

CGRN 228

Fragment of a sacrificial calendar from the sanctuary of Zeus and Hera at Panamara

Date :

ca. 50-1 BC

Justification: lettering (van Bremen; *contra* Sokolowski, Şahin: ca. 200-100 BC).

Provenance

Panamara [↗ \(http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/599853\)](http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/599853). Found in the sanctuary of Zeus and Hera by G. Cousin in 1886. Current location unknown.

Support

Fragment of a stone block damaged on all sides. From the restorations given below, one possibility is that not much is missing to the left of the inscribed face, but this is only a tentative reconstruction. Further fracture of the stone must have occurred during the middle of the 20th century, as a result of which some letters read by Hatzfeld, the first editor, were no longer legible to later scholars (see Drew-Bear - Schwertfeger). As R. van Bremen has convincingly demonstrated, this inscription and another block from Panamara ([CGRN 192 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192)), with which it has been consistently associated since the first publication in Hatzfeld (cf. nos. 9a-b; cf. also Sokolowski nos. 67A-B; Şahin nos. 1A-B), do not in fact belong together. The present block is notably much thicker (40 cm deep).

Height: 30 cm

Width: 41 cm

Depth: 40 cm

Layout

Letters: 1.6 cm high. The letters have been carefully incised.

Bibliography

Edition here based on Şahin I.Stratonikeia (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Stratonikeia>) 1A.

Other edition: Hatzfeld 1927 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Hatzfeld%201927>): 69 no. 9a, on the basis of the copy of Cousin.

Cf. also: Sokolowski LSAM (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSAM>) 67A; SEG (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG>) 4, 266 (with SEG (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG>) 15, 653 for a discussion on the choices of previous editors); Drew-Bear - Schwertfeger 1979 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Drew-Bear%20-%20Schwertfeger%201979>): 199, with a ph. pl. Xb.

Further bibliography: Laumonier 1958 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Laumonier%201958>): 292, 298, 305; Trümpy 1997 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Tr%C3%BCmpy%201997>): 262-265; van Bremen 2004 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#van%20Bremen%202004>): 224-226; Pitz forthc. (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Pitz%20forthc>.)

Text

[...]

[...]ΟΣΚΑ[... μολπήν καί]

[βουθ]υσίαν Α[...]

[μολ]πήν καί βουθυσ[ίαν ...]

[...]Ν ἱερεῖον τέλειον [... μολπήν καί]

5 [βου]θυσίαν καί ἐπὶ ΤΗ[...]

[ἱερε]ῖον τέλειον· ὕ δκ' ὕ Π[... μολπήν]

[καί β]ουθυσίαν· ὁμοίως [...]

[μο]λπήν καί βουθυσίαν [...]

[...]ΣΙ τοῦ θεοῦ θύειν [... καί]

10 [παρ]ασκευάζειν [...]

[...]

Translation

[... and a *molpe* and] a bovine sacrifice [...] a *molpe* and a bovine sacrifice [...] an adult sacrificial animal [... a *molpe* and] (5) a bovine sacrifice and to/on [...] an adult sacrificial animal. On the 24th of P[... a *molpe* and] a bovine sacrifice. In the same way [...] a *molpe* and a bovine sacrifice [...] of the god to sacrifice [... and] (10) prepare [...].

Translation

[... et une *molpe* et] un sacrifice de bovin [...] une *molpe* et un sacrifice de bovin [...] un animal sacrificiel adulte [... une *molpe* et] (5) un sacrifice de bovin et vers/sur [...] un animal sacrificiel adulte. Le 24 P[... une *molpe* et] un sacrifice de bovin. De même [...] une *molpe* et un sacrifice de bovin [...] du dieu sacrifier [... et] (10) préparer [...].

Commentary

Found in the sanctuary of Zeus and Hera at Panamara, this formulaic inscription was consistently associated in past scholarship with another document from the sanctuary (cf. [CGRN 192 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192)), but the two blocks have convincingly been dissociated by van Bremen (see also above on Support). The present inscription is the only one of the pair that could belong to the category of sacrificial calendars (an identification also favoured by Sokolowski). The text principally prescribes a list of recurring offerings of songs or dances, alongside sacrifices of oxen and other animals. The exact nature of the inscription remains unclear, although both the repetitive character of the offerings and the probable date mentioned in line 6 support the idea that it could be a sacrificial calendar. As Sokolowski notes, several festivals are known to have been celebrated at Panamara: the Panamareia, the major festival of Zeus Panamaros; the Komyria, involving rites of maturation for young boys; and the Heraia (apparently the subject of [CGRN 192 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192), line 6); see Laumonier for further discussion. However, the absence of names of festivals or precise divine recipients (but cf. line 9) in this inscription does not allow us to consider any one of these festivals in particular.

Line 1: The *μολπή* is a sacred song or a rhythmic dance accompanied by a song (cf. [LSJ \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSJ\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSJ) s.v.). While a common term in literary and poetic texts, *μολπή* is rarely found in epigraphic sources. There do not seem to be any other occurrences of this specific term in a sacrificial context, while this is repeatedly the case here. At Miletos, however, the association of song/dance and sacrifice is particularly conspicuous in the role of the Molpoi, whose name is clearly derived from the verbs *μέλπω/μολπεύω*: cf. the list of their eponymous officials ([Milet I.3 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#Milet%20I.3\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#Milet%20I.3) 122, from 523/2 to 313/2 BC) and see esp. [CGRN 201 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/201\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/201) for a dossier of the Molpoi concerning cults at Miletos and Didyma, with line 20 in particular mentioning a *μολπόν*, possibly to be interpreted as a ritual occasion involving music and song.

Line 2: The noun *βουθυσία* literally refers to the sacrifice of one or multiple bovine animals. This could, for example, include the sacrifice of a bull (Dunant - Pouilloux, p. 192, line 26: *βουθυτεῖσθαι (...) ταύρους μή [νεωτέρους τρ]ιῶν ἐτώων*) or other members of this species. In literary texts, *βουθυτεῖν* can also have the more general meaning “sacrifice” ([LSJ \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSJ\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSJ) s.v.); cf. Ar. *Plut.* 819: *καὶ νῦν ὁ δεσπότης μὲν ἔνδον βουθυτεῖ ἕν καὶ τράγον καὶ κριὸν ἔστεφανωμένος*. The verb *βουθυτεῖν* is attested in a dedication to Zeus Panamaros found at Panamara, though with no mention of the specific sacrificed animal ([I.Stratonikeia \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Stratonikeia\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Stratonikeia) 160).

Line 4: The regulations for the Heraia at Panamara ([CGRN 192 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192)) also prescribe an adult sacrificial animal, but these generic animals are widespread in Greek ritual norms (see Pitz). Such a sacrifice recurs in line 6.

Line 6: Hatzfeld suggests reading a date followed by the name of a month in the lacuna here: P[anamos]. A date, marking a new rubric in a sacrificial calendar, is a convincing possibility because the numeral appears to be indicated by a horizontal stroke inscribed above the letters (δκ) and this is carefully separated from what precedes and follows by some empty space. The order of the numerals is reversed, δκ' instead of κδ', which is common in late Hellenistic or Imperial inscriptions. In the Rhodian calendar, which was used at Panamara during part of the Hellenistic period, Panamos (in Hatzfeld's hypothesis) is the last month of the year and occurs in the summertime (July/August), immediately before Dalios, the first month: cf. [CGRN 110 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/110\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/110) from Kamiros. Considering the date of the inscription, it is also possible that, instead of the Rhodian calendar, the Macedonian calendar was the one used in the area of Stratonikeia at this time. In this calendar, P[anamos] would then fall in ca. June; yet, in this calendar, the month P[eritios] (February/March) would also remain an alternative restoration. On the Macedonian calendar, see Trümpy with further references. In any case, it is difficult to be sure whether the name of a month must actually be restored here.

Lines 7-10: Hatzfeld has put forward the suggestion that from line 7 onwards the inscription turns to consider the Heraia, moving away from a festival discussed in the first part of the inscription. However, this hypothesis is largely based on the mention of the Heraia in [CGRN 192 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/192), line 6, which used to be read together with this inscription. Instead, the last extant lines appear to consider an occasion involving a male god ([...]σι τοῦ θεοῦ), almost certainly Zeus Panamaros.

Publication

Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike International License [4.0 !\[\]\(e78f798d4ea5c530c9db49e7d26e6b95_img.jpg\)](http://creativecommons.org/) (<http://creativecommons.org/>).

All citation, reuse or distribution of this work must contain somewhere a link back to the DOI (<https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN228>), as well as the year of consultation (see “Home” for details on how to cite or click “Export Citation” to create a reference for this specific file).

Authors

Jan-Mathieu Carbon

Julien Dechevez

Elie Piette

Zoé Pitz

Rebecca Van Hove