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Family Cult Foundations in the Hellenistic Age

Family and Sacred Space in a Private Religious Context

1 Introduction

The private foundation consists of an endowment of funds (capital or real estate) whose income is intended to realize an ongoing purpose freely chosen by the founder.¹ A private foundation can be defined as a cult foundation when its purpose is exclusively or mainly cultic in nature.² In this paper, “cult” refers to a wide range of ritual performances, including rituals directed to the gods, to the dead, or to both.³

Evidently, what distinguishes the foundation from an isolated act of euergetism is its potentially permanent continuance. For this reason, the will of the founder had to be embedded into a system of measures and regulations that ensured its continuity beyond the individual’s lifetime.

Within this regulatory system, an essential role was played by the designation of a social group (or, more rarely, an individual) as the body responsible for the continuing fulfilment of the purpose established by the founder and for the management of the funds allocated to it. The chosen group was often also the recipient of the various possible benefits connected with the foundation (e.g. banquets, money distribution, contests, building activities, and the use of landed properties).⁴

The body in charge of the foundation not only ensured its operation, but also represented the social context in which the founder intended it to operate. Therefore, a classification of Greek foundations based on the different social interlocutors

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1 Cf. Laum 1914, 1, 1f.; Lupu 2005, 81f.

2 This clarification is needed because almost all Greek foundations include a cultic component, even when their main purpose is different in nature: cf. e.g. the foundation of Eudemos from Hellenistic Milet, which is dedicated to the education of Milesian children, but also includes sacrifices and a procession (*Milet* I 3, 145 = Laum 1914, 2, no. 129, ll. 30–36; 69–77); cf. also the agonistic foundation of C. Iulius Demosthenes from Oinoanda (Hadrianic period), which establishes a wide range of cult activities along with musical, poetic and rhetorical contests and sports performances (text and translation in Wörrle 1988, 4–17, cf. ll. 68–87; for the organization of the festival as a whole see 227–258).

3 This broad definition of “cult” reflects the classification of the foundations made by Laum 1914, 1, 60.

4 For the individuals and social groups known from the documents as managers and beneficiaries of foundations see Laum 1914, 1, 159–166.

chosen by the founders, is a fruitful way to understand the intention of the founders themselves and the significance they attributed to their initiative. A private individual who decided to create a foundation might intend it either for public or for private enjoyment: family cult foundations are foundations that limit participation in the established rituals, and management of the funds allocated thereto, to the family⁵ of the founder.⁶

In light of this, it is easy to understand why the (family cult) foundation as an institution offers many opportunities for analysis. Although each aspect is closely connected to the others, studies on this subject can focus on specific perspectives of investigation, preferring, for example, the juridical or financial point of view;⁷ alternatively, it is possible to focus on the social or ideological background of such an institution.⁸ Moreover, when the foundation has a cult purpose, the adoption of a religious perspective is also valid;⁹ family cult foundations, in particular, involve further fields of research, relating to the history of the Greco-Roman family as well as to family and household religion.¹⁰

5 The term “family” is meant here in an extensive sense, including kin relationships that go beyond the nuclear family, since some family cult foundations also allow members of the extended family to participate therein.

6 This definition of “foundation”, when applied to the “family dossiers”, seems not to be as problematic as argued by Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 67f. The different conception and structure of the private foundations, depending on the different social interlocutors chosen by the founders, are briefly discussed by Campanelli 2012b, 71–75 through two Hellenistic examples: the foundation of Kritolaos from Amorgos (*IG XII 7*, 515: public enjoyment) and the foundation of Epikteta from Thera (family cult foundation: see below).

7 See e.g. Mannzmann 1962, which deals with theoretical issues connected with the juridical form of the foundation and interprets it in terms of *homologia* between the founder and the group appointed by him as the body responsible for the foundation; the *homologia* is meant as a bilateral agreement which takes on the juridical form of the contract; for criticism of this interpretation see Modrzejewski 1963. Among the more recent studies discussing financial and administrative aspects of foundations are Sosin 2001, Gabrielsen 2008, Migeotte 2010, Harter-Uibopuu 2011, and Migeotte 2012.

8 Such are the main concerns of Schmitt-Pantel 1982 and Veyne 1976, 241–251 respectively.

9 See Purvis 2003, who analyzes in detail three private cult foundations of the Classical period, contextualizing them in the general framework of the elective cults; see also Hupfloher 2012, who discusses the same pieces of evidence as Purvis, together with other documents from the Classical age onwards, but mainly concentrates on “Kultgründungen” by private individuals rather than on foundations which meet the above definition, where the emphasis is on the continuity of the established (cult) purposes over time.

10 The distinction between household religion and family religion has been conveniently pointed out by Faraone 2008, 211–213: the former is meant in a “locative” sense, referring to the cult practices that took place at the house and aimed at protecting it; the latter is meant in a “genetic” sense, referring to the rituals that were intended to cement kin relationships, based on descent from common ancestors, and to define the identity and position of the family within society. Gherchanoc 2012, 159–168 discusses family cult foundations in the framework of family rituals, celebrations and sociability; an interpretation of family cult foundations as a Hellenistic development of the traditional gentilicial cults is

This paper will present a comparative analysis of five inscriptions from the south-Aegean Doric area which record foundations that arose in a family context during the Hellenistic age. The analysis will concentrate on an aspect that has hardly been touched on in studies of this topic, namely, the physical spaces as an integral part of the foundation system.¹¹ The term “space” is used here to include not only the family sanctuaries and tombs, which in most cases were clearly built concurrently with the enactment of the cult, but also the estate that was the source of income intended for funding cult activities.

Art, monumental visibility, and ritual as a cluster of factors that interact to translate family identity into language of signs have been pointed out in some studies,¹² but the intention here is to look more specifically into how the spaces were meant to be used in material and conceptual terms and to see how they contributed to defining group identity. This kind of analysis partially overlaps with the developing field of studies of the “religious landscape”, conceived as the result of a complex interaction of environmental, territorial, ritual, normative, and socio-economic factors.¹³ In this case, the “religious landscape” falls into the elusive sphere of the private space outside the house walls.

Being essentially regulatory in nature, the texts under examination do not provide actual descriptions of the cult places or attached properties, but the very fact

suggested by Graf 1995, 112f.; some references to the foundation of Diomedon from Cos (see below) are included by Brulé 2005, 33, fn. 25; 45 (reprinted in Brulé 2007, 420f.) in his discussion of the domestic cult of Zeus; in general, however, family cult foundations are scarcely considered in studies of family and household religion, which mostly concentrate on literary sources, usually focusing on Attic documentation; the references given here by way of example only concern general works, including the post-Classical period: Jost 1992, 245–261; Price 1999, 89–107; Mikalson 2005, 133–159; Faraone 2008. Continuity and change are the main parameters adopted to interpret the post-Classical developments of the family, but the focus is generally on its civic role and/or the possible influence of non-Greek elements, social mobility, institutional rearrangements of its structure and legal aspects: cf. e.g. van Bremen 2003; Modrzejewski 2011, 359–415; however, family cult foundations are taken into account by Pomeroy 1997b, 108–113 (even though some of her conclusions are questionable: see below); studies of the juridical and socio-political condition of women during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods make extensive use of epigraphic evidence concerning (family cult) foundations: cf. van Bremen 1996 (212–216 on Epikteta’s foundation); Stavrianopoulou 2006 (see in particular 226–236; on Epikteta’s foundation notably 292–302).

11 Wittenburg 1990 dedicates some pages (139–147) to the architectural and decorative features of the sanctuary belonging to Epikteta’s family in Thera, but he does not intend to provide an in-depth examination of this topic (as explicitly stated on p. 139, fn. 1) and, above all, he does not compare this sanctuary to evidence provided by the cult places from other family cult foundations.

12 Cf. Stavrianopoulou 2006, 290, 294–302 (with specific reference to the foundation of Epikteta from Thera).

13 For this perspective of investigation see e.g. Cole 2004 and Brulé 2012; see also the contributions included in Olshausen/Sauer 2009; for the problems of definition connected with the notion of “religious landscape” and for an attempt to circumscribe its scope see Horster 2010, 436–438.

that some of them pay a lot of attention to regulating the use of the spaces points to their centrality in the foundation system. From a methodological point of view, this kind of analysis will show how and to what extent inscriptions can be used as sources for reconstructing the architectural layout of places known only from epigraphic records.¹⁴ Indeed, archaeological remains of structures connected with family cult places established by foundations are only preserved in one instance from Cos;¹⁵ for this reason, the mention of buildings, open spaces, and land throughout the texts concerned represents the main piece of evidence for the architectural and spatial arrangement of family sanctuaries, tombs, and related properties.

Actual reconstruction hypotheses would require systematic comparisons between the architectural terminology provided by the inscriptions and the archaeological evidence for structures that show analogies with those under examination. This kind of analysis, however, goes beyond the purposes of this paper, which aims, above all, at identifying the significance of the spaces to the family groups who enjoyed them. References to archaeological evidence, however, will occasionally be included for the sake of comparison, to help clarify the function and architectural features of structures mentioned in the texts being examined.

The first section of this paper will address, albeit selectively, the main features of family cult foundations, placing the discussion in the framework of a survey of the main theories proposed over time concerning the origin and function of this institution. The second section will focus on the cult communities and pay particular attention to the membership requirements which are of an exclusively family nature. The third section will concentrate on the arrangement, functions and meanings of the physical spaces mentioned throughout the texts. The expression “sacred space”, which appears in the title of both the paper as a whole and the third paragraph, might turn out to be problematic, given that the notion of “sacred land” is controversial, and its very existence has been questioned.¹⁶ The scholarly debate mainly concerns the legal status of properties belonging to sanctuaries (or, more precisely, to the gods) placed under the administration of the polis or sub-polis groups, which seem to have treated

14 Methodological issues connected with this kind of analysis are concisely discussed by Hammerstaedt 2009, including an extensive bibliography on the relationships between epigraphy and architecture.

15 According to the convention adopted by Sherwin-White 1978, 5, fn. 3, in this paper the spelling “Cos” refers to the island as a whole, whereas “Kos” refers to the main city of the island.

16 For the debate on the notion of “sacred land” see the exhaustive overview of the scholarship provided by Papazarkadas 2011, 1–13.

them as if they were public properties.¹⁷ Although such issues do not directly affect the subject of this paper, which concerns properties connected with private sanctuaries or tombs, attention will be paid to both the terminology that refers to the sacredness of the spaces and the regulations that concern their use. What will be borne in mind is the wide range of possible sacred spaces characterized by different degrees of sacredness and by different statutes—themselves liable to change over time—as is generally pointed out by those scholars who recognize the existence of sacred land as an autonomous category.¹⁸ Using this varied framework, the notion of “sacred” can be applied to the buildings, open spaces and landed properties which will be examined in this paper. The conclusions will summarise the results of the analysis and point out some clearly recognizable features that characterize the spaces involved in family cult foundations, which might delineate a specific “religious landscape”.

2 Scholarly Theory, Epigraphic Evidence, and Cultic Aspects

The existence of family cult foundations as a particular type of foundation is recognized for the first time by B. Laum in his massive work, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, published in 1914.¹⁹ At that time the main epigraphic evidence for family cult foundations of the Hellenistic age was already known: the foundation of Diomedon from Cos (fig. 1), that of Poseidonios from Halicarnassus (fig. 2), and the “Testament of Epikteta” from Thera (fig. 3).²⁰

Considering the chronology and geographic range of these inscriptions, Laum points out the early appearance of the foundation as an institution in the family context of the Doric insular area, in which Halicarnassus can also be included because of its proximity to and its close cultural ties with the Dodecanese. He connects the

17 Cf. e.g. the texts collected by Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 2, 31–36; a particularly controversial point is the expression τὰ τεμένη τὰ δημόσια (Arist., *Oec.* 2.2.3a) where the two categories of “sacred” and “public” seem to overlap: see Migeotte 2006.

18 Cf. Parker 1983, 160–168; Dignas 2002, 13–35; Cole 2004, 40–50, 57–65; Horster 2004, 7–54 (with discussion especially of the earliest archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence for sacred land as an autonomous and well defined category); Horster 2010, notably 444–455.

19 Cf. Laum 1914, 1, 10, 15, 68–71, 158f., 224–227, 243–245.

20 Foundation of Diomedon: *IG* XII 4, 1, 348 (= Laum 1914, 2, no. 45; end of the 4th century B.C.—about 280 B.C.); foundation of Poseidonios: the latest edition is J.-M. Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 99–114 (= Laum 1914, 2, no. 117; 3rd century B.C.; between 280 and 240 B.C., as proposed by Carbon on the basis of palaeographic analysis, Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 99f.); foundation of Epikteta: Wittenburg 1990, 22–37 (= Laum 1914, 2, no. 43; between 210 and 195 B.C.); from now on, when quoted, these inscriptions will refer to the editions mentioned here (*IG*; Carbon; Wittenburg).

origin of such a Hellenistic innovation to a weakening of family bonds, which led to the creation of family cult communities gathered around a shared fund in order to entrust them with the continuation of the funerary cult, which was no longer ensured by the spontaneous acts of piety of the descendants, as it had been in earlier times.



Fig. 1: Foundation of Diomedon. Four-side engraved marble pillar now kept in storage within the Castle of Knights, Kos city (photos S. Campanelli, reproduced with the kind permission of the 22nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Greece).

In fact, Laum considers the funerary cult as the main purpose of family cult foundations, attaching little importance to the gods who were worshipped along with the ancestors and/or dead family members. In his view, the rise of this new form of family aggregation found favourable conditions among the conservative Doric aristocracy, who attributed to ancestry an important role in defining family identity.

The idea that disintegration of the family served as premise for the origin of the Greek foundation is further developed by E.F. Bruck,²¹ and then brought into question by W. Kamps,²² who reaffirms the crucial role played by the family in the origin of the foundation, but stresses its evolution rather than its disintegration as Bruck

²¹ Bruck 1926, notably 190–276; Bruck 1955; for a similar view cf. Nilsson 1955–1961, 2, 116f.; further bibliography and arguments against this theory in Stavrianopoulou 2006, 291; 301f.

²² Kamps 1937.

does. By evolution, Kamps means a change in the Hellenistic period from a broad clan structure identifying itself in the cult of shared ancestors to a more restricted family unit that based its new identity on cults founded *ex novo* by family members. In his view, this change did not entail a complete interruption of the traditional ancestral cult, but rather its reshaping within a more restricted kin solidarity, whose new course was marked by the foundation of cults dedicated to recently deceased individuals, namely the founder and members of his family, rather than (or not only) to the ancestors. The act of creating a foundation, therefore, caused a break in the traditional form of ancestry cult, which had been spontaneously handed down from generation to generation.

These newly introduced private cults gradually came to feature the heroization of the deceased, according to the chronological development which Kamps describes in analyzing the three foundations from Cos, Halicarnassus and Thera. In the first stage, represented by the foundation of Diomedon, there is no heroization and the traditional ancestry cult is still present; the ancestors are placed under the protection of Heracles, “héros locale à Cos”,²³ who is the main recipient of the established rituals and is worshipped together with other “génies”²⁴ peculiar to the ancestral cult, the Moirai and *Pasios*, the latter meant as



Fig. 2: Foundation of Poseidonios. Two-side engraved stele rejoined from more than twenty pieces and partially damaged by fire; now kept in the British Museum © The Trustees of the British Museum.

²³ Kamps 1937, 152; this and the next quotation from Kamps' article show how he pays little attention to the importance of the gods, whose significance actually goes beyond that of mere ancestral heroes and demons, see below.

²⁴ Kamps 1937, 152.



Fig. 3: Foundation of Epikteta. Four engraved marble plaques attached to a base for three statues; now kept in the Museo Maffeiano, Verona, Italy (photo G. Stradiotto; with the kind permission of the Direzione Musei d'Arte di Verona).

a form of the domestic Zeus. An innovation, however, is represented by the fact that Heracles bears the epithet *Diomedonteios*, stemming from the name of the founder himself and pointing, therefore, to a privileged relationship between him and this god as a way to immortalize his memory without involving his actual heroization. In Kamps' view, an actual cult of Diomedon might have been introduced in later generations of his descendants, who would have regarded him as their ancestral hero.

Traditional elements are still present also in the foundation of Poseidonios, where it is explicitly stated that the cult conforms to the customs of the ancestors (l. 7: *καθάπερ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι*); but besides the gods, whom Kamps relates partly to the ancestral milieu (Zeus *Patroos*, *Moirai*), and partly to the Anatolian context (Apollo of Telmessos, Mother of the Gods), the *Τύχη Ἀγαθή* of Poseidonios' parents and the *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* of Poseidonios and his wife are also worshipped by the cult community. This is a step towards heroization of the deceased family members, although here it is not yet direct, but mediated by the individual demons.

A direct heroization is made manifest in the foundation of Epikteta, by the means of which a cult of family heroes is established. It consists of the founder's husband and two sons who all predeceased her; Epikteta is to be included among them after her death; they are recipients of annual sacrifices along with the Muses, the goddesses who are worshipped together with the heroes by the cult community.

Kamps argues that this cultic evolution of family cult foundations goes hand in hand with the development of their structure and function, which became increasingly complex from a juridical and administrative point of view. This study of Kamps has been presented in some detail because it is so far the only one specifically devoted to family cult foundations of the Hellenistic age as a whole,²⁵ and some of its conclusions are still valid. A good example of how his interpretation has affected later studies is provided by the case of an inscription from Cos published in the middle of the nineteenth century,²⁶ but neither included in Laum's collection nor discussed in Kamps' article. The inscription is on a boundary stone delimiting the estate conse-

25 Wittenburg 1990 is specifically dedicated to the analysis of Epikteta's foundation and does not include close comparisons with the other family cult foundations, which are scarcely mentioned: cf. 75, fn. 18; 76, fn. 19; 93, fn. 10; 99; Gherchanoc 2012, 159–168 (see above fn. 10) only summarizes the content of the inscriptions concerned in order to highlight the value of ritual sharing for family sociability and identity; there is a brief overview of family cult foundations in Parker 2010, 118–120 where the aim is to contextualize a recently discovered foundation inscription from Hellenistic Lycia that shows similarities with family cult foundations (see below); see also Lupu 2005, 86f., where family cult foundations are briefly discussed as a type of sacred law. During the preparation of this paper, two new works appeared: Paul 2013, addressing the family cult foundations from Cos in the framework of Coan cults and sanctuaries (108–117, 232–235, 247f.); Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, focusing on the priesthoods and cult offices in the foundations of Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta, but including quite a broad comparative analysis among the three texts.

26 *Ed. pr.* Ross 1845, no. 309; *IG XII 4*, 1, 355; henceforth, when quoted, this inscription will refer to the *IG* edition.

crated to the Twelve Gods and Charmylos, the hero of the *Charmyleoi* (fig. 4). Applying Kamps' theory, S. Sherwin-White categorizes this document as pertaining to family cult foundations, on the grounds that Charmylos is not a mythical ancestor after whom the cult group of the *Charmyleoi* is named, but the historical founder of a family cult community like Diomedon,²⁷ even if in this case the actual foundation deed is not preserved.



Fig. 4: The boundary stone referring to Charmylos' foundation embedded into the façade of the medieval Church of the Stavros, Pyli, Cos (photos S. Campanelli).

Although the chronological development proposed by Kamps has undeniable merits, it is too linear to account for all the data, derived both from later epigraphic findings, as well as from the texts he analyzes. Among the later findings, another inscription from Cos²⁸ can be added to family cult foundations because it concerns the establishment of a private cult by a certain Pythion, together with an anonymous priestess who was probably his wife;²⁹ even though the inscription dates to the 2nd

²⁷ Sherwin-White 1977, 207–217; but it must be noted that a similar interpretation had already been suggested by Herzog 1928, 31.

²⁸ *Ed. pr.* Fraser 1953; *IG* XII 4, 1, 349; henceforth, when quoted, this inscription will refer to the *IG* edition.

²⁹ Cf. Fraser 1953, 44; 59–61.

century B.C., there is no trace of heroization or funerary cult, since the foundation is intended for the worship of Artemis, Zeus *Hikesios* and the *Theoi Patrooi*. This calls into question the idea that the cult of the gods was involved in family cult foundations only as a function of the funerary cult that was their main purpose. As for the chronology relating to the development of the heroization, it must be pointed out that the inscription considered as the most ancient in this cluster of documents, the foundation of Diomedon, does not allow us to completely exclude a possibility that a cult of the founder was already practised at this stage, since the restoration of his name, albeit extremely dubious, has been proposed for ll. 26 and 36 in a very damaged part of the text that deals with ritual regulations.³⁰ In any case, heroization is explicitly stated in the aforementioned foundation of Charmylos, which dates to the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. and is therefore coeval with the foundation of Diomedon, whereas it is missing in the later foundation of Pythion.

Kamps identifies the cult directed both to dead family members and to gods as a feature of family cult foundations in the Hellenistic age, but underestimates the role played by the divine component. Since this paper does not intend to adopt a strictly religious perspective, it can only touch upon the fact that the choice of the gods within family cult foundations seems to have been very carefully considered, also involving deities of the civic *pantheon* who are reshaped within the private context of the family. In Cos, Heracles is something more than a local hero; he is the mythical forefather of the Doric population of the island and, accordingly, he is closely connected to the definition of the renewed civic body resulting from the *μετοικισμός* of 366 B.C. which involved a complex institutional as well as cultic rearrangement.³¹ Thus, Diomedon performed a complex cultic operation: drawing on the strong genealogical components which characterize Coan Heracles, he bound him to his own lineage (also through the epithet *Diomedonteios*) and in this way cemented the double ancestral connection of his family, that stemming from their blood relation and that stemming

30 The fact that Kamps does not consider this possibility might have depended on the editions of the text he uses: indeed, the highly uncertain restoration $\theta\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega \mid \delta\acute{\epsilon} [\tau\acute{\omega}\iota \text{ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διομέδ}]\omicron[\nu] \tau\iota \mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$ (ll. 25f.) appears for the first time in Segre 1993, ED 149 and is then accepted in *IG*, whereas in the editions quoted by Kamps this point is restored in a different way or not at all: cf. Dareste/Haussoullier/Reinach 1898, 94–103, no. 24b; Laum 1914 (see above, fn. 20); *Syll.*³ 1106; Herzog 1928, 28–32, no. 10; at l. 36, however, the restoration $\Delta\iota\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta]\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ is already present in Herzog's edition and the reading has recently been improved by the editors of *IG* ($\Delta\iota\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}]\delta\omicron\nu\tau\iota$).

31 On the mythology concerning Coan Heracles and on the civic cult of Heracles on Cos see Campanelli 2011, 648f., 654f., 668–669, 673–677 (with particular reference to the sanctuary of the god located in the Harbour Quarter of the city of Kos); at greater length see Paul 2013, 95–108, 116–117, 288f. on the connection between Heracles *Kallinikos* and Coan citizenship (cf. the sale of his priesthood, *IG* XII 4, 1, 320, ll. 35–37, where individuals who have obtained citizenship are required to sacrifice to the god); on this point cf. also Feyel 2009, 248; for the Coan *μετοικισμός*, see Sherwin-White 1978, 40–75; Carlsson 2010, 216–218.

from their Coan citizenship as well as from their shared Doric ancestry.³² A similar process must have occurred in the choice of the Twelve Gods by Charmylos, as these deities seem to be connected to the civic unity after the μετοικισμός.³³

Even more complex involvements can be hypothesized behind the choice of deities bearing the epithet *Patroos*, such as Zeus *Patroos* in Poseidonios' foundation and the *Theoi Patrooi* in that of Pythion: since the adjective *patroos* indicates all that is inherited from the father,³⁴ it also summarizes all of the religious memberships handed down from father to son and, accordingly, can equally refer to the traditional household gods and to those worshipped by sub-polis groups, like the phratries, into which one was admitted only through legitimate descent; at the widest social level, finally, this epithet can refer to the ancestral gods of the *fatherland*.³⁵ For this reason, it is often difficult to know exactly which social sphere a god named *Patroos* belongs to,³⁶ and this is also true for the “paternal” gods involved in family cult foundations. In this respect, it can be observed that the *Theoi Patrooi* are known in Cos under this collective denomination from inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, especially the latter, but the nature of these deities is controversial, as they might be the ancestral gods of the whole Coan state or the ancestral gods of some civic subdivision.³⁷ However, the latter hypothesis is more likely, at least as far as the Hellenistic period is concerned, as is supported by a decree of the Coan deme of Isthmos that deals with a private donation for the benefit of the local tribal cults; in case of violations, a fine was to be paid to the *Theoi Patrooi*, who were probably also recipients of

32 On Heracles and other civic (Aphrodite and perhaps Dionysus) and household (Moirai, *Pasios*) deities who are part of the private *pantheon* founded by Diomedon, see Campanelli 2011, 655–657, 671, 675–677; Paul 2013, 53, 108, 111, 115, 295–297; civic cult of Aphrodite: 79–95, 285–288, 294f.; civic cult of Dionysus: 117–127; other deities must also have been worshipped, but their names are lost due to the bad condition of the stone on side A, ll. 25–36, where most of the ritual regulations appeared; the attempts at restoration made by Herzog and other editors are mere conjectures (cf. Herzog 1928, 31), and they have been almost entirely rejected by the editors of *IG*.

33 On the cult of the Twelve Gods on Cos, see Paul 2013, 40–42, 158f., 282f.

34 Cf. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1968, s.v. πατῶος; Chantraine 2009, s.v. πατήρ; cf. also Ammon., *Diff.* 383: πάτρια πατῶων καὶ πατρικῶν διαφέρει. Πατρῶα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐκ πατέρων εἰς υἱοῦς χωροῦντα πατρικοὶ δ' ἢ φίλοι ἢ ξένοι· πάτρια δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔσθι.

35 On the gods named *Patrooi* and on their worship at gradually wider levels of Greek society (from the household to the whole polis) see Parker 2008, who pays particular attention to the intermediate groups (phratries and “phratry-like bodies”), but also collects the epigraphic evidence referring to the other social contexts where these cults are present; on Zeus *Patroos* and on the concept of ἱερά πατῶα, with particular reference to the gentilicial group of the *Klytidai* on Chios, see Brulé 1998, especially 312–317 (republished in Brulé 2007, 392–398); see also Brulé 2003, 113–115 (republished in Brulé 2007, 445–448).

36 Cf. Parker 2008, 204.

37 Cf. Sherwin-White 1978, 331f.; Buraselis 2000, 33f., 46–51, 154–162 (catalogues of the dedications to the *Theoi Patrooi* from the 1st century B.C. onwards); Paul 2013, 290.

a sacrifice.³⁸ It is clear that in this case they are gods worshipped by the three tribes of the deme of Isthmos.³⁹ It is significant that the inscription of Pythion comes from this deme,⁴⁰ whose very ancient and illustrious religious traditions continued after the μετοικισμός.⁴¹ Thus, it is likely that Pythion wanted to stress the tribal membership of his family by including the “Paternal Gods” of his place of origin in his private *pantheon*,⁴² but it is also possible that he wanted to indicate various levels of religious membership, including the ancestral religious traditions of his own family, through the potentially all-embracing nature of the *Theoi Patrooi*.⁴³ Another of the three deities involved in Pythion’s foundation seems to be connected to sub-polis groups: Zeus *Hikesios*, who is one of the gods attested in Cos by several inscriptions on small stones probably marking out the respective cult places of groups which bear names with the typical patronymic ending in *-dai*; the stones date from the 4th to the 2nd century B.C. and are from the area of the *Asklepieion*.⁴⁴ The fact that some of the deities concerned bear the epithet *patroos* beside their own name⁴⁵ confirms the extra-family involvements of this divine attribute on Cos, at least in the Hellenistic period.

On the other hand, Pythion might have re-marked the familial nature of his foundation by placing Artemis beside the *Theoi Patrooi* and Zeus *Hikesios*, since she is well known as the protector of childbirth, nurturer of children, and the goddess who presides over the female life cycle.⁴⁶ Moreover, Artemis seems to be the main recipi-

38 *IG XII 4*, 1, 100, ll. 26–28; on this inscription see Paul 2013, 231f.

39 For the civic organization of the Coan state after the μετοικισμός and for its internal subdivisions, see Sherwin-White 1978, 153–174; Grieb 2008, 147–153; Carlsson 2010, 218–221.

40 Cf. Fraser 1953, 35–37, 56.

41 Cf. Pugliese Carratelli 1957 and 1963–1964, 147–158; for criticism of the historical and political implications of his reconstruction, see Sherwin-White 1978, notably 74f., 196f.

42 The eventuality that an individual chose to privately honour gods of the “phratry-like body” to which he belonged is admitted by Parker 2008, 204 (with reference to the foundation of Pythion).

43 That the *Theoi Patrooi* of Pythion’s foundation are to be meant as the family ancestral gods is argued by Paul 2013, 233.

44 Cf. Parker 2008, notably 202; 211 (nature of these “phratry-like groups”); Paul 2013, 185f., 290f.

45 Cf. inscriptions (g), (h) and (u) in the list provided by Parker 2008, 202.

46 A parallel can be suggested with an Attic inscription (*IG II² 4547*) included by Purvis 2003 in her study of private cult foundations of the Classical age; Artemis *Lochia* appears among the *kourotrophi* deities listed therein as the recipients of the cult; such a cluster of deities fits the bond between mother and son, which seems to be the forming principle of this foundation. Interpretation of this text, however, is controversial: see the exhaustive examination of Purvis 2003, 15–32 (notably 18f. on the *kourotrophi* deities). The cult of Artemis *Lochia* is also attested in Cos (cf. *IG XII 4*, 1, 72, ll. 16f.); however, based on the hypothetical number of missing letters (about eight, according to his calculation), Fraser 1953, 38f. rules out the possibility that this was the lost epithet of Artemis in Pythion’s foundation, where a gap follows the name of the goddess at l. 2 (Ἀρτέμιτο[ς -]ας); as alternatives he suggested Πατρῶ[ι]ας (but considers it too short) and Εἰλειθυ[ι]ας; both would fit the context, even though neither of the two is attested in Cos; among the epithets of Artemis known on the island, other possibilities might be: Περγα[ι]ας (cf. *IG XII 4*, 1, 346, l. 8; *IG XII 4*, 2, 526), considered too short by

ent of the established cult, as she is the first deity mentioned at l. 2 of the inscription and the only one involved in the manumission of Makarinos, the slave whom Pythion freed by consecrating him to the goddess in order to entrust him with the care of the sanctuary he had founded (ll. 3–12).⁴⁷

In any case, the possibility that Pythion intended to link his family microcosm to “paternal” memberships wider than the household cannot be ruled out. This would match the vitality of Coan gentilicial groups which claimed shared ancestry.⁴⁸ Their persistence on an island like Cos, where family cult foundations particularly flourished, encourages a radical review of Kamps’ theory as far as the development of the family structure is concerned.⁴⁹

The cult, privately dedicated to deities like Heracles and the *Theoi Patrooi*, who recall the plurality of social contexts to which each family actually belonged,⁵⁰ points to a will for self-representation which the founders seem to have put into practice by

Fraser, but re-evaluated by Cucuzza 1997, notably 17f., though not very convincingly; Ἀγοτέρας (cf. *IG XII 4*, 1, 358, ll. 18f.). In general, on Artemis as *kourotrophos* and on the involvement of the goddess in female rites of passage and sexuality see Cole 2004, 198–230; for the cult of Artemis on Cos see Paul 2013, especially 140–145, 214–216, 263–265, 294, 298 (Artemis’ connection with birth and childhood), 307.

⁴⁷ The consecration of slaves to deities was a common form of manumission and often imposed cultic duties on the freed people; the same procedure occurs in the foundation of Diomedon, see below; cf. Darmezine 1999, 159–161, 195f. (foundations of Diomedon and Pythion); 219–222 (cultic duties); Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 86–99, 228 with fn. 98, 232f.

⁴⁸ Cf. Pugliese Carratelli 1963–1964, 147–158; Sherwin-White 1978, especially 158–169, considers the gentilicial components traceable in Hellenistic Cos (e.g. groups’ names ending in *-dai* which claim a shared ancestry) as remains of the kinship-based organization which characterized the phase pre-dating the μετοικισμός; Vallarino 2009, 193–199 argues that in Hellenistic Cos gentilicial criteria are traceable in the composition of the official cult college of the *hieropoioi*; the lineage κατ’ἀνδρογένειαν seems to have played some role within the Ἀσκληπιαδῶν τὸ κοινὸν Κώϊων καὶ Κνιδίων as late as the 4th century B.C., when membership had already been extended to physicians who did not belong to the original Coan *genos*: cf. Pugliese Carratelli 1991; *gene* claiming descent from Asclepius and Heracles survived in the Imperial period: cf. Pugliese Carratelli 1994.

⁴⁹ Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 94f.

⁵⁰ The idea of Greek religion as a network of multifaceted experiences, all of which are embedded in the all-embracing polis system, corresponds to the model of the so-called “polis religion” theorized by Sourvinou-Inwood 1988 (= Buxton 2000, 38–55); 1990 (= Buxton 2000, 13–37); cf. also Aleshire 1994; the network which joined public cults with family ones, passing through “cercles de sociabilité intermédiaires”, is highlighted by Brulé in his study of the cults of Zeus *Ktesios* and Zeus *Herkeios*, the two most typical forms of the domestic Zeus, who were nonetheless also worshipped by both sub-polis groups and the polis as a whole: Brulé 2005 (= Brulé 2007, 405–428); a similar perspective can be found in the aforementioned work of Parker on the *Theoi Patrooi* (Parker 2008); recent studies have attempted to attenuate the idea of an all-embracing function of the polis in the religious sphere by valuing the peculiarities of family cults (Faraone 2008; Boedeker 2008) or the role of individual initiatives in the religious field (Purvis 2003, 1–13); for a review of the model of “polis religion” see Kindt 2012, 12–35.

placing their family identity in the framework of the fatherland's religious traditions. The conformity of the established cults to fatherland and ancestral *mores* is explicitly stated in the texts through expressions like κατὰ τὰ πάτρια in the foundation of Diomedon (ll. 42; 92f.) and καθάπερ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι in the foundation of Poseidonios (l. 7).

The impulse to define family identity, which can be traced by examining, albeit partially, the composition of the *pantheon* established through family cult foundations, might find its historical explanation in the framework of the profound socio-political changes which affected the Hellenistic age, as argued relatively recently by A. Wittenburg and S. Pomeroy.⁵¹ Mainly on the basis of Epikteta's foundation, they connect the origin and the ultimate aim of family cult foundations to the need for family self-preservation. Wittenburg argues that the ancient *élite* of Thera, to which Epikteta's family is likely to have belonged, experienced a sociopolitical marginalization throughout the 3rd century B.C., due to the heavy interference of Ptolemaic rulers in the internal issues of the island despite its formal independence. The author also connects the influx of foreign people to Ptolemaic presence; such people included parvenus who widely displayed their newly acquired influence, to the detriment of the established local aristocracy. In his view, the constitution of family associations, like the one founded by Epikteta, could be intended as a conservative reaction aimed at preserving the prestige of the families that had been divested of their legitimate political weight.⁵² As a working suggestion, Wittenburg attempts to apply a similar sociopolitical interpretation to other places where family cult foundations arose, namely Cos and Halicarnassus.

In more general terms, Pomeroy sees family cult foundations as a strategy to prevent family disintegration due to wars, social mobility and mortality. She points out, in particular, that the lack of direct heirs affected the structure of Epikteta's family and related inheritance matters, as well as raised concerns about the continuity of the funerary cult. Following the death of her husband and two sons, Epikteta restored the male line by resorting to collateral branches of the family in order to create a male cult community. Despite the fact that some women were admitted therein, the male core would more efficiently ensure the continuing accomplishment of the funerary duties, since the patrilocal marriage tradition meant that women left their birth families to join those of their husbands. In Pomeroy's view, a similar lack of male descendants

⁵¹ Wittenburg 1990, 51–54, 57–70; Wittenburg 1998; Pomeroy 1997a, 206–209 and 1997b, 108–113.

⁵² Unlike Wittenburg, Stavrianopoulou 2006, 299f. with fn. 119, believes that the epigraphic evidence for members of Epikteta's entourage who held public office is sufficient to indicate that this kinship group was politically active; in Stavrianopoulou's view, the fact that the foundation text does not refer to the civic merits of the deceased men of Epikteta's own family is due to the completely private nature of this foundation: according to her, in the Hellenistic age the polis was the only entity entitled to give recognition for merit to its prominent citizens.

was a factor in the foundation of Diomedon, where the “commemorative activities”⁵³ were performed by the founder’s freedman Libys and his offspring rather than by the descendants of Diomedon, who are only briefly mentioned throughout the text. Pomeroy concludes that the involvement of distant relatives or non-family members in commemorative celebrations and inheritance matters indicates a diminished value of the actual kin ties in the Hellenistic age.

Pomeroy’s argument concerning the foundation of Diomedon is difficult to accept, because the text clearly distinguishes between Libys and his offspring and the descendants of Diomedon, who were in fact charged with guaranteeing freedom of these manumitted slaves (ll. 6–9). The lines referring to the duties with which the freedmen were entrusted are badly preserved (ll. 11–23), but they are likely to be concerned simply with the care of the sanctuary and the provisions for ritual performances (coverings for the dinner-couches, cleaning and crowning the images and so on). In contrast to Pomeroy’s argument, the freedmen are no longer mentioned after the initial part of the text, where they first appear among the goods consecrated by Diomedon to Heracles *Diomedonteios* (ll. 1–5). The rest of the inscription lists regulations involving the descendants of Diomedon, who represented the actual cult community, as will be discussed below. In fact, they were in charge of the crucial ritual activities, such as the sacrifices (ll. 9–11: *θυόντω δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ τοὶ ἐγ[Διο]μέδον[δον]τος καὶ ἀεὶ τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεν[ό]μενοι*). This instruction is placed just before the lines dealing with the freedmen’s duties in order to highlight that the role of the latter did not include the sacrificial performance.

The expression *τοὶ ἐγ Διομέδοντος καὶ τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν γενόμενοι* shows that Diomedon actually had his own direct descendants, and the great importance attached to legitimate descent can be seen clearly in the ritual through which newborn children were introduced into the cult community (ll. 51–55).⁵⁴ The text specifies the prerogatives of the descendants in the male line (*οἱ κατ’ ἀνδρογένειαν*; ll. 86f.; 154f.): the performance of the sacrifice for *Pasios* and the *Moirai* was reserved only for them (ll. 153–155) and, under particular conditions, they had the right to celebrate their wedding in the sanctuary of Heracles *Diomedonteios* (ll. 86–111). Among the legit-

⁵³ Pomeroy 1997a, 209; 1997b, 113; actually, there is no explicit trace of commemorative activities in the text; these can be supposed to have taken place based on the fact that the foundation includes the cult of the ancestors (cf. ll. 130–140), but the regulations concerning it are completely lost (ll. 20f.?). note also the possibility that Diomedon was a recipient of the cult, see above. According to the preserved text, however, the rituals established by Diomedon mainly consisted of various sacrifices and banquets in honour of Heracles and the other deities worshipped along with him; for the ritual aspects of Diomedon’s foundation, see Campanelli 2011, 657–661; Paul 2013, 109–115.

⁵⁴ As for its meaning, this ritual can be compared to the ceremonies through which newborn children were introduced to the domestic hearth and young people to the paternal phratries or similar bodies to which their fathers belonged: cf. Campanelli 2011, 654; on these rituals and their connection with legitimate descent, see Gherchanoc 2012, 35–48, 150–158.

imate descendants, furthermore, the three officials of the community (*epimenioi*)⁵⁵ were appointed annually (ll. 144–146), whereas the illegitimate children were entitled neither to this office nor to the priesthood of Heracles (ll. 146–149),⁵⁶ which was to be handed down from eldest son to eldest son (ll. 23–25).⁵⁷ All of this speaks in favour of patrilineal descent as the basic requirement for membership in the cult community.

Given that the foundation of Diomedon provides no clues for supposing a generalized crisis of family ties in the Hellenistic age, the involvement of the extended family in Epikteta's foundation is probably to be understood as the consequence of accidental factors, like the high male mortality rate, which affected the structure of her family, as Pomeroy herself argues in the initial part of her discussion. In other words, the more or less extended size of these family cult communities might have depended on the individual family histories.⁵⁸ These considerations seem to accord with observations made in the studies that investigate the effect of demographic factors and socioeconomic constraints on synchronic and diachronic developments of the family.⁵⁹

55 On the roles and meaning of this office in the foundations of Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta, see Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, especially 83–95; the most innovative conclusion the authors come to concerns the fact that the temporary nature of the office, implied in the literal meaning of the term *epimenios*, might be mirrored in the three foundation texts by the limited span of time in which these officials carried out their task, that is, the period slightly before and during the annual celebrations: this matches evidence on *epimenioi* in the public sphere, showing the way in which family cult foundations drew on and reshaped the civic model; other equally important remarks are made on the twofold nature, ritual and administrative, of *epimenios'* office.

56 For the interpretation of this passage, see Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2008, 254–256.

57 These lines are very damaged, but their general content can be easily understood by comparing them to the foundation of Poseidonios (ll. 19f.: ἱερατευέτω τῶν ἐγγόνων τῶν ἐκ Ποσειδωνίου ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὧν κατ' ἀνδρογένειαν).

58 For literary evidence on the possible family rearrangements due to various eventualities and involving different degrees of kinship, see the cases discussed by Cox 1998, 141–167 (with specific reference to 5th and 4th century Athens); family strategies are mirrored by funerary contexts: see Marchiandi 2011, 35–46, on the more or less extended family structures emerging from the prosopographic analysis of the individuals buried within the 5th and 4th century Attic *periboloi*; van Bremen 1996, especially 193–204, 237–272, shows how family strategies can be at least partially reconstructed through the evidence for family members acting together in civic euergetism (with particular reference to the role of women).

59 See the comparative overview of Huebner 2011; see also Zuiderhoek 2011, who interprets euergetism, including foundations for public enjoyment, as a strategy for public recognition adopted by civic *élites* of the Hellenistic period to cope with the rapid turnover due to the high mortality rate, which led notable families to quickly disappear from the political scene; as the author does not provide much evidence, for the moment this interpretation must remain an interesting working hypothesis.

What deserves attention within Pomeroy's discussion is the concept of family self-preservation as the motivation that led Epikteta to a formal family rearrangement in order to ensure the proper settlement of the inheritance and the continuity of funerary practices.⁶⁰ This view, though only suggested by Pomeroy, matches Wittenburg's interpretation of Epikteta's foundation as the way in which the old established *élite* of Thera reacted to its sociopolitical marginalization. This is not the place to attempt to apply Wittenburg's reconstruction to the parallel contexts of Cos and Halicarnassus, since such an analysis would require an in-depth examination of the local institutional arrangements, the identity of the internal groups holding the power and the relationship between local autonomy and interference from the Hellenistic kingdoms.⁶¹ This paper will analyze the means by which this intention of family self-preservation or at least self-representation comes to light in the texts. Some useful elements in this regard have already emerged during the survey of scholarly theory, but the intention now is to further the analysis by focusing on two aspects which seem to be especially indicative for the above purpose: (1) the family acting as a cult community and (2) the sacred space with the twofold function of cult place and source of income.

3 The Cult Community

The act of foundation formally turned the founder's family into an exclusive cult community, which was both responsible for the continuity of the cult and entrusted with the management of the funds allocated for this purpose.⁶² In most cases the cult community is identified in a way that clearly shows its family nature. In the foundation of Diomedon, those in charge of the cult activities were named τοὶ ἐγ[ὸ] Διομέδον[δον] τοσ καὶ ἀεὶ τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεν[ό]μενοι (ll. 9–11).⁶³ Whereas this definition emphasized

⁶⁰ It should be noted, however, that the creation of the male cult community is not a personal initiative of Epikteta, but satisfies the express will of her deceased son Andragoras (ll. 22f.): see below.

⁶¹ For Cos and its relationships with the Hellenistic kingdoms, see Sherwin-White 1978, especially 82–145; Carlsson 2010, 208–214; on the Coan government after the *metoikismos*, see Carlsson 2010, 221–243; on the relationship between Halicarnassus and the Ptolemies, see Isager 2004; Pedersen 2004; Konuk 2004, among others.

⁶² Before Laum 1914 (see vol. 1, especially 167 and 224, where he classifies family groups among the “Vereine, die um der Stiftung willen ins Leben gerufen werden”), the foundations of Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta were considered “Familienvereine” in the first works on Greek associations: cf. Poland 1909, especially 87f.; see also Wittenburg 1998, 451; the foundation of Diomedon is mentioned by Maillot 2013, 208 (cf. also 222, fn. 4) among the associations of Cos, but she considers it the only family association on the island.

⁶³ Cf. the slight variation at ll. 136–139 (τοὺ[ς] ἐγ[ὸ] Διομέδοντος [Ι - - - Ω .] [γ]εγεννημένους καὶ τοὺς ἐγγ[ό]νους αὐτῶν) and 145f.; the concept of legitimate descent down the male line is more specifically stressed by the expression τοὶ κατ' ἀνδρογένειαν (ll. 86f.; 154f.).

the descent as the basic requirement for the membership, the expression τοῖ τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνεῦντες (ll. 7; 81; 87f.), which alternates with the previous one throughout the text,⁶⁴ highlights the shared base around which the community is gathered, namely the “sacred things”. The wide range of meanings included in the concept of *hiera* is well known: it can refer to cult, rituals, cult furniture, sacrificial victims and offerings, gifts for the gods, gods’ *simulacra* and symbols, cult places, funds devoted to cult purposes, or cultic matters.⁶⁵ In the text under examination *hiera* is likely to include, beyond the rituals, all that was dedicated to Heracles,⁶⁶ namely the precinct, buildings, garden, and slaves that are objects of the initial dedication to the god (l. 1: Δ[ιομέδων ἀνέθηκ]ε), and the cult furnishings listed in the inventory of ll. 120–130,⁶⁷ which are equally dedicated to Heracles (l. 120: ἀνέθηκα) and are said to be sacred to him (ll. 127–129: ὥστε πάντα ταῦτα ἱερά εἶναι τοῦ Ἡρακλεῦς). Although not explicitly stated, the other buildings and lands mentioned throughout the text must also be considered *hiera* because they were sources of income used for cult purposes.⁶⁸ This finds confirmation in the appearance of the designation “those who share the sacred things” mostly in connection with management matters, such as the protection of the freedmen (ll. 6–9) and the use of the spaces belonging to the sanctuary (ll. 80–90).⁶⁹

64 Cf. the variation οἷ[ς] μέτεστι τῶν [των] ἱερῶν (ll. 52f.); Paul 2013, 116 conveniently points out that κοινωνεῖν and μετεῖναι differ slightly in meaning: the former seems to entail some deliberative power over the *hiera*, whereas the latter seems to indicate merely the birth right to participate in cult; these nuances of meaning fit the contexts where κοινωνεῖν and μετεῖναι are used respectively throughout the text; Paul also notices that μετεῖναι, in turn, differs from μετέχειν, used in ll. 146–149 to indicate participation in the cult granted, within certain limits, to the illegitimate children who did not strictly belong to the eligible group; for the terminology concerning the rights of participation in cult and in cult management see Paul 2013, 196–203 (with particular reference to the tribal cult of Apollo and Heracles in the deme of Halasarna).

65 For the wide range of meanings covered in the adjective ἱερός and its neuter plural ἱερά, see Casabona 1966, 6–17; Rudhardt 1992, 22–30; Horster 2004, 50–52; on the sacred implying divine ownership and on the various categories of “sacred things”, see Parker 1983, 151–175; Connor 1988 provides an in-depth examination of the expression ἱερά καὶ ὄσια (broadly speaking: “sacred and profane things”), pointing out its first appearance in the financial sphere.

66 Rudhardt 1992, 30 includes in his definition of ἱερός all that was transferred to the gods through the act of dedication.

67 The list of objects dedicated to Heracles continues at ll. 155–157 (ἀνέθηκα δὲ καί); for the ritual function of some of these objects, see Campanelli 2011, 658.

68 See below.

69 In contrast, Paul 2013, 340, fn. 73, classifies Diomedon’s foundation among the Coan texts where *hiera* has the meaning of “cult”: accordingly, she translates the expression τοῖ τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνεῦντες into “ceux qui ont le culte en commune”; cf. also 108–111 and 114 for her translation of ll. 1–43 and 86–115; for the differentiated use of the two definitions (“the descendants of Diomedon and those who descend from them” and “those who share the sacred things”) throughout the text, see Campanelli 2011, 652f. The inscription also provides evidence for the use of the term *hiera* to indicate both the sacrificial performance (l. 9: θυόντω δὲ τὰ ἱερά; ll. 65f.: ἐχθουσεῦγται τὰ ἱερά) and the “sacred offerings” which were part of the provisions that members of the cult community had to give as an “entrance tax” at the

This point has to be borne in mind because of its consequences for the sanctuary's role as a family asset.

A definition of the cult community based on the concept of legitimate descent also occurs in the foundation of Poseidonios, but in this case the inclusion of the descendants down the female line is specified (l. 2–4: τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γινομένοις καὶ οὓσιν, ἕκ τε τῶν ἀρσένων καὶ τῶν θηλειῶν); the second mention of the cult group, however, indicates a more extended membership (ll. 12–14: τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γινομένοις, ἕκ τε τῶν ἀρσένων καὶ τῶν θηλειῶν, καὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν), including οἱ λαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, probably to be understood as relatives by marriage, such as the husbands of Poseidonios' daughters.⁷⁰ The verb λαμβάνω to indicate “receive in marriage”, “take as one's wife” is epigraphically attested, for example in a series of honorary decrees from Tenos (2nd century B.C.) which record a marriage agreement: Μήδειος μὲν ἐγιδιδόμενος [τ]ῆν θυγατέραν Φιλίππην Σουνιαδῆς δὲ λαμβάνων (IG XII 5, 864, ll. 5f.; “Medeios giving his daughter Philippe away and Souniades receiving her ...”).⁷¹ Unlike Poseidonios' foundation, however, in this case the object of λαμβάνω is explicitly stated. A recently discovered foundation inscription from Hellenistic Lycia includes the sons-in-law of the founder in the limited group of ten male relatives who are entitled to participate in the annual banquets connected with two sacrifices in memory of the founder Symmasis and his wife Mamma.⁷² The fact that the sons-in-law and their descendants are included among the relatives (cf. A, ll. 34; 46f.; B, l. 38: ἀνχιστεῖς) shows that the notion of ἀγχιστεία could vary

birth of a child (ll. 51–55: εἰσαγώγιον δὲ διδότηω ὦι κα γένηται παιδίον, οἷ[ς] μέτεστι τῶν [των] ἱερῶν, χο[τ]ρον, ἱερά, λιβανωτόν, σπονδάν, στέφανον; cf. above, fn. 54); the priest, too, was probably required to provide *hiera* (cf. ll. 36–38: ἱερ[ά] δὲ παρεχέτω ἄρτον ποτὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἀρτοφαγ[ί]αν καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποτὶ τὰ[ν] σπονδ[ά]ν[υ]); for the offerings or sacrificial provisions called *hiera*, see Paul 2013, 341–344.

⁷⁰ Cf. Kamps 1937, 157f.; Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 81f.

⁷¹ Cf. IG XII 5, 863, ll. 4f.; 865, ll. 7–9; on these decrees see Stavrianopoulou 2006, 40–43 (with translation of 863, 1–12); for the terminology of the marriage agreements (including λαμβάνω) in the literary sources see Vérilhac/Vial 1998, 232–265.

⁷² Text and translation in Parker 2010, 104–108 and Arnaoutoglou 2012, 217–220; even though these celebrations were commemorative in nature (cf. B, ll. 19–21: εὐωχηθήσονται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄγοντες ἐπώνυμον ἡμέραν Συμμασιος καὶ Μαρμας), they began before the death of Symmasis and Mamma as is clear from the fact that portions of the sacrificial victims were reserved for them (cf. A, ll. 5–18; B, 38–47): this may be another similarity to Poseidonios' foundation, which is classified by Dareste/Haussoullier/Reinach 1898, 128–133 and 145, among the *donationes inter vivos*; the sacrifice for the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων Ποσειδωνίου καὶ Γοργίδος (ll. 35f.), especially if it was already performed during Poseidonios' and Gorgis' lifetime, can be compared to the sacrifice for the ἥρωσ Συμμασιος καὶ Μαρμας (B, 31f.): the “hero of Symmasis and Mamma” is close to the notion of personal demon, according to the convincing interpretation of Parker 2010, 116; in contrast, Arnaoutoglou 2012 simply translates “the hero Symmasis and Mamma”: in this case, however, it would be difficult to understand why the term “hero” is in the singular; on the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων in Poseidonios' foundation, see Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 97; Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 107f.

depending on context.⁷³ Although this foundation shares the creation of a family cult group and the link between funerary cult and divine cult (in this case, of Helios) with other family cult foundations, it is not included in the dossier of inscriptions being examined here because it involves a society of metalworkers along with the founder's family.⁷⁴

Unlike Symmasis' foundation and Epikteta's foundation, which will be addressed later, that of Poseidonios does not include a list of community members designated by name, but their number must have been defined at a certain point, as we can infer from the use of the perfect participle εἰληφότες instead of the present participle λαμβάνοντες at l. 23. Here the cult community is mentioned again at the beginning of the decree by which the foundation is ratified and enacted (ll. 22f.: ἔδοξεν Ποσειδωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνις τοῖς ἐκ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ τοῖς εἰληφόσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν).⁷⁵ Like Diomedon's foundation, the officials charged with ritual as well as administrative duties (*epimenioi*) were appointed annually from among the community members (ll. 23–33; 40–47). Despite this extended membership, the priesthood and the enjoyment of the properties allocated by the founder were reserved for the eldest son of Poseidonios and then handed down through the male line (ll. 18–20; l. 20: κατ' ἀνδρογένειαν).

In Epikteta's foundation the complete denomination of the cult community is κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν, but the abbreviated form κοινόν appears more frequently throughout the text.⁷⁶ This definition summarizes the male basis of the community and family ties existing among its members.⁷⁷ The exclusivity of the κοινόν is highlighted by the fact that the inscription includes a list of community members, who can be distributed among the genealogical trees of three related families (ll.

⁷³ The relatives by marriage are not included in the basic definition of ἀγχιστεία provided by Harrison 1968, 143–149; cf. Parker 2010, 115.

⁷⁴ On all these aspects of Symmasis' foundation, see Parker 2010 and Arnaoutoglou 2012.

⁷⁵ Laum 1914 (cf. above, fn. 20) divides the text of Poseidonios' foundation into three parts: “Veranlassung” (ll. 1–11); “Stiftung” (ll. 12–22); “Beschluss des Familienverbandes” (ll. 22–52); the text itself highlights its tripartite structure: cf. ll. 49–50 (ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν καὶ τὴν ὑποθήκην κ[αί] τὸ δόγμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ); the presence of *paragraphoi* (and a punctuation mark at l. 22) graphically dividing the three sections is noticed by Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 103f.; Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, notably 68–73, 83–85, 88, and 95 conveniently pay attention to the composite structure of Diomedon's, Poseidonios' and Epikteta's inscriptions; on the foundation inscriptions consisting of more than one document (e.g. excerpt from the founder's testament or his/her ἐπαγγελία followed by the endorsement of the body responsible for managing the endowment) cf. Laum 1914, 1, 3; a slightly more complex situation can be envisaged for Diomedon's inscription, which does not present a well-defined structure, but is the result of unsystematic additions over time: cf. Campanelli 2011, 652, 657.

⁷⁶ The denomination of the cult community with all its variations appears in the following lines: 22f., 26f., 30f., 40f., 52f., 56, 61, 71, 74, 76f., 132, 143, 145f., 165, 168, 177, 202, 205, 213, 215, 216f., 220, 222, 228, 233f., 236, 243, 248, 251, 254f., 258, 263, 278, 285f.

⁷⁷ Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 97f.

81–93).⁷⁸ After the men, a number of women are listed (ll. 94–106), including, among others, the wives of those men previously mentioned and their children, the heiresses⁷⁹ with their husbands and children, and Epikteta’s daughter Epiteleia; the role and position of these women within the community are unclear, but they must have been entitled to belong to the cult group in a different way than the men: whereas the latter are listed first and under the definition of *συγγενεῖς*, which recalls the official name of the community, the list of women is introduced by the verb *πορεύομαι* (literally “to go”, “to walk”, “to proceed to”) which might be simply referring to their presence at the annual celebration for the Muses and heroes without actually participating in the management of the foundation;⁸⁰ the idea of “being admitted into (the cult community in order to attend the rituals)” might have stemmed from the literal use of *πορεύομαι* and especially of its compound *εἰσπορεύομαι* to indicate the right/prohibition to enter a sanctuary or the required conditions to gain access to a sacred place.⁸¹ A development of this basic meaning can be seen in the participles *πορευόμενοι* and especially *συπορευόμενοι* and *εἰσπορευόμενοι* when referring to groups of “Festteilnehmer” or members of cult associations defined as “those who go (together)”, or “participate (together) in” given feasts or cults.⁸² This meaning fits the right to attend the annual celebration granted to the women listed in ll. 94–106 of Epikteta’s inscription. These women, moreover, are likely to have been admitted at a second phase, due to an autonomous decision by Epikteta, independently of the will of her second deceased son who, before dying, had asked his mother to create

78 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 63–66; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 295f.

79 On the heiresses in Epikteta’s foundation see Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 1, 250–252.

80 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 98f.; 101; the author includes a comparison with the foundations of Diomedon and Poseidonios where the women were probably allowed to participate in the banquets; nevertheless, at least as far as Diomedon’s foundation is concerned, the question of female participation seems to be more complex than Wittenburg assumes: cf. Campanelli 2011, 660f. and below in this paper.

81 Cf. e.g. the foundation of Pythion: ἀγνὸν εἰσπορεύεσθαι (l. 15: purity requirements for gaining access to the sanctuary; see below); Andania Mysteries regulations (1st century B.C.): ἃ μὴ δεῖ ἔχοντας εἰσπορεύεσθαι (Gawlinski 2012, 72f. l. 37: items people were not permitted to carry into a special area within the sanctuary); a good parallel would have been an inscription from Philadelphia (Lydia, 2nd/1st century B.C.) concerning purity and “moral” requirements for participating in a cult that was newly established or renewed by a certain Dionysios (*TAM V* 3, 1539), but the verb *πορεύομαι* appears there as the result of a restoration, albeit likely: *πορευόμενοι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον* (l. 14f.: people allowed to enter the *oikos*/to participate in cult); *εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον μὴ εἰσπορεύεσθαι* (l. 32: entry into the *oikos*/participation in the cult denied to men and women who do not respect the instructions of Dionysios); the nature of this cult community (private cult association or household?) and the meaning of the term *oikos* (building, name of the cult group or both?) are controversial: cf. Stowers 1998; cf. Petzl’s commentary on l. 5 in *TAM* edition. According to a suggestion of Stavrianopoulou 2006, 300f., fn. 122, on the other hand, the verb *πορεύομαι* (“mitlaufen”) recalls the idea of a procession which reproduces the pecking order within the cult community founded by Epikteta.

82 Cf. Poland 1909, 73; for example, the κοινὸν τῶν συμπορευομένων παρὰ Δία Ὑέτιον (*IG XII* 4, 1, 121; Cos, ca. 200 B.C.).

the κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν (ll. 22f.).⁸³ Membership in the community was based on a hereditary principle, which was, however, limited to the male line, since daughters were admitted only as long as they were under their father's guardianship (cf. ll. 95–97; 135–139). Just as in the foundations of Diomedon and Poseidonios, annual *epimenioi* were appointed from among the συγγενεῖς (ll. 65f.), and the same must have been true for other community officials mentioned throughout the text.⁸⁴

The prominent position of Epikteta's own family within the cult community emerges from the fact that the priesthood of the Muses and heroes was reserved for the son of Epikteta's daughter Epiteleia and then handed down from eldest son to eldest son among Epiteleia's descendants (ll. 57–61), similar to the foundations of Diomedon and Poseidonios again; moreover, Epikteta bequeathed to Epiteleia herself the sanctuary of the Muses (*Mouseion*) and the funerary precinct with the annual obligation to pay the agreed part of the income deriving from her inheritance in order to allow the cult community to celebrate the annual feast in honour of the Muses and heroes (ll. 29–41): a similar procedure, which takes into account the rights of inheritance,⁸⁵ occurs in Poseidonios' foundation, where the firstborn of the descendants was entitled to enjoy the properties allocated by the founder, provided he paid for the family community's annual religious feast.

The term συγγενεῖς occurs in two other inscriptions, from Thera and Halicarnassus, which probably refer to foundations as far as it is possible to infer from the small preserved parts of the texts. The first⁸⁶ was thought to be related to Epikteta's foundation because of the onomastic concurrences between the two texts, but this hypothesis has not been generally accepted.⁸⁷ Beyond the term συγγενεῖς (l. 12), which is likely to refer to a cult community based on kinship, other references to descent might be the participles [γ]εγονότες (l. 17) and γινόμενοι (l. 20).

The inscription from Halicarnassus is first recognized as a foundation text by L. Robert.⁸⁸ Its family nature can be concluded from the mention of the συγγενεῖς (ll. 3; 4?; 5) and οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους (l. 10); the terms γέρα and [σ]πλάγχων (ll. 8f.) very likely refer to the privileges and/or obligations of a priest, similar to the regulations in the foundations of Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta;⁸⁹ similarly to these again, one

⁸³ Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 83–84.

⁸⁴ For the offices and authorities occurring in the text see below.

⁸⁵ Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 75; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 141, 151–154, 126–130.

⁸⁶ *IG XII Suppl.* 154 (2nd/1st century B.C.).

⁸⁷ Hiller von Gaertringen 1914, 131–133; Kamps 1937, 166–168; *contra* Wittenburg 1990, 65, fn. 9.

⁸⁸ Robert 1937, 466–468; the first editor, Bérard 1891, 550f., no. 22, interprets the inscription as a rent contract and considers the term συγγενεῖς as referring to a tribe of Halicarnassus: this is why the text is not included in Laum's collection.

⁸⁹ Foundation of Diomedon: ll. 39–41 (γ[έ]ρη δὲ λαμβανέτω τοῦ ἱερέο[υ] ἐκάστου σκέλος καὶ τὸ δέρμα); ll. 101–103 (ἐ[φιέτω δὲ] καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τοὺς γάμους τὰ γέρ[η] τῶι τὸν γάμον ποιοῦντι); cf. also ll. 36–39 (sacrificial supply to be provided by the priest); foundation of Poseidonios: ll. 38–40 (ὁ δὲ

may suppose that the expression οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους, occurring after the mention of γέρα and [σ]πλάγγων, refers to the principle of primogeniture in handing down the priesthood, if the incomplete sentence ὅταν δέ τι[—] σι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους (ll. 9f.) can be compared to ll. 59–61 of Epikteta’s inscription, where the succession in the priesthood is regulated in the case that something befalls the designated priest, Andragoras, son of Epiteleia (εἰ δὲ τί κα πάθη οὔτος, αἰεὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἐπιτελείας).

In Charmylos’ foundation the family group is named *Charmyle(i)oi* after the founder, who therefore has an eponymic function.⁹⁰ The text provides no further information about the cult community because its function is limited to marking out the property consecrated to the Twelve Gods and to Charmylos as a hero.

An actual definition of the cult community is not present in Pythion’s foundation, but the family statute of the sanctuary he founded can be inferred from ll. 15f., where it is stated that the sanctuary had to be owned in common by all his children (τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἔστω τῶν υἱῶν πάντων κοινόν). This fits the aforementioned fact that Pythion and the priestess with whom he acted are likely to have been husband and wife, as does the fact that the inscription makes reference to their joint testament (ll. 11f.).⁹¹ There is no apparent reason to suppose, as Fraser does, that the expression υἱοὶ πάντες includes the offspring of the freedman Makarinos as well.⁹² Like in the case of Libys and his descendants in the foundation of Diomedon, Makarinos was essentially charged with the care of the sanctuary (cf. l. 6); “the other sacred and profane things” with which Makarinos was entrusted probably refer to activities relating to this practical sphere; even though the text does not specify what these consisted of, it refers to a “sacred tablet” where the requirements must have been explained in detail.⁹³ The task of ministering to “those who perform the joint sacrifice” (ll. 6–8: ὅπως ἐπιμέληται

ἱερ[ε]ῦς ἀλαμβανέτω ἐκάστου ἱερείου κωλῆν καὶ τεταρτημ[ο]ρίδα σπλάγγων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσόμευρος ἔστω); foundation of Epikteta: ll. 194–197 (οἱ δὲ ἐπιμήν[ιοι] οἱ θύοντες τὰς θυσίας ταύτας ἀποδοσο[ῦ]ντι τῶν κοινῶν τὸς τε ἐλλύτας πάντας κ[αί] τῶν σπλάγγων τὰ ἡμίση, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ [ἐ]ξοῦντι αὐτοί).

⁹⁰ For the form *Charmyle(i)oi*, see Sherwin-White 1977, 214f.; for other cases of family groups named after the founder of the family tomb, cf. the μνήμα Βουσελιδῶν known from D. XLIII 79 and intended for the burial of all of the descendants of the Athenian Bouselos, including members of his extended family (συγγενεῖς): cf. Marchiandi 2011, 24f.; 40f.; cf. also the family tomb built by Makrinos Philadelphos for the burial of the *Philadelphoi* (Ritti 2004, 274f., no. 9) and the funerary foundation of Makedonikos, which involved the members of the founder’s family named *Makedonikoi*, along with a cult association (*Altertümer von Hierapolis* 153 = Laum 1914, 2, no. 181); both cases are from Hierapolis in Phrygia and date to the Imperial period.

⁹¹ Cf. above, fn. 29.

⁹² Fraser 1953, 44f.; the inscription, moreover, makes no reference to the existence of any children of Makarinos, unlike the inscription of Diomedon where the ἔγγονα of Libys are mentioned (ll. 4f.; 11f.).

⁹³ Ll. 9–11: ἐπιμελέσθω καὶ Μακαρίνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν καὶ βεβάλων καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱερῶν δέλτοις γέγραπται; for an interpretation of the phrase *hiera kai bebala* see Campanelli 2012a, who argues that a set of requirements concerning protection and use of Pythion’s sanctuary was summarized therein.

τοῦ ἱερο[ῦ] καὶ τῶν συνθύοντων πάντων διακονῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ὄσσω κα δῆι ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι)⁹⁴ also points to the exclusion of Makarinos from the cult community, because the task includes assisting sacrifice-performers without actually being a member of the group of the συνθύοντες. The verb συνθύω fits the shared sacrificial action as the way to cement socio-political and religious ties as well as kinship bonds, whether real or fictitious. The correlated substantive συνθύτης applies to private religious associations of the Hellenistic age gathered around the θυσία.⁹⁵ The terms συνθύτης, συνθυσία and συνθύω also appear in inscriptions concerning interstate relationships, where the joint sacrifice had the function of confirming existing alliances or συγγένεια bonds among cities.⁹⁶ In the context of household religion, which is our main concern here, the verb συνθύω occurs in a passage of Isaeus' judicial speech "On the Estate of Kiron".⁹⁷ The action of "sacrificing together" (συνθύειν) represents an argument for the legitimacy of the kinship between an Athenian named Kiron, who died without leaving sons, and the speakers, who claimed to be his natural grandsons and, accordingly, to have a right to his inheritance. The close collaboration between grandfather and grandsons in sacrificing to the domestic Zeus *Ktesios* is expressed in the text through three verbs with the prefix συν-, corresponding to as many shared ritual actions. Kiron attributed such a sense of family intimacy to this joint sacrifice that neither slaves nor freemen from outside the family were allowed to participate in it.⁹⁸

Returning to Python's foundation, we can conclude that in this case the identity of the cult community passes through the sacrificial solidarity (συνθύειν) which matches the regulation concerning the sharing of the sanctuary by all the children.

94 The correct interpretation of ll. 7f. is due to Klaffenbach 1955, 123 who understands the two terms ΔΙΑΚΟΝΩΝ and ΥΠΗΡΕΤΩΝ as present participles in singular nominative referring to Makarinos (διακονῶν and ὑπηρετῶν: "ministering to" and "serving"), instead of plural genitives of the substantives διάκονος and ὑπηρέτης as Fraser thinks (διακόνων and ὑπηρετῶν); in fact, it would be very unlikely that Python founded a sanctuary in order to allow these two different categories of subordinate cult ministers to sacrifice therein; moreover, the functions of *diakonos* and *hyperetes* tend to overlap: both are classified by Poland 1909, 391f. among the sacrificial ministers; the two offices never appear together, for example, in the lists of cult personnel from north-western Greece: cf. Baldassarra 2010; the two terms are considered as synonyms in the literary sources: cf. Baldassarra/Ruggeri (2010) (with particular reference to the lists of cult personnel from north-western Greece); in some contexts, however, a slight difference in function between *diakonos* and *hyperetes* seems to be detectable: cf. Collins 1990, notably 167.

95 Cf. Poland 1909, 34; Baldassarra 2010, 355, T10; 364; Kloppenborg/Ascough 2011, 283f., no. 56 (with reference to other attestations).

96 Cf. Jones 1998; Weiß 1998.

97 VIII 15f.; this passage is often quoted as evidence for domestic sacrificial practice: cf. e.g. Nilsson 1955–1961, 1, 403f.; Jost 1992, 246; Mikalson 2005, 134f.; Parker 2005, 15f.; Faraone 2008, 216; Boedeker 2008, 230f.; Gherchanoc 2012, 74f.

98 For an exhaustive commentary on the whole passage see Ferrucci 2005, 167–174.

In this respect, the role of Makarinos can be compared to that of the domestic slaves: Kiron excluded them from participation in the sacrifice to Zeus *Ktesios* probably as a personal choice, but we cannot rule out the possibility that in other cases they were allowed to participate in domestic rituals, possibly acting as subordinate cult ministers.⁹⁹ This fits the meaning of the verbs *διακονέω* and *ὑπερητέω*, both referring to Makarinos' tasks within the joint sacrifice.¹⁰⁰

Finally, there is no reason to suppose that a third group of individuals, namely, the *ἐπιμελόμενοι*, was involved in the foundation, as Fraser does on the basis of ll. 12–14 where “people who take care of the sanctuary and increase it” are mentioned.¹⁰¹ Actually, these lines contain a blessing generically addressed to all those who will look after the sanctuary over time: such expressions are connected to the hope for the continued fulfilment of the founders' will, which is the common denominator of all foundations.¹⁰²

4 The Sacred Space

As for Diomedon's foundation, the interpretation proposed above for the “sacred things” shared among the community members (*τοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνεῦντες*) includes the consecrated properties, which clearly have a patrimonial meaning along with the more obvious sacral one. The goods listed in the initial dedication to Heracles comprise real estate (ll. 1–4): a precinct (*τέμενος*), guest houses (or rooms) within a garden (*ξενῶνας τοὺς ἐν τῷ κάπῳ*) and other buildings (*οἰκημάτια*). The garden was a source of income because it was rented out to the freedman Libys and his children, who had to pay the rent in the month before that designated for the annual feast in honour of Heracles so that the money would be available for cult expenses

⁹⁹ Cf. Bömer 1958–1963, 3, 475f.; 4, 941–950; Mikalson 2005, 156; Parker 2005, 15f.; Boedeker 2008, 231; Gherchanoc 2012, 74–76; slaves are sometimes present in Attic reliefs depicting family groups in the act of sacrificing: cf. Parker 2005, 37–42; cf. also Cohen 2011, 482f.

¹⁰⁰ Both verbs, along with the correlate substantives *διάκονος*, *διακονία*, *ὑπηρέτης* and *ὑπηρεσία*, appear in reference to tasks accomplished by cult ministers especially in the context of sacrificial banquets: cf. Collins 1990, notably 156–168.

¹⁰¹ Fraser 1953, 44f.

¹⁰² Cf. Diomedon's foundation, ll. 115–119: *τοῖς δὲ ἐπι[μ]ελομένοις ὅπως ἕκαστα συ[ν]τε]λήται καθὰ διαγέγραπται [εἰ]ς δύναμιν εἶναι εὖ εἶη καὶ αὐ[τ]οῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν*; Poseidonios' foundation, ll. 51f.: *τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοσιν καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἄμεινον γίνοιτο ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων*: this is Carbon's reading in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, based on the stone; previous editors have changed the phrasing *ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων* to the more common genitive plural *ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων*: cf. Laum 1914 (see above, fn. 20); *LSAM* 72; for the phrasing actually present on the stone and for other kinds of inscriptions which include blessing formulas, cf. Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 114 (notes on ll. 51f.).

(ll. 11–17).¹⁰³ The next reference to funds occurs at ll. 69–80, where the *temenos*, the *xenones*, and probably the garden¹⁰⁴ are indicated as sources of income. The mention of the latter two is consistent with the initial regulation concerning the rent of the garden, where the *xenones* were located, whereas the addition of the *temenos* needs some clarification regarding the chronology of the text. In fact, based on palaeographic and linguistic considerations, the *editor princeps*, L. Ross, and later editors agree that the inscription was engraved in three stages.¹⁰⁵ Their chronology (end of the 4th century B.C. to about 280 B.C.) is established by Rudolf Herzog and accepted in all later editions, including the most recent one in *Inscriptiones Graecae* (2010).¹⁰⁶ It is significant that the regulation under discussion is placed right at the beginning of the third stage, probably due to the need for further clarification about the funds and their use. In this regard, a confirmation may come from the fact that the upkeep of the sanctuary had already been mentioned at ll. 47–51 (first stage), but without specifying the source of the πόθοδος used for the purpose. Accordingly, two possibilities are open: either the *temenos* was added to the sources of income in this third stage, or the *temenos* was part of the funds right from the outset, even though this was not explicitly stated. In any case, there may have been a financial rearrangement in the third stage. In fact, at the beginning the income from the garden is likely to have been directed to cult expenses concerning the annual feast in honour of Heracles (ll. 15–17: ἐς τὰν θυ[σίαν Πεταγειτ]γύου ἑκκαιδεκάται κ[αὶ] ἑπτακαιδεκάται),¹⁰⁷ rather than for the maintenance of the sanctuary as stated in ll. 69–80; moreover, in these lines it is specified that the surplus, namely, the money not spent on maintenance, along with the ἐξαιρήματα (“amounts set aside for specific purposes”)¹⁰⁸ had to be divided into parts intended for each sacrifice: this suggests that other sources of income were used beyond the garden and the *temenos*. In all likelihood, such additional funds were the plots of land (τεμένη) which are mentioned immediately after (ll. 81f.), within a set of prohibitions concerning the use of the spaces belonging to the sanctuary (ll. 80–86). The plural clearly distinguishes the *temene* from the *temenos* of l. 75, which must be identified with the precinct consecrated to Heracles at the beginning of the text. The prohibition against using these *temene* for agricultural purposes indirectly confirms

103 For the Coan calendar, in which the month of *Theudaisios* preceded that of *Petageitnyos*, see Paul 2013, 382.

104 ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων [τῶν ἀεὶ πιπτο]υφῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεμένους [καὶ τοῦ κήπου] καὶ τῶν ξενώνων (ll. 74–76); the term *kepos* has been restored, but the mention of the garden is very likely, as it is in conjunction with the *xenones* which were located inside it (cf. l. 3).

105 Ross 1945, 45–54, no. 311; cf. Paton/Hicks 1891, no. 36; *Syll.*² 734; *Syll.*³ 1106.

106 Herzog 1928, 28–32, no. 10; cf. Segre 1993, ED 149.

107 The lines immediately following (17–23) are very damaged, but are likely to contain other duties of the freedmen referring to preparation for ritual performances (cf. above in this paper): the eventual expenses, therefore, must have been included in the specifications concerning the cult.

108 Cf. Klaffenbach, 1930, 214.

that they were actually suitable for farming. Besides indicating the sacred precinct as the divine dwelling and the place where the cult activities were performed, the term *temenos* can also refer to some agricultural land consecrated to a given deity as the financial support for its cult.¹⁰⁹ In the text under examination the prohibition against farming the *temene* is addressed to “those who share the sacred things”, namely the members of the cult community, probably in order not to decrease the economic value of these plots, which are likely to have been rented out,¹¹⁰ as was a common practice with land belonging to sanctuaries.¹¹¹ For the same reason, probably, “those who share the sacred things” were forbidden from dwelling in the *xenones* and in the *oikia* located within the *temenos* (ll. 82–84: μηδ’ ἐν τοῖς ξει[νῶσι] ἐνοικεῖν μηδ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τ[οῦ τε]μένεως) as these buildings were evidently fit for residential use and could be rented out for this purpose. The indication concerning the location of the *oikia* within the *temenos* clarifies the way in which the *temenos* itself was a source of income (cf. l. 75) and allows this *temenos* to be further distinguished from the *temene* mentioned at l. 82: both were probably rented out, but the former was fit for residential use, the latter, probably, for agricultural use only. A rent contract from Rhamnous provides a close parallel for the rent of a *temenos* including an *oikia* where the tenant had to dwell (ll. 21f.: οἰκῆσαι [τ]ῆν οἰκίαν ὁ μισ[θω]σάμενος <τῆ>ν ἐπὶ τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ).¹¹² The *temenos* belonged to the goddess Nemesis and was rented out by a group of demesmen for agricultural purposes.¹¹³ Based on this instance, the possibility that the *temenos* of Diomedon’s foundation was also fit for farming or something else cannot be completely ruled out, even though it was an actual cult place.¹¹⁴

The *oikia* itself turns out to be decisive in confirming that the *temenos* of ll. 75 and 83f. is to be identified with that consecrated to Heracles at the beginning of the text. This “house” is very likely the same *oikia* mentioned in ll. 56–59 as the place where the statues and the votive offerings were to be kept, since the inscription does not mention other *oikiai* apart from the οἰκία ἀνδρεία and the οἰκία γυναικεία (ll. 104–111), which are nevertheless easily recognisable because of the two adjectives matched

109 Cf. Parker 1983, 160–168; Hellmann 1992, 170–172; Cf. Horster 2004, 24f.; Lambrinouidakis et al. 2005, 308–310; for the semantic development of the term *temenos*, see Casevitz 1984, 84–87.

110 This convincing hypothesis goes back to Dittenberger: *Syll.*² 734, n. 30; *Syll.*³ 1106, n. 27.

111 See Isager/Skydsgaard 1992, 181–190; Horster 2004, 139–191; as an explanatory example of agricultural *temenos*, see the rent contract of the *temenos* (l. 36) of Zeus *Temenites* in Arkesine (Amorgos; 2nd century B.C.): see Brunet in Brunet/Rougemont/Rousset 1998, 222–231, no. 52 (text, translation, and commentary).

112 Petrakos 1999, no. 180.

113 See the commentary by Pernin 2007, 61–62.

114 The possibly multi-purpose nature of a *temenos* can be illustrated by a Coan inscription concerning the sale of the priesthood of Zeus *Alseios*: see below; sanctuary buildings could also be rented out for banquets performed by cult associations or family groups: cf. Leypold 2008, 197–199; the author also suggests that the *oikemata* of Heracles *Diomedonteios*’ sanctuary were dining rooms.

in this case with the substantive οἰκία. As the place dedicated to keeping ἀγάλματα and ἀναθήματα, the *oikia* can be a *thesauros*, but, besides this or as an alternative to this function, it must be considered a shrine, since the ἀγάλματα were used in the rituals performed by the cult community and were therefore actual divine *simulacra*.¹¹⁵ Accordingly, the *temenos* where the *oikia* lay is to be interpreted as a sacred precinct. The text provides confirmation, moreover, that the *oikia* and, consequently, the *temenos* itself must have already existed with the same function as here in the original foundation statute. Indeed, the regulation concerning the keeping of the statues and votive offerings occurs right at the beginning of the second stage of the text and is presented as ratification of a praxis already in force: “the statues and the votive offerings should be kept in the house on the spot as it is now” (ll. 56–59: τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἔστω ἐν τᾷ οἰκίᾳ[ι] κατὰ χώραν ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔχει). Up to that time, therefore, the “house” had been dedicated to this function, but had not been mentioned before, probably because its existence was implied in the dedication of the *temenos* at the very beginning of the inscription.

These conclusions have consequences for understanding the value of the sanctuary founded by *Diomedon* as family cult place and assets as well: based on this, the sharing of the *hiera* among the community members gains a patrimonial meaning too.

The practice of using cult places as financial support for maintenance and cult expenses is not rare, especially when sanctuaries belonging to religious associations are involved.¹¹⁶ Significant evidence is provided by a well-known 4th century B.C. inscription from Athens that refers to the rent contract of the private sanctuary of Egretes, a hero worshipped by a cult association of *orgeones*.¹¹⁷ The tenant Diognetos was allowed to use the buildings belonging to the cult place, provided that he made the “*oikia* where the *hieron* lies” available (ll. 26–28: παρέχειν Διόγνητον τὴν οἰκίαν, οὗ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, ἀνωιγμένην) when the *orgeones* celebrated the annual feast in honour of their patron hero. The term ἱερόν raises interpretative problems, because here it

¹¹⁵ The hypothesis that this *oikia* was a *thesauros* goes back to Poland 1909, 460f., who also excluded the possibility that it could be rented out; that it functioned as a temple is argued by Svenson-Evers 1997, 142; the ritual function of the ἀγάλματα emerges from ll. 95–97: the statues, probably those of the other deities worshipped by the cult community along with Heracles, were arranged around the *kline* prepared for the god on the occasion of the *xenismos*; on the same occasion, the statues were probably decorated with the gold crowns mentioned in the inventory of ll. 120–130: στεφανίσκους πέντε τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν χρυσοῦς (ll. 124f.); from this, one could also infer that the statues were five in number; for the role of the divine *simulacra* in the *theoxenia* rituals, see Bettinetti 2001, 211–231 (223–227, in particular, for the *xenismos* in *Diomedon*’s foundation); cf. also Campanelli 2011, 658; for criticism of the distinction between cult statue and votive statue, see Donohue 1997.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Svenson-Evers 1997, 139; this aspect is well illustrated by the documentation concerning the Attic *orgeones*: Horster 2004, 162–164; Papazarkadas 2011, 191–197.

¹¹⁷ *IG II²* 2499 (307/306 B.C.).

cannot indicate the sanctuary as a whole, as it does in other points of the text, where this is undoubtedly the right meaning (ll. 2f.: [O]i ὀργεῶνες ἐμίσθωσαν τὸ ἱερὸν το[ῦ] Ἐγρέτου; ll. 5–7: χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐνωικοδομημέναις ὡς ἱερῷ). Among the proposed interpretations are “cella in qua simulacrum herois est”¹¹⁸ and “object sacré”.¹¹⁹ If ἱερὸν indicates a divine symbol or the internal room where the divine image was housed, the *oikia* must be a shrine similar to the *oikia* of Diomedon’s foundation. Evidently, this function did not conflict with the use of the sanctuary as a source of income. Indeed, the *orgeones* retained the right to use their sanctuary for the annual religious meeting in honour of Egretes. On that occasion, besides the shrine, they also had at their disposal other spaces of the sanctuary, as is suggested by the clauses concerning the obligations of the tenant (cf. ll. 24–30). The furniture and facilities he had to provide for the annual feast included dinner-couches and tables for two dining rooms, a kitchen and a temporary covered structure (l. 28: στέγη),¹²⁰ which was evidently set up somewhere within the open space of the sanctuary.

A similar management can be supposed for the *oikia* and other rented out structures of Diomedon’s foundation. The *xenones*, in particular, were probably inhabited by Libys and his offspring, who paid rent for the garden where these buildings stood. In fact, literary and epigraphic evidence¹²¹ suggests that the term *ξενῶν* indicates rooms or free-standing buildings suitable for both convivial and residential use. Furthermore, the duties of Libys and his offspring, which included providing furniture for religious celebrations, were similar to those of the tenant Diognetos. It is possible, therefore, that the *xenones* were made available for the annual feast in honour of Heracles to allow the cult community to use them for the banquets mandated by the statute of the foundation.¹²² The text offers further evidence that buildings usually dedicated to residential use could be turned into meeting places for the cult community. This happened on the exceptional occasion when one of Diomedon’s descendants in the male line was allowed to celebrate his wedding in the sanctuary

118 *Syll.*² 937, no. 4; *Syll.*³ 1097, n. 3; cf. Kloppenborg/Ascough 2011, 48–52, no. 7.

119 Hellmann 1999, 104.

120 This is the interpretation of Hellmann 1999, 104.

121 See the sources collected by Campanelli 2011, 661f.; a parallel for a *xenon* attached to a garden and used as a dwelling house is provided by the *ξενῶν πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ* mentioned in the testament of Aristotle (D.L. V 14) as the property bequeathed to his concubine Herpyllis should she decide to reside in Chalcis (ἐὰν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι βούληται οἰκεῖν); as an alternative, she could choose to dwell in the paternal house of the philosopher in Stagira.

122 The term which might refer to a banquet is *συναγλία* (ll. 90f.), but convivial activities can also be implied in the terms *διαγομήν* (l. 91) and *συναγωγή* (ll. 93f.; cf. l. 141: *συνάγειν*): see Campanelli 2011, 659f.; cf. also *ἀρτοφαγίαν* (ll. 37f.); in any case, the *thysia*, which was performed on the 16th of the month of *Petageitnyos* (cf. ll. 15–17, 59f.), is a kind of sacrifice which generally entailed a banquet: cf. e.g. the overview of Van Straten 2005; a reference to the portions of sacrificial meat distributed among the participants can be seen in the term *μερίδας* of l. 158: cf. the same term in Poseidonios’ foundation (ll. 42f.).

immediately after the days dedicated to the feast of Heracles (the 16th and 17th of the month of *Petageitnyos*).¹²³ In such cases, the holders of the οἰκία ἀνδρεία and the οἰκία γυναικεία were required to make the two houses available, storing the σκεύη in some other building (*oikemata*: ll. 104–108). The use of the participle ἐκτ[η]μένοι to indicate the holders of the two *oikiai* suggests that their juridical status was different from the shared ownership that characterized the rest of the real estate mentioned throughout the text. As Dittenberger argues, it is probable that the two houses had been inherited by some of Diomedon's descendants in their private capacity.¹²⁴ The residential function of these buildings is further suggested by the term σκεύη, which is likely to refer to domestic furniture.¹²⁵

The adjectives ἀνδρεία and γυναικεία point to a gender separation, probably part of the logistic rearrangement necessary on the occasion of a wedding. In fact, when a wedding celebration was scheduled immediately after the annual feast of Heracles, the main Heracleian rituals, namely the sacrifice (*thysia*) and the entertainment of the god at a banquet (*xenismos*), had to be performed in the οἰκία ἀνδρεία (ll. 108–111) and the *xenismos* had to remain fitted out while the wedding was celebrated (95–98), as if the god were participating in the nuptials by acting as the protector of Diomedon's family.¹²⁶ This suggests that the women were excluded from Heracleian rituals,¹²⁷ but were permitted to participate in the concomitant wedding celebration within a building reserved for them, the οἰκία γυναικεία.¹²⁸

The realty of religious associations not infrequently included *oikoi* and *oikiai* which attest to a functional flexibility similar to that observed in the case of the three *oikiai* connected, albeit in different ways, to the sanctuary founded by Diomedon.¹²⁹ An Athenian inscription, on the other hand, provides evidence for a case of conversion of a private house into divine property: in accordance with an oracle, a certain

123 For an interpretation of the problematic passage concerning the wedding celebrations in the sanctuary (ll. 86–111), see Campanelli 2011, 659–661.

124 *Syll.*² 734, n. 36; *Syll.*³ 1106, n. 34.

125 Cf. the already-mentioned passage of Aristotle's testament (above, fn. 121) where the term σκεύη indicates the furniture needed to equip the house chosen by Herpyllis as her dwelling; the testament of Theophrastus is even more explicit because it contains the expression οἰκηματικά σκεύη, which indicates the pieces of domestic furniture bequeathed to the freedman Pompylos; in Ath. 170e the *τραπεζοποιός* is the minister charged with washing the tableware, which is indicated by the term σκεύη; see also Andrianou 2006, 251f.

126 This convincing observation goes back to Paton/Hicks 1891, 76; cf. also Campanelli 2011, 670.

127 For other cases of female exclusion from Heracleian rituals, see Graf 1985, 298–316 (especially 308 with fn. 105); Cole 1992, 105–107.

128 For this convincing hypothesis, see Jameson 1994, 42.

129 Cf. Poland 1909, 459–463, 485–487; for (*hierai*) *oikiai* functioning as shrines, see Lauter 1985, 159–177 (with particular reference to gentilicial groups); for *oikai* belonging to Attic phratries and *gene*, cf. Papazarkadas 2011, especially 164–166, 174, 177f.; an *oikia*, whose function is not specified, belonged to the *temenos* of Zeus *Alseios* on Cos: *IG* XII, 4, 1, 238, ll. 21f. (on this inscription see below).

Demon dedicated his *oikia* with adjacent garden to Asclepius and became his priest. The inscription does not provide clues to the intended use of this *oikia*, nor does it indicate whether the owner continued to dwell therein, but it is likely to have been rented out to contribute to cult expenses.¹³⁰

The foundation of Charmylos offers further opportunity for analysis of the values of the spaces, as far as it is possible to draw inferences from the inscription on a boundary stone, which is the only preserved document pertaining to this foundation. But the very nature of this document and the archaeological context where it was found make it possible to gather new elements, which turn out to be crucial for the purpose of this discussion.



Fig. 5: The funerary crypt of the *Charmyleion* and remains of the ground floor embedded into the walls of the Church of the Stavros, Pyli, Cos (photos S. Campanelli).

The inscription was found among the ruins of an ancient building in a locality currently called Pyli. The remains still visible today are an underground vaulted chamber with twelve funerary *loculi* along its sides and part of the walls belonging to the ground floor, which have been embedded into the construction of a small medieval church dedicated to the Stavros (fig. 5). Based on these remains and on the architectural fragments found *in situ*, in 1934 Schazmann proposed a reconstruction of the building as a temple-tomb made up of three levels: the funerary crypt, a ground floor elevated on a high podium, and an upper storey shaped like an ionic shrine *in antis* (fig. 6).¹³¹ The monument has, understandably, been connected with the inscrip-

¹³⁰ IG II² 4969 (4th century B.C.?); cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 43f.

¹³¹ Schazmann 1934; the *Charmyleion* is often included in studies on funerary architecture of the Hellenistic age as one of the best preserved examples of private *heroon*: cf. Scholl 1994, 261–266; Kader 1995, 201f.; Berns 2003, 21f.; Fedak 2006, 84. Roux 1987, 111–113, questions the existence of the second storey because of the lack of evidence of stairs leading up; he has also questioned the division of the ground floor into two twin-rooms, considering that the dividing wall would have covered the holes made in the floor in order to pour libations into the underlying funerary chamber.

tion found *in situ* and currently built into the façade of the Stavros church. Both have been dated between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. The structure of the monument as reconstructed by Schazmann suggests a twofold cult—divine and funerary—practised by the family community: the Twelve Gods and the heroized founder Charmylos are explicitly mentioned in the text, but it is likely that the statute of the foundation also established a cult for the deceased family members buried in the crypt, putting them under the protection of the deities chosen as the family patrons.

This concurrence of archaeological and epigraphic data provides a rare opportunity to compare the architectural terminology and the building to which the inscription actually refers in order to understand the structure of the cult place and the meaning of its various components. According to its function, the boundary stone marked the properties consecrated to the Twelve Gods and Charmylos: “land”, “*oikia* on the land”, “gardens”, “*oikiai* in the gardens” (ἱερὰ ἅ γὰ καὶ ἅ οἰκία ἅ ἐπὶ τᾷ γᾶ καὶ τοὶ κᾶποι καὶ ταὶ οἰκίαι ταὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κάπων Θεῶν Δωδέκα καὶ Χαρμύλου ἦρω *vac.* τῶν Χαρμυλέων).

The *oikia* mentioned first and in the singular seems to distinguish itself from the plurality of the *oikiai* lying in the gardens. It might be identified, therefore, with the temple-tomb partially preserved *in situ*, as is also suggested by the parallels with both Diomedon’s foundation and the rent contract of Egretes’ sanctuary, where the term *oikia* is very likely to refer to shrines. The latter text, in particular, also provides evidence for the concomitant presence of a single *oikia*-temple and a number of other *oikiai* also lying within the sanctuary. Similar to the Athenian rent contract, which allowed the tenant to use these *oikiai* (albeit taking into account the sanctity of the place; cf. l. 7: ὡς ἱερῶι), it is possible that in Charmylos’ inscription the *oikiai* and the gardens represented the funds on which the foundation was based.¹³² This would also match the rent of the garden in the foundation of Diomedon, obviously including the buildings which were overlooking it, the *xenones*. An even closer comparison for *oikiai* meant as a source of income is provided by another foundation text from Hellenistic Cos,¹³³ which is not specifically dealt with in this paper because the city in this case is involved as both the authority in charge and the beneficiary of the foundation. A certain Phanomachos financed a civic cult of Zeus and the *Damos* along with the building of their sanctuary through the income from some land and a number of *oikiai* and other structures located there. The formulation adopted by the text offers almost a literal parallel for Charmylos’ inscription:

¹³² For the rent of the *oikiai* belonging to Apollo on Delos and for their various functions cf. Hellmann 1992, 291–294; in general, rent contracts of agricultural properties including one or more *oikiai* are well documented: cf. Chandezon 1998, 45f. (rent contracts of farmsteads from Mylasa); Pernin 2007, 51f.; for the κῆπος as a vegetable garden and for its economic use cf. Vatin 1974; Hellmann 1992, 207–210.

¹³³ IG XII 4, 1, 79 (early 2nd century B.C.).

άνιεροῖ τῶι τε Διὶ καὶ τῶι Δάμωι καὶ δίδωτι τὰς <γ>ᾶς τὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς τε ἐν Ἀκόρναι καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς γαῖς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ <έ>ν ταῖς γα[ίς] πάντα, αἷς γείτονες Ἀριστοκλῆς Χαρμίππου, Ἀγησίας Ἀγησία κατὰ φύσιν δὲ Γενοκλεῦς, Θρασύανδρος Ἀγησία[ς], καὶ τὰν γᾶν τὰν ἐν Αἰγίλῳι καὶ τὰν οἰκίαν τὰν ἐπὶ τᾶι γᾶι καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν τᾶι γᾶι πάντα καὶ τὰ προσόγτα τᾶι γᾶι ταῦται π[ι]λ[υ]τ[α] ᾗ γείτονες [Θε]ύδωρος Χαιρεδ[ά]μο[υ], Διομέδω[ν] Πυρρίχου, .. - - - - - (ll. 7–19).

[Phanomachos] consecrates and gives to Zeus and the *Damos* his plots in Akorna and the houses on the plots and everything else in the plots, which have as the neighbours Aristokles the son of Charmippus, Hagesias the son of Hagesias, natural son of Genokles, Thrasyandros the son of Hagesias, and the land in Aigelos and the house on the land and everything else in the land and everything that belongs to this land, which has as the neighbours Theodoros the son of Chairedamos, Diomedon the son of Pyrrichos, .. - - - - -

There is, however, a substantial difference. The land and buildings consecrated by Phanomachos must have been located in rural areas different from the place where the inscription was set up, as can be inferred from the identification of the allocated properties by means of toponyms and names of the neighbouring owners. The cult activities, moreover, are likely to have taken place in the city, since a cult such as that of Zeus coupled with the personified *Damos* of the Coans must have had a strong civic value.¹³⁴ This would be consistent with the findspot of the inscription in the city of Kos, where the sanctuary of Zeus and the *Damos* was probably also built.¹³⁵ Accordingly, the landed properties listed in the text had an exclusively financial value, unlike Charmylos' land and gardens, which must have lain in the same place where both the inscription delimiting them was displayed and the cult place was located. If this hypothesis is viable, a rural sanctuary can be envisaged, with the temple-tomb and other buildings (*oikiai*) surrounded by landed properties that comprised the financial basis of the foundation.¹³⁶ This would also fit the location of the *Charmyleion*, which lies in an area that even now is scarcely urbanized.

¹³⁴ Cf. Paul 2013, 43, 157f., 283; she is incorrect, however, in considering the plots listed in ll. 7–19 as the place where the sanctuary was being built (157): first, the consecration of already-existing buildings along with the land can have no other aim except allocating them as sources of income (for the rent of rural *oikiai* lying on landed properties see above, fn. 132); secondly, in ll. 35f. (πλὴν τῶν γραφομένων χάριν τὰς κατασκευᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) the participle τῶν γραφομένων implies χρημάτων (cf. *IG*, n. *ad loc.*) and refers, therefore, to the funds and not to the place where the sanctuary was being erected; finally, the verbs ἀνιέρω and δίδωμι, which introduce the list of the properties, are common in foundation texts with reference to the funds allocated by the founders for financing the established activities (ἀνιέρω, in particular, when the foundations have cult purposes): cf. Laum 1914, 1, 120–122.

¹³⁵ Cfr. *IG* XII 4, 1, 79: “inventum in fundamentis curiae urbanae”; the urban location of the cult would be even more probable if the restoration proposed for l. 29, referring to the route of the procession, was correct: ἐκ τ[οῦ] πρυτανείου ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, even though processions starting from the city and destined for extra-urban sanctuaries are well known: see in general True et al. 2004.

¹³⁶ One can wonder whether a fragment from Χαρμύλι (*IG* XII 4, 1, 392; Hellenistic period?), as the area around the Stavros church in Pyli is called by the locals (cf. Ross 1845, 45), refers to the *Charmyleion*: in fact, the words γεωπόνου (l. 1) and δένδρον (l. 2) fit a sanctuary which included culti-

The *horos* explicitly claims the sacredness of the place, including buildings and land that were likely used as a source of income. The marking out of the estate that became divine property through the foundation is known from other documents which show, like the Coan one, the definition of the borders as a procedure closely connected with the consecration itself, since the boundary stones made *hieros* the space they physically separated from the surrounding area.¹³⁷ A *horos* records one of the most ancient foundations epigraphically known, that established by a certain Archinos on Thera. The inscription on the boundary stone states its function of demarcating a plot consecrated to the Mother of the Gods (ll. 1f.: οὔροι γὰς Θεῶν Μαρτί) and concisely regulates the sacrifices to be performed twice a year, possibly by using the land revenues which may have included the harvest itself (cf. ll. 14f.: ἐπάργματα ὧν αἱ ὄραι φέρουσιν).¹³⁸ A similar procedure is attested by a literary source, the well-known passage of Xenophon's *Anabasis* concerning the foundation in honour of the Ephesian Artemis, which the author himself established in the Peloponnesian locality of Scillous, where he bought a plot in order to build a sanctuary for the goddess and fund the related cult activities. According to the text, a stele placed near the temple recorded the consecration of the estate to Artemis (ἱερός ὁ χῶρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος) and included concise regulations concerning the use of the land revenues for cult and maintenance expenses.¹³⁹ Finally, a very telling inscription about this point is the "Testament of Epikrates" from Lydia, which might fall into the developments of family cult foundations in the Imperial age.¹⁴⁰ The text deals with the funerary cult established by the founder in honour of his deceased and heroized son Diophantos. For this purpose, Epikrates allocated a number of plots which are carefully listed and identified by means of landscape features, toponyms, and names of neighbouring owners. The formula used to introduce each plot highlights the simultaneous process of marking out the boundaries and consecrating the land (ll. 3f.; 11f.; 14f.: ὁμοίως ἀφώρισα καὶ συνκαθώρισσα τῶν μνημείω). The definition of the boundaries involves the physical action of arranging boundary stones on the ground, as the text seems to make explicit through the expression "up to the *horoi* I have marked" (l. 31: μέχρις ὧν σεσημειώμαι ὄρων). The sacred status of the demarcated land seems to stem from its connection to the funerary monument, which can be seen as a *locus religiosus*

vated land, as the *Charmyleion* must have been; the letters κοψι[- - - - -] may refer to a form of the verb κόπτω, which appears in inscriptions concerning the protection of the sanctuaries (τῶν δένδρων μη]θὲν κόψη[ι, IG); cutting down trees was generally forbidden or only permitted under certain conditions: cf. Dillon 1997, 115–122; Horster 2004, 110–120.

137 Cf. Horster 2004, 23–33; Naerebout 2009, 201–208; Brulé 2012, 83–89.

138 IG XII 3, 436 (4th century B.C.); cf. Mannzmann 1962, 127f.

139 An. 5.3.4–13; due to its documentary value, this passage has often drawn the attention of scholars, including Purvis 2003, 65–120, and Brulé 2012, 98–109.

140 Herrmann/Polatkan 1969, 7–36, no. 1; see Campanelli 2012b for the possibility of including this inscription in the framework of family cult foundations.

since it was the dwelling of the hero Diophantos. This is all the more significant if one considers that the tomb, also intended for the future burial of Epikrates and other members of his family, is likely to have lain on the landed properties the founder had marked out and consecrated: a spatial arrangement already adopted by Charmylos some centuries before.¹⁴¹

Consecration was a security measure to which the founders occasionally resorted in order to protect the foundation's capital, even when the main purpose of a foundation was not cultic in nature.¹⁴² This role of consecration emerges all the more clearly in such cases as that of the *Charmyleion*, where a physical overlap occurs between the ritual space and the real estate (land, gardens and *oikiai*) that likely represented the foundation's capital. In this respect, Charmylos' boundary stone seems to make explicit what is probably implied in the expression τοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνεῦντες of Diomedon's foundation, where, again, the sharing among the community members can be extended to the physical space of the sanctuary meant as a twofold inheritance, based on the overlap between ritual space and family assets.¹⁴³ In the light of the reconstruction proposed above for the sanctuary founded by Charmylos, the one founded by Diomedon can be similarly viewed as a rural cult place lying on the family's landed estate.¹⁴⁴ The *temene*, indeed, might have lain in the immediate surroundings of the sanctuary since no identifying topographical references are given. The localization in the countryside might also be confirmed by the findspot of the inscription, which comes from the garden of a private house located in a suburb of Kos city, where it had been built into some modern stairs, according to the only information provided by the *editor princeps*, L. Ross.¹⁴⁵

Based on the architectural terminology recorded in the inscription, the sanctuary founded by Diomedon can be envisaged as similar to but perhaps more complex than the *Charmyleion*, even though it is not possible to verify whether the former included a burial place for family members, since the preserved text only provides evidence for the cult of the ancestors, but does not allow for understanding of what it entailed.

141 Cf. Campanelli 2012b, 75–83, where a close connection between Diophantos' heroization and land ownership is also argued.

142 Cf. Laum 1914, 1, 169.

143 This patrimonial concept of the “sacred things” can be added to the various meanings of the neuter plural τὰ ἱερά which emerge from the Coan documentation according to the recent analysis of Paul 2013, 340–344 (cf. also 196–203): among the uses of the term pinpointed by the author, the one which comes closest to the interpretation proposed above is “affaires sacrées”, but in the foundations of Diomedon and Charmylos this meaning seems to acquire a more material nuance, if it includes the sacred space meant as family assets to be managed in common by the cult community.

144 Cf. Campanelli 2011 for criticism of the hypothesis of De Matteis 2004, 191–196; 207; 219; 231f., who identifies the sanctuary founded by Diomedon with the sanctuary of Heracles located in the Harbour Quarter of Kos city, namely, a public and strongly urbanized area; De Matteis' hypothesis is also rejected by Paul 2013, 111–113.

145 Cf. above, fn. 105.

The sanctuary of Heracles *Diomedonteios* comprised a *temenos* including an *oikia*-temple, a garden with *xenones* overlooking it, and other buildings (*oikematia* and *oikemata*), some of which might have had service functions¹⁴⁶ as is evidently the case for the *oikemata* in which domestic furnishings were stored when the *oikia* ἀνδρεία and the *oikia* γυναικεία had to be made available for ritual and wedding celebrations. The latter buildings, as argued above, were probably private property, but their adjacency to the sanctuary is likely, because on these particular occasions the furniture needed for Heracleian *xenismos* (dinner couch and related coverings, table, god statues and so on) could be transferred to the *oikia* ἀνδρεία and, at the same time, the σκεύη which usually stood inside the two houses were moved to *oikemata* certainly belonging to the sanctuary itself, as buildings named like this are mentioned in other points of the text (ll. 44; 48). Moreover, it can be supposed that the original sanctuary cluster expanded over time, since buildings not previously mentioned first appear in the prohibitions of ll. 80–86, which belong to the third stage of the text. Besides being forbidden to farm the *temene* and dwell in the *oikia* of the *temenos* and in the *xenones*, the members of the cult community were not permitted to use the building located within the *hieron* (ll. 84f.: τῆ[ι λέσ]χηι τῆι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι)¹⁴⁷ and the *peripatos* as an ἀποθήκη (“storehouse” or “refuge”). The only exception to these regulations was in the case of war. The *hieron* is to be understood here as a sacred precinct, because at least one building, the *lesche* (?), lay within it; on the other hand, it cannot be the same as the *temenos*, because the two terms both appear in this passage and the prohibitions which concern each of them are different, and must therefore refer to different spaces. The only possibility is that the *hieron* was a second sacred precinct attached to the sanctuary in addition to the *temenos*.¹⁴⁸ There is evidence, in fact, for the concomitant presence of the two terms *temenos* and *hieron* with reference to the same sanctuary. In some cases this might have a conceptual explanation, since *temenos* seems to indicate the sanctuary as a physical space delimited by an enclosure, whereas *hieron* refers to the same space but in a ritual sense. This is consistent with the literal meaning generally attributed to the term *temenos* as a piece of land “cut off” and “set aside” to become the property of a god independently of the use for which it was intended.¹⁴⁹ The term *temenos*, therefore, can also indicate the area of the sanctuary providing income directed to cult expenses, whereas *hieron* is the area where the deity dwelt and the cult was practised. The functional distinction between *temenos* and *hieron* can also be based on cultic need when the two terms are used to distinguish areas reserved for different cults or cult activities within the same

¹⁴⁶ This interpretation is also supported by the generic meaning of the term οἶκημα, which could indicate various kinds of buildings fit for different functions: cf. Hellmann 1992, 288–290.

¹⁴⁷ As an alternative, ἀύληι was proposed by Paton/Hicks 1891 (cf. above fn. 105).

¹⁴⁸ For this hypothesis see Campanelli 2012, 665–667.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. the bibliographical references quoted above, fn. 109.

sanctuary or to define parts of it characterized by a higher degree of sacredness.¹⁵⁰ This might have happened especially when a sanctuary was affected by expansion over time.¹⁵¹ A distinction between *temenos* and *hieron* for cultic reasons can also be hypothesized for the sanctuary of Heracles *Diomedonteios*, considering that the *temenos* was an actual cult place and therefore cannot be seen as a mere piece of land whose revenues were being used for cult expenses. Accordingly, it can be supposed that the two sacred spaces were needed to physically separate cult areas reserved for some of the deities belonging to the *pantheon* created by Diomedon; as an alternative, the *hieron* can be thought to have become, perhaps at a later stage, the area dedicated to the sacred meals, if the construction lying inside it was actually a *lesche*, a building which generally appears in sanctuary contexts as a meeting place that can also be used for banquets.¹⁵² The existence of areas intended for different uses within the same sacred precinct is well illustrated by the Coan inscription concerning the sale of the priesthood of Zeus *Alseios*.¹⁵³ The purchaser was granted the right to enjoy the *temenos* (ll. 18–20: καρπεύσεται δὲ καὶ τὸ τέμενος καθότι καὶ ὁ πρότερον ἱερεὺς ἔκαρπεύετο),¹⁵⁴ but the text specifies that a particular area was reserved for rituals in honour of a goddess who can be identified as Athena *Alseia* (ll. 20–24).¹⁵⁵ This provides evidence not only for the economic use of (part of) a *temenos*, but also for its internal arrangement in distinct areas (albeit not always architecturally separated) as a function of cultic need.

Temenos and *hieron* would appear together again in Pythion's foundation, if the restoration proposed in the *IG* edition for the first preserved line of the text is correct: [rasura?] τὸ τέμενος τόδε ἔστω] *vacat* ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιτο[ς – –]ας καὶ Διὸς Ἴκ[ε]σίου καὶ Θεῶν πατρῴων (ll. 1–3). This reading raises problems because the *temenos* is no longer mentioned in the continuation of the text, where the term *hieron* appears in all

150 For the various possible relationships between *temenos* and *hieron*, especially when the two terms appear together in the same inscription, see Casevitz 1984, 85–87; Le Roy 1986, 285f.; Cole 2004, 59–63; Patera 2010, 538–547; one of the inscriptions most frequently mentioned when discussing the semantic and functional relationships between *temenos* and *hieron* is *IG I³ 84* (418/417 B.C.); it refers to the Athenian sanctuary of Neleus, Basile and Kodros, which consisted of two separate but adjacent spaces: the *hieron*, where the cult was practised, and the *temenos*, rented out for farming; cf. Wyckley 1960, especially 62.

151 For the development of sanctuaries over time, cf. Bergquist 1967, especially 57–61; Hellmann 2006, 193–196.

152 Cf. Leybold 2008, 13; 174f., 200f.

153 *IG XII 4*, 1, 328 (1st century B.C.).

154 For the right to enjoy landed properties and for the use of the verb καρπεύω in this context, see Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 2, 70–73; note that this verb appears in Poseidonios' foundation with reference to the eldest son of the founder, who was granted the right to enjoy the properties allocated for cult purposes (ll. 18f.; 28); the related substantive καρτεία is present in Epikteta's foundation (l. 72).

155 Cf. Paul 2013, 49f., 58.

passages involving the sanctuary: its care (l. 6), the supply for the joint sacrifice performed therein (l. 8), the wish for the cult's everlasting prosperity (l. 13), and finally, the sharing of the sanctuary among all of the founder's children (l. 15). This is probably the reason behind Fraser's proposed restoration:¹⁵⁶ [ἱερὸν ἔστω τόδε] τὸ τέ[μενος καὶ τὸ] *vac.* 5 ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιτος[.]ας καὶ Διὸς Ἰκ[ε]σίου καὶ Θεῶν Πατριῶν, where, nevertheless, the tautology ἱερὸν ἔστω ...τὸ ἱερὸν is scarcely convincing.

On the assumption that both a *temenos* and a *hieron* are involved in this foundation, one may hypothesize that *hieron* has the restricted meaning of “temple”, lying within the sacred precinct represented by the *temenos*:¹⁵⁷ in this case, however, it would be difficult to understand why all of the above-mentioned regulations only refer to the temple, without involving the sacred precinct as a whole, since the latter, with its altars and other possible structures, generally played an essential role in ancient Greek cult practices.¹⁵⁸ A preferable alternative might be to suppose that both terms refer to the sanctuary space, but with a conceptual differentiation between the two. Thus, *temenos* might indicate the extent of the sanctuary in a physical sense, and *hieron* might refer to the same space in a ritual sense, or to the part more specifically reserved for cult performances. This seems to be the case in an inscription from the *Amphiareion* at Oropos that forbids anyone to carry the meat of the victims sacrificed within the *hieron* outside the *temenos*:¹⁵⁹ it is clear that there is a conceptual distinction between the ritual space of the sanctuary (*hieron*), where the sacrifices were performed, and its total extent (*temenos*), whose perimeter was the limit beyond which the consumption of the sacrificial meat was forbidden.¹⁶⁰ A similar conception of the spaces might be seen in the aforementioned *temenos* of Zeus *Alseios* on Cos. This interpretation might explain the apparent inconsistency of the *IG* reading of ll. 1–3 of Python's inscription, where there is a mention of a *temenos* that is no longer involved in the rest of the text. Its content, in fact, seems to be consistent with the *hieron* meant as the ritual space of the sanctuary: the regulations engraved on the stone specifically concern the religious sphere; as for the rest, the text refers to other documents where the “profane things”¹⁶¹ were regulated as well. Moreover, it should be noted that the last lines of the inscription contain requirements of ritual purity to gain access to

¹⁵⁶ Fraser 1953, 36, 37f. (notes on these lines).

¹⁵⁷ For *hieron* meant as a temple cf. Hellmann 1992, 170; Cole 2004, 40; Patera 2010, 546f.; cf. also above for the meaning of *cella*, which has been attributed to the *hieron* located within the *oikia* of Egretes' sanctuary.

¹⁵⁸ See in general Sinn in Sinn et al. 2005, notably 1–4; for the relatively late appearance of the temple in cult places, cf. Bergquist 1967, 132; Burkert 1996.

¹⁵⁹ *I.Oropos* 277, ll. 29–32.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Le Roy 1986, 285f.; in general, for the prohibition against taking away the sacrificial meat and the obligation to consume it “on the spot”, that is, within the sanctuary, see Paul 2013, 358–364 (with a review of the scholarship on the subject).

¹⁶¹ Cf. above, fn. 93.

the sacred place (ll. 15–17): regulations of this kind are typical of the inscriptions set up at the entrance of sanctuaries in order to communicate the conditions needed to enter.¹⁶² The same function, accordingly, has to be attributed to the Coan one (cf. in particular l. 15: ἀγνὸν εἰσπορεύεσθαι). On the other hand, the mention of the *temenos* in l. 1 becomes understandable when one considers that ll. 1–3 contain the dedication of the sanctuary and therefore necessarily concern the total extent of the consecrated area (the *temenos*), possibly including the part used as a source of income. What might be inconsistent with this interpretation is the regulation which states that the *hieron* belongs to all of the founder's children, who would be expected to have owned in common all of the properties of the sacred place, that is, the *temenos* as a whole. It can be supposed, however, that the children are regarded here as the cult community of “those who sacrifice together” (cf. l. 7: συνθύοντες) within the *hieron*, and, in this way, a ritual sense can be attributed to the “ownership” of the sanctuary as well.

The definition of the sacred space with its meanings and logistic arrangement is more difficult to grasp in the case of the foundation of Poseidonios. As for the funds, the founder allocated an ἀγρός, identified through a toponym and the names of the neighbouring owners, an αὐλή, a κῆπος, “what lies around the μνημεῖον,” and a half of the “rights of tillage”¹⁶³ relating to a plot identified by another toponym (ll. 15–18).¹⁶⁴ The enjoyment of these properties was assigned to the eldest son of Poseidonios, provided that he paid the cult community the amount decreed for the celebration of the two-day religious feast every year (ll. 18–22). The properties were subject to a bond which can be interpreted as something looser than an actual mortgage, despite the terminology used in the text (l. 12: ὑπέθηκεν; l. 25: τῆς ὑποθήκης; l. 28: τὰ ὑποκείμενα; l. 49: τὴν ὑποθήκην).¹⁶⁵ This *hypotheke*, therefore, can be defined as

¹⁶² Cf. Lupu 2005, 14–21, 35 (reference to Pythion's foundation).

¹⁶³ The term ἐνηρόσιον was translated by Laum 1914 (cf. above, fn. 20) as “Ackerland” at l. 18 and as “Pacht” at ll. 30f.; for this last interpretation cf. 1, 154; Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 109f. (notes on l. 18) interprets ἐνηρόσιον as the cash income from an arable plot which was rented out or farmed: the scholar suggests that this land was sacred based on the Delian evidence for the term used with reference to ἱερὰ τεμῆνη and ἱερὰ χωρία; Carbon's suggestion that Poseidonios allocated only half of these revenues for the foundation because the rest belonged to a sanctuary might be supported by two inscriptions from Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 205 and 206), which attest the sale of half of a property to Zeus of the *Otorondeis*: cf. Dignas 2002, 104; a comparable case, albeit concerning a public garden, is represented by *IG VII 43* (= Laum 1914, 2, no. 21; Aigosthena, 3rd century B.C.): funding of a religious celebration and a contest through the revenues from half of a garden which Arete Aristandrou purchased from the *Aigosthenitai*, and where she had a *temenos* built (ll. 4–7: τοῦ κήπου τὸ ἥμισυ, ἀγοράσασα παρὰ τῶν Αἰγοσθενιτῶν δραχμῶν χιλίων, τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν, καὶ ποεὶ τέμενος Ποσειδώνιον); on this inscription cf. Vatin 1974, 354.

¹⁶⁴ On the toponyms attested in Poseidonios' foundation see Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 108–110 (notes on ll. 15–18).

¹⁶⁵ See Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 2, 141–189 for the *hypotheke* and its terminology, which does not sharply differentiate between pledge and actual mortgage: both can be indicated by the verb

a pledge consisting of a “trust fund” created by Poseidonios to the perpetual benefit of his family.¹⁶⁶ The system is similar to that adopted in Epikteta’s foundation, where, unlike in Poseidonios’ inscription, the monetary value of the pledged land is explicitly stated as three thousand drachmas that comprised the foundation capital as a whole (ll. 29–34); the testament granted Epikteta’s heirs some margin to use this land freely, since they were allowed to transfer the *hypothekē* to another landed property of equal value (ll. 75–79). The *hypothekē*, however, was *de facto* fictitious: in the event that the heiress Epiteleia (or later heirs) failed to provide the amount decreed for the annual religious feast (210 drachmas) every year, the cult community was permitted to recoup the funds by directly using the land’s income, but only up to the amount of 210 drachmas, whereas the actual property right remained untouched (ll. 70–75).¹⁶⁷ In contrast, in the case of failure by Poseidonios’ firstborn, the landed inheritance passed to the shared ownership of the cult community, and the annually appointed *epimenioi* had to provide for renting out τὰ ὑποκείμενα, namely, the properties mentioned before, and the *temenos* (ll. 27–30). In this sense, the security system emerging from Poseidonios’ inscription seems to be closer to an actual mortgage.

Whether in an exceptional or a regular situation, the *epimenioi* were entrusted with financial duties, including the management of the income to provide for the annual celebration (31–33) and the sale of the fleeces of the sacrificial victims; the income surplus was spent on *anathemata* (l. 47f.). The *epimenioi* were also required to account in detail for the money spent every year (ll. 45–47). In the latest edition of the text by Carbon the reading based on the stone (ΔΕΙΠΝΟΥ) is re-established at this point,¹⁶⁸ rejecting thereby the previous reading (πρὸ τοῦ δήμου), which entailed a participation of the people’s assembly of Halicarnassus in supervising the cult group’s accounting.¹⁶⁹ Thus, the *epimenioi* had to give their account “on the second day (*scil.* of the annual feast) before the dinner” (πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου), not “before the people’s assembly”.¹⁷⁰

ὑποθήκη and the correlated substantives; on the *hypothekē* as a security measure aimed at protecting the foundation capital see Laum 1914, 1, 170–174.

166 Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 108 (notes on l. 12).

167 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 115.

168 Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 104 (*apparatus*); cf. 74, fn. 32.

169 Cf. e.g. the edition of Sokolowski (*LSAM* 72), where the amendment which had been made at this point is neither indicated through punctuation nor notified in the *apparatus*.

170 Cf. the statute of Epikteta’s foundation, which decrees the annual convocation of the members’ assembly on the second day of the feast (ll. 203f.). The reading πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου weakens the thesis of A. Wittenburg 1998, especially 453, who considers the involvement of a civic institution in Poseidonios’ foundation as an indication that family associations, particularly those of Poseidonios and Epikteta, aimed at breaking the boundaries between the private and public sphere in order to reaffirm their prestige of local established aristocracy in the changed socio-political conditions of the Hellenistic age; however, the author’s remarks on the adoption of civic procedures and language by these family cult foundations remain valid: on this point see also Stavrianopoulou 2006, especially 300 and 302.

Unlike the texts seen so far, the inscription of Poseidonios does not refer explicitly to the sacred status of land and buildings: indeed, the verb used to indicate the allocation of properties for cult purposes is ὑποτίθημι, which refers to the bond to which they were subject, rather than to their sacredness, in contrast with the verb ἀνατίθημι and the adjective ἱερός in the Coan family cult foundations. The sacred status of the land ἐμ Μελαιναῖς, allocated as a pledge by Epikteta, is all the more doubtful since her heirs had the option of transferring the *hypothekē* to another property. The properties of the gods were theoretically inalienable and unexchangeable, but quite a high degree of flexibility in the actual management of the sacred land must be taken into account.¹⁷¹ Sacred land, for example, could be mortgaged by cities,¹⁷² and there are cases in which assets belonging to deities worshipped by cult groups were alienated;¹⁷³ moreover, the special status of land belonging to gods could be disputed. This is why claims to sacredness had to be bolstered by regulations and administrative procedures ensuring the correct use of the sacred properties.¹⁷⁴ As far as Poseidonios' foundation is concerned, the sacredness can be implied at least in the terms *temenos* and perhaps ἐνηρόσιον, as the latter seems to appear exclusively in connection with ἱερὰ τεμένη and ἱερὰ χωρία.¹⁷⁵

As for the places intended for cult activities, it is difficult to determine how they were conceived and arranged. The αὐλή, the κῆπος and the μνημεῖον of l. 17 probably formed one and the same complex, as they are mentioned in close sequence and without any clarification of their location, unlike the plots mentioned immediately before and after this line. However, the phrasing of the text does not completely rule out the possibility that the *mnemeion* and its attached properties lay in the same place as the *agros ἐν Ἀστυπυλαίαι*. While a funerary building attached to other structures and surrounded by land fit for agricultural use (τὰ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον) is perfectly plausible,¹⁷⁶ the picture is complicated by the *temenos* being mentioned for the first time at l. 29, where its shared ownership is decreed in the event that the eldest son of Poseidonios fails to fulfil his obligations (τὸ δὲ τέμενος εἶναι [κο]ινόν). The *temenos* is

171 Cf. Isager/Skydsgaard 1992, 182; Horster 2004, 12f.; Horster 2010, 444; cf. above, fn. 18.

172 Cf. Dignas 2002, 27f.; Horster 2004, 47–49; Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 2, 34f.

173 See Papazarkadas 2011, 197–204, for the alienation of properties belonging to Attic orgeonic groups.

174 In this respect, the most debated and emblematic case is the dispute over the *Hiera Orgas*, the sacred land of Demeter and Kore lying on the boundary between Athens and Megara: see now the overview of Papazarkadas 2011, 244–259.

175 Cf. above, fn. 163.

176 Cf. Kubińska 1968, 142–147 (funerary gardens and their possible use as a source of income); 129–132, 163 (land surrounding the funerary monument); 148–150 (structures around the funerary monument); Ritti 2004, 470f., 509f. (with particular reference to Hierapolis of Phrygia in the Imperial period); Vatin 1974, 355 (with reference to the *kepos* of Poseidonios' inscription); Carroll-Spillecke 1989, 38, 58.

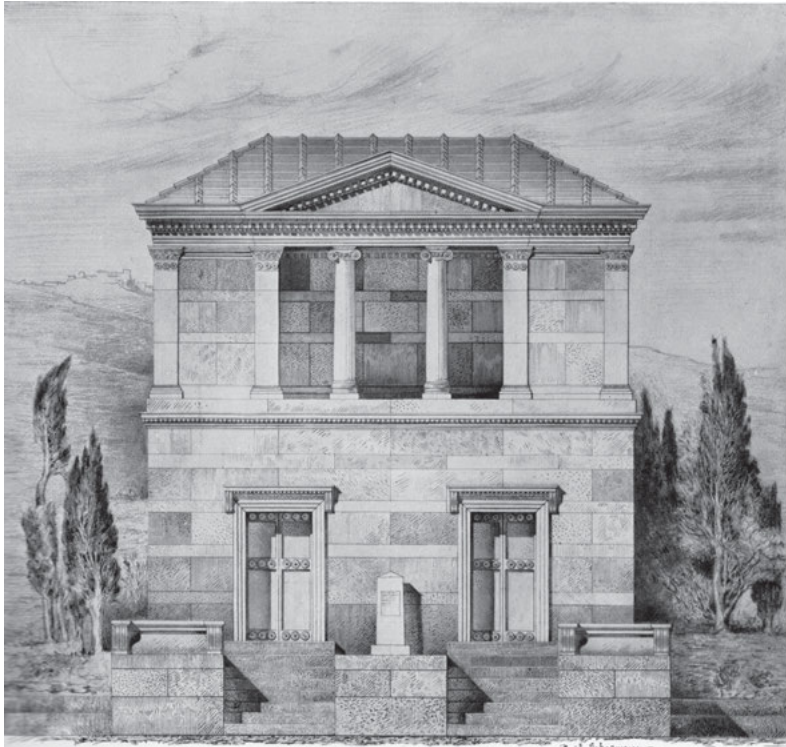


Fig. 6: Reconstruction of the *Charmyleion* by P. Schazmann (taken from Schazmann 1934, 117, Abb. 5).

mentioned separately from the other goods liable to become the property of the cult community in the same situation (l. 28: εἶναι τὰ ὑποκείμενα κ[οι]νά). The latter are likely to be the same as the ἀγρός and the ἐνηρόσιον of ll. 15f. and 18 respectively, but it is not clear whether the funerary monument and its related properties are implied in the expression τὰ ὑποκείμενα as well. If this is the case, the *temenos* has to be considered as an additional space, but could not be a mere piece of land used as a source of income: indeed, although it was rented out and was therefore fit for residential or agricultural use, it was also deemed appropriate for displaying the stele on which the text under examination was inscribed (ll. 49–51), and thus had to be an actual sacred precinct intended for worship. In fact, when the *temenos* was an agricultural plot lying elsewhere from the sanctuary of the deity who owned it, it was more commonly equipped with boundary stones which demarcated its divine ownership; on the other hand, rent contracts of sacred land and regulations concerning its use were usually displayed in the sanctuaries.¹⁷⁷ As a parallel, the engraved base bearing the

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Horster 2010, 441f., 454f.; a good example of boundary stones demarcating sacred land not physically attached to a sanctuary is provided by a series of *horoi* from Aegina: cf. Polinskaya 2009.

“Testament of Epikteta” can be considered: it was obviously set up in the cult place (ll. 273–276) and not in the landed property which Epikteta had allocated as a pledge to ensure the annual payment of the amount decreed for cult expenses. Similarly, the block inscribed with the foundation of Diomedon is likely to have been placed in the sacred precinct, especially if the restoration of the deictic τόδε at l. 1 is correct: Δ[ιομέδων ἀνέθηκ]ε τὸ τέμενος [τόδε].

If the *temenos* and the *mnemeion* were two different structures, the former could have been dedicated to the cult of the gods (Apollo of Telmessos, Zeus *Patroos*, and the Mother of the Gods) and the latter to the burial of Poseidonios’ parents, Poseidonios himself along with his wife and, probably, other family members, as was the case in the Coan *Charmyleion*. A distinction between two sacred areas based on their different cultic functions would find correspondence in the sanctuary completed by Epikteta, which consisted of a *Mouseion*, dedicated to the cult of the Muses, and a *temenos*, where the funerary monuments of the heroized family members stood (cf. ll. 35f.; 41–51).¹⁷⁸ The two areas must have been distinct but adjacent since the inscribed base that supported the lost statues of Epikteta and her two sons (fig. 7) was placed in the *Mouseion* instead of the *temenos*, which could be envisaged as the most suitable location because it was specifically dedicated to the commemoration of the deceased family members. Epikteta’s inscription, however, attests that the *temenos* was meant also as a funerary precinct: because of this, the possibility cannot be ruled out that in Poseidonios’ inscription, too, the *temenos* was a funerary precinct including the *mnemeion* and the attached properties.¹⁷⁹ In this case, the arrangement would be similar to that of the *Charmyleion*, where one building, surrounded by other structures, gardens, and land, was probably used for both the funerary and the divine cult. In contrast, the ἀγρός and the ἐνηρόσιον of ll. 15f. and 18 respectively were located elsewhere, as is shown by the topographical clarification concerning them. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the *mnemeion* was also ἐν Ἀστυπάλαιαι, like the ἀγρός; if this was the case, the funerary monument and the *temenos* have to be considered as two different structures, even though the comparison to the other family sanctuaries/tombs from Cos and Thera speaks in favour of an adjacency of (if not overlap between) the areas dedicated to the divine and the funerary cults respectively.

The absence of explicit reference to the structures used for the worship of the gods might be surprising, because they played an essential role in the cult as the recipients of the sacrifices (ll. 36–38). Setting aside the Theran *Mouseion*, whose cultic function is self-evident, the architectural terminology of Diomedon’s inscription also provides clues to structures connected in some way to the divine cult (*temenos*, *oikia*,

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Wittenburg, 139–143.

¹⁷⁹ Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 109 (notes on l. 17) only touches on this possibility, but the comparison with the *temenos* and the *kepos* of Diomedon’s foundation is not completely satisfactory because these were not specifically funerary in nature.

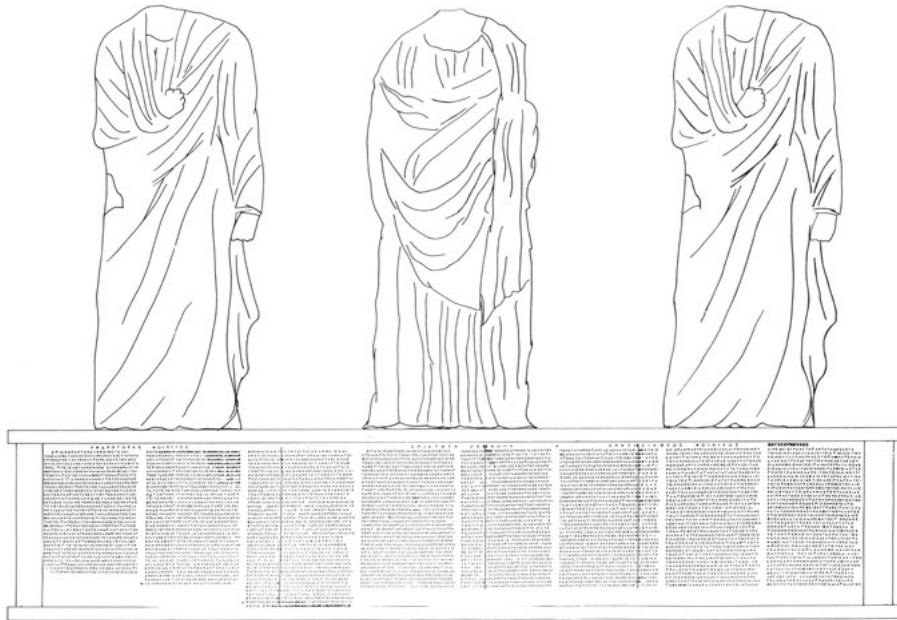


Fig. 7: Reconstruction of the base bearing the “Testament of Epikteta” with the statues originally arranged on its top (taken from Wittenburg 1990, Tav. 2).

hieron), and the same goes for the inscriptions of Pythion (*hieron*) and Charmylos (*oikia*). As for Poseidonios’ inscription, some clues in this respect might come from the term αὐλή, which is attested in connection with sanctuaries as a courtyard where statues, stelae and votive offerings could be displayed.¹⁸⁰ If this was the case, the αὐλή of Poseidonios’ inscription might also be the place where the votive offerings mentioned at l. 48 were arranged. A good example of an αὐλή used for this and other purposes is the so-called “Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos” on Delos, since it is the cult and meeting place of a private religious association, albeit ethnic in nature. In an honorary inscription to one of its benefactors, the Roman banker Marcus Minatius Sextus, the association of the “Berytian Merchants, Shippers and warehouse Workers” decreed the location of his statue in “a place chosen by him in the courtyard [...] or in whatever other place he may decide, except a place in the temples and the porticos”.¹⁸¹ The architectural complex, which is relatively well pre-

¹⁸⁰ See Pippidi 1966, 90–93; cf. e.g. *IG II²* 1329: the honorary decree for Chaireas Dionysiou, secretary of the Attic *orgeones* of the Mother of the Gods, was to be displayed in the courtyard of the sanctuary (ll. 28f.: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τεῖ αὐλεῖ τοῦ ἱεροῦ).

¹⁸¹ *I.Délos* 1520 (after 153/152 B.C.), ll. 23–25; translation (slightly modified) from Ascough/Harland/Kloppenborg 2012, 136–139, no. 224.

served, includes three courtyards.¹⁸² The *aule* mentioned in the inscription is probably to be identified with the courtyard indicated by the letter X on the plan drawn by Picard (fig. 8), because it was a cultic and representative place (“cour d’honneur”), as has been inferred from the findings *in situ* (altars and an exedra intended for displaying honorary statues) and from its proximity to the most sacred area of the complex with rooms serving as shrines.¹⁸³

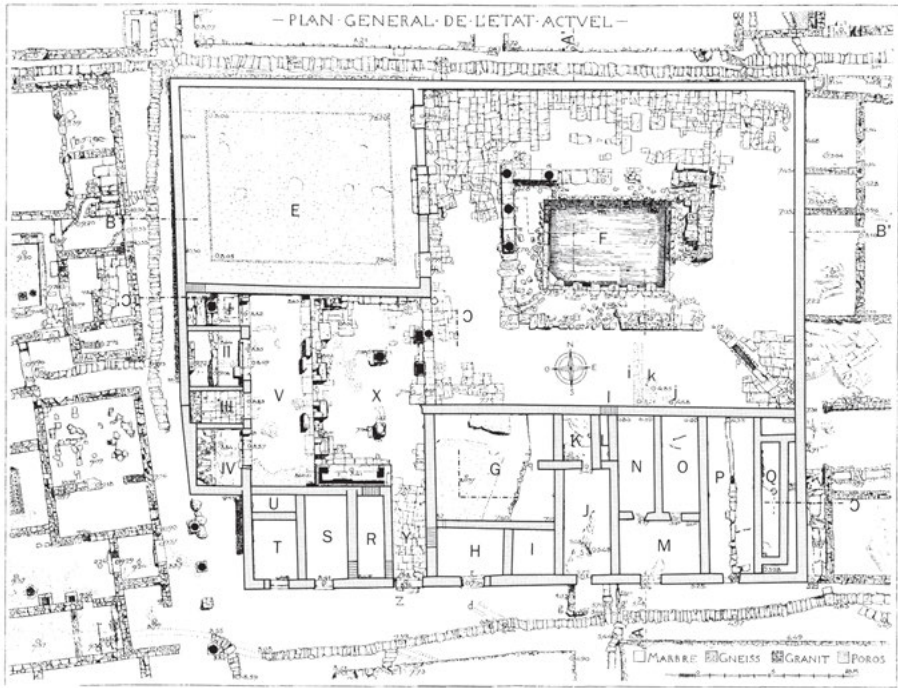


Fig. 8: Plan of the “Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos”, Delos (taken from Trümper 2002, 267, Abb. 1)

By comparison, the *αὐλή* seems to be more rarely attested in the terminology specifically concerned with funerary architecture,¹⁸⁴ even though monumental tombs

182 Cf. Picard 1921, 77–112; for a concise description of the structure of this building as a whole, see Trümper 2002, 266 with Abb. 1 (plan based on Picard 1921, pl. I).

183 Cf. Bruneau 1970, 623–626; cf. Hellmann 1992, 60f.; for a description of the courtyard X and the findings *in situ*, see Picard 1921, 21–33.

184 The term is not listed among the Greek words analyzed by Kubińska 1968 (see Index, 175–178) in her work on the architectural terminology referring to the funerary monuments of Asia Minor: the only (but rare) terms which come close to *αὐλή* are *περίαυλον* and *περιαύλιον*, which seem to refer to the land surrounding the funerary monument (132, 163); see Sartre in Lewis/Sartre-Fauriat/Sartre

of the Hellenistic age with various buildings or rooms organized around (peristyle) courts are archaeologically known.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that the term is frequently used in connection with farmsteads, all the more so as this use is attested in Caria. Even though *αὐλή* literally indicates the courtyard of the farmstead, it seems also to have been used to refer to the estate as a whole as a *pars pro toto*.¹⁸⁶ With regard to the inscription being examined, it is interesting to note that in some cases funerary monuments have been discovered within or in close proximity to Anatolian farmsteads dating from the Classical age onwards. These burials must have belonged to the owners of the properties concerned.¹⁸⁷ The inclusion of Poseidonios' inscription in a similar framework might entail a location of the *mne-meion*-complex in the countryside. Even though an urban localization of properties fitted for agricultural use cannot always be ruled out,¹⁸⁸ the presence of the funerary monument point to a rural structure. The findspot of the stele, nevertheless, does not help in this respect, because at its discovery it was broken in several fragments (later recomposed), which were built into the house of Hadji Captan, not far west of the Maussolleion terrace, that is, within the city walls of Halicarnassus.¹⁸⁹ That this was the original location of the stone, however, is unlikely, because the whole action of Poseidonios is the result of a private initiative, without any involvement of the city, which was the only authority entitled to bestow the honour of burial within the urban centre on prominent citizens and their families.¹⁹⁰ If it was located outside the city,

1996, 87, no. 52, for an inscription from Hauran (Boşrā al-Ḥariri), which records the building of a *μνημῖον* and an *αὐλή* in front of it: the latter has been interpreted as a “résidence à cour”; a similar interpretation can be found in Sartre-Fauriat 2001, 19f., with regard to other inscriptions from Hauran showing the construction of tombs near *aulai*: the author does not rule out the possibility that *αὐλή* indicates the precinct of the tomb (possibly including a funerary garden), but points out that *αὐλή* as a rural court-residence is more frequent; based on this, she hypothesizes that the tombs concerned were built in close proximity to country dwellings or within their courtyards; note, however, that the context of Hauran is obviously different from that of the Halicarnassus inscription.

185 For instance, the *Heroon* of Kalydon and the *Heroon* I of Milet: see Kader 1995, 205–211 with Abb. 3.4 and 3.6.

186 Cf. Hellmann 1992, 59f.; Schuler 1998, 59–61; Chandezon 1998, 43–46.

187 Cf. Geppert 1996; Hailer 2000; Lohmann 1999, notably 454–456, 464; Chandezon 2003, 204, 213; Carstens 2004, 50–52; isolated funerary *periboloi* of the Classical period found in the Attic countryside have been connected to family farmsteads or landed properties: cf. Marchiandi 2011, 107–109 (with interesting reference to literary sources which highlight the praxis of placing the tomb on one's landed property), 158–160; a similar feature has been observed in the north-Aegean area (e.g. present-day Bulgaria), where imposing mound burials located in isolated sites have been discovered: Archibald 2013, 297–300; for the location of these tombs see 151, fig. 4.7; 153, fig. 4.8.

188 Cf. Schuler 1998, 60f. with fn. 18.

189 Cf. Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 101.

190 For the same reason Carbon in Carbon/Pirenne-Delforge 2013, 109, admits the possibility that Poseidonios' stele is a *pierre errante*; on the burial within the city in the Hellenistic age, see Gauthier 1985, 60–66; Chiricat 2005; Galli 2007–2008; Ehrhardt 2008.

the cult complex established by Poseidonios would join the *Charmyleion* and probably the sanctuary of Heracles *Diomedonteios* in the type of family sanctuaries/tombs erected on the estate belonging to the family.

Since Epikteta's foundation provides a close comparison for land allocated as a pledge (but also for the arrangement of the cult complex established by Poseidonios), some of its features have already been mentioned, but more is needed to complete the picture. By all appearances, the funds on which the foundation was based came from Epikteta's personal possessions: the plots allocated as a pledge on the total amount of the foundation funds (3,000 drachmas) are defined as *αὐτόκτητα χωρία* (l. 32), namely, properties personally held by Epikteta, even though the way in which they were acquired remained unspecified. These have to be distinguished from her other means to which the text refers, *τὰ ἄλλα μοι ὑπάρχοντα* (ll. 37f.), probably connected with Epikteta's paternal inheritance, including her dowry.¹⁹¹ Since Epikteta is named as the executor of the last will of her husband and then of her second deceased son (cf. ll. 7–27),¹⁹² the issue remains open as to whether the directions they gave her on the point of death included endowments aimed at bringing the project to completion.¹⁹³ As far as it is possible to understand from the mere textual data, the property allocated for funding the cult institution seems to fall into the category of the *ματρῶια*.¹⁹⁴ In accordance with the legitimate inheritance rights, Epikteta's assets were bequeathed to her daughter Epiteleia and subsequently to her descendants (ll. 30–41). All of the related obligations rested on the heirs, including the annual remittance of the income intended for the religious meeting of the cult community (210 drachmas),¹⁹⁵ but the management of this amount was in the hands of the *κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν*. For this purpose, a complex administrative system, hierarchical in nature, was enacted in the foundation statute which immediately follows Epikteta's will (ll. 109–288). The community officials were appointed annually by the members' assembly (*σύλλογος*), which was the highest deliberative authority of the association and probably consisted of the twenty-five men listed in ll. 81–93 of the testament, but their sons were also almost certainly included in the number of councillors, because the text specifies that they were to attain membership in the cult community with full rights at the end of the *ephebia* (ll. 135–139; cf. ll. 96f.).¹⁹⁶ An administrator (*ἀρτυτήρ*) was entrusted with the collection of the annual income from

191 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 73, 85–88; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 141, 152f.; see Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 2, 52–54, on the *αὐτόκτητα* possessions and on the distinction between them and those that women acquired by inheritance or dowry (with reference to the “Testament of Epikteta”).

192 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 84; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 297–300.

193 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 77–79; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 142.

194 On the *ματρῶια* and *πατρῶια* goods cf. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 2, 48–50.

195 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 74f.

196 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 112–114.

Epikteta's heirs and with distributing it as required (ll. 221–229).¹⁹⁷ He was subordinate to a supervisor (ἐπίσσοφος; cf. ll. 223f.), who was in charge of the accounting as a whole (ll. 213–215) along with many other duties connected with overseeing the observance of the testament and statute (ll. 205–207); his tasks also included the role of secretary, as he had to draw up the documents relating to the association (lists of the officials, payments of any fines incurred in violations against the decreed regulations, decisions made by the association: ll. 207–213).¹⁹⁸ All of the male members of the association had to serve in turn as cult ministers (*epimenioi*). They were obliged to fulfil the office once at their own expense in order of seniority, supplying wine, crowns, musical entertainment and perfumed oil (ll. 134–141), whereas the sacrificial victims were probably paid for by the association. After all of the community members had served as cult ministers at their own expense, the three *epimenioi* appointed every year received the necessary funds from the administrator (ll. 155–161).¹⁹⁹ Because of this free service obligation, the association had, at least in the early period of its life, an income surplus which was invested in the form of loans by specifically appointed officials (ἐγδανεισταί: ll. 146–155).²⁰⁰ Several measures were taken in order to protect the foundation, including fines and penalties (such as temporary exclusion from the cult community) as well as the appointment of special committees called to intervene in any violations against the testament and the statute (241–254).²⁰¹

A similar balance between inheritance rights and management rights can be seen with respect to the cult place, which was bequeathed to Epiteleia as the legitimate heiress, but was submitted to the control of the cult community in order to ensure its proper use in accordance with Epikteta's will (ll. 35–57). As mentioned, the cult place was made up of two components corresponding to the twofold cult practised by the *koinon*. There are no clues to the structure of the *Mouseion*, which might have consisted of a temple or an open-air precinct with an altar inside.²⁰² In both cases, however, dining structures must have been included, as the text states that the annual three-day meeting, during which at least one community meal was

197 The administrator was in general involved in the operations concerning cash management: cf. Wittenburg 1990, 108f.

198 The first supervisor was also in charge of recording the testament and statute on the stone and on wooden tablets; moreover, he had to appoint an archivist entrusted with the upkeep of the association's written documents (ll. 267–286); on the duties of the supervisor and the archivist see Wittenburg 1990, 103–107, 109–111.

199 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 100–103; see above, fn. 55.

200 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 109, 116.

201 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 111f., 116–118.

202 Examples of sanctuaries shaped like this are mentioned by Hellmann 2006, 122–126: e.g. the *Mouseion* of Thespieae, which still in the 3rd century B.C. consisted of an altar, a long porch and a theatre; cf. also 146f. for the altar as the essential element of every sanctuary.

scheduled,²⁰³ took place in the *Mouseion* (ll. 61f.; 118f.; 131–133); banquets could also be held in the open spaces of the sanctuaries or within temporary structures set up there.²⁰⁴ Actually, Epikteta hopes in her testament for the future construction of a *stoa* in the *temenos* (ll. 48–50: μηδὲ ἐνοικοδομήσαι ἐν τῷι τεμένει μηθέν, εἴ κα μή τις στοὰν οἰκοδομήσαι προαιρεῖται; “nor [shall anybody have the right] to build anything in the *temenos*, unless somebody wants to build a *stoa*”); this could be for convivial use, but other functions cannot be ruled out.²⁰⁵ When used for banquets within sanctuaries, a *stoa* mainly served as the connecting structure for dining rooms (often called *oikoi*) arranged in a row, also providing them with a monumental façade as well as a covered space in front; there are also cases in which the banquets were held in the *stoa* itself.²⁰⁶

The *temenos* was certainly a precinct enclosing the funerary monuments, here called ἡρώια. This term lends itself to a wide range of applications including a whole funerary complex, a free-standing building, or sepulchral monuments such as niches, aedicules, or sarcophagi located in the middle of a precinct or built into its walls.²⁰⁷ One of the latter must have been the case of the *heroa* under examination, but the text does not provide other clues to the shape of these funerary monuments. The arrangement of a burial within a *temenos* might recall some open-air hero cult places from the Geometric period onwards, arisen around the presumed tombs of mythical or historical personalities. Two examples of this are the *Heroon* of Pelops in the sanctuary at Olympia (5th century B.C.) and the *Heroon* of Opheltes in the sanctuary at Nemea (several phases starting from the 4th century B.C.).²⁰⁸ A similar shape recurs in some Hellenistic *heroa* which were privately built for prominent individuals recently deceased, whether explicitly heroized or not.²⁰⁹ A good example, which has indeed been mentioned as a comparison for the family *temenos* of Thera,²¹⁰ is the *heroon* of Gölbashi Trysa (Lycia; ca. 360–350 B.C.) (figs. 9 and 10),²¹¹ which probably

203 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 133–137.

204 Cf. Leypold 2008, 193.

205 E.g. shelter for the participants in cult activities or display of votive offerings; on the multifunctional nature and various possible shapes of *stoai* in sanctuaries, cf. Hellmann 2006, 212–218.

206 Cf. Börker 1983; Hellmann 2006, 216, 222–225; epigraphic evidence for a *stoa* built against a row of dining rooms (*oikoi*) is provided by a rent contract from the *Herakleion* of Thasos, which entails building activities by the lessee (*IG XII Suppl.* 353, l. 13: [οἰκοδομήσει δὲ καὶ οἴκουσ πέντε] οὐκ ἐλάσσουσ ἐπὶ τὰ κλινῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦτους στωιῶν): see Leypold 2008, 125–128.

207 Cf. Kubińska 1968, 26–31; Wittenburg 1990, 146f.; Weber 2004, 151f.

208 Cf. Hellmann 2006, 275–277 and figs. 220, no. 8 and 381; for other examples dating from the Geometric and Archaic periods, see Mazarakis Ainian in Damaskos et al. 2004, 133–140.

209 Modern archaeological language has generalised the use of the term *heroon* to indicate several kinds of monumental tombs independently of the actual heroization of the individuals buried therein: cf. Hellmann 2006, 275–287.

210 Cf. Wittenburg 1990, 139–141.

211 See Oberleitner 1994; for the sculptural decoration see Landskron 2011.

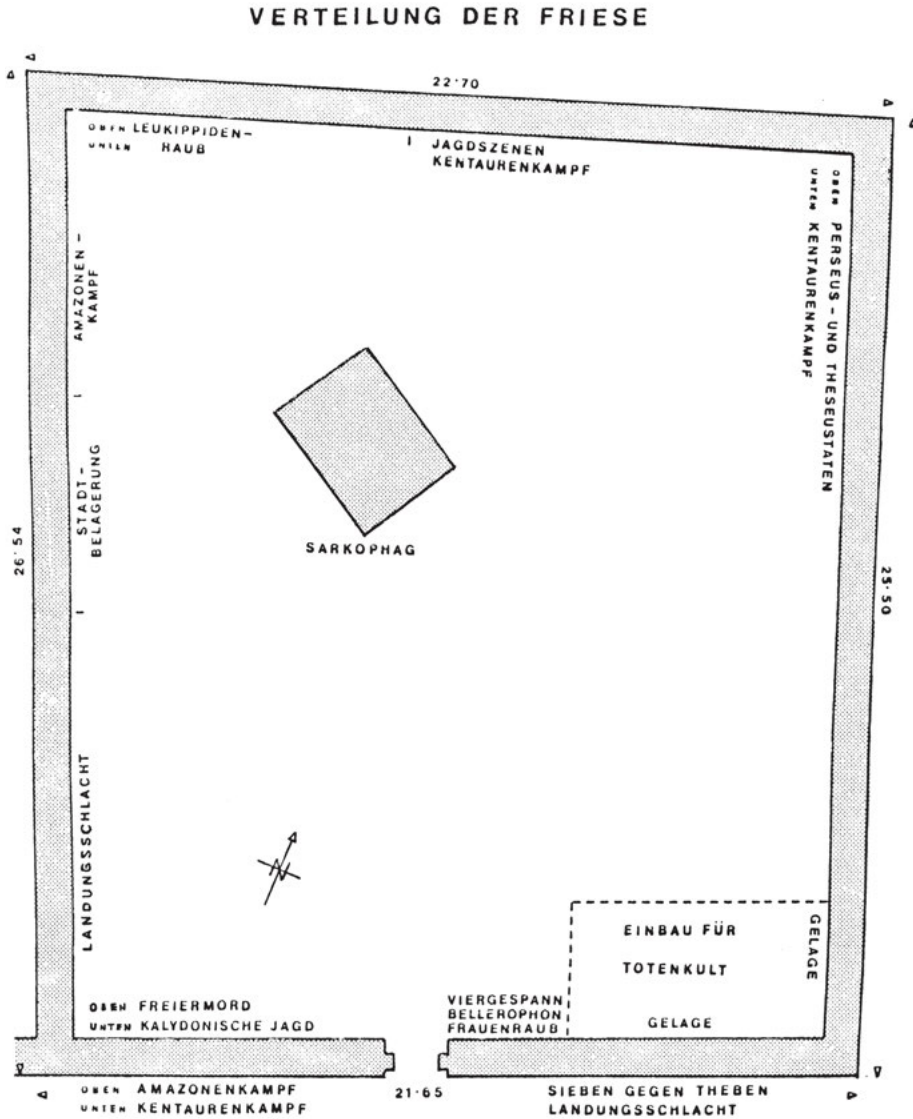


Fig. 9: Plan of the *Heroon* of Gölbaşı Trysa (Lycia) with indication of the scenes depicted in the peribolos' frieze (taken from Oberleitner 1994, 20, Abb. 24).

belonged to a local ruler and consisted of an open-air precinct enclosed by a *peribolos* lavishly embellished with friezes; the inner area included the burial, represented by a monumental sarcophagus in the middle of the *temenos*, a quadrangular base

by the northern wall probably used as an altar, and traces of a wooden structure at the south-east corner which was likely used for banquets and seems to recall the *stoa* that Epikteta wanted for her funerary *temenos*. The so-called *periboloi* of Attica, dating to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.,²¹² can also provide a good comparison as they are open-air funerary monuments which gather the burials of a variable number of family members belonging in several cases to more than one generation and to various degrees of kinship.²¹³

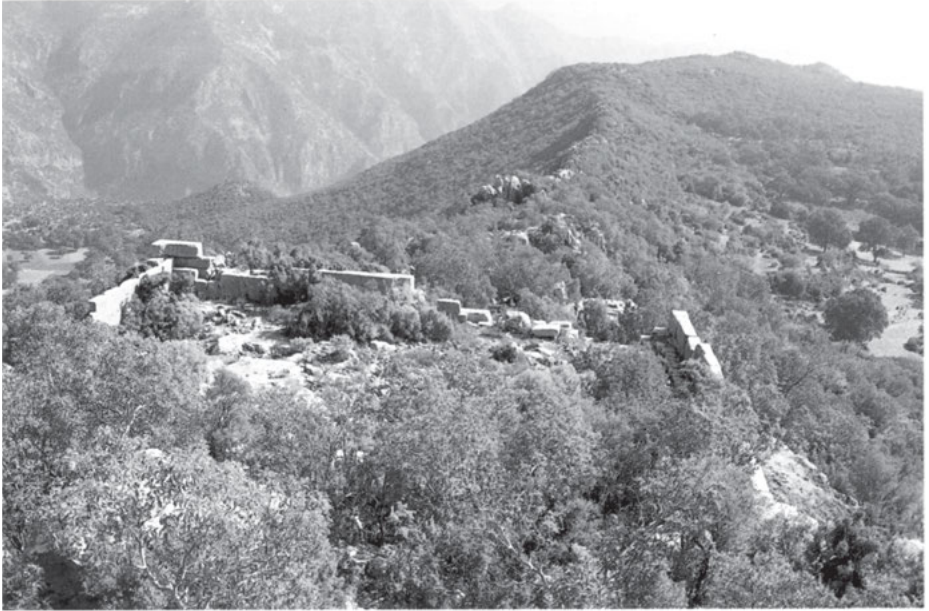


Fig. 10: Remains of the *Heroon* of Gölbaşı Trysa, Lycia (taken from Oberleitner 1994, 19, Abb. 23).

The sepulchral cluster is delimited by a pi-shaped enclosure, or at least by a wall as a monumental façade, on top of which stood several kinds of *semata* and inscriptions referring to the individuals buried within the precinct.²¹⁴ Even though the geographical and chronological context is different, the number of sculptures characteristic for Attic *periboloi* might recall the ἀνδριάντες, the ζῶια, and the ἀγάλματα

²¹² For the chronology of the *periboloi* and for the fenced-in family tombs predating the Classical period, see Marchiandi 2011, 19–34.

²¹³ See Marchiandi 2011, notably 35–46.

²¹⁴ See Marchiandi 2011, notably 47–78.

mentioned in Epikteta's inscription.²¹⁵ According to the finds *in situ*, funerary rituals took place in the internal space of the *periboloi*.²¹⁶

Since the text does not mention landed properties surrounding the *Mouseion* and the funerary *temenos*, the sanctuary of Thera cannot be included with certainty in the pattern seen so far, which shows a family sanctuary/tomb resting on the family estate. Furthermore, unlike the cases from Cos and Halicarnassus, the cult place is not used as a source of income; therefore an actual economic value is not added to the sacral meaning of the place. Precisely because of this, however, a particular significance can be attributed to the regulations concerning the use of the spaces (ll. 41–57). The testament denies anyone the right to sell, mortgage, exchange, or alienate the *Mouseion* and the *temenos*, along with the statues located therein, or to carry away any object; moreover, nobody was allowed to build anything else in the *temenos* except for a *stoa*, nor did anybody have the right to use the *Mouseion* for personal reasons except for the weddings of Epiteleia's descendants. The *koinon* was vested with the responsibility and authority to prevent such violations (ll. 52f.: κύριον ἔστω τὸ κοινόν; cf. l. 57).

The adoption of measures aimed at ensuring the inalienable nature of the funds is a feature common to all of the foundations, including those intended for public enjoyment.²¹⁷ Similar prohibitions also occur in simple funerary inscriptions as a way to prevent misuse and usurpation of the burial place and attached properties, and the place where the tomb lay was sometimes explicitly called a *locus religiosus*;²¹⁸ however, norms of this kind are all the more significant in foundations such as those being examined, where a well-defined family group is called to share a cult space for joint ritual actions which are formally regulated and funded. The prevention of any free initiative within the sanctuary activates a dialectic between the individual and the group which is solved in favour of the group, but it has been shown that the cult place of Epikteta's family was not meant as a source of income and, accordingly, it was not an integral part of the funds. The only exceptions to the prohibition of using the sanctuary for purposes other than the annual community meeting were, significantly, the wedding celebrations of Epiteleia's descendants, crucial events for perpetuating the direct descent of Phoenix, father of Epiteleia and husband of Epikteta. The ultimate aim of the foundation, in fact, seems to have been the preservation of the male line, which is highlighted through both the official denomination of the cult community (which clearly values the male component: κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν) and the bestowing of the priesthood on the son of Epiteleia and on his

215 The sculptural decoration of the *Mouseion* and the *temenos* is briefly dealt with by Wittenburg 1990, 144–147.

216 See Marchiandi 2011, notably 92–94.

217 Cf. Laum 1914, 1, 178–193.

218 Cf. Ritti 2004, 474f., 510–530 (with particular reference to Hierapolis of Phrygia in the Imperial age); cf. also Harter-Uibopuu 2010, notably 257–261.

descendants after him. By a twist of fate, this responsibility rested on the heads of the two surviving women of the family, one of whom was affiliated to Phoenix's family by marriage rather than by legitimate descent.²¹⁹

The interpretation of the above prohibitions as a way to ensure the exclusively shared use of the sacred space sheds light on the analogous regulations in Diomedon's foundation (ll. 80–86), where “those who share the sacred things” are forbidden from farming the *temene*, from dwelling in some buildings which belonged to the sanctuary (the *xenones* and the *oikia* within the *temenos*), and from using the building in the *hieron* (*lesche*?) and the *peripatos* as a storehouse (or refuge). There may be an economic reason behind these prohibitions, since the cult place was also a source of income, but besides this, there may be a connection between the sharing of the “sacred things”, which the denomination of the cult community clearly claims, and the joint use of the sacred spaces. The prohibitions aimed to prevent privatization of the sacred spaces by single members of the cult community for uses different from those decreed. It is hardly coincidental that here, too, an exception was made for the wedding celebrations of the founder's descendants, but this right was reserved for those who were in need at the moment of their marriage: a regulation which points towards family solidarity as a basic principle of the cult community (ll. 86–90).²²⁰ The other permitted exceptions concern the usage of the sanctuary spaces in case of war, but the phrasing of the text does not clarify whether the permission only concerns the last item mentioned (ll. 84–86: μηδὲ ἀποθήκηι χρᾶσθαι τῆ[ι λέσ]χηι τῆι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι μηδὲ{v} τῶι περιπάτω[ι] ἄμ μὴ πόλεμος ἦι), or extends to the two previous ones (farming the *temene* and dwelling in the *xenones* and in the *oikia*). In any case, it is important to point out that in emergency situations the resources of the sanctuary could be converted to uses different from those for which they were conceived. Such uses can be compared with the “profane things” mentioned in Pythion's foundation, where the reference might apply to the sanctuary's goods, whose enjoyment was evidently subject to specific regulations. As the text states that the sanctuary had to be shared among all of the founder's descendants, the “profane things” might have also included possible use of the sacred spaces by individual members of the cult community for purposes not sacral, but similar to the agricultural and residential uses which the foundation of Diomedon forbids. This does not necessarily mean that any “profane” use was forbidden, but that eventual “profane” uses were regulated or only

²¹⁹ Cf. van Bremen 1996, 214–216; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 142, 297–299, who also points out that Epiketa earned a legitimate position within Phoenix's family because of her total commitment to perpetuating the male line according to the wishes of Phoenix and Andragoras.

²²⁰ The same meaning is to be attributed to the fact that on the occasion of nuptials taking place in the sanctuary the *gere* to which the priest was normally entitled were given to the person celebrating his wedding, along with other portions of the sacrificial victims (ll. 100–104); cf. Campanelli 2011, notably 669f.

admitted in exceptional situations, such as war in Diomedon's foundation.²²¹ The latter contains another set of regulations concerning the management of the sacred spaces (ll. 43–47): besides the prohibitions of sale and mortgage, appropriating the *temenos* and the attached buildings to oneself (ἐξειδιάζεσθαι) is also forbidden. The verb ἐξειδιάζεσθαι is formed upon ἴδιος (“one's own”, “private”, “personal”), which is the opposite of κοινός,²²² and therefore calls attention, again, to sharing as the only acceptable way to properly enjoy the spaces.

The dialectic between *idion* and *koinon* as a common feature in the sphere of private associations can be illustrated through two examples, different in nature but both involving the management of community spaces. The first concerns the three decrees issued by the gentilicial group of the *Klytidai* on Chios in order to endorse the construction of an οἶκος τεμένιος ἱερός, also called κοινὸς οἶκος (4th century B.C.).²²³ This “sacred house belonging to the *temenos*”, or “shared house”, was intended for keeping the ἱερὰ τὰ κοινά, otherwise indicated as τὰ πατρῶια ἱερά, that is, the ancestral sacred objects of the community which were previously preserved in the ἰδιωτικὰ οἰκία, probably understood as single families which belonged to the *Klytidai* and had been the privileged holders of the *hiera* up to that time. The transfer of these to the shared house certainly aimed at cementing the group identity on a more egalitarian basis through a wider sharing of the sacred objects, which thereby became really *koina*. The process toward the *koinon* is fulfilled in the third decree, through the clause which sanctions the collective enjoyment (ll. 27f.: χρῆσθαι Κλυτίδας κοινῆι) of the house and the plot surrounding it, forbidding individual usage by any person or group (φατρία).²²⁴

The second example is a passage of Theophrastus' testament, which Laum includes in the number of the foundations he collects.²²⁵ The text, in fact, shows many

²²¹ For the relationship between the regulations concerning the usage of spaces in Diomedon's foundation and the “profane things” of Pythion's foundation, see Campanelli 2012a, especially 87–90, where reference is also made to sacred laws which forbid or limit individual uses of material resources belonging to sanctuaries.

²²² Cf. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1968, s.v. ἐξειδιάζομαι and ἴδιος.

²²³ Reference is made to the edition of Graf 1985, 428f., no. 3; the considerations which follow are based on the interpretation of this inscription by Brulé 1998 (= Brulé 2007, 385–403).

²²⁴ For the interpretation of the word φατρία see Brulé 1998, 317f.

²²⁵ D.L. V 52, 9–54, 6 (= Laum 1914, 2, no. 15, not including the full passage); Dareste/Haussoullier/Reinach 1898, 108, compare Epikteta's foundation with Theophrastus' testament in view of both the inalienable nature of the private properties allocated as cult/meeting places and the designation by name of those having the right to membership in the respective communities; the authors argue, however, that the juridical status of the two were different, since the philosophical communities had no legal personality; in their view, this is demonstrated by the way in which Theophrastus' bequest was handed down to subsequent successors as can be reconstructed through the testaments of the two peripatetic philosophers, Strato and Lyco, who seem to have become, in succession, the exclusive holders of the property allocated by Theophrastus for the philosophical activities; cf. D.L. V 70 for

similarities with the foundations examined here. The bequest of the philosopher was to the benefit of a well-defined group of κοινωνοῦντες whose names are listed. They were called to share the κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας, provided that they owned these spaces in common and enjoyed them in terms of familiarity and friendship (ὡς ἂν ἱερόν κοινῇ κεκτημένοις καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκείως καὶ φιλικῶς χρωμένοις) for the established purpose, namely, joint philosophic practice. The estate, which was conceived as sacred (ὡς ἂν ἱερόν), was declared to be inalienable and nobody was permitted to appropriate it for himself. The prohibition of self-appropriation is expressed by the same verb used in Diomedon's foundation, ἐξιδιάζεσθαι, which contrasts with the following adverb κοινῇ, "in common". Both the affiliates of the philosophical community and the descendants of Diomedon were κοινωνοῦντες, and what they shared with their respective fellow members were not only activities, whether intellectual or ritual, but also the places where such activities were performed.

Albeit in different and not always explicit ways, the concept of *koinon* recurs in all of the family cult foundations seen so far, and goes beyond the self-evident sharing of ritual actions, also embracing spatial and patrimonial values. Both Diomedon's and Epikteta's foundations make this explicit through the designation of the respective cult communities. In both texts a number of prohibitions aimed at preventing any individual use of the cult place, which was reserved for collective enjoyment; however, there are some differences between the two foundations. In that of Diomedon the physical and patrimonial overlap between sacred funds and sacred spaces is phrased through the broad and multifaceted sense of *hiera*, "the sacred things" which were to be fully shared among the community members; in Epikteta's foundation, on the other hand, the situation is more elaborate, since a logistic and patrimonial distinction is made between the foundation assets and the cult place: indeed, the plots allocated as a pledge lay elsewhere from the sanctuary which, in turn, was not an integral part of the funding system; both were bequeathed to the legitimate heiress Epiteleia, but the management of the funds and the supervision over the cult place were shared among the community members, who enacted an administrative and deliberative *koinonia* by means of a complex organisational system.

A somewhat similar situation can be seen in Poseidonios' foundation, where the principle of primogeniture was respected in designating the founder's firstborn as the beneficiary of the properties allocated for funding the cult, but in this case, too, the community members were entrusted with management of the funds through the office of *epimenios*; they also appear as a deliberative body in the sanction formula of the *dogma* by which the foundation is ratified and enacted (ll. 22–23: ἔδοξεν Ποσειδωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς ἐκ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ τοῖς εἰληφόσιν ἔξ αὐτῶν). Unlike Epikteta's

the passage of Lyco's testament concerning the bequest of the *peripatos* to a group of ten friends who intended to use it to carry on with their philosophical studies.

foundation and similar to that of Diomedon, the revenues came, at least partially, from the cult place, which thereby turns out to have an economic value too. Significantly, the term κοινόν appears in reference to the passage of the properties under the ownership of the cult community in the event that Poseidonios' eldest son failed to fulfil his obligations. In contexts such as this, the phrase εἶναι κοινόν (cf. ll. 28f.) indicates an internal transition to an extended ownership which occurs completely privately, in contrast with εἶναι δημόσιον, which refers to something that is or becomes public.²²⁶ The latter formula appears for example in a civic decree from the island of Anaphe,²²⁷ by which a place in the sanctuary of Apollo *Asgelatas* was granted to a private citizen who had requested it in order to build a public temple of Aphrodite (ἦμεν δαμόσιον: ll. 21; 28) at his own expense.²²⁸

The same difference between “public” and “in common” can be seen in the private status of the sanctuary founded by Pythion: the fact that this had to be held in common by all of his descendants (ll. 15f.: τὸ δὲ ἱερόν ἔστω τῶν υἰῶν πάντων κοινόν) certainly fits the practice of a joint sacrifice therein (l. 7: συνθυόντων), but a shared ownership of the material resources of the sanctuary can be supposed, even though it is not possible to specify the conditions and requirements on which it was based, due to the document's brevity. The same goes for Charmylos' foundation, known from a *horos* which is by nature concise and does not specify the regulations concerning the use of the properties consecrated by the founder. However, the shared enjoyment of the sacred spaces by the family group named after Charmylos is very likely.

In conclusion, a brief reference can be made to the two fragments from Thera and Halicarnassus. The inscription from Thera²²⁹ mentions χωρία (ll. 1; 3; 7), which may have served as sources of income, and probably refers to building or maintenance activities within the cult place (l. 2: ἐπισκευάζ[ηι]; l. 4: τὰ δέοντα ἐπισκευ[ᾶς]; l. 5: στεγνόν). The remains of ll. 8f. concern prohibitions which, however, seem to be slightly different from those in the foundations of Diomedon and Epikteta, because the employed formulas are characteristic of the funerary sphere: μὴ ἐχέτω δὲ ἐξουσίαν μηθεὶς θέμμεν ἄλλον μηθένε [ἐς τὸ τέμενος· ἔστω δὲ ὁ] θεὶς καὶ ὑπόδικος τῶ[ι δάμωι τῶι Θεραίων δρα]χμῶν χιλιάν, καὶ τὸ ἐπ[ιδέκατον ἔστω τοῦ κοινοῦ] τῶν συγγενῶν. The verb τίθημι, referring to a person (μηθένε), technically indicates the burial rights within a funerary monument (“to put someone”, that is, “to bury”); fines against vio-

²²⁶ Cf. Migeotte 2006, especially 188–190, where he points out that the concept of *koinon* in Poseidonios' foundation has been misunderstood by Hegyi 1976, 85f., in her attempt to demonstrate the way in which sanctuaries originally in private ownership were liable to become public; in other contexts, however, the term *koinon* is used as a synonym of *demosion*: cf. e.g. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 2, 36–38.

²²⁷ *IG XII 3*, 248 (ca. end of the 3rd century B.C.).

²²⁸ He was, however, allowed to use materials made available by the sanctuary: cf. ll. 9f.

²²⁹ Cf. above, fn. 86.

lations are also a common feature in these contexts.²³⁰ Accordingly, it is likely that the foundation from Thera dealt with the funerary cult at a family tomb, but it is not possible to determine from the surviving text whether a cult of deities was also included.

The inscription from Halicarnassus²³¹ refers to an *oikia* which may have belonged to the *syggeneis* mentioned in the lines immediately preceding and following l. 4 (ἡ οἰκία ἔστω τῶν [συγγενῶν—]). It would have been interesting to know the nature of this “house”, but from what remains of the text it is not possible to understand whether it was a mere source of income or had a cultic function similar to that of the *oikia* in Diomedon’s and Charmylos’ foundations. The reference to the polis in l. 7 (ἐμ πόλει πρὸς τοῖς [—]) certainly concerns the localization of properties allocated for funding the cult.²³² Whatever the nature of the cult was, it must have included an animal sacrifice, since the *σπλάγγνα* are mentioned at l. 9. The allocation of properties lying within the city might differentiate this foundation slightly from the previous ones, which seem to show a more rural context. Besides this urban real estate, however, landed properties must also have been involved, as the last preserved lines (11–16) deal with the rent conditions of an *ἀγρός*,

Finally, a fragment from Cos deserves to be mentioned because it might fall into the category of family cult foundations.²³³ From what remains of the text, indeed, it is possible to reconstruct a testamentary formula similar to that in the “Testament of Epikteta”: εἴη [μέν μοι ὑγιαίνοντι τὰ ἔμαυτοῦ διοικεῖν· ἔὰν δέ τι περὶ με γίνηται τῶν ἀν[θρώπων, καταλείπω - - - - -].²³⁴ The other surviving words concern a consecration of an *ἀγρός*, possibly including an *οἰκία*, and something else which is lost: ἀνιερω τὸν ἀγρὸν τ[ὸν - - - - - καὶ τὴν οἰκί[αν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγρο[ῦ - - - - - ἀ]νιερω δὲ [καὶ. It is not possible to know, however, whether the family of the testator was the beneficiary of the bequest or the purpose for which this was intended, even though the consecration of land points to a cult foundation.²³⁵

230 Cf. Ritti 2004, 494f., 513f., 539–548 (with particular reference to Hierapolis in Phrygia in the Imperial period); the term *temenos* referring to the burial place was restored by Hiller von Giertringen (cf. above, fn. 87) who was convinced that this inscription was connected with Epikteta’s foundation.

231 Cf. above, fn. 88.

232 Cf. e.g. TAM II 1037 (= Laum 1914, 1, no. 138a): allocation of “three houses lying in front of the stadium” in order to fund annual libations for the deceased Pheidias and Arete (Olympos, Lycia; Imperial period).

233 Laum 1914, 2, 57, no. 48; for another similar fragment cf. Segre 1993, ED 219.

234 Cf. Epikteta’s foundation, ll. 5–7: εἴη μὲν μοι ὑγιανοῦσαι καὶ σωιζομέναι τὰ ἴδια διοκέν, εἰ δέ τί κα γένηται περὶ με τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπολείπω κτλ.

235 The same verb is used in the foundation of Phanomachos seen above.

5 Conclusions

During the Hellenistic age, the creation of family cults addressed either to deities or jointly to deities and deceased family members brought into being family cult communities which were responsible for both the continuity of the cult institution and the management of the funds intended for this purpose.

The fact that two fragments from Thera and Halicarnassus (and possibly a third fragment from Cos) can probably be added to the documentary cluster (all from the south-Aegean Doric area), suggests that the phenomenon, at least in these localities, might have been more widespread than the main dossier of the five relatively well-preserved inscriptions would lead us to believe.

The comparative analysis of the texts provides a consistent picture of a well-codified family institution. From a religious point of view, a trend toward the heroization of deceased family members is apparent, even though the chronology of the inscriptions and textual data do not allow us to accept the idea of a linear development toward the bestowal of the actual title of hero on the deceased, passing through an intermediate stage in which they were indirectly heroized by means of their cultic connection with deities or divine personifications. However, this old, going back to W. Kamps interpretation has the merit of identifying the placement of deceased family members under the aegis of a family's patron deities as a feature of family cult foundations in the Hellenistic age. Kamps is also right in considering the heroization, whether incipient or fulfilled, of recently deceased people as a religious expression of a new family solidarity more restricted than the clan, which recognized itself in the worship of remote shared forefathers. The application of this theory has allowed S. Sherwin-White to ascribe to the number of family cult foundations the *horos* from Cos, bearing traces of the foundation of Charmylos, who has been recognized as a recently deceased founder of a family cult instead of as a mythical eponymous hero. The essential data provided by this document and its archaeological context has contributed to further research. The result of later studies on family structure in different places and times lead us to reject the idea of a generalized passage from an extended to a nuclear family during the Hellenistic period. Nonetheless, Kamps' interpretation suggests the necessity of studying family cult foundations in the light of sociopolitical and historical factors that likely affected the structure and identity of the family. This has partially been attempted in more recent times, by interpreting family cult foundations as a strategy of aggregation to cope with external (sociopolitical upheavals) and internal (mortality, migration) dangers which could undermine the social recognition of the family or its survival.

The analysed texts show the intention for self-representation in the private *pantheon* created by the founders, where a common thread is the juxtaposition of gods closely connected with the household sphere and gods borrowed from the civic *pantheon* or from cults of sub-polis groups. The adherence to the religious traditions of the polis and its internal subdivisions reveals a will to display all of the social levels to

which a family belonged, over and above membership in the household. The fatherland's religious customs were embedded in the family tradition in various ways: by establishing a privileged bond between the founder and a civic god, as is the case of the epithet *Diomedonteios* attributed to Heracles in Diomedon's foundation, or by dedicating a cult to deceased family members along with or under the aegis of civic gods, as is the case in Charmylos' foundation; especially significant is the choice of deities named *patrooi*, as in the foundations of Pythion and Poseidonios, where this multifaceted adjective reflects the merging of fatherland ancestry with household ancestry.

Some differences among the foundations can be detected in respect of the membership in the cult communities and the juridical means of handing down the funds allocated for the cult. The membership in the cult communities shows various degrees of inclusiveness, ranging from the generic entitlement of the founder's descendants in Diomedon's foundation to the designation by name of a number of extended family members outside the direct line of descent in Epikteta's foundation; Poseidonios' foundation can be perhaps placed at an intermediate point, because the descendants of the founder by both the male and female lines are included, but membership also seems to be extended to his sons-in-law; in Pythion's and Charmylos' foundations the entitled people are designated in even more general terms than in Diomedon's foundation, but equally underlining the concept of progeny. In general, however, the founder's direct descent down the male line turns out to be privileged according to the texts which allow us to verify this (foundations of Diomedon, Poseidonios and Epikteta).

From a cultic point of view, the priesthood is handed down from eldest son to eldest son in the foundations of Diomedon and Poseidonios, whereas in Epikteta's the situation is complicated by the absence of direct male offspring, and the principle of primogeniture is therefore reinstated by the appointment of the son of Epikteta's daughter and his descendants as priests of the Muses and heroes. Diomedon's foundation also decrees a sharp distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, prohibiting the latter from access to priesthood and participation in the sacrifices to *Pasios* and the *Moirai*, which are reserved for legitimate male descendants.

From a financial point of view, the foundations of Poseidonios and Epikteta privilege the direct descendants of the founders over other community members in the transmission of the legacy according to the rights of inheritance; the remaining male members of the family associations are only entitled to manage the part of the income allocated for cult purposes.

The peculiarities of the individual foundations might be connected, at least in part, with individual family histories, and might mirror the strategies adopted by families to cope with events which threatened to undermine the continuity of the *oikos* and the proper inheritance of household assets.

Besides calling attention to the necessity of studying family cult foundations in the light of diachronic and synchronic developments of the family, these consid-

erations also provide an appropriate framework for the main subject of this paper, namely, the conception of the physical spaces which seem to play an essential role in the foundation system. Two kinds of space emerge from the texts: the ritual space structured as a sanctuary, whether connected with a family tomb or not, and the real estate which provides income for funding the cult. The sacredness of both kinds of space is phrased through the dedication formulas in Diomedon's foundation and on the boundary stone associated with the foundation of Charmylos, where the adjective *ἱερός* is used with reference to all of the land and buildings included in the sanctuary. Sacredness seems to be implied in the terms *temenos* and *hieron*, which appear in all of the inscriptions studied here, except for the *horos* of Charmylos' sanctuary. The analysis of the texts confirms the wide range of meanings entailed in the basic nature of the *temenos* as a space "cut off" for entry into the sacred sphere. In the documents examined, its character ranges from that of consecrated land suitable for farming to that of sacred precinct housing a shrine or heroic tombs and used, accordingly, for cult activities. Both kinds of *temenos* are present in Diomedon's inscription, where they are indicated by the use of the plural *temene* and the singular *temenos*, respectively. When *temenos* and *hieron* appear in the same inscription (Diomedon's and probably Pythion's), the difference between the two can be supposed to be conceptual or functional in nature. The first possibility, which involves a difference in degree of sacredness, might be illustrated by Pythion's inscription, if a *temenos* is actually mentioned along with the *hieron*: the latter might be interpreted as the ritual space of the sanctuary and, accordingly, its most sacred part; *temenos*, on the other hand, might indicate the physical area of the cult place as a whole, encompassing the *hieron* itself. In the sanctuary founded by Diomedon, on the other hand, *temenos* and *hieron* might indicate two distinct but adjacent precincts which probably differ in their cultic function, given the plurality of deities worshipped by the cult community; the cultic use of the *temenos* is in any case assured by the *oikia* lying therein, which functioned as a shrine – the place where cult statues and votive offerings were kept. A cultic specialization can be attributed with certainty to the *temenos* of Epikteta's inscription, which was clearly for funerary purposes. It is more difficult, on the other hand, to pinpoint the nature of the *temenos* in Poseidonios' foundation and its topographical relationship with the family tomb (*mnemeion*), but it may be a sacred precinct intended for cult activities (e.g. the worship of the deities: Apollo of Telmessos, Zeus *Patroos*, the Mother of the Gods and the *Moirai*), because it was the place decreed for displaying the stele engraved with the foundation inscription.

As for the constructions lying within these sacred spaces, the most informative inscription is that of Diomedon, which also allows us to connect some of the buildings mentioned with the cult practices of the family community. As implied by the very name and confirmed by literary and epigraphic evidence, the *xenones* might have served as banquet halls, and the same function can perhaps be attributed to the *lesche* if indeed it is actually mentioned as the structure within the *hieron*. The *oikemata* can be interpreted as service buildings based on textual clues concerning

the use of some of them as storehouses, at least in some situations. Two residential buildings, probably owned by members of Diomedon's family in their private capacity, were topographically attached to the sanctuary and bear names alluding to the ritual use for which they were fitted in exceptional cases (οἰκία ἀνδρεία and οἰκία γυναικεία). The interpretation of the *oikia* within the *temenos* as a shrine is strongly supported by the inscription on the *horos* of Charmylos' sanctuary: the *oikia*, which this text distinguishes from the other *oikiai* belonging to the cult place, is probably to be identified with the partially preserved tomb-temple whose remains also indicate the monumental shape which these private temples/tombs might have had.

The sanctuaries examined here show a flexibility in the use of the buildings which were fit for "profane" functions, too. This is why they could be rented out for residential use or other purposes. The freedmen who were tenants of the *kaipos* belonging to the sanctuary of Heracles *Diomedonteios* likely lived in the *xenones* overlooking the garden itself, the same "guesthouses" or "guestrooms" where the annual community banquets probably took place; similarly, the *oikia*-temple was suitable for dwelling, as is indirectly confirmed by the prohibition against it. On the other hand, open spaces inside the cult places or immediately surrounding them could be rented out for agricultural use. This is certainly true for the *temene* and the garden belonging to the sanctuary of Heracles *Diomedonteios*, and for the number of plots and gardens marked out by the boundary stone of Charmylos' sanctuary, whereas the economic utilization of the *temenos* of Poseidonios' inscription is less clear, because the phrasing of the text does not allow us to understand whether it was the precinct enclosing the *mnemeion* or an independent cult area including buildings to be rented out for residential purposes; the land surrounding the family tomb, on the other hand, was certainly used for agricultural purposes: in this respect, the possibility that the ἀύλη attached to the *mnemeion* itself refers to a farmstead cannot be ruled out. Possible economic uses of the sanctuary's spaces might also be implied in the "profane things" concisely mentioned in Pythion's inscription.

The fact that these cult places also represented a body of economic resources has important consequences for the conception of the sacred space, which can be understood, accordingly, as an actual *patrimonium* blending family religious traditions with family assets. The concept of *patrimonium* fits the interpretation of the phrase τοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνεῦντες, used in Diomedon's inscription to designate the members of the cult community, as indicating those who share not only rituals but also sacred spaces with a financial value. The shared enjoyment of the sacred spaces among the members of the family communities recurs in various ways throughout the inscriptions: the sanctuary founded by Pythion was to be τῶν υἱῶν πάντων κοινόν; the *temenos* and other properties involved in Poseidonios' foundation were declared to be κοινά under particular circumstances; prohibitions against individual uses of the sacred spaces were included in Diomedon's and Epikteta's foundations. Since the *Mouseion* and the *temenos* of the latter were not an integral part of the funding

system, these prohibitions specifically aimed at protecting the meeting place as the representation of the group identity.

The main form of protection of the shared spaces was their consecration. It established a distance between the cult community and the spaces which fell into divine ownership, without, of course, excluding their management and use by humans. The separation of the gods' properties from the surrounding territory entailed the arrangement of boundary stones on the ground. This well-documented procedure finds correspondence in the *horos* of the *Charmyleion*, which claimed the sacredness of all of the land plots and buildings it marked out independently of the specific use, whether ritual or financial, for which they were intended. By way of analogy, similar boundary stones may have demarcated the other family sanctuaries, tombs, and landed properties seen so far. But what is even more relevant is the location of the *Charmyleion* in the Coan countryside. Since the *horoi* were necessarily set up in the spaces they demarcated, the mention of the real estate (land, gardens and *oikiai*) together with the *oikia* on the boundary stone of the *Charmyleion* allows us to conclude that the landed properties of the *Charmyle(i)oi* lay in the immediate surroundings of the preserved tomb-temple. This arrangement, with a family cult place resting on a family estate, might represent the religious landscape typical of family sanctuaries/tombs established by foundations, especially so since this supposition finds correspondence in the epigraphic data, which suggest a topographical relationship between family cult places and landed properties, at least as far as Diomedon's and Poseidonios' foundations are concerned. Landed properties surrounded the family tomb of Poseidonios, even though its topographical connection with the *temenos*, which could be rented out, cannot be verified with certainty; on the other hand, undoubtedly attached to the *mnemeion* was the "courtyard", which would provide further evidence for farming activities connected with the cult place if the term *αὐλή* actually referred to a farmstead. The *temene* belonging to the sanctuary of Heracles *Diomedonteios* were also likely in its immediate surroundings, as the text does not give the topographical references usually seen in inscriptions such as rent contracts or foundation texts dealing with properties located elsewhere from the place where the inscriptions were displayed.

The above-mentioned concepts of family self-representation and self-preservation may provide an appropriate framework for interpreting the family sanctuary/tombs and attached properties which are inherent in this particular foundation system. Ultimately, family *monumenta* might have functioned as landmarks which were placed on the family estate in order to display the presence of landowners' families on given territories. But it is not only a matter of monumental visibility: family sanctuaries as well as family tombs, especially when they housed heroized deceased, also made manifest the act of consecration. In terms of family self-preservation, a foundation might have been intended to ensure the legitimate transmission of the inheritance under the aegis of the "ancestral" gods and family heroes. This is all the more likely if one considers that the cult places were themselves an integral part of

family assets and were used in most cases as sources of income. However, further research is needed to verify whether family cult foundations can be interpreted as an actual patrimonial strategy from a juridical and financial point of view.

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Abbreviations

The titles of the periodicals are abbreviated according to *L’Année Philologique*. The abbreviations for epigraphic *corpora* and collections conform to *SEG – Index* 36–45 (1986–1995) and *SEG* 55 (2005). Periodicals and epigraphic *corpora* and collections not included in the above lists are quoted in extenso in the bibliography below.

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