

## CGRN 240

### Dossier containing Delphic oracles concerning the Archilocheion of Paros

#### Date :

ca. 250 BC

Justification: lettering similar to the Marmor Parium ([IG XII.5](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5>) 444) dated to 264/3 BC (cf. Kontoleon, p. 36). See also the Commentary at line 7 for further discussion of the date in terms of the Soteria at Delphi (celebrated from 278 BC; augmented and reorganised in 250 BC).

#### Provenance

Paros [↗](https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/599867) (<https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/599867>). The orthostate blocks were found in July 1949 in the region of Elitas, three kilometers to the northeast of Paroikia, on the road to Leukes. They were reused in a cistern complex near the bed of the small river Elitas. The blocks are now in the Archaeological Museum of Paros (inv. nos. 175-176).

#### Support

The inscription is written on two orthostate blocks of Parian marble (at least one additional block is lost between blocks A and B). The section reprised here records the Delphic oracles given to Mnesiepes on the first block, column II, lines 1-19. The four corners of the block are missing and its surface has been worn away by the flow of water.

Height: 63.20 cm

Width: 81.50 cm

Depth: 19.50 cm

#### Layout

The first block (A, called E1 by Kontoleon in the *editio princeps*) contains three columns, each of them 57 lines long. The first column is almost completely lost whilst the central column, which contains the Delphic

oracles, is nearly perfectly preserved. The third column is fragmentary. The second block (B = E2) only contains one partially conserved column. The three oracular responses (col. II, lines 1-15) are each separated by a *paragraphos* at the left margin and by a *tricolon* (:) at the end of lines 7 and 13. A third *tricolon* was inscribed at the end of the third response (line 15). The *tricola* read by Kontoleon are no longer visible on the stone. These responses as well as the metrical oracles recorded in Archilochos' biography (A col. II, lines 50-53; col. III, lines 6-8, 31-35, 47-50; B col. I, lines 15-44) are identified by an *ekthesis*, or "reverse indentation".

Letters: unknown height.

## Bibliography

Edition here based on [Clay 2004](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Clay%202004) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Clay%202004>): 104-110. We only include block A, column II, lines 1-19.

Other edition: [Kontoleon 1952](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Kontoleon%201952) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Kontoleon%201952>).

Cf. also: Sokolowski [LSCG](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSCG) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSCG>) 180; [SEG](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG>) 15, 517.

Further bibliography: [Amandry 1950](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Amandry%201950) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Amandry%201950>); [Pouilloux 1954](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Pouilloux%201954) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Pouilloux%201954>); [Robert 1955](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Robert%201955) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Robert%201955>); [Tarditi 1956](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Tarditi%201956) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Tarditi%201956>); [Parke 1958](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Parke%201958) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Parke%201958>); [Oliver 1960](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Oliver%201960) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Oliver%201960>); [Croissant - Salviat 1966](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Croissant%20-%20Salviat%201966) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Croissant%20-%20Salviat%201966>); [Privitera 1966](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Privitera%201966) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Privitera%201966>); [Roux 1976](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Roux%201976) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Roux%201976>); [Fontenrose 1978](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Fontenrose%201978) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Fontenrose%201978>); [Berranger-Auserve 1992](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Berranger-Auserve%201992) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Berranger-Auserve%201992>); [Bowden 2005](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Bowden%202005) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Bowden%202005>); [Lhôte 2006](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Lh%C3%B4te%202006) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Lh%C3%B4te%202006>); [Ohnesorg 2008](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Ohnesorg%202008) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Ohnesorg%202008>); [Pòrtulas 2008](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#P%C3%B4rtulas%202008) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#P%C3%B4rtulas%202008>); [Patera 2010b](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Patera%202010b) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Patera%202010b>); [Gomis 2015](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Gomis%202015) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Gomis%202015>); [Maurizio 2019](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Maurizio%202019) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Maurizio%202019>).

## Text

Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν  
ἐν τῶι τεμένει ὃ κατασκευάζει, ἰδρυσασμένωι

βωμόν καὶ θύοντι ἐπὶ τούτου Μούσαις καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ω]ν[ι]  
Μουσαγέται καὶ Μνημοσύνει· θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλι-  
ερεῖν Διὶ Ὑπερδεξίωι, Ἀθάναι Ὑπερδεξίαι,  
Ποσειδῶνι Ἀσφαλείωι, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀρτέμιδι Εὐκλείαι·  
Πυθῶδε τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι σωτήρια πέμπειν·  
Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν  
ἐν τῶι τεμένει ὁ κατασκευάζει, ἰδρυσασμένωι  
βωμόν καὶ θύοντι ἐπὶ τούτου Διονύσωι καὶ Νύμφαις  
καὶ Ὠραις· θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλιερεῖν Ἀπόλλωνι  
Προστατηρίωι, Ποσειδῶνι Ἀσφαλείωι, Ἡρακλεῖ·  
Πυθῶδε τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι σωτήρια πέμπειν·  
Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν  
[τι]μῶντι Ἀρχίλοχον τὸμ ποιητάν, καθ' ἃ ἐπινοεῖ·  
χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ταῦτα τόν τε τόπον  
καλοῦμεν Ἀρχιλόχειον καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἰδρύμεθα  
καὶ θύομεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἀρχιλόχωι καὶ  
τιμῶμεν αὐτόν, καθ' ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐθέσπισεν ἡμῖν.

## Translation

To Mnesiepes, the god replied that it is better and more advantageous for him, in the precinct he is establishing, to found an altar and offer sacrifices on this to the Muses, to Apollo Mousagetes and to Mnemosyne. And sacrifice in addition and with good omens (5) to Zeus Hyperdexios, to Athena Hyperdexia, to Poseidon Asphaleios, to Herakles, to Artemis Eukleia. To Delphi, send *soteria* for Apollo.

To Mnesiepes, the god replied that it is better and more advantageous for him, in the precinct he is establishing, to found an altar and offer sacrifices on this to Dionysos, to the Nymphs and to the Horai. And sacrifice in addition and with good omens to Apollo Prostaterios, to Poseidon Asphaleios, to Herakles. To Delphi, send *soteria* for Apollo.

To Mnesiepes, the god replied that it is better and more advantageous (15) for him to honour Archilochos, the poet, according to what he has in mind.

Since Apollo has given these oracular responses, we name the place Archilocheion, we are founding the altars, we sacrifice both to the gods and to Archilochos, and we honour him, according to the oracular responses that the god gave to us.

## Traduction

À Mnesiepès, le dieu a répondu qu'il est meilleur et plus avantageux pour lui, dans l'enceinte qu'il établit, de fonder un autel et de sacrifier sur ce dernier aux Muses, à Apollon Mousagetès et à Mnémosyne. Sacrifier par ailleurs et en obtenant de bons présages (5) à Zeus Hyperdexios, à Athéna Hyperdexia, à Poséidon Asphaleios, à Héraclès, à Artémis Eukleia. Envoyer des *sotería* à Delphes pour Apollon.

À Mnesiepès, le dieu a répondu qu'il est meilleur et plus avantageux pour lui, dans l'enceinte qu'il établit, de fonder (10) un autel et de sacrifier sur ce dernier à Dionysos, aux Nymphes et aux Heures. Sacrifier par ailleurs et en obtenant de bons présages à Apollon Prostatérios, Poséidon Asphaleios, Héraclès. Envoyer des *sotería* à Delphes pour Apollon.

À Mnesiepès, le dieu a répondu qu'il est meilleur et plus avantageux (15) pour lui d'honorer Archiloque, le poète, conformément à ce qu'il a en tête.

Étant donné qu'Apollon a rendu ces oracles, nous nommons le lieu Archilocheion, nous fondons les autels, nous sacrifions à la fois aux dieux et à Archiloque, et nous l'honorons conformément aux oracles que le dieu nous a rendus.

## Commentary

The inscription comes from the Archilocheion, a sanctuary dedicated to the Parian poet Archilochos. This was probably located in the region named Elitas, three kilometers to the northeast of the ancient city, where the inscription was found. The oracles are followed by episodes from the poet's life written on blocks A and B. Four of them are fully or partially conserved: Archilochos' encounter with the Muses (A col. II, lines 22-43), the oracle given to his father Telesikles (A col. II, lines 43-57), his iambic performance in a ritual context, followed by Dionysus' intervention (A col. III), as well as his death during a battle against the Naxians (B). Another inscription ([IG XII.5](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5>) 445), related to Paros' history and Archilochos' life, also belongs to the Archilocheion. See Ohnesorg (p. 316) for a reconstruction of these inscriptions in the wall of the *temenos*.

The three responses were delivered by the Delphic oracle to a Parian called Mnesiepes. Written in the Northwest Greek dialect (see Gomis, p. 118), they follow the typical oracular formulation of *λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον* followed by the verb *εἰμί* (cf. also here [CGRN 104](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/104) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/104>), Halikarnassos, lines 4-5). On the typical phrasing of oracular consultations and responses, see Fontenrose (p. 11-57). On the Delphic oracular tradition in Archilochos' biography, see Pörtulas. Whether these questions were asked during the same consultation or during repeated visits to the oracle is uncertain. Supplementary questions, whether asked in a row or on separate occasions, are notably attested through lamellae from the oracle of Dodona which begin simply with *καί* (cf. e.g. [DVC](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#DVC) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#DVC>) 2506, with commentary in the corresponding entry in the [CIOD](https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/ciod_dvc_2506.pdf) [↗](https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/ciod_dvc_2506.pdf) ([https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/ciod\\_dvc\\_2506.pdf](https://dodonaonline.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/ciod_dvc_2506.pdf))).

The first two responses (lines 1-7 and 8-13) provide lists of gods to whom Mnesiepes must sacrifice. The triads worshipped at each altar (led by the Muses in the first oracle, by Dionysos in the second) are expected in a sanctuary dedicated to the poet, since these deities play an important role in the episodes from Archilochos' life which follow the oracles (see the Commentary at lines 3 and 10; the Muses, Apollo Mousegetes and Dionysos are associated by Plato *Leg.* 653d). Contrary to the gods at the two shared altars, the supplementary lists of deities introduced by *θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλιερεῖν* appear without conjunctions (*καὶ*). Moreover, it is debated why the additional deities prescribed by the oracle were chosen. According to Parke (p. 91), the two triads at the altars to be founded were introduced by Mnesiepes, while the deities following *θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλιερεῖν* were selected or approved by the Pythia, possibly by drawing lots. However, the use of lots at Delphi has been discussed (see Maurizio). On the mantic rites at Delphi, see Amandry and, more recently but controversially, Bowden (p. 12-40). Privitera (p. 8) explains their presence by the role that each of them plays in Archilochos' fragments and biography. Oliver (p. 171) describes the first additional group as the patrons of the assembly and the second as the patrons of the council and of the Parian officials. Yet, if that were correct, the absence of Aphrodite, worshipped as guardian of magistracies in Paros at this time (cf. Croissant - Salviat), would be surprising. Similarly, Clay (p. 12) and Sokolowski define these deities as the Parian civic gods. However, only some of these cults are currently attested in Paros. It is also possible to consider these gods outside a Parian context, since several of these deities are mentioned in other Delphic oracles: in one of the only oracles inscribed at Delphi itself, we find [Poseidon] Asphaleios, among a list of other deities (oracles given to Kyzikos, [Choix Delphes \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#Choix%20Delphes\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#Choix%20Delphes) 91, after ca. 180 BC); Athena Hyperdexia, [Zeus Hyperdexios?] and [Poseidon] Asphaleios are included in a series of oracles given to Kallatis ([SEG \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) 24, 1031, [SEG \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) 45, 911B and [SEG \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) 45, 912, 2nd century BC); at Tenos, a list prescribed to a Rhodian crew includes Zeus, Athena and Artemis, all qualified by distinct epithets, as well as Poseidon Asphaleios and Herakles ([IG XII.5 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5) 913, 179-177 BC). Therefore, given these commonalities in oracles from the 2nd century BC, the supplementary lists of gods prescribed to Mnesiepes could result from a combination between a generic group of Delphic origin and divine figures and epithets linked more specifically to Archilochos' biography or to Parian cults (see the Commentary at lines 3-12). Since each response is related to a single altar (cf. lines 3 and 10; line 17 for the plural grouping the two altars listed previously), the deities added after *θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλιερεῖν* appear linked to the respective altar mentioned beforehand. Conversely, the sacrifices may have been performed on movable altars or even outside the Archilocheion, while the two founded altars would have been intended for the triads related to Archilochos (for a discussion about rituals performed on shared altars, see Patera). In any case, it remains uncertain whether a proper cult and recurrent sacrifices to those deities was meant to be established or whether the sacrifices were performed only on one occasion, when the altars were founded, in order to thank the Delphic oracle. The *ad hoc* character of such additional sacrifices is clear from the use of aorist infinitives, *θύσαι δὲ καὶ καλλιερῆσαι*, in some Delphic responses ([GHI \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/ab-](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/ab-)

abbreviations/#GHI) 30, 357 BC; Choix Delphes (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#Choix%20Delphes>) 91, after ca. 180 BC), but the use of present infinitives here and in the oracles to Kallatis mentioned above may seem more open-ended or potentially durative.

Lines 2-3 (idem 9-10): On the use of the present tense in κατασκευάζει, ἰδρυσάμενῳ and θύοντι, see the Commentary at lines 16-19.

Lines 3-4: The Muses can also be found further in the text, in the first episode relating the poetic initiation of Archilochos (A col. II, lines 22-43; see Clay, p. 14-16). The Muses are followed by Apollo, explicitly described in relation to them as Mousagetes, and by their mother Mnemosyne. The epithet Mousagetes is attested for Apollo in Larissa (SEG (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG>) 47, 746) and for Dionysos in Naxos (IG XII.5 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5>) 46). For sacrifices to the Muses and Mnemosyne, cf. CGRN 113 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/113>) (Kamiros).

Line 5: Athena and her father Zeus are mentioned by Archilochos as protectors during battles (cf. e.g. fr. 98 West). Zeus Hyperdexios and Athena Hyperdexia are attested in Thasos, Paros' colony (Pouilloux, no. 154), but Athena Hyperdexia is also found in the Delphic oracles given to Kallatis (see above). On the epithet Hyperdexios, underlying the favourable protection granted by the deity, see Robert (p. 62-66 with addenda p. 295-296).

Line 6: On Poseidon in Paros and in Archilochos' fragments, see Berranger-Auserve (p. 186). The epithet Asphaleios denotes "standing fast", "security", and is found in many Delphic oracles from the Hellenistic period (see above). On the Parian tradition regarding Herakles, whom Archilochos may have celebrated as Kallinikos, see Berranger-Auserve (p. 191-193). Herakles (without an epithet) is also included in the list of deities prescribed by Delphi to the Rhodian crew on Tenos (see above). The episode of the oracle prophesying the eternal glory of Archilochos (related in A col. II, lines 43-57) takes place during the Artemisia and could therefore explain the epithet Eukleia (cf. Privitera, p. 16-18). In Paros, Artemis Eukleia is included in a list of deities receiving a dedication from *strategoí*, alongside Aphrodite, Zeus Aphrodisios and Hermes (IG XII.5 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.5>) 220, 3rd century BC). A festival called Eukleia, probably in honour of Artemis, is also attested in the calendar of the Labyadai at Delphi (CGRN 82 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/82>), face D, line 8).

Line 7 (idem 13): The oracular response ends with an injunction to send *soteria* to Delphi. For some views on these *soteria*, see Parke (p. 91) and Clay (p. 12). It seems probable that the allusion is to offerings which must be sent to Delphi (Πυθῶδε) in recognition of the defeat of the Galatians in 279 BC and the salvation (σωτηρία) of the Greeks. A festival of the Soteria was apparently celebrated already from 278 BC (cf. notably IG XII.4 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#IG%20XII.4>) 68, lines 23-25: θῦσαι τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίῳ βούν χρυσόκερω ὑπὲρ | τᾶς τῶν Ἑλλάνων σωτηρίας). This was reorganised and augmented as a penteteric festival by the Aetolians from 250 BC (cf. IG II<sup>3</sup> (

abbreviations/#IG%20II%C2%B3) 1005, with dating [250/249 BC] and commentary in AIO [IG II 31/1005](https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGII31/1005) (<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGII31/1005>). The repeated injunction of the oracle to send thank-offerings for salvation (σωτήρια) to Delphi for Apollo can be seen as linked to this historical context, which generally corresponds to the dating of the inscription from letterforms.

Line 10: Dionysos, here accompanied by the Nymphs and the Horai, intervenes in the fragmentary episode recorded on the third column of the stone (see Clay, p. 16-23). On this group of deities, see Privitera (p. 18-22).

Lines 11-12: Apollo Prostaterios, unattested elsewhere in Paros, is compared by Privitera (p. 23) to Apollo who punishes the guilty in Archilochos, fr. 26 West. The god may potentially have been linked with Delphi also, though there is no secure attestation of the god in an oracle at present (Apollo Prostaterios has sometimes been restored in the relevant texts, e.g. GHI (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#GHI>) 30; the god is also invoked in the probably spurious μαντεία at [Dem.] 21.52).

Lines 14-15: The third response is shorter and only commands Mnesiepes to honour Archilochos following his plan (καθ' ἃ ἐπινοεῖ), without any mention of altar or sacrifices. Therefore, it remains uncertain how and where Archilochos was worshipped, on one altar, on both or elsewhere. The modalities of Archilochos' worship are not defined by the Pythia and it is possible that Mnesiepes did not fully express what he had in mind. Other oracular questions and responses attest to the fact that some aspects of the consultation could be left vague or imprecise and simply include a reference to what the consultant "is planning" or "has in mind" (for the same verb, ἐπινοεῖ, cf. CGRN 227 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/227>), Anaphe, lines 27, 30-31, and DVC (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#DVC>) 3702 from Dodona; from the oracle of Dodona, compare also e.g. Lhôte no. 67: τίμι {l} κα θεῶν εὐξάμενος πράξαι ἢ ἐπὶ νόοι ἔχε).

Lines 16-19: The oracular responses are followed by a statement expressed in first-person plural forms. Tarditi (p. 139; cf. also Clay, p. 13) interprets this plural as indicating a Dionysiac *thiasos* and compares this to the *genos* of the Homeridai in Chios (*contra* Parke, p. 91, who considers that Mnesiepes is the implied first-person plural writer). However, the existence of an association or of a familial group dedicated to Archilochos' cult remains conjectural, since no relevant information is available. According to Clay (p. 12-13), the use of tenses in the inscription allows us to distinguish different cultic phases: when Mnesiepes consults the Delphic oracle, the establishment of the *temenos* is an ongoing project (κατασκευάζει, lines 2 and 9) and sacrifices are already performed on the two founded altars (ιδρυσάμενοι and θύοντι, lines 2-3 and 9-10). However, one could infer from the formulation here, in lines 16-19, that the founded altars and the sacrifices (τοὺς βωμοὺς ιδρύμεθα καὶ θύομεν) do not precede but rather result from Apollo's oracle (χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ταῦτα). This inscription has also been interpreted as a modification of Archilochos' cult (Gomis, p. 120): before Apollo's responses, Archilochos received honours ([τι]μῶντι, line 15) without any mention of sacrifices (for earlier evidence of Parian honours for Archilochos, involving the same verb τιμάω, see Clay, p. 28). Now, in addition to honours, sacrifices to the poet would be allowed

provided that they are performed alongside others to the additional deities prescribed by the oracle (θύομεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ τιμῶμεν αὐτόν, lines 18-19). Yet the succinctness of the third response and the vague meaning of τιμάω (which can also apply to gods, cf. e.g. CGRN 186 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/186>), Iliad, line 5) prevent us from determining the nature of Archilochos' cult before Mnesiepes' consultation. More than a ritual norm regulating Archilochos' cult (cf. Lupu NGSL (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#NGSL>), p. 34), Mnesiepes' inscription attests to its formalisation in the middle of the 3rd century: once Apollo has given these replies, Mnesiepes can place the great Parian poet alongside specific deities in a *temenos* explicitly named as the Archilocheion (καλοῦμεν Ἀρχιλόχειον, line 17). The biographical part of the inscription shares in the same objective by establishing him as a patriot and a hero (cf. Clay, especially p. 23).

## Publication

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