriptions have been found outside this gate, and since the stone was almost certainly designed as a funerary altar (see below, 1.2), it may have originated from there. Alternatively, the stone may have originated from the area stretching from the find-spot southwards towards the Türkkuysu district, which has yielded many inscriptions, including several related to the gymnasium of Halikarnassos and other public institutions. Indeed, it is possible that civic funerary monuments and related inscriptions were set up within the city itself.<sup>2</sup>

*1.2. Description*

The stone is a cylindrical altar of bluish-grey limestone with light grey veins.

Largest preserved height: ca. 70 cm; the lower diameter could not be measured; the stone tapers slightly towards the top; largest preserved diameter at the top of the stone: 78.5 cm.

The cylinder is heavily damaged on all sides. The edges are entirely broken away along the upper and lower surface of the stone. The monument must originally have had a torus or similar moulding along both the top and the bottom, which was presumably broken off when the stone was being prepared for reuse in an oil-press. The vertical surface of the stone is weathered and no tool marks could be observed, but it is sufficiently preserved to allow most of the inscription to be read. The inscription covers most of the front of the stone, parts of which – especially at the left margin of the preserved text, as well as near the bottom – are eroded. The inscription begins ca. 5–7 cm from the preserved top of the stone to the beginning of the ἀποφυγή for the lower moulding. Its closeness to the bottom of the stone may suggest that the spacing of the lower part of the inscription was poorly organized or that it was secondarily made (Fig. 2), but see below sections 1.3 on Layout and Letterforms, and 2.1.

Part of the original, smooth surface of the underside of the stone is preserved. The upper surface (Fig. 3) is much damaged due to secondary use, but it is possible to discern slight remains of a raised rim with a thickness of ca. 13–14 cm, which ran along the circular border of the stone. The original height of the raised rim may be estimated as 10–15 cm when compared to the *sima*-like rim frequently found on better preserved βουκράνια altars from the region of Halikarnassos.<sup>3</sup> The original height of the entire monument may thus be estimated at around 80–85 cm. The raised rim encircled a central area that was roughly picked into a slightly concave depression 2–3 cm deep. The stone has been significantly reworked for its secondary use in an oil-press (Fig. 4). To the right of the inscription, the

<sup>1</sup> This article forms a part of the ongoing *prolegomena* to a new corpus of the inscriptions of Halikarnassos, *I.Halikarnassos* (included here with a provisional numbering that follows the inventory of McCabe, Packard Humanities Institute; NB these numbers are liable to change). For other preliminary publications which have already appeared, see Isager 1998, 2002, 2015; Isager and Pedersen 2012, 2014 and 2015; cf. also Carbon 2013. The authors owe their sincere gratitude to the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums in Ankara for its generous permission concerning the work of the Danish Halikarnassos Project and we are deeply grateful to the directorate and the staff of Bodrum Museum for their unfailing help and support. We also very gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Riet van Bremen and Stella Skaltsa, who respectively provided their indispensable help and guidance, as well as of Georg Petzl for his expert editorial comments.

<sup>2</sup> On the practice of intramural burial in Roman Imperial Asia Minor, see recently Berns 2011. For the hypothesis of an early Hellenistic funerary precinct near the famous Maussolleion at Halikarnassos, see also Carbon 2013: esp. 109. More broadly, burial grounds are found in at least a few areas inside – yet near – the city walls of Halikarnassos, for instance above the theatre on Göktepe hill and close to the west gate (the so-called “Myndos Gate”).

<sup>3</sup> For some local examples, see Berges 1986: nos. K59–61 (Bodrum), with figs. 101–103.



Fig. 1. *I.Halikarnassos* \*294: General View of the Stone and the Inscription



Fig. 2. Detail of the Epigram at the Bottom of the Stone

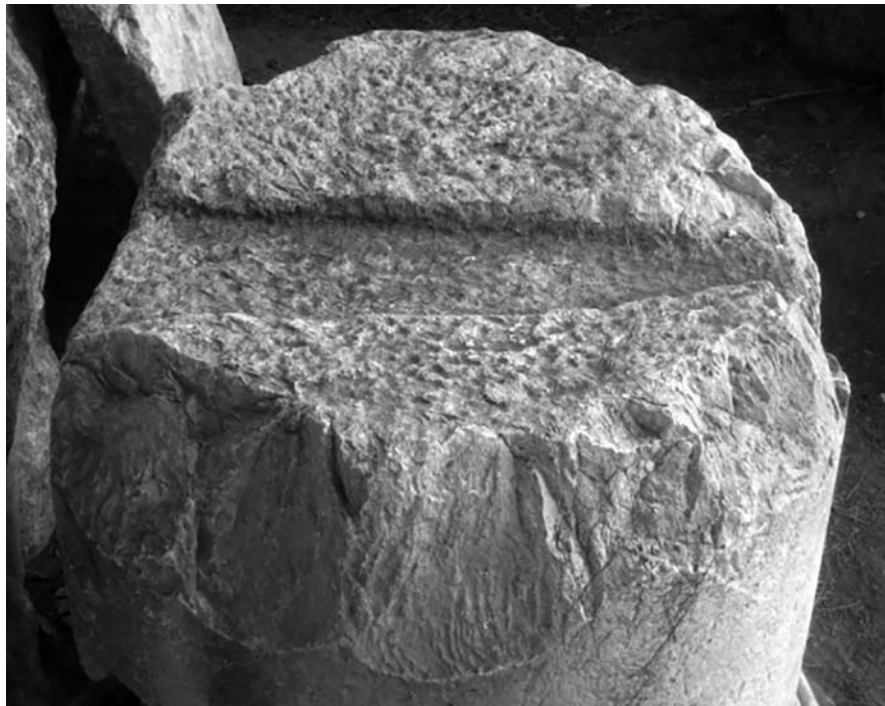


Fig. 3. Top of the Stone, Showing Reuse



Fig. 4. Side View of the Stone, Showing Reuse



Fig. 5. Detail of the Broken Side and Preserved Right Margin of the Inscription



cylindrical body of the stone has been irregularly flattened by rough picking which has destroyed part of the right side of the inscription (Fig. 5). The opposite side of the stone as well as its upper side and bottom has a continuous, irregular recess for the wooden framework that once fastened the stone, in order for it to be used as a counter-weight to the wooden beams of the oil-press.

Although the cylindrical stone is much damaged from secondary re-cutting, enough traces of the original phase are preserved to indicate that the monument was probably created as an altar. The upper surface consisted of a slightly concave area, 2–3 cm deep, surrounded by a raised rim, for which there are parallels notably in Rhodian funerary altars.<sup>4</sup> Although both a marble and (probably) a bronze statue of Athenodote seem to have been erected according to the inscription (see below on lines 4–5), this stone was almost certainly not the base for one of these statues, as no traces of a cutting for the plinth of a marble statue can be seen, nor any cuttings for the feet of a bronze statue or dowels for a further crowning element of the monument. It seems unlikely that traces of such cuttings or fittings would have been completely erased when the stone was reworked for use in an oil-press.

### 1.3. Layout and Letters

Height of letters: lines 1–15: ca. 2 cm. Lines 17–19: ca. 1.6 cm. The script is not quite regular. The letters – somewhat effaced – appear to have been relatively carefully inscribed, though the cutter’s writing is also occasionally negligent. The letters are slightly elongated and show moderate serifs. The letterforms for the principal, larger text (lines 1–15) may be characterised as follows:

- *Alpha*: The crossbar is generally straight, only sometimes slanted or slightly curved.
- *Delta*: The oblique hastae curve a bit inward.
- *Zeta*: Z-shaped, with a diagonal middle bar.
- *Theta*: Like *omicron*, with a short horizontal stroke in its centre.
- *Mu*: The outer hastae diverge considerably and curve somewhat.
- *Omicron*: Generally of the same height as the other letters, often slightly oval.
- *Pi*: The vertical hastae are of equal length, and the horizontal does not extend beyond them.
- *Rho*: The loop is moderate.
- *Sigma*: Generally with parallel outer hastae, with a central angle greater than 90 degrees.
- *Upsilon*: All hastae are straight; the V is quite open and deep.
- *Phi*: The body is a small ellipse, and the vertical extends above and below the other letters.
- *Omega*: Like *omicron* in size, but the opening at the bottom varies considerably.

The letterforms of the second, smaller text (lines 16–19), generally show similar characteristics. This text was inscribed one line below the larger inscription, and centred below it. Though comparatively diminutive and much more worn, the letters of this second text probably reveal the same hand at work.

### 1.4. Text

[ca.<sup>3</sup>]Q[... ca.<sup>6</sup>...]Σ[ — — ]  
 Ἀθηνοδό[την Ε]ὐαίον[ος τοῦ (?) — — ]  
 γυναιῖκα δὲ Πολείτου τ[οῦ — — ]  
 χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόγι καὶ <sup>vacat</sup>  
 5 ἄλληι μαρμαρίνηι ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν [ <sup>vacat?</sup> ]  
 καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ φιλαγαθίας τ[ῆς εἰς τοὺς]  
 πολίτας καὶ τὸ σύνστημα τῶν γερόγ[των, ἰέρειαν]  
 πρώτην γενομένην Ἀρτέμιδος Λε[υκοφρυνηῆς]  
 καὶ ἱερατεύσασαν Παρθένου τὸν [τῆς ἱερατεί]-  
 10 ας χρόνον καὶ ἰέρειαν γενομένην [Ἀρτέμιδος]  
 Λευκοφρυνηῆς τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἰέρειαν γενομέ]-  
 νην Ἴσιδος ἐπὶ ζωῆς καὶ ἰέρειαν γεν[ομένην]  
 Νεμέσεως ἐπὶ ζωῆς καὶ ἰέρειαν π[ρώτην τῆς]

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Berges 1996: pl. 57 nos. 1–2 (agora of Kamiros – on a square base) and 3 (cat. 274, Museum of Rhodes – garlanded).

Γερουσίας κατὰ δόγμα τὸ τοῦ συν[στήματος τῶν]  
 15 γερόντων δωρεὰν ἐπὶ ζωῆς γ[ενομένην].

*vacat v. 1*

εἰς Αἴδαν ἰέρειαν [Αθ]ηνοδότην θεοῦ[ς ἦγεν]  
 ἀνδρὸς καὶ [προγόνων ἄ]ξια μ[ησαμ]ένην  
 σώφρον[α – ω – ω – ω]P εἶδεα / [ – ω ]  
 Ἀσί[α]ς [ – ω – ι – ω ]ΕΓΓΕ[ω ω]

1. Before Ο, a faint trace, probably just damage to the stone; end: Σ *vel* Ξ. For possible restorations to this line, e.g. [ὁ δῆμος]ος καὶ τὸ σ[ύστημα τῶν γερόντων], see below 2.1 and the Commentary ad loc. || 13. Before the final lacuna, Γ *vel* Π; see the Commentary below ad loc.

### 1.5. Translation

“(The people and the *systema* of the elders (?) have honoured) Athenodote daughter of Euaion [son of ? ...] and wife of Poleites [son of ...], with a gold crown and a statue [and] another statue made of marble, for her excellence and prudence (or: modesty) and benevolence [towards the] citizens and the *systema* of the elders, having become the first [priestess] of Artemis Leukophryene, and having served as priestess of Parthenos for the duration [of the priesthood], and having become priestess of Artemis Leukophryene for a second time, and [having become priestess] of Isis for life, and [having become] priestess of Nemesis for life, and [having become the first] priestess of the *Gerousia* by the decree of the *systema* [of the] elders, as a free gift, for life.”

“To Hades, a god [led] priestess Athenodote,  
 who took care (to be) worthy of her husband and [ancestors],  
 being prudent (or: modest) [...] forms/shapes [...] of Asia [...]”

## 2. Commentary

### 2.1. General Remarks

As the description (above, 1.2) makes clear, the cylindrical stone on which these two texts were inscribed is almost certainly a funerary monument for the woman honoured, Athenodote. Yet the inscribed monument as a whole defies our expectation. *Prima facie*, we might have expected the first of the two inscriptions (lines 1–15) to point to a base for one of the statues said to have been erected in honour of this woman (cf. lines 4–5), rather than a funerary altar, on which a text in the genitive case might have been expected instead.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the function and substance of this main inscription was to record honours for Athenodote, which were no doubt passed by the city of Halikarnassos, probably jointly with the σύστημα of the elders (see further below, Commentary on line 1). These honours take what has been called a “canonical form”: here, we probably had the honouring bodies in the nominative in line 1, then after either an implicit or explicit verb, the name of Athenodote (in the accusative) and her family relations in lines 2–3, followed by the honours themselves and a list of Athenodote’s merits in lines 4–15.<sup>6</sup>

However, the stone as we have it is clearly a funerary altar, with a shallow concave depression presumably intended for the placement of offerings in honour of the deceased.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the principal text (lines 1–15) is followed by an epigram in smaller lettering (lines 16–19). The practice of inscribing an epigram below another text in smaller lettering is well attested at Halikarnassos.<sup>8</sup> It is therefore apparent that the monument was erected and inscribed in the same hand after Athenodote had died.

<sup>5</sup> This sort of statue-base does exist at Halikarnassos: a cylindrical base for a bronze statue set up by the δῆμος in honour of a prominent individual is known from the unpublished *I.Halikarnassos* \*257 (end of 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – mid 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD).

<sup>6</sup> See Ma 2006: esp. 208–210, and further Ma 2013: 31–38. The heading ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν (or, much more rarely, the δῆμος joined by another group) is typical of honorific inscriptions from Halikarnassos.

<sup>7</sup> See also Coulton 2005: 128 on altars with a “dished top”.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, in the dedications Bean and Cook 1955: 100–101 no. 9 / *SGO* 01/12/04 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*73 (cylindrical base) and *SEG* 28, 838 / *SGO* 01/12/06 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*121 (rectangular statue-base); as well in another unpublished text,

There are several ways of explaining why the record of honours passed by the city, and probably by the σύστημα of the elders, was inscribed on this funerary altar. The honours as such are not explicitly posthumous, but were conferred during Athenodote's lifetime, probably near the end of her career (see also below).<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the simplest explanation would be that the record of honours for Athenodote, inscribed on statue-bases in her honour (see lines 4–5) or even in an honorific decree, was copied on the funerary monument after her death. More broadly, we could situate the monument for Athenodote as part of a larger trend in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods: the increasing blurring of distinctions between civic and cultic honours, exemplified here by the erection of an altar-shaped monument for the honorand, whether to be used for funerary cult, or in reality as a votive memorial, perhaps to be placed on a pedestal.<sup>10</sup>

As the text informs us (lines 2–3), Athenodote was the daughter of Euaion, and married to Poleites. It seems very likely that she was, both by birth and by marriage, related to an important Halikarnassian family, some of whose members are known to have been priests of Poseidon.<sup>11</sup> Serving probably in the early first century BC, the last three individuals mentioned in the list of these priests (Wilhelm 1908: 64–69, no. 5 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*2, col. B – see now Isager 2015 on this inscription) are the following:

- Poleites son of Androstheneis (for 5 years)
- Euaion son of Poleites (probably for 28 years)
- Poleites son of Euaion, by adoption son of Apollonides (for 27 years)

The first of these individuals – Poleites son of Androstheneis – is also known as the eponymous priest (of Apollo), and νεωποιός for the second time, who heads a list of contributors for the digging and masonry of a well (Wilhelm 1908: 61–63 no. 4 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*32; this probably dates to the late second century BC).<sup>12</sup> If the association of our Athenodote with these individuals carrying the names Poleites and Euaion is correctly inferred, then she will have been a member of a prominent and no doubt wealthy family from late Hellenistic Halikarnassos (see below 2.2, on the date). A further token of these familial connections seems to be reflected in the funerary epigram inscribed below the honorific inscription, where Athenodote is praised for having lived in a manner “worthy of her husband [and ancestors]” (line 17: ἀνδρὸς καὶ [προγόνων ἄ]ξια; see Commentary below ad loc.).

One might easily have surmised Athenodote's elite pedigree from the prominent honours she received and the significant number of priesthoods she held during the course of her life (5 in total). Indeed, what is presented in lines 7–15 appears to be a *cursus* of the offices and benefactions of Athenodote, in the form of a list of priesthoods of exclusively female deities. A chronological presentation is assured, since her two successive turns of duty as priestess of Artemis Leukophryene (lines 8 and 10–11) are separated by a mention of the priesthood of Parthenos (line 9). In other words, Athenodote's career began with the privilege of being the first priestess of Artemis Leukophryene at Halikarnassos; it concluded at some point after assuming the office of priestess of the *Gerousia* for life (see also below, for a summary at section 2.7). Athenodote's death occurred sometime after assuming this final priesthood, though how long after remains unclear.

In sum, it can be suggested that Athenodote is a fine example of a type of wealthy women who were conspicuous in their benefactions to many cities of Asia Minor during the late Hellenistic and Roman peri-

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*I.Halikarnassos* \*305, a dedication by a gymnasiarch (on an architectural block). The same layout also appears in the text inscribed on the first-century BC funerary monument *GIBM* 915 / *SGO* 01/12/19 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*131.

<sup>9</sup> Other honorific inscriptions from the city make it much more clear that they are posthumous: cp. the roughly contemporaneous French 1984 / *SEG* 34, 1607 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*166 (discussed below in the Commentary at line 6).

<sup>10</sup> For a rich investigation of the varied combinations and functions of altar-types in the Roman Asia Minor, see Coulton 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Any connection with the epehebic victor Metrophanes son of Euaion mentioned in a late Hellenistic inscription (*SEG* 16, 653 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*70) remains unclear; on this text, see below 2.6.

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm advanced the argument for the identification; an earlier homonym is a more remote possibility. On *I.Halikarnassos* \*32 and its dating, see Isager 2002. As is demonstrated in that article, a date as early as ca. 200 BC might be possible on the basis of the letterforms, which are in any case quite unusual for Halikarnassos, but the content of the text points to a date in the late second century BC.

ods.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that, in the final years of her life, Athenodote survived some of her male relatives in the Poleites/Euaion family; she also appears to have been childless, since no children are mentioned anywhere in the text. Therefore, we can surmise that she spent generously some of her private fortune for the public benefit. She did so in a way traditionally open to women, namely by assuming the expense for some of the priesthoods of the community, especially those of female deities (see below 2.4). For a similar inscription in honour of another prominent woman (name now missing), who held multiple priesthoods over the course of her lifetime, see *I.Halikarnassos* \*297 (Appendix, below; by contrast with Athenodote, the woman in question evidently had children – see on line 5).

## 2.2. Date

Regrettably, there are no available means to precisely date the inscription in honour of Athenodote. No conclusion concerning the original date of the monument can be reached on the basis of the archaeological and technical evidence. However, some clues may be gleaned from the cutting of the letters, as well as from comparanda in the corpus of Halikarnassos. In terms of style and letterforms, the inscription shows several similarities with the few inscriptions from Halikarnassos which may be securely dated to the first century BC or to the early first century AD.<sup>14</sup> The best that we can perhaps say is that the style of the inscription suggests a date in the range of ca. 85 BC to the early years of the first century AD, more likely in the latter part of this range.<sup>15</sup>

This approximative dating may be readily confirmed on the basis of other textual and contextual comparisons. The letters and especially the formulaic content of the honorific inscription for Athenodote are perhaps most comparable to those of French 1984 / *SEG* 34, 1067 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*166, a funerary inscription on a statue-base erected by the δήμος and the Roman πραγματευόμενοι for a woman called Menestrata, who also issued from a prominent family at Halikarnassos: she is said to be the daughter of Melanthios φιλόπατρις φιλωρώμαιοις, son of Drakon φιλόπατρις. This inscription, which is thought to date to the first half of the first century BC (so French 1984 – but it may well belong to a somewhat later period), differs from the present text in being more carefully cut.<sup>16</sup> For further discussion of the similarities of formulary between the two inscriptions, see also below on line 6. Other comparanda from the first century BC include most saliently a dedication by the same Melanthios, father of Menestrata, to Isis, Sarapis and the δήμος, while he was gymnasiarch of the *Gerousia* (Hula and Szanto 1895: 29 no. 4; Bean and Cook 1955: 99 no. 5 / *SEG* 16, 654 / *RICIS* 305/1704 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*75, with similar letterforms, though broken-bar *alpha*); see below, 2.6, for further discussion.

<sup>13</sup> On this subject, see esp. van Bremen 1996: 11–40, for the Hellenistic period, beginning with the famous case of Archippe of Kyme in the first half of the second century BC (with van Bremen 2008 for the date).

<sup>14</sup> We invoke here some of the parallels that can be dated with relative confidence on a historical basis. An inscription in honour of Lucius Cornelius Sulla (ca. 85/4 BC), Hula and Szanto 1895: 29 no. 1 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*92, shows some similarities with the inscription for Athenodote, but relatively comparable stylistic features are also in evidence in the copy of the decree of the κοινόν of Asia (*GIBM* 894 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*4), generally thought to concern Gaius Caesar and to date to ca. 1 BC, in *LW* 506 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*86 (ca. 15–13 BC, in honour of Quintus Aemilius Lepidus), and in the honorific decree for a certain Drakon from ca. 4 AD (*GIBM* 892 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*7); cf. also an inscription recording civic honours for Quintus Lollius ἔπαρχος: *SEG* 16, 656 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*94 (ca. 30 BC–50 AD?). All of these inscriptions have a *theta* with an unattached middle stroke and large *omicron*; all show moderate serifs and broken-bar *alpha*, except \*4; the *alphas* in \*7 generally have a straight bar (sometimes slightly bowed); only \*7 and \*92 have *pi* with a shorter right vertical hasta. On the whole, the letterforms of the inscription of Athenodote, as listed above (1.3), fall in the general period of these texts. They suggest perhaps a closest parallel with *I.Halikarnassos* \*4: we note particularly that the oblong shape of the letters in these inscriptions seems to be a further characteristic indicating a date in the late first century BC or in the early first century AD.

<sup>15</sup> Note that the date given for Athenodote in *LGPN* VB (“iii–ii BC”) is thus much too early and must be corrected.

<sup>16</sup> Another inscription with similar lettering, no doubt a fragment of a statue-base, and signed by the same sculptor of the statue-base for Menestrata – [Μηνοφά]νης Λυσ[άνιου Σινωπεὺς ἐποίησε] – also remains to be published: *I.Halikarnassos* \*277. Interestingly, this base was found in the same general area as the present altar for Athenodote, albeit a bit more to the east, towards the stadium.

### 2.3. Line-By-Line Commentary

Line 1: Since the name of the honorand occurs already in line 2, we might reasonably presume that this is the first line of the honorific inscription. At a minimum, it is clear that the honouring body was the δῆμος (cf. the πολῖται in line 7). Yet it is also probable that the σύνστημα of the elders joined the δῆμος as an honouring body, since it is mentioned alongside it in line 7 as the object of Athenodote's benefactions; this is also strongly expected due to Athenodote's role as the first priestess of that body, cf. lines 13–15. The line is thus probably to be restored as [ὁ δῆμ]ο[ς ἐτίμη]σ[εν], or better yet [ὁ δῆμ]ο[ς καὶ τὸ] σ[ύνστημα τῶν γερόντων] or ὁ δῆμ]ο[ς καὶ τὸ] σ[ύνστημα *vel sim.* ἐτίμησαν].

Line 2: Athenodote is an altogether rare name, though, as is often the case elsewhere, female names are not particularly well known in the epigraphy of Halikarnassos. For an Athenodote at nearby Mylasa, cf. *SEG* 54, 1123 (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD); cf. also *I.Stratonikeia* 1431, line 7 (1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD). For a homonym from second century AD Kos, see also *IG* XII.4 1959; another from Aigai in Aiolis is listed in *LGPN* VA (Hellenistic; unpublished, Malay).

Line 4: A fragment of this line above the letters KEN (of ἔνεκεν) in line 5 shows that it is not lacunose, but was left empty (the surface of the stone here is not noticeably eroded). Accordingly, we should not restore [χαλκῆ] (or [γραπτῆ]) as a qualifier for the first statue, as one might naturally presume. The fact that the statue was of bronze will then have been left implicit, as in Cousin–Diehl 1890: 102–103 no. 6 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*95 (also from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC?), lines 4–5: χρυσῶι στεφάνωι | καὶ εἰκόνι καὶ ἄλλῃ μαρμαρίν[η].

Line 5: Now broken off, the remainder of the line may have been left empty (as in line 4; and see immediately below at line 6), or we might think of restoring another virtue, [καὶ εὐνοίας] or even better [καὶ εὐσεβείας]. On piety as a priestly virtue emphasised in both honours and statuary, see Mylonopoulos 2013: esp. 141.

Line 6: Taken together, the list of virtues praised in the person of Athenodote is most similar to the one found in French 1984 / *SEG* 34, 1607 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*166 (first half of 1st c. BC?). As mentioned above, this is a funerary inscription (τὸ σῆμα, line 2) but also a statue-base (recording the name of the artist in line 11) for another woman, Menestrata Melanthiou, who is praised, lines 8–10: ... ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ σωφροσύνης | τῆς κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ φιλαγαθίας | τῆς εἰς αὐτούς (namely, the people of Halikarnassos and the Roman πραγματευόμενοι). The precise character of Menestrata's benevolence (φιλαγαθία) remains unclear, while our inscription, as we have seen, provides a detailed list of the benefactions performed by Athenodote, in the form of the priesthoods she held. While ἀρετή is fairly generic and ubiquitous in honorific inscriptions, the praise of σωφροσύνη is perhaps more evocative, testifying to a prudent and, especially a modest, demeanour. At Halikarnassos, σωφροσύνη was most often praised in women, cp. also a Hellenistic epigram in honour of Posis descended from the famous family of the Antheadai (*SEG* 16, 666 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*135 / *SGO* 01/12/13, line 9): σωφροσύνης κλέος ἔσχε. As is also apparent, the fragmentary epigram appended below the honorific inscription for Athenodote played up this aspect of her character, line 18: σώφρον[α]. On the prevalence of σωφροσύνη as a female virtue expressed in sculptural representations, see esp. Smith 1991: 83–86. This key term in both the honorific inscription and the funerary epigram suggests that portrait statues of Athenodote, perhaps erected elsewhere in the city (see 2.1 above), may have been of the so-called 'Pudicitia'-type; see again Smith, and also Dillon 2012 on female portraiture in the Hellenistic and Republican periods, including statues of priestesses.

Lines 13–15: The letter at the end of line 13 is unclear, showing perhaps a second vertical stroke. Still, one might have expected the participle γ[ενομένην] instead of π[ρώτην]. The final, uncontroversial *gamma* in line 15, however, is not a mistake but followed by a heavily eroded portion of the stone (see fig. 6). It thus seems certain that γ[ενομένην] must be restored there. Though a lengthy separation of the participle from ἰέρειαν may appear to constitute somewhat unusual syntax, this is not unique: cp. the analogous construction at *IG* IX.1 5 (Antikyra, 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), lines 3–4: τὴν ἰέρειαν Ἀρτέμιδος Δικτύωννης | κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ Ἐπαφρῶ γενομένην. According to the restoration adopted here in line 13, then, we learn that Athenodote was the first priestess of the *Gerousia* at Halikarnassos, thus also explaining why this appoint-



Fig. 6. Detail of the Break and Erosion at lines 14–15

ment is explicitly specified as having come as the result of a decree from the σύστημα of the elders; see further below, 2.6.

Lines 16–19: The funerary epigram included in these lines, in smaller lettering, contains fragments of a pair of elegiac couplets. Only the first and second lines are relatively well preserved. The first hexameter includes a variant on the common motif of a deity (more usually, Moira or Kore) leading the deceased to Hades.<sup>17</sup> Prominent emphasis is placed here on Athenodote's status as priestess (ἱέρειον): this was her defining role in life and how she is perceived even in death. The second line, concluding the first couplet, mentions her marriage and probably her ancestry. The suggested restoration, προγόνων, fits the meter, and matches our identification of the prominent lineage to which Athenodote seems to have belonged (see above, 2.1). The focus of the epigram is especially on how Athenodote lived in a manner worthy of her family, and on how her conduct was characterised by both careful prudence and modesty (μησαμ[ένην], continuing on to σώφρον[α at the beginning of the next couplet); see also above on line 6. For the formula, one may compare especially *IG IX.12* 51 (Thermos, ca. 284–281 BC), lines 3–4: ... ἄξια πάτρας, ἰ ἄξια δ' Οἰνειδῶν μησάμενον προγόνων.

#### 2.4. The Priesthoods

Except for that of the *Gerousia*, the method of attribution of the priesthoods listed in the inscription is not mentioned. In the case of the *Gerousia*, it would seem that the σύστημα of the elders passed a special decree (κατὰ δόγμα τὸ τοῦ συν[στήματος τῶν] ἡγερόντων, lines 14–15), in order to confer the appointment on Athenodote or to validate the position. The priesthood is explicitly said to have been undertaken freely (δωρεάν), that is to say at Athenodote's full expense, for the duration of her lifetime. For the other priesthoods too, it might be surmised that Athenodote's appointment to the office derived from a financial commitment, though in fact this is not explicitly stated. In the third century BC, it is known that one of the primary modes of attribution for priesthoods at Halikarnassos was the sale of the office, usually for life.<sup>18</sup> As in the case of the δωρεάν priesthood of the *Gerousia* then, it might be conjectured that some of

<sup>17</sup> Cp. e.g. *IG IX.12* 340 (Thyrrheion, 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), lines 5–6; *I.Kyme* 50 / *SGO* 05/03/08 (Phokaia, 1st c. AD), lines 4–5; *I.PrusaOlympum* 54 / *SGO* 09/04/06 (3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), lines 8–10; *I.Ephesos* 2104 / *SGO* 03/02/67 (late Imperial), lines 5–6.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. now Parker and Thonemann 2015; in both known cases, however, the priesthood appears to have been newly instituted by the city. For a comparable sale of priesthood at Theangela, see Şahin and Engelmann 1979: 211–213 no. 1.

the priesthoods to which Athenodote was appointed were purchased, perhaps especially those she obtained for life (Isis and Nemesis, lines 12–13). Other priesthoods fit perhaps less easily in this model, such as the apparently annual priesthood of Artemis Leukophryene (less likely to be sold) and the more unusual role of priestess of Parthenos. In any case, some of the priesthoods mentioned may have formed a part of the structure of civic liturgies at Halikarnassos in this period; others may have been obtained through other means. Indeed, other possible modes of attribution for these priesthoods include appointment by lot, perhaps from a selected group of women, or through election or selection by the δῆμος (in the last case, as we can see, directly by the σύστημα of the elders).<sup>19</sup> In all of these appointments, Athenodote's prominent familial connections must also have had a role to play.

– Artemis Leukophryene: Until now, this priesthood was completely unknown outside Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, whence the cult originates. For the priestess of Artemis at Magnesia itself, see *I.Magnesia* 98 + p. 295 / *LSAM* 32 (ca. 189 BC, paired with the priest of Zeus Sosipolis), as well as *I.Magnesia* 161, 178, and 193–196 (all dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD). As the list in our inscription makes clear, this priesthood was without doubt an annual one: Athenodote was both the “first” priestess (πρώτην, line 8), but also somewhat later served for a second time (τὸ δεύτερον, line 11: note that this also entails that she served this second mandate in a later year, not a consecutive one). An annual priesthood is directly paralleled by the evidence from Roman Imperial Magnesia-on-the-Maeander cited immediately above. It is also clear from those texts that the priesthood could occasionally be attributed to, or undertaken by, the same woman twice, even in two successive years (cf. *I.Magnesia* 161 for Claudia Diophantis: ἱερείων γενομένην Ἀρ{ρ}τέμ[ι]δος Λευκοφρυηνῆς δις | κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς). That Athenodote served as the first priestess of the goddess at Halikarnassos indicates that this event must be closely contemporaneous with the introduction of the cult to the city; the role of Athenodote or her family in this matter is unclear. What is clear is that Athenodote took on this annual office relatively early in her life, almost certainly as an unmarried girl (παρθένος); see also below on the priesthood of Parthenos.<sup>20</sup> For further discussion of Halikarnassos and its connection to the Magnesian Leukophryena, as well as the possible impact of the cult on other cities of Asia Minor, see 2.5 below.

– Gerousia: A priesthood of the Gerousia was hitherto unattested at Halikarnassos, and it seems likely that Athenodote was the first to hold this office, probably near the end of her lifetime; see above at lines 13–15; see also below at section 2.6, for further discussion.

– Isis: The cult of Isis may be presumed to have been introduced to Halikarnassos at a very early date in the Hellenistic period. Already in ca. 300 BC or somewhat later, we find a dedication to Sarapis and Isis (*RICIS* 305/1701 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*80); that the cult was especially favoured under the rule of the Ptolemies is also evident (*RICIS* 305/1702 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*39, dating to the reign of Ptolemy II).<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, a priest of the goddess is attested in another inscription from Halikarnassos, probably of the second or first century BC: *RICIS* 305/1703 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*103. Indeed, male priests of the goddess (or of the Egyptian gods) are more frequently found in the epigraphic evidence from Greece and Asia Minor (see the indices to *RICIS* s.vv. ἱερεῖα and ἱερεύς). The modes of attribution of the priesthood, whether male or female, appear to have varied considerably from place to place: for a priestess having served twice (presumably during two annual terms), cf. *RICIS* 201/0401 (Imbros, Roman period); for another having served for life, cf. *RICIS* 105/0895 (Chaironeia, mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD). There is some evidence suggesting that the priesthood of Isis may occasionally have been sold, cf. perhaps *LSAM* 36 (Priene, ca. 200 BC, where this may be implied); and cp. *LSAM* 34 for the sale of the priesthood of Sarapis at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander at the beginning of the

<sup>19</sup> One thinks perhaps of the group of elite wives of the πρυτάνεις at Halikarnassos, see *LSAM* 73 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*3, (third century BC), lines 17–18 and 22.

<sup>20</sup> For the prevalence of παρθένοι as priestesses of Artemis and a general discussion of virginal priestesses, see Guettel Cole 2004: 132–133 with n. 249.

<sup>21</sup> There is also an unpublished Hellenistic dedication by one Theudotos to Sarapis and Isis: *I.Halikarnassos* \*290. On Halikarnassos as a Ptolemaic possession, see Bagnall 1976: 94–97.

second century BC. This could be a possibility for how Athenodote obtained the office, but the evolution and mode of attribution of the priesthood at Halikarnassos nevertheless remain to be elucidated: was there a change from a male to a female priest at some juncture, and was the priesthood appointed by the city or sold? At any rate, a further new piece of evidence, *I.Halikarnassos* \*297 (Appendix, below), now confirms that, in the late first century BC or first century AD, the cult was served by another priestess, also for life.

– Nemesis: Though of course having antecedents in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, notably at Rhamnous in Attica, the goddess Nemesis was especially favoured by the Roman emperors and her cult became especially widespread during the Empire.<sup>22</sup> The date of introduction of the cult at Halikarnassos cannot be ascertained. It is unlikely to have been much anterior to Athenodote's assuming the priesthood for life in the first century BC, though she clearly was not the "first" to do so. A further new piece of evidence, *I.Halikarnassos* \*297 (Appendix, below) now confirms that in the first century BC or first century AD, the cult of Nemesis was served by another priestess, also for life. For the worship of Nemeseis by (the owners of) gladiators at Halikarnassos, probably in the second century AD, cf. Robert 1940: 180c / *I.Halikarnassos* \*77 and Robert 1940: 179 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*78: this evidence testifies to multiple cult-statues and manifestations of the goddess (Nemeseis) in a built sanctuary (a Nemeseion).<sup>23</sup> It may also be interesting to note that priesthoods of Isis and Nemesis could, perhaps, occasionally be "paired", or at least held simultaneously by the same individual, cf. the case of Sosion son of Eumenes from the Attic deme of Oenoe, *ID* 2062 (Delos, 110/109 BC); see also here the woman honoured in the relatively contemporary *I.Halikarnassos* \*297 (Appendix, below).<sup>24</sup>

– Parthenos: Though Parthenos is often found as an epithet (e.g. for Athena or Artemis), the reference here must be to the cult of a more obscure and distinctive goddess, though one fairly widely worshipped under this name. Thought to be the daughter of Chrysothemis (either by Apollo or the hero Staphylus), Parthenos along with her sister Molpadia was, according to one legend, saved from an attempted suicide-leap into the sea by Apollo, and set up as a figure of cult at Boubastos (i.e. Bybassos) in the Karian Chersonese, part of the Rhodian Peraia.<sup>25</sup> The cult of this unmarried heroine or goddess is already attested in an inscription from Halikarnassos, probably dating to the beginning of the Hekatomnid period, *SEG* 43, 713 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*31 – this records a list of purchases of mainly landed property belonging to debtors of Apollo, Athena and Parthenos. Elsewhere, she was worshipped most prominently at Milesian Leros (cf. *I.Isol.Mil.* 2–5, with Ehrhardt 1988: 149), as well as at another Chersonesos, the one in the Black Sea (cf. e.g. *Str.* 7.4.2, *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Παρθένου ἱερόν, and esp. *IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> 344, mentioning an account of the epiphanies of the goddess). At Pontic Chersonesos, it seems clear that the deity was served by a male priest, perhaps for life (*IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> 410; cp. 412 and 457). At Halikarnassos, however, another inscription (*SGDI* 5733 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*64, uncertain date) already testifies to a female priestess having served for a limited duration, since she apparently made a dedication herself, after her tenure: Νοσσίς Θεοκλέος | καὶ Βιττοῦς, | [ἰ]ερατεύσασα | Παρθένῳ. Both this previously known inscription and the new case of Athenodote attest to a remarkable

<sup>22</sup> The mode of attribution of the priesthood at Rhamnous is likely to have been by lot and for life, as elsewhere in Attica. On the subject of the popularity of the cult of Nemesis under the Empire, see, in detail, Hornum 1993. Cp. also a priestess of Nemesis known at Mylasa in the first century AD: *I.Mylasa* 337.

<sup>23</sup> See also Hornum 1993: 289–290 nos. 241–242 and Carlsen 2014. For a forthcoming discussion of the context of these inscriptions, observed by Hula and Szanto on fragments of an architrave presumably belonging to a sanctuary of the goddess, see S. Isager, "The inscriptions of Halikarnassos, as documented by scholars in 1894", due to be published in the *Proceedings from the 7th Karia, Karians and Mylasa Symposium: The Inscriptions of Karia, in Honour of Professor Wolfgang Blümel* (Milas, 5–6 September 2014).

<sup>24</sup> For the worship of Nemesis in close connection with that of Sarapis, see also *I.Smyrna* 725 / *RICIS* 304/0204 (as at Halikarnassos, Nemeseis – plural – in the Nemeseion at Smyrna, 211/2 AD) and *Milet* VI,1 205 / *RICIS* 304/0901 (Miletos, reign of Hadrian), lines 10–11.

<sup>25</sup> *Diod. Sic. Bibl.* 5.62; Molpadia became the figure of Hemithea at Kastabos. On the legend, paying particular attention to Hemithea, and with a translation of the sources, see Cook and Plommer 1966: 159–166. It is worth noting that Hemithea is said to have received a wineless (νηφάλιος) cult. Rituals for the virginal Parthenos perhaps followed the same template; on this type of "sober" ritual, see Pirenne-Delforge 2011.



female priesthood of Parthenos at Halikarnassos, one that was according to our new inscription held for a specific and customary (but otherwise unspecified) amount of time, as our restoration in lines 9–10 entails: τὸν [τῆς ἱερατεΐ]ας χρόνον. The expression is rather singular, though it does find some verbal parallels in inscriptions from the Imperial period, notably one referring to the duration of the high-priesthood of the Macedonian κοινόν and its games, *I.Beroia* 117 / *SEG* 17, 315 (shortly after 98 AD), lines 8–9: καὶ δόντα ἐν τῷ | τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ; 19–20: παρ' ὅλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνον.<sup>26</sup> At any rate, the phrase suggests that the duration of the priesthood was longer than a single year, lasting a certain period of time but not a lifetime. The most plausible interpretation is that the normative duration was the same as that of the maidenhood of the priestess, since cases where young virgins served in a cult until the time of marriage are relatively well-known.<sup>27</sup> If so, this would confirm that this priesthood, much like that of Artemis, belongs to an early phase in the life of Athenodote, before she was married, i.e. while she was still a παρθένος herself.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.5. Artemis Leukophryene and the Leukophryena

We have seen that, sometime during the course of the first century BC, Athenodote was the first priestess of Artemis Leukophryene at Halikarnassos. This begs the following related questions: why was the cult of this goddess introduced at Halikarnassos in the first place, and why in this particular historical period? We can perhaps only come close to an answer to the second question, since evidence concerning the first problem is lacking. As we have seen, Athenodote seems to come from, and to have married into, a long line of notable priests: this strong association of the family with important religious offices might begin to explain its possible connection with the foundation of the cult of Artemis Leukophryene at Halikarnassos. But the role of the city of Halikarnassos in the matter, which was surely not negligible, and other potential factors, remain entirely obscure.

At first glance, it might seem that the first century BC is a late date for the cult of Artemis Leukophryene to have had an impact on the cultic makeup of Halikarnassos or, possibly, on other neighbouring cities of Ionia and Karia. Indeed, the festival of the Leukophryena at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander is well known to have experienced considerable renewal and dissemination starting in 208/7 BC (after a failed attempt to do so already in 221/20). The practical thrust of this early effort was the large-scale sending out of envoys, leading to a huge response on the part of many cities in Greece and Asia Minor, who thereafter sent θεωρίαί to the festival of the Leukophryena; these are attested in letters and decrees dating to the late third and early second century BC for the most part.<sup>29</sup> Though Halikarnassos' response on this occasion is unknown – it was doubtless also the recipient of envoys—it is nonetheless unlikely that any participation in the Magnesian Leukophryena on the part of the city during this period led to an importation of the cult at Halikarnassos. Similarly, the rebuilding of the temple of the goddess at Magnesia – planned by the architect Hermogenes of Priene in the early second century BC, a project no doubt continuing over several decades – or the continued revitalization of the festival in the early decades of the second century BC, are equally unlikely to have had a direct effect on the far removed case of Athenodote and the first priesthood at Halikarnassos.<sup>30</sup>

Instead, if the inauguration of the cult at Halikarnassos can indeed be connected to any historical circumstance, it seems clear that this must be with a different, later phase in the development of the Leu-

<sup>26</sup> For the variable modes of expression for the duration of such Imperial priesthoods, see Camia 2011: esp. 150 with n. 43.

<sup>27</sup> See again Guettel Cole 2004: 132 with nn. 248 (Poseidon at Kalaureia) and 255 (Artemis at Patrai).

<sup>28</sup> Priesthoods specifically taken on by maidens are well attested elsewhere, notably in cults of Artemis, see Dillon 2002: 75, esp. with n. 13 (accordingly an alternative restoration to the text could be τὸν [τῆς παρθενεΐ]ας vel [κορεΐ]ας χρόνον).

<sup>29</sup> The key text is *I.Magnesia* 16, on which see now Slater and Summa 2006 (with see *SEG* 56, 1231 and 59, 1329, for references to further recent discussions). For the whole Magnesian dossier, cf. Rigsby 1996: 179–280; see also Sumi 2004.

<sup>30</sup> *I.Magnesia* 100A / *LSAM* 33A, concerning the Eisiteria and Leukophryena. See also Wiemer 2009: 123–127 for the context of 190s and 180s BC, with particular reference to the inauguration of the festival of Zeus Sosipolis, *I.Magnesia* 98 + p. 295 / *LSAM* 32. On the date of the temples for both gods, see Schädler 1991: 301–312.

kophryena. The most probable context would then be the period of the Mithridatic wars in 89–85 BC or its immediate aftermath. Another decree of Magnesia, attesting to a further definition and augmentation of the festival, has been tied to this period, with a probable date of ca. 100–85 BC.<sup>31</sup> Though it is possible that Magnesia-on-the-Maeander sided with Mithridates on this occasion – the evidence is numismatic – it is clear from this contemporary inscription that the worship of the goddess was further renewed and expanded during this time: she was now perceived as a harbinger of victory, Artemis Leukophryene Nikephoros (line 41). It is also possible that, in the wake of the wars, the ἄστυλία of the temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia was reconfirmed by Lucius Scipio and Lucius Sulla, though the testimony has now been disputed by Santangelo.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the sanctuary continued to experience large-scale construction during this period: a monumental propylon between the precinct and the agora began to be built in the first century BC; it was perhaps finished in the first half of the first century AD.<sup>33</sup>

Whatever the precise fate of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander during or after the Mithridatic wars may have been, it may therefore be envisaged that this later phase in the development of the worship of the goddess at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander had a more direct and tangible effect on a few of its neighbouring communities. Albeit extremely slight, there is some possible evidence for the dissemination of the cult of Artemis Leukophryene in other cities of Asia Minor in the late first century BC and the Roman Imperial period.<sup>34</sup> It is also evident that Halikarnassos itself had suffered from the depredations of Mithridates, as well as those of Dolabella and Verres in 80/79 BC, though how considerably remains unclear.<sup>35</sup> At this time, as mentioned above, Halikarnassos also honoured Sulla (Hula–Szanto 1895: 29 no. 1 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*92), with a monument which shows some similarities in letterforms with that of Athenodote (see above, 2.2), but quite probably predates it. Though confirmation must remain pending, it thus seems probable that the implantation of the cult of Artemis Leukophryene at Halikarnassos took place in the first half of the first century BC, perhaps in the late 80s BC or shortly afterward. If this inference were to prove correct—though we cannot of course exclude a later date in the first century – then it would entail that Athenodote was at this time a quite young and unmarried girl (παρθένος, see above 2.3), taking on her first priesthood.

## 2.6. The Gerousia at Halikarnassos

Until now, the corporate body or the association of the elders (τὸ σύνστημα τῶν γερόντων) has been very poorly attested at Halikarnassos.<sup>36</sup> In terms of officials belonging to the body, we otherwise only have

<sup>31</sup> *I.Magnesia* 100B / *LSAM* 33B, inscribed on a contiguous block to *I.Magnesia* 100A / *LSAM* 33A. For the dating and a discussion of the context, see Santangelo 2006, making an argument for a pro-Mithridatic Magnesia on the basis of numismatic evidence.

<sup>32</sup> *Tac. Ann.* 3.62. Santangelo 2006: 154 with n. 9, taking his argument to a logical extreme, views this as “probabilmente una falsificazione successiva”.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Bingöl 2011.

<sup>34</sup> *App. BC* 5.1.19, discussing the assassination attempt by Anthony on Arsinoe IV in 41 BC, mentions that “she was a suppliant at Miletos, of Artemis Leukophryene”, ἰκέτιν οὐδὲν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. This passage is generally thought to be corrupt, since Arsinoe IV is otherwise known to have taken refuge in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos (*J. AJ* 15.89; *Ap.* 2.57) and since the sanctuary where the supplication took place would of course be expected to be located at Magnesia, not Miletos. It may nonetheless be telling: however dubious the testimony of Appian, given the new evidence from Halikarnassos, a cult or even a sanctuary of the goddess at Miletos is now at least a possibility. For an even more remote piece of evidence, see the dedication made by a couple to Artemis Leukophryene in *I.Apamea&Pylai* 46 (Apamea in Bithynia, 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Cic. Q. fr.* 1.25 on the restorative effects of Quintus’ propraetorship in 61–59 BC.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of the terminology, see Giannakopoulos 2008: 15, 22–23 with n. 47; Bauer 2014: 144–146. See also Chankowski 2010: esp. 516 no. 329 on *I.Mylasa* 144 (date unclear, perhaps pre-Imperial), mentioning both a gymnasiarch and a σύνστημα, probably of the elders *pace* Chankowski; cp. the later *I.Mylasa* 533, which more clearly attests to a σύνστημα τῶν πρεσβ[β]υτῶν in this neighbouring community. At Halikarnassos, the only other item possibly under consideration is the first-century AD *SEG* 38, 1057 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*234, on which see further below at the conclusion of this section. For the form σύνστημα – unassimilated nasal before the sibilant – see Gignac 1976: 170; it is rarely attested in epigraphy: cf. e.g. *IC* III iii 7 (Hierapytna, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), line 10; and *BCH* 12 (1888) 371–372 no. 22 (Reşadiye Iskele in the area of Pergamon, Roman Imperial), line 14.

knowledge of a more or less contemporary gymnasiarch of the *Gerousia* at Halikarnassos.<sup>37</sup> The inscription in question (Hula and Szanto 1895: 29 no. 4; Bean and Cook 1955: 99 no. 5 / *SEG* 16, 654 / *RICIS* 305/1704 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*75, first century BC) is written on one of the narrow sides of an unusually large and tapering fragment of a rectangular marble block. The text is a dedication to Isis, Sarapis and the δῆμος made by a gymnasiarch of both the νέοι and the *Gerousia*, whose name until now has not been discerned. The inscription was found in the Türkkuysu district of Bodrum, where many inscriptions relating to the gymnasium have also been located. Building on the work of previous editors, we offer here a new reading of this inscription, including new restorations in lines 1–3, on the basis of autopsy and photographs; underlined letters are no longer visible on the stone. A full edition is planned for a later occasion.

— — — — —  
 [Σαράπιδος(?) καὶ Εἴ]σιδος [ <sup>vv?</sup> ]  
 [Μελάνθιος Δράκ]οντος τ[οῦ]  
 [Μελανθίου τοῦ] Θυάλλιος  
 [...<sup>ca.9</sup>... τι]μαῖς (?) ἀπὸ τῆς  
 5 [..<sup>ca.3</sup>..]Μ[..<sup>ca.5</sup>... π]ρεσβείας διε-  
 [..<sup>ca.2</sup>..]ΝΕ[..<sup>ca.4</sup>..]Σ ἐπρέσβευσεν  
 [..<sup>ca.5</sup>...]Ε[..<sup>ca.4</sup>...]ΙΕΡΩΝ μὲν  
 [..<sup>ca.3</sup>..], γυμ[να]σιαρχῶν δὲ τὸ γ'  
 [τ]ῶν νέων πρῶτος, γυμνα-  
 10 σιαρχῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς γερουσί-  
 [α]ς, Εἴσιδι, Σαράπιδι καὶ τῶι  
 [<sup>vv</sup>] δῆμοι χαριστήριον. *vacat*

1. Εἴσιδος Bricault in *RICIS*. || 4. ΜΑΙΣ ἀπὸ τῆς Bean and Cook, σα ἀπὸ τῆς Hula and Szanto. || 5–6. διε-: verb with augment would perhaps lead to a problematic asyndeton with ἐπρέσβευσεν; another restoration remains elusive. || 7. ]ΙΕΡΩΝΜΕΝ B. and C., τῶν μὲν H. and S. Though the traces remain problematic, it is perhaps possible to think of ἱερῶν (as Br. does in *RICIS*) or even [πρεσβυ]τέρων. Frustratingly, the syntax would seem to call for a masculine singular present participle in juxtaposition with γυμνασιαρχῶν in lines 8 and 9–10 (e.g. [στ]ε[φαναφο]ρῶν μὲν | [τὸ (num.)]), but a good candidate fitting the traces visible on the stone is elusive.

As it turns out, the individual in question, Melanthios son of Drakon son of Melanthios son of Thyallis, is well-known.<sup>38</sup> His tenure as a gymnasiarch is seemingly confirmed by two dedications made to Hermes and Herakles on behalf of victors among the ἔφηβοι οἱ νεώτεροι in the gymnasium (Bean and Cook 1955: no. 8 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*71, and the more heavily restored *SEG* 16, 653 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*70, both from the first century BC, as we hope to demonstrate elsewhere).<sup>39</sup> In these two probably contemporary inscriptions – they seem to refer to different contests in the local gymnasium, φι[λοπονία?] and εὐεξία respectively –, Melanthios is only said to be γυμνασιαρχῶν. In the inscription cited above, he claims to be the first to have served three (probably consecutive) years as gymnasiarch of the νέοι, providing the oil for the youths

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of this official as a leader of the body, see Giannakopoulos 2008: 57–73; the hitherto quite limited evidence for Halikarnassos is not discussed in this work.

<sup>38</sup> The evidence gathered in French 1984 must now be revisited, but, for now, cf. the useful reconstructed stemma of the wider family which he draws on p. 78. *Contra* French 1984: 83, the reading of the papponym as Thyallis has been correctly maintained in *BE* 1987 no. 353 and *SEG* 36, 974 (Peppas-Delmouzou 1976: 8–9).

<sup>39</sup> Bean and Cook refer to \*71 as “not earlier than the first century A.D.” On these texts, cf. Chankowski 2010: 247 and 519–520 nos. 347–348 (cf. also no. 349: Hula–Szanto 1895: 29 no. 2 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*79). As Chankowski rightly argues, ἔφηβοι οἱ νεώτεροι must refer to the ephebes in their first year of training, i.e. the “younger” contingent of the ephebic class competing locally in the gymnasium. Fröhlich has noted (2013: 89 n. 125) that the relative absence of the ephebes in the early record concerning the gymnasium at Halikarnassos might be considered to be problematic. Early evidence is still lacking, but the late Hellenistic evidence is solid. Note that the ephebes are now also attested by at least twelve rows of reserved seats in the theatre: Pedersen and Isager 2015: 312–313, Kerkis IX.9–20 (first century BC to first century AD), with ph. fig. 19; and see below for the three gymnasiarchs attested in later (second-century AD) lists of new *andres*.

as a liturgy; at the same time, he was also the gymnasiarch of the *Gerousia*.<sup>40</sup> We can therefore suppose that *I.Halikarnassos* \*70–71 date to a somewhat earlier phase in Melanthios' career, when he served a single or a first annual term as gymnasiarch of the ephebes.

Intriguingly, Melanthios made the later dedication to the Egyptian gods as one who had apparently been chosen to serve as an ambassador and envoy (lines 5–6: π[ρ]εσβείας διε[.ca.2.]NE[.ca.4.]Σ ἐπρέσβευσευ).<sup>41</sup> The context for this mission is regrettably lost, but it may be inferred that Melanthios thereafter continued to have a highly successful and distinguished career. Indeed, a further source, dating probably to a later period in the first century BC – stronger serifs, seemingly later though also more monumental lettering – is an inscription recording honours of the δῆμος for Melanthios. This shows that Melanthios had by this time acquired the titles φιλόπατρις and φιλορώμαιος (*SEG* 36, 974 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*165).<sup>42</sup> Once again, it is intriguing to note that Melanthios is praised both as a benefactor – which must have included his multiple gymnasiarchies – and as having accomplished several embassies to the greatest benefit of the city, lines 4–6: ... ἔ]ν τε λειτουργίαις λαμπροῦ | [γένους ἀξίωι γεγον]ότι ἔν τε πρεσβείαις | [παρασχόντι τῆι πόλει τὰ] μέγιστα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα. It would be tempting to think that Melanthios played a key role in the diplomacy of the city of Halikarnassos during the turbulent first century BC, perhaps in the aftermath of the Mithridatic wars (see also above, 2.5), or more probably during the Roman civil wars in the 40s and 30s BC.

This excursus bears some fruits for the present discussion. First and foremost, it underscores how the *Gerousia*, the corporate body of the elders, directly stems from and remains closely tied with the institution of the gymnasium in the late Hellenistic period. As in other cities, this is conspicuous at Halikarnassos too, notably in Melanthios' successive role as gymnasiarch of the ephebes, of the νέοι, and of the elders. That being said, we only have this snapshot from one career and we still understand rather poorly how the *Gerousia* may have developed at Halikarnassos: we have no early evidence from the second century BC – as at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, Metropolis, or Iasos for instance – or even from later periods during the Empire with which a comparison could be drawn.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, the small dossier concerning Melanthios may point to another evolving function of the *Gerousia*, namely as a public and political body at Halikarnassos.

<sup>40</sup> Since we might expect other gymnasiarchs to have served multiple or even consecutive mandates earlier in the Hellenistic period, the novelty (πρῶτος) in Melanthios' having provided oil for three consecutive years probably stems from a relatively recent distinction at Halikarnassos between the gymnasiarchy for the ephebes, νέοι and γέροντες (i.e. the more novel *Gerousia*). It can thus be reasonably assumed that the earlier office of gymnasiarch at Halikarnassos was a single position which made no distinction between age categories, being exclusively concerned with the younger men, both ephebes and νέοι: cf. *SEG* 16, 649 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*69 (a single gymnasiarch and παιδονόμος in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC). Indeed, as Fröhlich has well noted (2013: 89–90), the decree concerning the repair of the gymnasium of the νέοι (Wilhelm 1908: 56–61 nos. 2–3 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*25, ca. 275–250 BC) makes it fairly clear that there were apparently only three principal age-groups involved in gymnasia activities at Halikarnassos during the third century BC – namely the παῖδες, the νέοι, and presumably also the ephebes (see n. above) – and thus that “les citoyens de plus de trente ans n’y avaient alors pas part”. This change, along with an increased differentiation between the different age categories, may have come about in the second century BC or closer to the time of Melanthios. On the holding of multiple gymnasiarchies in other cities, cp. e.g. *I.Iasos* 250 (mid 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *I.Didyma* 258 (early Imperial), *I.Magnesia* 153 (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – gymnasiarch of the πρεσβύτεροι and agonothete of the νέοι), *I.Magn.Sipyllum* 34 (prob. Imperial), with Giannakopoulos 2008: 68–71.

<sup>41</sup> The precise reason, if any, behind Melanthios' choice to make a dedication to the Egyptian gods remains to be more satisfactorily explained. These deities have no tangible connection with the gymnasium or the *Gerousia* at Halikarnassos, though of course they were both popular and deeply rooted in the city (see notably above, 2.4, on Athenodote's priesthood of Isis). A dedication made by an individual known by the patronymic Thyalliades, *I.Halikarnassos* \*377 (unpublished), also remains to be discussed in this context.

<sup>42</sup> On these titles, see Veligianni 2001. For a priestess called by this title at Halikarnassos, see the Appendix below on *I.Halikarnassos* \*297; another case is the unpublished statue-base for Dioteimos son of Antigenes son of Drakon, *I.Halikarnassos* \*257.

<sup>43</sup> For these prominent cases, see again Giannakopoulos, as well as Bauer 2014. On formal or recorded acts of ‘foundation’ of the *Gerousia* (seemingly always a preexisting institution or group), see Giannakopoulos 2008: 30–57, esp. on one of the earliest cases, that of Ephesos in the Julio-Claudian period (as attested in a letter for Octavian from 29 BC, the body is also called a σύστημα); on the *Gerousia* of Ephesos, see also now the extensive treatment of Bauer 2014: 78–219.

In this connection, it is particularly noteworthy that Melanthios is twice said to have acted as a *πρεσβευτής* for the city, perhaps, among other things, in his capacity as a *πρέσβυς* and leader of the *γέροντες*.<sup>44</sup>

The new case of Athenodote both confirms and enhances these findings. We now have a firm attestation of a *σύστημα* of the elders at Halikarnassos and we can reasonably conjecture that this group passed honours alongside the *δήμος*, thus underlining its significant political and euergetical dimension within the framework of the city (see above, Commentary on line 1).<sup>45</sup> Even more significantly, our inscription attests to the *σύστημα* as a corporate and decision-making body, which could appoint its own officials: in this case, the priestess of the group.<sup>46</sup> Athenodote was nominated as a result of a decree of the *σύστημα* (*κατὰ δόγμα τὸ τοῦ συν[στήματος τῶν] | γερόντων*, lines 14–15), and no doubt her implicit offer to take on this charge at her own expense (*δωρεάν*) played a significant part in the appointment.<sup>47</sup> Since she was the first priestess of the *Gerousia* (see above on lines 13–15), this points to a further step in the evolution of the gymnasium-group, namely as a self-standing body in charge of its own cults. In this context, it is worth highlighting how a priesthood of the *Gerousia* is, properly speaking, a rarity: the clearest parallel perhaps comes from Hierapolis in Phrygia, in a third-century AD honorific inscription concerning the donation of a fund called *στεφανωτικόν* made by a certain Melitine for the benefit of *ταῖς ἱερείαις τῆς | Γερουσίας* (lines 13–14); another case from Imperial-era Dorylaion attests both to a *ἱερεὺς τῆς τῶν γερόντων Ὀμονοίας* and to a woman serving, among other duties, as priestess of the *Sebastoi*.<sup>48</sup> Though these comparanda are much later in date, it is most probable that Athenodote's cultic function was of this kind, officiating in ceremonies of the *σύστημα* where a personification of the *Gerousia* would be worshipped, an abstraction symbolising the incorporation and the concord of the group of the elders. At the very least, Athenodote will have been present and active when feasts, meetings, libations and other celebrations were held in the gymnasium by the group.

Some other possible evidence from Halikarnassos may suggest that, as we would expect, the priests and priestesses of the *Gerousia* continued to play a key role in the city and particularly in the life of the gymnasium. In the second-century AD, we find lists of young men (implicitly, *νέοι*) who “entered into the age-group of men (*ἄνδρες*)”, and thus presumably qualified for admission to the *Gerousia*.<sup>49</sup> These lists are always dated by the mention of a priest or a priestess, as well by a trio of gymnasiarchs, i.e. one of the *ephebes*, one of the *νέοι*, and one of the elders or the *Gerousia*. As will be developed in a future article, it is attractive to view the priests and priestesses – whose precise affiliation is never explicitly mentioned in these texts, but who cannot be the eponymous priests of the city – as those of the *Gerousia* at Halikarnassos, now probably serving shorter (annual?) mandates in comparison with Athenodote's pioneering lifetime tenure.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> For the role of the *Gerousia* as a decision-making body, especially one involved in the sending of embassies, see again the famous case of *I.Ephesos* 1449 (already in ca. 302 BC, line 4: *ἀποσταλείσης πρεσβείας πρὸς Πρεπέλαον ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας*), with the discussion of Bauer 2014: 81–90.

<sup>45</sup> On honours passed by the *Gerousia*, see Giannakopoulos 2008, chp. 2.

<sup>46</sup> A comparandum for this decree is the late Hellenistic decree (*ψήφισμα*) of the *πρεσβύτεροι* from nearby Iasos, *I.Iasos* 93; see Giannakopoulos 2008: 171–178; on the case of Iasos and its gymnasial context, see now Fröhlich 2013 (*I.Iasos* 93 → inscription no. 2) and Bauer 2014: 323–345 (esp. 336–339 on this inscription). Note that, in this period at Halikarnassos, a gymnasiarch of the *Gerousia* such as Melanthios will probably still have been appointed by the city rather than by his peers.

<sup>47</sup> On women as honorary members of the *Gerousia*, see also van Bremen 1996: 56 with n. 60.

<sup>48</sup> Hierapolis: *SEG* 33, 1123 (ca. 200–250 AD). Dorylaion: *OGIS* 479 (1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD). On this material, see the discussion of Giannakopoulos 2008: 460–461.

<sup>49</sup> Priestesses: *GIBM* 898 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*43, as well as *I.Halikarnassos* \*254 (unpublished; called Demetria). Four other lists mention priests: Newton 1862–1863: 702–703 no. 12a / *I.Halikarnassos* \*44; Newton 1862–1863: 703–704 no. 12b / *I.Halikarnassos* \*45; Newton 1862–1863: 704–705 no. 12c / *I.Halikarnassos* \*46; and Cousin and Diehl 1890: 103–106 no. 7 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*47. Trio of gymnasiarchs in *I.Halikarnassos* \*43 (probably—one name missing), \*44, \*45, \*46 (with a new reading), \*47 (probably – one name missing), and \*254.

<sup>50</sup> The list published in Newton 1862–1863: 704–705 no. 12c / *I.Halikarnassos* \*46 demonstrates that the priest mentioned in lines 4–5 cannot be the eponymous priest of the city, since in this case the *στεφανηφόρος* (the priest of Apollo), a different individual, is distinctly mentioned already in lines 1–2. Therefore, the *ἱερεὺς* in question in lines 4–5 was another

In these later centuries, the *Gerousia* will no doubt have become a prominent actor in the honorific landscape of Halikarnassos and in the celebration of a multiplicity of cults, both the gods of the city and the new gods of the Imperial cult.<sup>51</sup> Much of this picture remains to be painted for Halikarnassos. But, in fact, the only other inscription later attesting to the role of the *Gerousia* in the city, Peppa-Delmouzou 1976: 8–9 / *SEG* 38, 1057 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*234 (first century AD), mentions it in connection with the provision of substantial funds destined for annual sacrifices to the Sebastoi.<sup>52</sup>

### 2.7. Summary

In conclusion, the honorific inscription for Athenodote reveals the interesting and varied ‘public career’ of a woman from a prominent family in Halikarnassos. If correctly dated, the inscription may evocatively provide, through the lens of this one life, a partial overview of the history of the city and its evolving religious framework in the first century BC. According to our interpretation, as a young, unmarried girl, Athenodote had the distinct privilege of being the first priestess of Artemis Leukophryene at Halikarnassos; the foundation of the cult of this goddess at Halikarnassos might shortly anticipate or be tied with the aftermath of the Mithridatic wars in the late 80s BC or in the following decades. While still a *παρθένος*, Athenodote also served as a priestess of Parthenos, an intriguing goddess known only at Halikarnassos and in a few other localities. After having then served another annual term as priestess of Artemis Leukophryene, she also became priestess of Isis and of Nemesis respectively, two goddesses firmly implanted at Halikarnassos; this may be thought to have occurred after she was married, during her womanhood. Interestingly, the woman honoured in a later inscription, *I.Halikarnassos* \*297 (Appendix, below), also served as a priestess for life in both of these cults, but seems to have taken them on in the reverse order. This might suggest that the priesthoods of Isis and of Nemesis were treated in parallel as part of a female priestly *cursus* at Halikarnassos. Finally, perhaps close to the end of her life, Athenodote seems to have become the first, specially appointed priestess of the *Gerousia*. If we may think that she died several decades after the beginning of her ‘career’ in the late 80s or 70s BC, then we can speculate that her death – and the writing of the inscription on the altar—may have taken place in the 30s BC or even later. In any case, this last piece of evidence informs us about the constitution and gradual crystallisation of the institution of the *Gerousia* at Halikarnassos, probably around the middle or the second half of the first century BC.

### Appendix: Another New Inscription Concerning a Priestess at Halikarnassos (*I.Halikarnassos* \*297)

#### Find-spot

Unknown. Now in the Bodrum Museum (no inv. no.).

#### Description

Fragmentary stele of white marble, with veins running parallel to the face and back of the stele (see ph. fig. 7).

Maximum preserved height: 55 cm; maximum preserved width: 27 cm; depth: ca. 6.5 cm; maximum preserved dimension (diagonally): ca. 56 cm.

Parts of the front, back, and right sides of the stele are preserved, but it is otherwise heavily broken at the top and bottom, as well as deeply worn and eroded on the surface. No tool marks are visible on the front face of the

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priest connected to the gymnasium; according to our contention, he, like the others, was the *ἱερεὺς τῆς Γερουσίας*. Cp. Chankowski 2010: 520 no. 352, who notes that “L’expression εἰς ἰέρειαν (ou εἰς ἱερῆ) n’a été expliquée par aucun des éditeurs”.

<sup>51</sup> Cp. e.g. *MAMA* VI 263 (Akmonia): ἡ γερουσία ἐτεῖλμῆσεν Ἰουλίαν Γαίου θυγατέρα Σεουήβραν, ἀρχιέρειαν καὶ ἰ] ἀγωνοθέτιν τοῦ ἰ] σύνπαντος τῶν ἰ] θεῶν Σεβαστῶν ἰ] ἰ] κού. See also e.g. Giannakopoulos 2008: 189–190 on the ἀρχιέρεια of the Sebastoi honoured by the *Gerousia* at Tralleis (*I.Tralleis* 88); or 371–374 on the cults of the *Gerousia* at Stratonikeia in the second century AD.

<sup>52</sup> Other evidence from the first century AD might also be brought into consideration, such as an inscription recording honours by the δῆμος for a probable priest of the Sebastoi, who was concurrently also priest of Apollo Archegetes, the main god of the city, Haussoullier 1880: 397–398 no. 5 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*112: [ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασέων ἐ]τεῖμῆσεν ἰ] — ἱερέα? τῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν ἰ] — καὶ το]ῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἰ] [Α]ρχηγέτου.

stele. The left part of the front face shows reworking, in the form of a recess which is not very deep but clearly due to reuse, since it has damaged the left part of the inscription and rendered it illegible. It is probable that the preserved left side is only slightly damaged and abraded, since the restoration of the text suggested below would indicate that the broken surface to the left of the front face probably only contained ca. 3 letters on average. The right side of the text is difficult to read, since it is eroded and partly hidden behind layers of lime from whitewashing. The back is generally preserved but worn, with remains of marks from a pointed chisel. At the bottom of the back side are traces of carvings which probably were made in connection with the secondary use of the stele.

*Letters and Date*

Height of letters: 1.9–2 cm.

Though eroded, some of the letterforms appear relatively similar to those of the inscription of Athenodote (*alpha* still with straight-bar – but this letter is difficult to use as a dating criterion, see above 2.2). Somewhat more carefully inscribed, the letters are nevertheless probably later in date (for instance, *omega* is almost completely closed at the bottom – line 3). The inscription is certainly to be dated in the period ca. 27 BC – 50 AD; indeed, the apparent mention of the title φιλόκαισαρ in line 10 and of the Sebastoi in line 11 necessitates the first date as a *terminus post quem*.

*Text*

— — — — —  
 [. . .] ἐπὶ ζωῆς [.]  
 [. . .]NH, ἱερείας Νεμ-  
 [έσε]ως ἐπὶ ζωῆς, ἱε-  
 [ρεί]ας Ἰσιδος ἐπὶ  
 5 [ζω]ῆς, τεκνο[.][.]  
 [. . .], εὐσεβοῦς, [.]  
 [δικ]αίας, φιλοπ[ά]-  
 [τρι]δος, ἱε[ρ]είας  
 [. . .]IHΣ [. . .]OΣ[.]  
 10 [. φι]λοκαισα[ρ .]  
 [. . .] Σε[β]α[στ]ῶ[ν] (?)  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —

2. *vel* [. . .]NH. || 5–6. See below for suggested restorations.

*General Remarks*

As in the case of the honours for Athenodote, we would expect the first part of the inscription (at least up to line 5) to consist of a chronological list of the priesthoods assumed by this woman, whose name is now missing. Indeed, the syntactical order of the elements of the list appears to be relatively the same as in the inscription for Athenodote: ἱερείας + name of the deity in the genitive + duration of office (always apparently for life in this fragment). The fact that the genitive case (ἱερείας) was used, however, would suggest a different formulation, perhaps as a funerary inscription (e.g. μνήμα or σῆμα + genitive), or as a dedication made on behalf the priestess, rather than as an honorific text *stricto sensu* (see also above, 2.1).<sup>53</sup> Three priesthoods are partially preserved in



Fig. 7. I. Halikarnassos \*297:  
 Another Inscription for a Priestess

<sup>53</sup> For the latter alternative, one might compare e.g. IG XII.4 713 (Kos, reign of Claudius): Θεοῖς Πατράλοις ὑπὲρ ὑγείας | Γαίου Στερτινίου Ἡρακλείτου | υἱοῦ Ξενοφώντου, φιλοκαίσαρος, φιλοκλαυδίου, φιλοσεβάστου, | δάμου υἱοῦ, φιλοπάτριδος, εὐσεβοῦς, εὐεργέτα τ[ᾶ]ς πατρίδος.

lines 1–5, but the traces τεκνο[.]I[.] which immediately follow seem to mark a transition in the list, perhaps indicating that it then proceeded to record other qualities or titles of the woman in question: εὐσεβοῦς (line 6), etc. However, if that is correct, it is difficult to account for the possible mention of another priesthood in lines 8–9 in this context, or to explain exactly how the title(s) mentioned in line 10 and beyond fit into the overall syntax, since these lines seem to resume the notion of a *cursus*.

Line 1: Several lines before the first extant one must be missing, since we would expect the name of the woman, along with her lineage and marriage, to have been cited, as well as at least ἱερείας in a preceding line. The priesthood in question cannot be restored and we would expect the name of the deity in the genitive to have been mentioned immediately before ἐπὶ ζῶῆς. The first trace is highly unclear: it could be the diagonal hasta of *nu* or misleading. If it is a *nu*, then we might think of a priesthood of a plural set of gods, e.g. [Σεβαστῶ]γ (but see line 11), or of a priesthood undertaken at the full expense of the woman in question, [δωρεά]γ. Note that the inscription consistently uses the standard *koinē* form ζῶή, as in *GIBM* 895 / *LSAM* 73 / *I.Halikarnassos* \*3, line 8, rather than the more unusual ζωή found in the inscription of Athenodote (see above, Commentary on line 12).

Line 2: The short word intervening between lines 1 and 2, perhaps ending in -NH, is surprising and difficult to explain. The final *sigma* in ἱερείας is somewhat unclear and rather ‘squeezed’ between the preceding *alpha* and the following *nu* of Νεμ[έσε]ως. It would appear that some damage to the stone has also intervened, rendering the top of the letter partially illegible.

Line 5: The letters τεκνο, followed by two or three very difficult traces, would naturally suggest a reference to the progeny of the woman under consideration. However, it is difficult to assume that her child or children appeared in this part of the text, especially without a definite article. The allusion might instead be to a quality or a virtue of the priestess, viz. her child-rearing: τεκνοπ[ολιοῦ] or τεκνο[τ]ρ[ό]φου)? Compare the priestess of Demeter and Kore called Berneike at Syros, who was said to have died ἀξίως τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως | εἰερ[α]τεύσασα ..., ἡ καὶ τεκνοτροφήσασα (*IG* XII.5 655, lines 7–9, 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD; for a male example, see also *IG* XII.7 395 (Aigiale), lines 4–5, in honour of Ἀθήναιος Πανα[ί]του ἄρχων ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος καὶ τεκνοτρόφος.

Lines 7–8: The first traces in the line (ΙΑΣ on the stone) suggest a word in the feminine genitive singular which would continue to qualify the woman under consideration in the text: [δικ]αίας is a good candidate. For the pairing of εὐσεβής and δικαία in a funerary epigram for a woman, cp. e.g. *IG* XII.1 147 (Rhodes, ca. 200 BC), line 3; on εὐσέβεια, see above 2.3 on line 5.

Line 9: Taken together with the difficult though probable traces of ἱε[ρ]ε[ί]ας in line 8, the apparent female genitive ending of the first word in this line – [ . . ]ης – suggests that this might be another deity of which the woman was priestess.

Lines 10–11: *Prima facie*, the title φιλόκαισαρ is perhaps unlikely to be attributed to the woman in question, since it was almost always conferred on male individuals. Alternatives, however, are few and far between: the title might have belonged to one of the woman’s family members – though it is difficult to see how a new person could have been introduced by name in this part of the text. Given the probable inclusion of the word Σε[β]α[σ]τ[ῶ]ν in line 11, it is possible that the woman was an honoured priestess of the imperial cult at Halikarnassos, but we must confess that the syntax of this part of the inscription is elusive. The interpretation must thus remain open.



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