

CGRN 225


Dossier of regulations concerning the cult of the Goddess at Marmarini (near Larisa)

Date :

ca. 225-150 BC

Justification: lettering (Decourt - Tziaphalias; Bouchon - Decourt). The text is generally incised in mid-Hellenistic small lettering (*alpha* with straight bar; smaller round letters, such as *omicron* and *omega*; four-bar *xi*; but a relatively closed *sigma*). According to Carbon (2016b: 186 n.1), the letters compare particularly well with those found in the letter of Philip V to Larisa (IG IX.2 517, 215 BC) and those of the inscriptions edited and reedited by Helly 2007: 210-224 (Larisa during the Third Macedonian War, ca. 175-171 BC). At any rate, ca. 150 BC should probably be viewed as a *terminus ante quem* (the inscriptions falling after 170 BC in Helly 2007: 224-270 seem to present later letterforms, e.g. *alpha* with a broken bar). *Iota adscriptum* remains the norm and *iota subscriptum* is only occasionally implied in the inscription (cf. lines A1, B17, B19, B25). There otherwise appears to be no internal basis for dating the inscription: mentions of the Aiginetan monetary standard and of Attic measures which recur throughout the text do not help with dating (since Thessaly was a zone of the Aiginetan standard already from the 5th century BC—we thank P. Iossif for this information; the Attic measures were also widespread). The dialect of the inscription is generally Hellenistic *koine*, but characterised by a mixture of other forms (Doric: e.g. ἔσω, line B25, probably τέλειον, lines A31, B3, 45, 65, and cf. B § 14; Attic: τετρακοστίαν, line B26), which appear to be reflective of the 'middle ground' of the cult and the mixed composition of the document more than of any specific chronological juncture.

Provenance

Modern Marmarini, east of ancient [Larisa](#) . The stele was found in a dump; its original context is lost (for some further details, see Decourt - Tziaphalias, p. 14). Now in the Museum of Larisa (inv. no. 2002/33).

Support

A tall opisthographic stele. Face A is heavily weathered but the text remains in good part legible for more than 55 lines. On Face B, the text is almost fully preserved.

Height: 145 cm

Width: 42.5-48 cm

Depth: 7.6-11.5 cm


Archive 2026

Layout

On Face B, sections of the text are carefully demarcated through the use of *paragraphoi* in the left margin. Additionally, where a new section begins in the middle of a line, a dicolon (:) occasionally demarcates it. This form of punctuation can also be used to delimit phrases within sections. On Face A, punctuation is present, but the *paragraphoi* are more difficult to discern given the erosion of the stone. In the text given here, we have offered an interpretation of the sections on the basis of *paragraphoi*, punctuation, and the presence of topical headings on Face A (cf. lines 18, 28, 48).

Letters: 0.7-0.8 cm high on average, with smaller omicron, 0.4-0.5 cm high.

Bibliography

Edition of the text by J.-M. Carbon and C.V. Crowther based on a revision from autopsy and using RTI  photography (permit of the Greek Archaeological Council no ΥΠΠΟΑ/ΓΔΑΠΚ/ΕΦΑΛΑΡ/ΤΠΚΑΧΜΑΕΜ/415104/248955/4689/760). This edition contains several differences and/or improvement from the excellent revision by [Bouchon - Decourt 2017](#), with phs. For the most significant *variae lectiones* from this earlier edition, see the Apparatus below. All the readings adopted in the Text below are those of Carbon and Crowther, with the exception of lines A9-10; for the correct reading of the name Νειρι|γλην there, see Zerhoch. Note, however, that the decipherment of Face A surely still remains to be improved in several areas. We are particularly grateful to Robert Parker, who generously provided acute remarks and valuable advice on this new edition.

Cf. also: [Decourt - Tziaphalias 2015](#), for the first edition, with multiple corrections by R. Bouchon, J.-C. Decourt and B. Helly in [REG 2016 BE](#) no. 291-292; [Parker - Scullion 2016](#), for a transl. and commentary (cf. [REG 2017 BE](#) no. 292); [Carbon 2016b](#), for textual notes and some commentary (cf. [REG 2017 BE](#) no. 291); Chaniotis [SEG 65](#), 376.

Further bibliography: [Masson 1969](#); [Savalli 1985](#); [Lightfoot 2003](#); [Linssen 2004](#): 64 n. 290; [Helly 2007](#); [Labarre 2007](#); [Paul 2013b](#); [Badoud 2015](#): 116-117; [Parker 2016](#); [Stamatopoulou 2016](#); [Georgoudi 2017](#); [Petrovic - Petrovic 2018](#); [Ekroth 2018](#); [Parker 2018a](#); [Carbon - Pirenne-Delforge 2019](#); [Zerhoch 2022](#); [Pirenne-Delforge forthc.](#); [Chaniotis forthc.](#)

Text

Face A

[...]
 ?
 1 line
 [.....]

[.....^{1 line}.....]

[..]· [π]ασῶν δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν [.....^{c.5}]ον θύειν τὰ (?) ἱερὰ (?) τῆι πέμπτη
[...][?] ἔστιν ἐπεὶ δὴ (?) [.....]

[πρ]ὸ τῶν Ἐλουλαίων : τῆι δωδεκάτη Μοίραι προθύειν καὶ κοινήι, καὶ

[ιδ]ίαι τὸμ βουλόμενον τῶν τετελεσμένων : τρεισκαιδεκάτη, πλυνητήρι-

5 α τῶμ περι τὴν θεὸν ἱερῶν, ναὸν καὶ ΠΕΡ[.....^{c.6}]ΑΝ καὶ τύμπανα καὶ πρόσαν-
λον, καὶ μογγαι θυσία, καὶ καθαρμὸς [.....^{c.6}]ΤΑΙ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι μετὰ τῆς ^v

ἱερείας, (sic) τὰς φοιβατρίας καὶ τὸν νεωκόρον καὶ ἂν τις ἄλλος βούληται τῶν
τετελεσμένων : τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη κοσμεῖν τὴν θεὸν καὶ ἀγερ^v-

μὸν ἀποθύειν τῶι Ἡλίωι : πεντεκαιδεκάτη θύειν τῶι Πανὶ ὄν Σύροι Νειρι-

10 γλην καλοῦσιν τὸμ βουλόμενον καὶ θέλοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπιτι-
θέναι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται πλὴν ὄψου καὶ περιστερᾶς καὶ ὁ θύων ἐπιτιθέτω ^v

ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ὅ τι ἂν θέληι καὶ ἀντιλαμβανέτω τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπε-

ζαν ἐπικειμένων· ὑδρευέσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆι χύτραι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆι νυκτερινῆι

15 ἀπὸ κρήνης : ἑκκαιδεκάτη χύτραν ἀνοίγειν καὶ τῆι Μοίραι θύειν τὸμ
βουλόμενον : τῆι μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν θύειν Ἄδαι καὶ ἀλὶ βάλλειν : τῆι ΔΕ ^{vv}

ἐνάτηι (sic) Λιλλαὶ ἀλὶ βάλλειν καὶ <θύειν> Ἀρτέμιδι Φυλακῆι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Πυλού-
χωι ὅ τι ἂν θέληις κα<ι> ἐσθίειν πάντας : εἰκάδι θύειν τράπεζαν κα<ι> ἐπιθύειν

τῆι θεῶι ὅ τι ἂν ἔχηις : τελετὴ τῆς θεοῦ· ἄμ μὲν θέλων τελίσκηται, τρεῖς
ἡμέρας θεραπεύειν, τῆι τρίτηι ξυρεῖσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων τις θέ-

20 ληι τελεσθῆναι, ξυρησάσθω· ἐν τρισὶ χωρίοις σχοῖνον λαβῶν, ξυρεῖσθω
καὶ διακλαινέστω τὸ στόμα, ὁ μὲν ἀγνὸς τῆς θεοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῆς

βοτάνης, ὁ δὲ ἀκάθατος τελισκόμενος αἵματι (διακλαινέστω τὸ στόμα) ὄρ-
νιθος, καὶ ἀναλίσκόντωσαν αἱ φοιβατρίαι τοῦτον· ὁ δὲ τελισκόμενος μὴ γευέ-

στω· φερέτω δὲ λαγάνων χοίνικα ἀττικὴν καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἴνου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγε[ρ]-
25 μοῦ· ἀγείρειν τῆι τρίτηι δεῖ ἥπερ ξυρεῖται, καὶ τῆι Μοίραι θύειν ὄρνιθα καὶ ἀν[αλ]-

ἴσκειν τὸν ἀγερμὸν ὅ τι ἂν ἀγείρηι· ἀποτινέτω δὲ καὶ τῆς σχοίνου τῆι θεῶι π[ρὸ]
τοῦ ξυρήσασθαι τριώβολον· ὅταν δὲ ξυρήσῃται, τῆς ἰλατηρίας ὀβολὸν· λαμ[βα]-

30 νέτω δὲ ἐν τρισὶ χωρίοις· φερέτω δὲ καὶ ἄρτον εἰς τὴν σχοῖνον : ἂν δὲ καταβε-
βρωμένος, θεραπεύειν ὡς ἐ[ζημι]ωμένον ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ· θεραπευέτω ἕως

ἂν ὑγιάνηι καὶ τιθέτω ἡμιωβέλιον καὶ (?) [.....^{c.5}]ΚΟΥ καὶ τὸν ἄρτον : σκάφην ἐάν
τις αἴρηι, τὴμ μὲν πρώτην αἴρειν παρὰ Μοίραι καὶ θύειν πρόβατον τέλεον, ἐ-

ἂν τε ἄρσεν ἢ θῆλυ βούληται, καθαρὸν, λαγάνων τέσσαρας χοίνικας, οἴνου
δύο χοῦς, εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αἰγινάϊαν, τὰ δὲ ἐξαιρούμενα καθάπερ τῆι τραπεζο-

πλησίαι, τὸ δὲ σκέλος ὡμὸν ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ τὸ κοῖδιον τῆι ἱερείαι καὶ ἀναλίσκειν α[ύ]-
35 τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι τῶν ἀτελέστων οὐ γεύονται, τὰ κοῖδια τῆι ἱερείαι : τὴν ^v

δευτέραν σκάφην αἴροντι, κόφινον λαγάνων, χοίνικα ὁμόρας, ἐλαίου κοτύλην,
εἰς τὰς χεῖρας στατῆρα, εἰς κρατῆρα δύο χοῦς, τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξα[ι]ρεῖν ὡσαύτως ὡσ-

περ τῆς πρώτης· φέρειν δὲ ὅπου ἂν βούλη[τα]ι τῶν τετελεσμένων· ἀλὶ δὲ βάλλειν
τὰ ἱερεῖα τὰ θυόμενα ΟΙΕΞΑ[.....] καὶ ἀσκό[- ?.....]ΛΟΓΕΤΙΑ : ὅτι ἂν δὲ (?)

40 [...]ΝΙΣΙΦΟΡΗΙ Χ[...][?]ΣΟ[.] χοῦς Α[.]
 [καὶ (?)] θ[υ]έτω ὅπου ἂν βούληται, ἀ[ρ]γύριον [...]ΟΝΓΙ[...][?] εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
 καὶ τ[ὰ] (?) τῶν σχοίνων καὶ ἂν τις χύτρας [...]ρονται, πίπτειν· ^{viv}
 χύτραν ἐάν τις βούληται [πλ]ῆσαι (?), παγασ[...][?] τὴμ μὲν χύτραν
 θύειν ὀπηλίκην (?) ἂν βούληται καὶ ὅποι ἂν θέλη [καὶ ?] ἀλὶ βάλλειν δεῖ τάδε ἱερά
 45 κυάμους, ἐρεβίνθους, φακούς, ΟΠ[...][?] ἄμ βούληται, ἄρν[α]
 ΕΥΡΙΝΟΝΤΑΔ[.]· σχοῖνον δὲ ἂν τ[ις] [...] ὅ τι ἂν ἄλλ[ο] ἔχη[ις] ἢ ἄμ
 πλὴν σκόρδου καὶ πράσσοντι Ο[.]ΟΥ [...]AM[...][?]ΠΙΡΑΣΙΤΗΙ·
 ὄρκον ἐάν τις ὀμνύη περὶ [...]Α[...][?], ὀβ[ο]λὸν τιθέτω,
 π[ε]ριλαβῶν ὄπλον τῆς θεοῦ ὅ τι ἄμ βούληται [...]· ^{c.8} εἰ ?] δὲ μνάς ἄξιον, ^v
 50 τριώβολον τιθέτω καὶ λαμβανέτω τὸν [...]Ο[...][?]· ἐάν δὲ ἀτέλεστος
 ᾖ, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πινέτω· ἐάν δὲ τ[ις] Ν[.]ΟΡΜ[.]ΙΝ βούληται, ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ ἰχθύος πι-
 νέτω καὶ τιθέτω δραχμὰν αἰγιναίαν καὶ [ἀ]γνεύση ἕως ἂν ζώη· ἐάν δὲ τις
 περὶ μικροῦ ὀμνύη, λουσάμενος κατὰ κεφα[λ]ῆς, ὀμνύετω ἐν τῷ γυνύθωι
 καὶ τιθέτω ἡμιωβέλιον : τελεῖν {ΙΩΙ} τῷ σφάξαντι καὶ τὰ ἱερά ἐξέλονται τὰ ἡμ[ι]-
 55 ωβέλια. ^{vacat}
^{vacat}

Face B

εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς θεοῦ ἀμύητον μὴ εἰσπορεύεσθαι[ι]·
 ἐάν δὲ εἰσέλθῃ, καθαίρειν ἀλεκτορίδι καὶ μετα-
 θύειν ἄλλον ἀλέκτορα τέλεον ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Μοίρας
 βωμόν, καὶ καθαίρειν τὴν ἱέρειαν ἢ τὸν νεωκόρον
 5 ἢ τῶν τὰ ἱερά αἰρουσῶν τινα, καὶ φέρειν δύο χοῖν[ι]-
 κας ἄρτων, οἴνου κοτύλας ὀκτώ εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα.
 εἰς τὸ πρόθυρον μὴ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἀμύητον, ἐ{α}-
 ἄμ μὴ εὐχὰς τις βούληται ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἰμά[τι]-
 α ἔχειν καθαρὰ, καὶ ἐξαγνεύση τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέ[ρας]
 10 ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προγεγραμμένων· φέρειν δὲ [ἐ]-
 πὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐλαίου ἡμικοτύλιον ἐπὶ λύχνον,
 ὀβολὸν, δαΐδας, λιβανωτὸν, σπονδὴν. ^{vacat}
 εἰς τὸ πρόθυρον ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ τῶν ἀμυήτ[ων],
 καθαίρειν ἀλέκτορι ἢ ἄρσενι ἢ θηλείαι, μεταθύειν
 15 δὲ σκέλος οὗ ἄμ βούληται, πλὴν χοιρέου, καὶ λαγάνων
 τρεῖς χοίνικας ἀττικὰς καὶ οἴνου ἡμίχουν. ^{vacat}
 ἀγείρειν μηνὸς Ἰτωνίου `νουμηνιά´ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλους, εἰς δὲ οἰκίαν
 μὴ ἀγείρειν μηδὲ εἰσφέρειν τὰ ἱερά· ἐὰμ μὴ τριῶν ἡμε-
 ρῶν προεῖπη, `ἀγείρειν δὲ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἕως δωδεκάτης´, ἐάν δὲ τις τῶν φοιβατριῶν ταῦτα `μὴ
 ´ ποιῆι, ἀπο-
 20 τινέτω εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἄρνα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν θυσίαν.

ἐπιγραφὴ εἰς τὸ περίστυλον· “προϋῆσαι πρώτη τῆι Φυλακῆι καὶ τῶι Μηνὶ θύματα, λιβανωτόν”. *vacat*

ἐὰν δέ τις θυσίαν βούληται θύειν ἀλέκτορας λευκοὺς, θ[ύ]-

ειν τῶι μὲν Μηνὶ ἄρσενας, τῆι δὲ Φυλακῆι θηλείας, καὶ ἐὰν ἀρ-

25 νία θ' ἐ' λη, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· εἰσπορεύεσθαι δὲ ἕ[σ]ω, τῆμ μὲν <ἀπό> λ[ο]-

χοῦ τριακοσταίαν, τὴν δὲ διαφθείρουσαν τετταρακοσταίαν,

ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς δὲ λελουμένην κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ κατὰ

φύσιν ἐβδομαίαν· ἐὰν δὲ τις εἰσέλθῃ μὴ ἀγνεύσας τῶν προ-

γεγραμμένων, καθαρὰ τὸν βωμὸν νοσσοῦ ἀλέκτο-

30 ρος, καὶ ἐπιθυσάτω ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς Φυλακῆς βωμοῦ ὄρνιθα θή-

λειαν ἢ ἀποπυρίδα, μῶν κρέων ὁποίων ἂν θέλῃς πλήν χοιρέ-

ων, καὶ χοίνικα λαγάνων καὶ εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα οἴνου κοτύλας

τέσσαρας· καθαίρειν δὲ τὸν νεωκόρον ταῦτα καὶ τῶν φοι-

βατριῶν ἧτις ἄμ παρῆι : ἐὰν δὲ τις θύειν βούληται τῆι θεῶι Ἐλ-

35 ληνικῶι νόμωι, ἕξεστιν ὅ τι ἄμ βούληται πλήν χοίρου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ[ι]

θυσίαι, φέρειν δεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα χοίνικα λαγάνων,

ὁμόρας χοίνικα, καὶ τριώβολον εἰς θησαυρὸν καὶ ἐλαίου ἐπὶ λύχνον κοτύ-

λην καὶ εἰς κρατῆρα οἴνου χοῶ· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ στήθος ἐφθὸν ἐπὶ τὴν

τράπεζαν καὶ τὸ σκέλος ὠμὸν τῆι ἱερείαι· τὰ σπλάγχνα ἔψειν, ἦπαρ καὶ

40 πλεύμονα καὶ φρένας καὶ νεφρὸν ἀριστερὸν καὶ γλώσσαν· τὸν δὲ δεξιὸν

νεφρὸν καὶ ἀκροκόλιον δεξιὸν καὶ καρδίαν καὶ ἐπίπλουν καὶ τὸ σκέλο[ς]

τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στήθους καὶ τῆς κέρκου τὸ νομιζόμενον εἰς ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ·

ταῦτα ποήσας καὶ ἀποθύσας, φερέτω ἄλλο ἱερεῖον οὗ ἄμ βούλη-

ται καὶ ἐσθιέτω ὁ βουλόμενος : ἂν δὲ τις τραπεζοπλησίαν βού-

45 ληται ποιεῖν τῆι θεῶι τελέαν, πρόβατον τέλεον, ἄρσεν ἢ θῆλυ, ὕ[ψ]

ἔψειν δὲ ὅλον, ὁμόρας [χ]οίνικας δύο, λαγάνων χοίνικας τέσσαρας

οἴνου χοῦς δύο, εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν δραχμῆν, ἐλαίου κοτύλην ἐπὶ

λύχνον καὶ ἀτέλεσ[τ]ος τούτων οὐ γέυεται : ἐὰν τις πανημερί-

σαι βούληται τῆι θεῶι, ἄριστον φερόμενος ὅ τι ἂν βούληται, πλήγ

50 χοιρέων κρεῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ λύχνον ἐλ[αί]ου ἡμικοτύλιον. *vacat*

πρὸς τὸ οὔσας τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰς χα[ί]τα[ς], λ[ι]βανωτόν, σμύρναν, θυ-

μίαμα, ἀρώματα, μύρον ρόδιον, τριώβ[ολο]ν εἰς θησαυρόν. *vacat*

ἐὰν δὲ ὄρνιθά τις θύῃ ἢ χῆνα, τῆς μὲν ὄρνιθος εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν ὀβο-

λὸν, τοῦ δὲ χηνὸς τριημιωβέλια, τὰ σκέλη ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ

55 ἔνδον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀποφερέτω ὅπου ἂν βούλητ[α]ι· φερέτω δὲ καὶ οἴνου

κοτύλας τέσσαρας, λαγάνων χοίνικα, ἐλ[αί]ου ἡμικοτύλιον. *vacat*

ἐὰν δὲ τις βούλῃ βούληται θύειν, φέρειν ἐπὶ τῆ[ν] τράπεζαν λαγάνων χοί-

νικας τρεῖς, ὁμόρας χοίνικα, οἴνου χοῶς δύο, ἐλ[αί]ου κοτύλας δύο, ξύλα

τὰ ἱκανὰ, εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν χρυσοῦν, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξαιρεῖν καθάπερ τῶν

60 προβάτων : ὅσοι ἂν βούλωνται Νισαναίοις ἢ Ἀλουλαίοις θύειν, εἰς τὴν πομ-

πὴν τὸ ἱερεῖον [ἄ]γειν· ἔστω δὲ ἡ πομπὴ Νισαναίοις μὲν ἔαν ἡ θεὸς ἀπὸ
 ποταμοῦ ἔλθῃ, τῆι αὖριον : Ἀλουλαίοις δὲ τῆι ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τὸ πρῶν·
 εἰς νύκτα δὲ λαμπαδέεσθαι· πέμπειν δὲ τὸμ βουλόμενον, αὐθημε-
 ρὶ λελουμένον κατὰ κεφαλῆς καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἕως τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Φυλακῆς.
 65 ἔαν τις ὀλοκαυτῆσαι βούληται, κριὸν τέλεον, εἰ δὲ μή, ἄρνα ἄρσενα, ἐπὶ
 μὲν τοῦ τελείου, στατῆρα εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄρνός, αἰγιναίαν, ξύ-
 λα τὰ ἱκανὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, οἴνου χοῦν εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα, ἐπὶ τράπεζαν λαγά-
 νων χοίνικα, ὁμόρας χοίνικα, βασισὰ Βαρουτὰ, λιβανωτὸν, σμύρναν, ἐλαί-
 ου κοτύλην ἐπὶ λύχνον : ἔαν δὲ τις χῆνα ὀλοκαυτῆται, εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν
 70 ὀβολοὺς δύο, ξύλα τὰ ἱκανὰ, δαΐδα, οἴνου εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα κοτύλας τέσσα-
 ρας, ἐλαίου ἐπὶ λύχνον ἡμικοτύλιον, βασισὰ Βαρουτὰ, λιβανωτὸν,
 σμύρναν. ἔαν τις τρύββαν ἢ ὄρτυγα ὀλοκαυτῆται, τρία ἡμιωβέλια εἰς τὸν
 θησαυρὸν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ταῦτα τάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ χηνός : πρὸς δὲ τὸμ βωμὸν τὸ[ν]
 μέγαν ἀτέλεστον μὴ προσιέναι, μηδὲ ἀλεκτορίδα θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, μ' ἠ' δ'
 75 ὦιόν προσφέρειν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις τῆι θεῶι ἀλεκτορίδα θύῃ, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Μοίρας
 βωμὸν καὶ προσπορευέσθω ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Μοίρας καὶ Ἡλίου βωμὸν·
 ἔαν δὲ τις προσέλθῃ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν βωμὸν ἀτέλεστος, καθαιρέτω κατὰ τῆ[ν]
 προγεγραμμένην τοῦ περιστύλου κάθαρσιν : ὡσαύτως δὲ φυλασσεσθῶσαν
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδαρα καὶ Λιλλα βωμοῦ· ἔαν τις ἄψηται, καθαιρέτω κατὰ τὴν προ-
 80 γραφὴν τοῦ περιβόλου. ἔαν δὲ τις ἐν τῶι περιστύλῳ ἢ οὐρήσῃ ἢ αἷμα ποήσῃ,
 καθαιρέτω τὸν προγεγραμμένον καθαρμόν. *vacat*

Apparatus (B.-D. = Bouchon - Decourt 2017)

Line A1: [.3.]ΑΣΩΝ B.-D., sugg. [.. ἀπ]ασῶν, [συμπ]ασῶν; πρῶτον [.2.]ΓΕΥΕΙΝ[....8....] B.-D. || Line A2: [.4.]ΤΕΣΤΙΝΕΩΝ[...?] B.-
 D. || Line A5-6: ἱερῶν πάντων? [....11.....] B.-D.; πρὸς αὐ[λον] B.-D.; καθαρμός· ἕκκα[θή]ρασαι B.-D. || Line A7: ἔαν τις B.-D. ||
 Line A9-10: ΝΕΙΡ| ΠΛΗΝ B.-D., Νειρι|πλην CGRN (2019). || Lines A15-16: τῆι δε[κα(τη)]|ενάτη B.-D. || Lines A16-17: ΠΥΛΟ|
 ΧΩΙ B.-D.: [ἐ]ύειν τράπεζαν B.-D. || Line A20: ξυρησάσθω ἐν τρίσιν ἡμέραις, οἶνον λαβὼν ξυρεῖσθαι B.-D. || Lines A23-24: αἰ
 φοιβτραῖ|αὐτόν B.-D.; μὴ θυ|σάτω B.-D. || Lines A28-29: ἐν τρισὶ /ὠΡΙΟΙΣ B.-D.; φερέτω δὲ Κ[....10.....] B.-D.; ἄν δὲ ΚΑΤΑΒ[.2. |
 ..3.]ΜΕΝΟΣ B.-D.; the restoration ἐ[ζημι]ωμένον is exempli gratia, Μ[...7....]όμενος ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ B.-D. || Line A33: τὰ ἱερά αἰρούμενα
 B.-D. || Line A34: τὸ κοῖλον B.-D. || Line A35: τὸ κοῖλον B.-D. || Line A39: καὶ θυσία· τὰ θυόμενα [..?] B.-D.; καὶ ΑΣΚΟ[...?] lapis,
 perhaps the mention of a wineskin, ἄσκος, or measure? || Line A40 not read by B.-D. In [...]ΝΙΣΙΦΟΡΗ|, a verb remains expected, perhaps
 the third-person singular present subjunctive of *ὄνησιφορέω, "bring income"? || Line A41 not read by B.-D. except in fine [..?]Τ ε[ι]ς τὰς
 χεῖ[ρα]ς. || Line A43: [πλ]ῆσαι sugg. Chaniotis in SEG, βούληται [.4.]ΑΙ ἀπὸ ἐνυπνίου [....11.....]ΗΜ|Α ἐν χύτραι B.-D. In
 παγασ[...?..], perhaps a form of πηγῆ (Doric/Thessalian παγά) is to be read or a related verb connected to a spring (cf. line A14; a toponym
 is also possible but perhaps less likely). || Line A44: θύειν οἶν Ἡλίωι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται βάλλειν δεῖ ΤΑΔΕ|[.3.] B.-D. || Line A45:
 [.3.]ΑΜΟΥΣΕ|[.3.]ΝΩΟΥΣΦΑ|[...?] ἄμ βούληται ΑΟΝ B.-D. || Line A46: or ΖΥΜ|ΙΝΟΝΤΑΔ lapis, perhaps εὔρινον (?) (or a masculine
 accusative participle qualifying the lamb, but from what verb?), [.2.]ΜΙΝΟΝΤΩΔ|[.3.]ΙΝΟΝΛΕΑΝ[...?]ΝΑΛΛΟΕΧΗ[...5...] B.-D. || Line
 A47: [.3.]Ν σχο[ι]νυ καὶ ΠΡΑΣΣ[...?] B.-D. || Line A48: ὀμνύτι ΠΕ[...?]ΝΤΙΟ|[.3.] B.-D. || Line A49: [.3.]λαβὼν B.-D.; θυσάτω
 [.4.]ΑΣ μᾶς ἀξίου[ς] καὶ ? B.-D. || Line A51: [.4...] τοῦ βώμου B.-D.; ἔαν δὲ ὠΝ|[.3.]ΑΙ ὅ τι ἂν βούληται B.-D. || Line A53: ὀμνύτω

ἐν τῶν ἐμφώων B.-D. || Line A54: [·]ΙΑΓΕ[·] || τῶν σφάξαντι B.-D. || Lines B7-8: ἐ|ὰμ B.-D. || Line B14: ἀλέκτορι ἄρσενι ἢ θηλείᾳ B.-D. || Line B25: ΘΗΛΗ lapis, θήλη B.-D.; εἴσω B.-D. || Line B35: ἕξεστι B.-D. || Line B68: i.e. βησιᾶ Βηρυτία, see comm. ad loc. || Line B73: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ταῦτά {ΤΑ} περ B.-D. || Line B74: ΜΕΔ lapis, μ'η'δ' B.-D.

Translation

Face A

[...] from all the festivals [...] sacrifice the sacred offerings (?) on the 5th [...] it is. When (?) [...]

§ 1: [... before] the Eloulaia. On the 12th, make a preliminary sacrifice to Moira collectively and one of the initiated who wishes (can also do so) individually. On the 13th, washing (5) of the sacred things around the goddess, the temple and [...] and drums and an accompanying flute, and a sacrifice during the "mogga" dance (?), and a purification; in the sanctuary, together with the priestess, the *phoibatriai* and the *neokoros* [...] and any other of the initiated who wishes. On the 14th, adorn (the statue of) the goddess and fulfill the sacrifice of the collection to Helios.

§ 2: On the 15th, the one who wishes and is willing is to sacrifice to Pan, whom the Syrians call Neirigles (i.e. Nergal), (10) and to set on the table whatever he wishes except fish and pigeon; and let the one sacrificing add on the table whatever he wishes and take in turn (a part) of the things lying on the table. In the nighttime ceremony, draw the water in (or: with) the earthen jug from a spring. On the 16th, open the jug and anyone who wants is to sacrifice to Moira.

§ 3: (15) On the day after the procession, sacrifice to Adara and throw salt. On the 19th, for Lilla, throw salt, and (sacrifice) to Artemis Phylake and Apollo Pylouchos whatever you want and everyone is to eat. On the 20th, sacrifice a table and sacrifice afterward to the goddess whatever you have.

§ 4: Initiatory rite of the goddess. If anyone wants to be initiated, (he is) to serve the cult for three days, (and) on the third day he is to be shaved. If anyone of the impure (20) wishes to be initiated, let him be shaved. Receiving a reed-mat in three places, let him be shaved and let him wash thoroughly his mouth, the pure (initiate) of the goddess (with water) from the golden vessel and from the plant; let the impure one being initiated wash his mouth with blood from a bird, and the *phoibatriai* are to consume this (bird), while the one being initiated is not to taste it. Let him offer an Attic *choinix* of flatbreads and two *kotylai* of wine from the collection. (25) It is necessary to make the collection on the third day, on which he is shaved, and to sacrifice a bird to Moira and to consume what he has collected. Before the shaving takes place, let him also pay a three-obol to the goddess for the reed-mat; when he is shaved, an obol for the propiation. Let him receive (the reed-mat) in three places. Offer also a bread for the reed-mat. If gnawed at, serve the cult as one who is [punished] by the goddess. Let him serve the cult until (30) he is healthy and pay a half-obol and [...] and the (required) bread.

§ 5: If any (initiate) lifts an offering tray, lift the first one by Moira and sacrifice a mature sheep whether male or female (as) he wishes, a pure one, (and offer) four *choinikes* of flatbreads, two *choes* of wine, into the hands (of the goddess) an Aeginetan (drachma); the portions (are) extracted as for the table-fill-

ing ritual, but the leg is removed raw along with the fleece for the priestess, and consume (the meat) (35) on the spot and of the others (present) those who are non-initiates cannot taste it; the fleeces for the priestess. For the one lifting the second offering tray, (it is necessary to offer) a basket of flatbreads, a *choinix* of sesame-honey-cake, a *kotyle* of oil, into the hands (of the statue?) a stater, for the krater, two *choes* (scil. of wine); extract the sacred portions just as in the case of the first (offering tray). One of the initiates may carry (the meat) wherever he wishes. Sprinkle the animals sacrificed with salt [...].

(Uncertain section): And whatever [... (40) ...] a *chous* [... and?] let him sacrifice wherever he wishes, money [...] into the hands (of the statue?) and (the things?) from the reed-mats and if someone [...] jars, he is to pay. If someone wishes to fill (?) a jar, [...] on the one hand sacrifice the jar, as large as he wants and (bringing it) to whatever place he wishes [and?] it is necessary to throw salt on the following (?) sacred offerings: (45) broad beans, chickpeas, lentils [...] as/if he wants, a lamb [...]. If anyone [...] a reed-mat [...] whatever else you have except garlic and to the one doing it (?) [...].

§ 6: If anyone swears an oath concerning [...] let him pay an obol, grasping an implement of the goddess, whichever one he wishes [...]. [If it is?] worth one *mna*, (50) let him pay a three-obol and take the [...]. If he is a non-initiate, let him drink from the altar. If someone wishes to [...], let him drink from the fish and pay an Aeginitan drachma and abstain (from impurity) as long as he lives. If anyone swears an oath concerning something trivial, having washed from the head down, let him swear in the pit and pay a half-obol.

§ 7 (?): Pay to the one slaughtering and extracting the sacred portions the (necessary) half-obols.

Face B

§ 1: Into the temple of the goddess a non-initiate must not enter. If he enters, purify with a hen and sacrifice afterward another mature fowl on the altar of Moira; and the priestess or the *neokoros* (5) or one of the women who carries the sacred objects performs the purification; and (the offender) is to offer two *choinikes* of bread, eight *kotylai* of wine for the krater.

§ 2: Into the entranceway a non-initiate must not enter, unless he wishes to make prayers, (in which case) he is to wear pure clothes and abstain for the three (viz. required) days (10) from all of the aforementioned things. And he is to bring for the prayers a half-*kotyle* of oil for a lamp, an obol, torches, frankincense, a libation.

§ 3: If any of the non-initiates enters into the entranceway, purify with a fowl, whether male or female, and sacrifice afterward (15) a leg of whichever (type of meat) he wishes except pork, and (offer) three Attic *choinikes* of flatbreads and a half-*chous* of wine.

§ 4: Perform the collections on the New Moon (1st day) of Itonios at the threshing areas, but do not enter a house to make a collection and do not carry in the sacred objects. If one does not announce (the collection) publicly during the period of three days—(interlinear addition:) collection is done from the 10th

until the 12th—if any of the *phoibatriai* does—(interlinear addition:) not—do this, (20) let her pay as atonement to the shrine a lamb and the things (necessary) for it with regard to its sacrifice.

§ 5: Inscription on the peristyle: "Sacrifice preliminarily to Phylake first and (then) to Men: offerings for burning, frankincense."

§ 6: If anyone wishes to make a sacrifice (consisting of) white fowl, sacrifice the males to Men, the females to Phylake; and if (anyone) wishes (to sacrifice) little lambs, (proceed) in the same way. The woman (from) childbed can go inside (the sanctuary) on the thirtieth day, the one having aborted/miscarried on the fortieth day, from (sex with) her husband having washed from the head down (on the same day), from the menses on the seventh day. If anyone enters who has not abstained from the aforementioned things, let one purify the altars with a chick of a fowl (30) and sacrifice in addition on the altar of Phylake a female bird or a fish-fry, a *mna* of meat, of whichever type you want except pork, and a *choinix* of flatbreads and for the krater four *kotylai* of wine. The *neokoros* and any of the *phoibatriai* who is present must make these purifications.

§ 7: If anyone wishes to sacrifice to the goddess (35) according to the Hellenic custom, it is possible (to sacrifice) whatever one wants except swine (lit. a piglet). To accompany the sacrifice, it is necessary to bring to the table the things placed on it: a *choinix* of flatbreads, a *choinix* of sesame-honey-cake, and a three-obol into the money-box and a *kotyle* of oil for a lamp and for the krater a *chous* of wine; from the sacrificial animal, (place) the breast cooked on the table and (give) the leg raw for the priestess; cook the viscera: the liver, (40) lung, diaphragm, left kidney, and tongue; and as sacred offerings on the fire: the right kidney, a right extremity, the heart, the omentum, the leg removed from the breast (i.e. a foreleg), and the customary part of the tail. Having done these things and completed the sacrifice, let him bring another sacrificial animal wherever he wishes and let the one who wishes eat.

§ 8: If anyone wishes (45) to make a complete table-filling ritual for the goddess, (sacrifice) a mature sheep, whether male or female, but cook it whole, (and offer) two *choinikes* of sesame-honey-cake, four *choinikes* of flatbreads, two *choes* of wine, a drachma into the money-box, a *kotyle* of oil for a lamp, and the non-initiate may not taste these.

§ 9: If anyone wishes to make an all-day ritual for the goddess, bringing whichever lunch he wishes, except (50) pork, and for a lamp a half-*kotyle* of oil, (let him do so).

§ 10: To the ear of the goddess and her hair: frankincense, myrrh, incense for burning, aromatics, rose-oil; a three-obol into the money-box.

§ 11: If anyone sacrifices a bird or goose, for the female bird, (place) an obol into the money-box, for the goose three half-obols (i.e. 1.5 obols), the legs and the (55) innards on the table, but he may take away the rest (of the meat) wherever he wishes. Let him also offer four *kotylai* of wine, a *choinix* of flatbreads, a half-*kotyle* of oil.

§ 12: If anyone wishes to sacrifice a bovine, offer on the table three *choinikes* of flatbreads, a *choinix* of sesame-honey-cake, two *choes* of wine, two *kotylai* of oil, sufficient wood, (and place) a gold coin in the money-box and extract the sacred portions just as from (60) sheep.

§ 13: However many wish to sacrifice during the Nisanaia or the Aloulaia, they must bring their sacrificial animal for the procession. Let the procession during the Nisanaia take place, if the goddess comes from (the) river, on the next day; during the Aloulaia, on the 17th, in the morning, but the torch-bearing procession is held at night. Having washed on the same day from the head down, anyone who wishes may participate in the procession and go in as far as the sanctuary of Phylake.

§ 14: (65) If anyone wishes to burn whole an adult ram, or if not, a male lamb: for the adult animal, (pay) a stater into the money-box, for the lamb, an Aeginetan drachma, (bringing) wood sufficient for (burning) this animal, a *chous* of wine for the krater, (and placing) on the table a *choinix* of flatbreads, a *choinix* of sesame honey-cake, Berytian rue (?), frankincense, myrrh, a *kotyle* of oil for a lamp.

§ 15: If anyone wishes to burn a goose whole, (deposit) (70) two obols into the money-box (and bring) sufficient wood, a torch, four *kotylai* of wine for the krater, a half-*kotyle* of oil for a lamp, Berytian rue (?), frankincense, myrrh. If anyone wants to burn whole a *trybba* or a quail, three half-obols into the money-box and the rest exactly the same as for the goose.

§ 16: The non-initiate is not to approach the great altar, neither to sacrifice a hen upon it, nor to offer (75) an egg, but when someone wishes to sacrifice a hen to the goddess, (sacrifice it) on the altar of Moira and let anyone who wants approach the altar of Moira and Helios. If any non-initiate should approach the great altar, let him perform a purification according to the purification written publicly on the peristyle. In the same way let them keep away from the altar of Adara and Lilla. If anyone touches it, let him make a purification according to the public notice of the precinct. If anyone either urinates or spills blood in the peristyle, let him perform the aforementioned purification.

Traduction

Face A

[...] de toutes les fêtes [...] sacrifier les offrandes (?) le 5e jour [...] est. Lorsque (?) [...]

§ 1 : [... avant] les Eloulaia. Le 12, offrir un sacrifice préliminaire à Moira à titre collectif et, à titre individuel, celui des initiés qui le souhaite. Le 13, nettoyage (5) de ce qui est sacré autour de la déesse, le temple et [...] et des tambours et une flûte d'accompagnement, et un sacrifice pendant la danse "mogga" (?), et une purification ; dans le sanctuaire, avec la prêtresse, les *phoibatriai* et le néocore [...] et quiconque d'autre parmi les initiés le souhaite. Le 14, parer la déesse et accomplir le sacrifice de la quête à Hélios.

§ 2 : Le 15, celui qui le veut et le désire sacrifie au Pan que les Syriens appellent Neirigles (i.e. Nergal) (10) et dépose sur la table ce qu'il veut, sauf du poisson et du pigeon, et que le sacrificant dépose sur la table ce qu'il souhaite et prene en retour (une part) de ce qui est disposé sur la table. Durant la cérémonie

nocturne, puiser de l'eau à la fontaine dans (ou: avec) la jarre. Le 16, ouvrir la jarre et que sacrifie à Moira celui (15) qui le veut.

§ 3 : Le jour après la procession, sacrifier à Adara et lancer du sel. Le 19, pour Lilla, lancer du sel et (sacrifier) à Artémis Phylakè et à Apollon Pylouchos ce que l'on veut et que tout le monde mange. Le 20, sacrifier une table et sacrifier ensuite à la déesse ce dont on dispose.

§ 4 : Cérémonie mystérieuse de la déesse. Si quelqu'un désire être initié, il doit rendre le culte pendant trois jours, le troisième, il doit être rasé. Si, parmi les impurs, quelqu'un (20) désire être initié, qu'il soit rasé. Recevant une natte en roseau en trois endroits, que soit rasé et que se lave la bouche le pur de la déesse, par l'eau d'un récipient en or et celle de la plante; que l'impur en cours d'initiation se lave la bouche avec le sang d'un oiseau que les *phoibatriai* consomment, tandis que l'initiant n'y goûte pas. Qu'il offre un chénice attique de pain sans levain et deux kotyles de vin de la quête (25). Il faut faire la quête le troisième jour au cours duquel on est rasé, ainsi que sacrifier un oiseau à Moira et consommer ce qu'on a collecté. Avant le rasage, qu'on paie également trois oboles à la déesse pour la natte en roseau. Quand on aura été rasé, une obole pour la propitiation. Qu'on reçoive (la natte) en trois endroits. Qu'on offre aussi un pain pour la natte en roseau. S'il est rongé, rendre le culte comme quelqu'un qui est [puni] par la déesse. Qu'on rende le culte jusqu'à ce (30) qu'on recouvre la santé, qu'on paie une demi-obole et [...] et le pain (requis).

§ 5 : Si quelqu'un soulève un plateau à offrandes, soulever le premier auprès de Moira et sacrifier un mouton adulte, mâle ou femelle, selon ce qu'on veut, pur, (offrir) quatre chénices de pain sans levain, deux *choes* de vin, une (drachme) éginétique dans les mains (de la déesse) ; les parts prélevées (le sont) comme pour la table pleine, mais prélever la patte crue ainsi que la toison pour la prêtresse, et consommer sur (35) place, tandis que ceux, parmi les autres (présents), qui sont non-initiés, n'y goûtent pas ; les toisons pour la prêtresse. Pour celui qui soulève le deuxième plateau à offrandes, (il est nécessaire d'offrir) un panier de pain sans levain, un chénice de biscuits au sésame et au miel, un kotyle d'huile, un statère dans les mains (de la déesse), deux *choes* (de vin) pour le cratère ; prélever les parts sacrées tout comme dans le cas du premier (plateau à offrandes). Un initié peut emporter (la viande) où il veut. Jeter du sel sur les animaux sacrifiés [...].

(Section incertaine) : Quoi que ce soit [... (40) ...] un *chous* [... et ?] qu'il sacrifie où il veut, de l'argent [...] dans les mains (de la statue ?) et [les choses ?] des nattes en roseaux et si quelqu'un [...] jarres, payer. Si quelqu'un souhaite remplir (?) une jarre, [...] sacrifier la jarre, aussi grande que l'on souhaite et où on le souhaite [et ?] il faut jeter du sel sur les offrandes sacrées : (45) fèves, pois chiches, lentilles, [...] que l'on souhaite, un agneau [...]. Si quelqu'un [...] une natte en roseaux [...] quoi que tu aies d'autre à part de l'ail et à celui qui le fait [...].

§ 6 : Si quelqu'un prête un serment au sujet de [...] qu'il paie une obole, enlaçant un attribut de la déesse, celui qu'il veut [...] de la valeur d'une mine (50) qu'il paie trois oboles et prenne [...]. S'il n'est pas initié, qu'il boive depuis l'autel. Si quelqu'un veut [...], qu'il boive depuis le poisson, qu'il paie une

drachme éginétique et s'abstienne d'impureté tout au long de sa vie. Si quelqu'un jure à propos d'une chose sans importance, après s'être lavé de la tête aux pieds, qu'il jure dans la fosse et paie une demi-obole.

§ 7 (?) : Payer les demi-oboles à celui qui égorge et prélève les parts sacrées.

Face B

§ 1 : Qu'un non-initié n'entre pas dans le temple de la déesse. S'il entre, accomplir une purification avec une poule et sacrifier à la suite une autre volaille adulte sur l'autel de Moira ; que la prêtresse ou le néocore accomplisse la purification, (5) ou bien l'une de celles qui portent les objets sacrés. Qu'il (le contrevenant) offre deux chénices de pain, huit kotyles de vin pour le cratère.

§ 2 : Qu'un non-initié n'entre pas dans le vestibule, sauf s'il veut faire des prières ; qu'il porte alors des vêtements purs et qu'il se garde complètement pur, pendant trois jours, (10) de tout ce qui est inscrit. Qu'il offre pour les prières un demi-kotyle d'huile de lampe, une obole, des torches, de l'encens, une libation.

§ 3 : Si l'un des non-initiés entre dans le vestibule, accomplir une purification avec une volaille mâle ou femelle et sacrifier à la suite (15) une patte de ce que l'on veut, sauf du porc, et (offrir) trois chénices attiques de pain sans levain et un demi-*chous* de vin.

§ 4 : Faire la quête à la nouvelle lune du mois Itonios sur les aires, mais ne pas le faire dans une maison et ne pas y introduire les objets sacrés. Si l'on ne l'annonce pas publiquement pendant trois jours – une (autre) collecte se fait du 10 au 12 –, si l'une des *phoibatriai* ne le fait pas, (20) qu'elle paie en expiation un agneau au sanctuaire et ce qu'il faut pour son sacrifice.

§ 5 : Inscription sur le péristyle : «Accomplir le sacrifice préliminaire à la Phylakè la première et à Mên : des offrandes à brûler, de la résine oliban.»

§ 6 : Si quelqu'un veut accomplir un sacrifice de volailles blanches, sacrifier les mâles à Mên et les femelles à la Phylakè. S'il (25) veut (sacrifier) des agnelets, (agir) de la même manière. Qu'une femme pénètre à l'intérieur (du temple), après un accouchement, le trentième jour, après une fausse couche (ou un avortement), le quarantième jour, après des relations sexuelles avec son époux, après s'être lavée de la tête aux pieds, après les menstrues, le septième jour. Si quelqu'un entre sans s'être gardé pur de ce qui est indiqué précédemment, qu'on purifie les autels avec un poussin (30) et qu'on sacrifie ensuite sur l'autel de la Phylakè un oiseau femelle ou du poisson frit, une mine de la viande que l'on souhaite hormis de porc, (et qu'on offre) un chénice de pain sans levain et, pour le cratère, quatre kotyles de vin. Que le néocore procède à cette purification, ainsi que celle des *phoibatriai* qui est présente.

§ 7 : Si l'on veut sacrifier à la déesse (35) selon la tradition grecque, il est possible (de sacrifier) ce que l'on veut, sauf un porc. Pour accompagner le sacrifice, il est nécessaire d'apporter pour la table ce que l'on y dépose : un chénice de pain sans levain, un chénice de biscuits au sésame et au miel, trois oboles dans le

tronc à offrandes, un kotyle d'huile de lampe et, pour le cratère, un *chous* de vin ; de l'animal sacrifié (placer) la poitrine cuite sur la table et (donner) la patte crue pour la prêtresse; cuire les viscères : le foie, (40) un poumon, le diaphragme, le rein gauche et la langue; comme parts sacrées sur le feu : le rein droit, une extrémité droite, le cœur, l'*omentum*, la patte prélevée de la poitrine et, de la queue, ce qui est d'usage. Après avoir agi ainsi et complété le sacrifice, qu'on amène un autre animal sacrificiel où l'on veut et que mange celui qui le souhaite.

§ 8 : Si quelqu'un veut procéder au rituel complet de la table pleine (45) pour la déesse, (offrir) un mouton adulte, mâle ou femelle, et le cuire en entier ; (offrir) deux chénices de biscuits au sésame et miel, quatre chénices de pain sans levain, deux *choes* de vin, dans le tronc à offrandes, une drachme, un kotyle d'huile de lampe. Un non-initié n'y goûte pas.

§ 9 : Si quelqu'un veut procéder au rituel du jour entier pour la déesse, (qu'il le fasse) en apportant la collation qu'il veut, sauf (50) de la viande de porc, et un demi-kotyle d'huile de lampe.

§ 10 : Pour l'oreille de la déesse et ses cheveux : de la résine oliban, de la myrrhe, de l'encens, des aromates, de l'essence de rose; trois oboles dans le tronc à offrandes.

§ 11 : Si quelqu'un sacrifie un oiseau ou une oie, pour l'oiselle, (déposer) une obole dans le tronc à offrandes, pour l'oie, une obole et demie, les pattes sur la table, ainsi que les (55) entrailles, et qu'on emporte le reste où l'on veut. Que l'on offre également quatre kotyles de vin, un chénice de pain sans levain, un demi-kotyle d'huile.

§ 12 : Si quelqu'un veut sacrifier un bovin, offrir sur la table trois chénices de pain sans levain, un chénice de biscuits au sésame et au miel, deux *choes* de vin, deux kotyles d'huile, du bois en suffisance, dans le tronc à offrandes, une pièce en or, et prélever les parts sacrées comme pour les (60) moutons.

§ 13 : Tous ceux qui veulent sacrifier lors des Nisanaia ou lors des Aloulaia (doivent) apporter un animal sacrificiel pour la procession. Que la procession se tienne aux Nisanaia, si la déesse vient de la rivière, le lendemain ; lors Aloulaia, le 17 au matin, mais accomplir la marche aux flambeaux de nuit. S'étant lavé le jour même de la tête aux pieds, quiconque le souhaite participe à la procession et s'avance jusqu'au sanctuaire de la Phylakè.

§ 14 : (65) Si quelqu'un veut procéder à l'holocauste d'un bélier adulte, ou à défaut, d'un agneau mâle ; pour l'adulte, un statère dans le tronc à offrandes, pour l'agneau, une (drachme) éginétique, du bois en suffisance pour cet animal, un *chous* de vin pour le cratère, sur la table, un chénice de pain sans levain, un chénice de biscuits au sésame et au miel, de la rue sauvage de Beyrouth (?), de la résine oliban, de la myrrhe, un kotyle d'huile de lampe.

§ 15 : Si quelqu'un veut procéder à l'holocauste d'une oie, (offrir) (70) deux oboles dans le tronc à offrandes, du bois en suffisance, une torche, quatre kotyles de vin pour le cratère, un demi-kotyle d'huile de lampe, de la rue sauvage de Beyrouth (?), de la résine oliban, de la myrrhe. Si l'on veut procéder à

l'holocauste d'une *trybba* ou d'une caille, une obole et demie dans le tronc à offrandes, et le reste exactement comme pour l'oie.

§ 16 : Que le non-initié n'approche pas du grand autel ; qu'on n'y sacrifie pas de poule et qu'on n'y (75) offre pas d'œuf. Mais lorsque quelqu'un sacrifie une poule à la déesse, (qu'il le fasse) sur l'autel de Moira et que quiconque le désire accède à l'autel de Moira et d'Hélios. Si un non-initié se rend au grand autel, qu'il accomplisse la purification prescrite à l'avant du péristyle. De même, qu'il se garde à distance de l'autel d'Adara et Lilla. Si quelqu'un y touche, qu'il accomplisse une purification selon la prescription du péribole. Si quelqu'un urine ou répand du sang dans le péristyle, qu'il accomplisse la purification prescrite.

Commentary

This is one of the lengthiest ritual norms concerning a cult of manifestly foreign and specifically Near Eastern origin written in Greek. The stele was regrettably not found *in situ* (see Provenance), so its precise context is now obscure to us. As it was found in the region of Larisa, we can presume that the sanctuary which the text refers to may have been in some way connected with this city. In what way exactly is difficult to determine, since there is no mention of an issuing authority in the text as we have it. What we can safely say is that, in the late third or first half of the 2nd century BC (see Date), Thessaly was a region where a large Near Eastern community had already begun to put down roots. Already in mid-3rd-century Demetrias, for instance, onomastics on funerary stelai attest to numerous individuals originating from the area of the Levant (Masson; Stamatopoulou). From Larisa itself, perhaps the most interesting comparandum is a decree of the Thessalian league ([SEG 31, 576](#), ca. 150 BC; on this text, cf. Savalli) for a certain Antipatros of Hierapolis in Seleukis (i.e. Hierapolis Bambyke, the cult-site of the Dea Syria of Lucian). This individual is known to have acquired citizenship in Homolion (on the coast north of Mount Ossa) and to have resided in Larisa where, in the capacity of "Chaldean astrologer", he served as a teacher and was honoured for this service. That a Syrian individual offered his religious expertise to the city of Larisa and precisely in the period at hand begins to sketch some of the background of the inscription from Marmarini. Two possible interpretations suggest themselves: 1) the cult described in the present text, though its background was foreign, may have been a public one (see Parker - Scullion, p. 264-266) and the issuing authority of the ritual norm will thus have been a city such as Larisa or even Homolion (Marmarini lies almost exactly halfway between the two sites; cf. the map in Decourt - Tziaphalias, p. 15); 2) the cult was initiated and organised by a "hybrid" group of Greeks, Syrians (cf. lines A9-10 and see also on B65-69), and probably others from Anatolia and the Near East, as an association (cf. Carbon, noting an association of Alouliastai on Kos). It should be said that these possibilities are not necessarily incompatible: the cult may have been developed by an association and recognised by the city or even accepted by it (compare e.g. the cult of Bendis in Athens, [CGRN 44](#), with further refs.).

Concerning the identity of the main goddess honoured in the sanctuary, Parker (2016) has acutely remarked that she is actually unnamed. As θεός, she is the explicit or occasionally implicit object of the majority of the rituals concerned. As much as she is perhaps "nameless" for us, it is almost certain that

the goddess did have a name (we therefore choose to refer to her as "unnamed" or "anonymous" here). If we can consider that the goddess was the so-called "Syrian goddess", caution is immediately necessary "because the goddess is not the same in each place: sometimes she is the specifically Hieropolitan form of the goddess, at others she is an Atargatis who has a local incarnation, or she is a generic Syrian goddess; or she is a divine figure who shares items from the same dossier, but reconfigures them in a set of precise of local circumstances" (Lightfoot, p. 10). For the implantation of a cult of this goddess in northern Greece, Parker and Scullion (p. 263, 265) point to the dedication to Atargatis Soteira by a priest at Beroia (Bottiaia) in Macedonia, cf. [EKM I 19](#) (mid-3rd century BC): Ἀπολλωνίδης Δεξιλάου ἱερεὺς | Ἀταργάτει Σωτείραι. But it is not completely clear that we are dealing with an incarnation of the Dea Syria here, rather than with another Near Eastern goddess. The goddess was also surrounded by a number of other deities honoured within her sanctuary. Some of these bear Greek names—without any certainty that they are "Greek deities"—others foreign ones. Among these, the reference to the god Pan is distinctive, because he is explicitly called both Pan and by a name which the Syrians employ, Neirigles, which Zerhoch has correctly interpreted as a Greek form of the name of the god Nergal (cf. lines A9-10). Moira is also a figure invoked in the text (cf. lines A3, 25, 31, B3-4, 75-76), but since the Moirai usually appear as a collective in Greek thought (but not always, cf. already e.g. *H. II.* 19.87 and see [LSJ](#) s.v. 2) and especially in epigraphy, the singular form may suggest that the Greek term may be an interpretation of an originally foreign divinity (Decourt - Tziaphalias, p. 29; cf. Parker - Scullion, p. 217-218, who suggest that Gad may lie behind this figure). The figure of Helios, sometimes here associated with Moira, has a Greek name but may be equally mysterious. Artemis Phylake is perhaps the most recognisably "Greek" goddess in the text, appearing (lines A16-17), for instance, alongside Apollo Pylouchos (a new epithet, but cf. Decourt - Tziaphalias, p. 30, who already remarked that the god can be Pylaios; see now Bouchon - Decourt, p. 168, 173), but as Phylake the goddess could also be paired with Men (cf. esp. lines B21-34). On the *cult-title* Phylake, see the discussion of Decourt - Tziaphalias, p. 26-27, and cf. here [CGRN 91](#) (Eretria), line 6. For the Anatolian and Levantine god Men, see Decourt - Tziaphalias, p. 27-29, with further references. Two deities with overtly foreign names, Adara and Lilla, offer further glimpses into the Near Eastern background of the cult. While the latter is obscure, she might bring to mind the figures of Lilu and Lilitu known as demons from Mesopotamia (cf. also the deities Enlil and Ninlin); Adara's name, for its part, clearly evokes the Near Eastern month Adar (ca. March). Two major festivals seem to have defined the cult and are described in lines A1-18 and B60-64. These are the Nisanaia and the Aloulaia / Eloulaia (both spellings are found; cf. Carbon). These festivals also directly derive from the names of Near Eastern months. Nisan occurred around the time of the Spring equinox (ca. April, possibly corresponding to Thessalian Aphrios, but see on lines A1-3); preceded by the concluding month Adar, this was the first month of the Near Eastern calendar and probably also marked the beginning of the rites celebrated in the cult. The Aloulaia / Eloulaia derive from the month Elul / Ululu (ca. September) and fell at the other end of the seasonal cycle, around the time of the autumnal equinox. These were appropriately celebrated in the local month Itonios (ca. September) and were closely connected with rituals of collection and initiation into the cult (see below on lines A18-30 and B17-20).

About the sanctuary itself, it remains to be regretted that the prescriptions in the document cannot be confronted with archaeological remains. The sanctuary of the anonymous goddess was clearly a well-developed one (see also Decourt - Tziaphalias, p. 24-25; Parker - Scullion, p. 218-220). It was surrounded by a precinct wall (περίβολος), to which was apparently affixed a regulation concerning purity (line B80). Within this precinct were perhaps contained two separate sanctuaries: one of Artemis Phylake and associated divinities (Apollo Pylouchos, Men), which likely, when entering, immediately preceded or followed the gates (Pylouchos), and served to protect the sanctuary of the unnamed goddess (as implied by the *cult-title* Phylake and cf. lines B21-22 and 64). For the prophylactic function of Apollo and other gods as gatekeepers, cf. Labarre. The other sanctuary was the principal one, belonging to the unnamed goddess. This main sanctuary was evidently circumscribed by a peristyle (lines B21-22); further rules of purity were affixed to define the requirements for entry into this part of the sanctuary (lines B77-81). Within the peristyle were at least three altars—one of Moira, perhaps shared with Helios (lines B3, 75-77); another shared by Lilla and Adara (line B80); and, most importantly, a "great" altar (μέγας βωμός) that was evidently devoted to the goddess (lines B73-74)—as well as the temple of the goddess (ναός, lines A5, B1). Entry into the temple was granted by a entranceway or vestibule (πρόθυρον, lines B7-16), which could be the site of prayers for the goddess. Allusions are also made to other cultic materials belonging to the sanctuary, such as the statue of the goddess (lines A5, 8, B51-52; cf. also A49) and musical instruments (lines A5-6).

The stele contains a dossier of various regulations relating to the cult, a sort of miscellany, though one which was relatively well organised. Concerning the overall character of the document, there is now some debate about which face of the opisthographic stele should be identified or labelled as the first. In the original edition, Decourt and Tziaphalias proposed that, since a large amount of text appeared to be missing from Face A (they estimated 21 lines), then it should be so labelled, as the primary face of the document. In the revision of the edition, Bouchon and Decourt (p. 169-171) now advance partly convincing arguments for labelling the original edition's Face A as Face II, and conversely, Face B as Face I. One aspect of the stele which they rightly focus on is that Face B (their Face I) contains some rules for entry into the sanctuary (esp. § 1-3, and cf. § 6 and 16): these are likely to have faced "outward", confronting a visitor to the sanctuary, whereas the other face, discussing festivals and initiations, is less likely to have done so. However, Face B contains a miscellany of other rules relating to different categories of sacrifice and rituals. Bouchon and Decourt also claim that no further text appears to have been inscribed above the first visible line on Face A (their Face II). From the current revision, it appears certain that traces of letters are visible over at least two lines above "line 1" on Face A; possibly more traces of letters are visible in the margins of this face of the stele. Though these traces are difficult to decipher and nearly impossible to reconstruct, they nevertheless indicate that we are missing information about the beginning of this part of the text. It remains possible, for instance, that some form of authority statement will have introduced this face (cf. Parker - Scullion, p. 210, with further arguments). Moreover, the renumbering of the faces proposed by Bouchon and Decourt is a potential source of confusion in the scholarship, with citation of the first edition by Decourt and Tziaphalias having already well begun. Accordingly, in this edition, we cautiously choose to maintain the designation of the faces as A and B respectively, according

to the first edition. Face A begins with a highly fragmentary passage, yet appears to introduce a discussion of all of the celebrations or festivals (θυσία) of the cult (see below on lines A1-2). Following this is what is clearly a daily calendar for the festival of Aloulaia / Eloulaia (lines A13-18). A lengthy section next describes the procedures relating to the "initiatory rite of the goddess" (τελετή τῆς θεοῦ, lines A18-30, at least). This continued with a probably related consideration of the ritual of lifting trays with offerings (lines A30-38, at least), which is regrettably followed by a highly fragmentary passage (lines A39-47). Finally, a section discussing oaths concluded Face A (lines 48-55). Face B, as mentioned, begins with three sections of entry rules (§ 1-3), but then proceeds to discuss a variety of subjects such as a ritual of collection (§ 4), an inscription on the peristyle (§ 5), many different rules concerning sacrifices and offerings (§ 6-15; § 6 intermixed with purity rules), while concluding with further behavioural prescriptions (§ 16).

This document is also exceptional in providing us with the first explicit epigraphic attestation of a sacrifice made "in the Greek manner" (lines B34-35). Not only is this unique, but the section it introduces provides us with an unprecedented level of detail about the animal portions employed and distributed during the ritual. These portions echo and further illuminate our evidence about Greek sacrifice. This Greek "sacrificial norm" seems to be implicitly contrasted with another norm, the implied "foreign" ritual norm in the background of this cult. For instance, the generic θύειν and its cognates, when not otherwise qualified, probably imply a non-Greek ritual, which thus need not entail the combustion of a portion of the animal on the altar. In the same way, the cult is characterised by a variety of sacrificial declensions: the "table-filling ritual" during which a full-grown sheep is cooked whole (lines B44-48), the performance of an "all-day rite" for the goddess (lines B48-50), and the various holocausts mentioned (lines B65-73). The sacrificial norms described in the regulation (notably, but not only, on Face B) thus also reflect the cultic "middle ground" shared by the members of the community. For a brief introduction to this new edition and to the inclusion of cultic and cultural "middle grounds" in the present collection, see Carbon - Pirenne-Delforge 2019.

Face A

Lines A1-2: The first legible lines seem to follow from a preceding phrase in earlier lines (given the presence of the conjunctive particle δέ); otherwise, this passage must have begun *in mediis rebus* or as an excerpt from another source. The general sense of these lines is relatively clear, though the syntax remains awkward, no doubt due to remaining problems with the readings. The first phrase apparently introduces the consideration of "all the sacrifices" or festivals which the cult celebrates; perhaps from all of these, the first (viz. [πρωτον]; cf. the reading of Bouchon - Decourt) to be celebrated was discussed. From the discussion of festivals on the other face (lines B60-64), we might have expected this passage to concern the first festival mentioned there, the Nisanaia, but it is not clear if this was alluded to here. The occasion in question apparently fell on the 5th day. We would then perhaps expect the month or another form of qualification of the date to have been specified at the beginning of line A2, but here we only find [.. ca. 3 ..]Υ ἔστιν. While the upsilon is only partly preserved, it nevertheless seems clear. It probably suggests the end of the name of a month in the genitive. Yet this would then have to be quite short: there appears to

be no room for Ἰτωνίου (cf. line B17) or Ἀφρίου (ca. April), perhaps only for the short Thessalian month Thyos/Thyios (ca. May), [Θύο]υ, without the probably expected article τοῦ. Aphrios might have been the ideal Thessalian month to correlate with Nisan and the Nisanaia (see Carbon), though the 5th of Thyos might also roughly correspond to an expected period for the Nisanaia around (shortly after?) the vernal equinox. Still more problematic is the verb ἔστιν, which comes as a surprise immediately afterward, without any trace of a connective nearby. In the present decipherment, this creates an almost insurmountable syntactical problem; if we read only this verb with the preceding line, perhaps the sense was that the rites (τὰ ἱερά?) "took place" on the 5th of a month. Yet our understanding of these lines thus surely remains to be improved.

§ 1 (lines A3-9; Itonios 12-14, "(days) before the Eloulaia?"): A degree of uncertainty hovers over whether the first phrase in this line "before the Eloulaia" belongs to an earlier passage (almost wholly missing in line A2) or represents a sort of heading in the document. That it is followed by punctuation might tend to indicate the former, since the introduction of new subject matter in the text is usually preceded rather than followed by punctuation (cf. e.g. below at line A18, for the heading τελετή τῆς θεοῦ). If that is correct, then the reference could be to the collections on Itonios 10-12, which are known to have preceded the Aloulaia/Eloulaia (cf. lines B17-21). But no certainty is possible and there is an attraction to viewing the three itemised days which follow, until the *paragraphos* in line A9, as those seen to fall "before the Eloulaia". In any case, it is clear that three of the preliminary days of this festival are described in these lines, falling on Itonios 12-14. All contain preparations for the main event. The first day, the 12th, is appropriately marked by a preliminary sacrifice to Moira made by the cultic community (κοινῆι) of initiates; any initiate who wishes to make such a sacrifice on an individual basis may also do so. It is possible that the sacrifice to Moira may have consisted of a bird (cf. line A25), though it might also have involved a more substantial animal (compare line A31). The next day, the 13th, is characterised by elaborate rituals of purification in the sanctuary. This is first defined as a "washing" (πλυντήρι|α) of all the tangible ἱερά surrounding the goddess, which then appear to be listed: the inner part of the temple (ναός), around her statue, another missing object, as well as musical instruments, namely drums and perhaps a flute (πρόσαυλος, if we are right to see here a new word; for προσαυλέω in the sense of musical accompaniment, notably playing the flute at sacrifice in order to obtain favourable omens, see Plu. *Mor.* 632c; cf. also Luc. *Syr.D.* 50, with the verb ἐπαυλέω). Accompanying this "washing" is a sacrifice, perhaps to a figure called Μογγα (cf. Decourt - Tziaphalias), but μογγαι could also be viewed as a dative of manner or attendant circumstance. In either case, though the expression remains somewhat enigmatic, it would be tempting to derive μογγα from μογγάς, a type of ecstatic dance (cf. Athen. 14.629d, classifying it together with other μανιώδεις ὀρχήσεις). Though the proper dative should have been μογγάδι, this nonetheless seems the likeliest derivation of the word here, especially given the immediately preceding mention of musical instruments. It would seem that the reference was perhaps to a sacrifice made for or during an ecstatic dance. Finally, still on the 13th of Itonios, a purification or a purificatory offering (καθαρμός) was apparently to be made. Regrettably, a perhaps expected verb which follows this is difficult to reconstruct (should it perhaps be read as καθα[ί]ρ[ε]ται?); its ending suggests a passive form which does not agree with the complicated syntax which follows: an

expression with the genitive, a series of accusatives, and finally a nominative (τις ἄλλος, though acceptable following ἄν in separate clause); a simple accusative-infinitive construction would have been expected instead. At any rate, it is still relatively clear that, accompanying the priestess of the goddess in this capacity, were the cultic agents known as φοιβάτριάι, the νεωκόρος, and anyone of the initiates who wishes to participate. For the *neokoros*, who resided in the sanctuary in permanence and will have been its principal caretaker, cf. lines B23-34. The *phoibatriai* appear to have been an important group of women who served the cult. Aptly, some sources, such as Hesychius (s.v. φοιβήτρια· καθάρτρια), define these agents as having acted principally during purifications (cf. also LSJ s.v. φοιβάω). Accordingly, Decourt and Tziaphalias (p. 34) interpret and translate this term as "purificatrices". While readily accepting that the *phoibatriai* have a regular function as purificatory agents in this cult (see also lines A22-23), some caution perhaps remains necessary in the translation. The related verb φοιβάζω and its agent nouns, φοιβητής, φοιβάστρια, etc., must also be noted, which could imply a reference to prophetesses. While it could be noted that the designation of cultic personnel as "prophets" in sanctuaries which are not necessarily oracular does occur (cf. e.g. Badoud), the responsibility of the *phoibatriai* clearly extended to matters other than purification, particularly the rituals of collection (ἄγερμός) which took place as part of the cult (see on lines B17-20). On the 14th day of Itonios, the goddess, i.e. her statue, was to be adorned (κοσμεῖν) and the collection (ἄγερμός) was to be sacrificed to Helios. For rituals of adorning the cult statue of a goddess, compare here CGRN 24, lines 10-11, and CGRN 136, line 27 (both from Athens). The collection (ἄγερμός) sacrificed to Helios presumably refers to the foodstuffs and other offerings in kind which were gathered by the *phoibatriai* and others on Itonios 10-12 (cf. again lines B17-21 and see also below A25).

§ 2 (lines A9-15; Itonios 15-16): The 15th day of Itonios was marked by the sacrifice to Pan, whom the Syrians call Neirigles, i.e. Nergal. Zerhoch provides a linguistic analysis of this reading, a detailed discussion on the spread of the cult of Nergal from Babylonia across the Near East, into areas like Achaemenid Tarsus in Cilicia, as well as an exploration of the identification of Nergal with Pan (associations notably with warfare and with removing disease). There is perhaps evidence for the cult of Nergal already in the 3rd century BC in Piraeus (IG II² 10271, with the Phoenician text; alternatively, the funerary inscription could attest to an "archpriest of Nergal" from Sidon, the deceased's homeland). Most directly parallel appears the sacrifice of a cock to Nergal on the 15th of an unknown month, which is known from an administrative text from Babylon (see Linssen). Nergal appears in this text as a "Syrian" god, which does not necessarily point to a precise geographical reference, but he aptly accompanies the Sun (Helios) and the Moon (Men), cosmological deities with which he is often associated in a Near Eastern context (Shamash and Sîn, respectively). Perhaps anyone, both initiate and non-initiate, could participate in the rites for Nergal in this case, since the phrase τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ θέλοντα has a distinct emphasis (= "anyone whatsoever who wants to participate"?), as does the pleonastic style of this entire rubric. In addition, we learn that there was a prohibition against placing fish or pigeon-meat on the table for the god (for these combined interdictions in Syrian cults, see Lightfoot, p. 356 and 513, on Luc. *Syr.D.* 54 and also Xen. *Anab.* 1.4.9), while presumably all other animals were allowed for sacrifice. The verb ἀντιλαμβάνω is unique in ritual norms, though it presumably here makes unusually explicit the com-

monly accepted notion that the sacrificer could receive a portion of what he deposited on the table (and an apparent exception is the *τραπεζοπλησία* in the cult of Men Tyrannos at Sounion, where the one making the offering is explicitly allowed to take away half of what he deposited: cf. *LSCG* 55, line 20; for this "table-filling" ritual in the cult here, see below lines B44-48). The last ritual action on the 15th is the filling of a jug or pot (*χύτρα*) with water (for the sense of the medio-passive of *ὑδρεύω*, cf. *LSJ* s.v., citing especially *Thuc.* 4.97.4: *ὑδῶρ ... ὑδρεύεσθαι*). The adjective *νυκτερινή* here might seem to agree with the *χύτρα*, but this is misleading and syntactically difficult. As Parker and Scullion reasoned (p. 213 with n. 19), we are probably dealing with a nighttime ceremony, *νυκτερινή* qualifying a substantive left implicit or perhaps standing on its own (compare the use of the adjective as a substantive to designate a Dionysiac celebration, see *IG XII.Suppl.* 400e: *Νυκτερινός*). Chaniotis thinks of a nocturnal *τελετή* during which purifications were performed. On the next day, the 16th, the jar was to be opened and an optional sacrifice was offered to Moira. For a potentially similar ritual involving a recipient filled with water, sealed, and then opened, see *Luc. Syr.D.* 48.

§ 3 (lines A15-18; Itonios 18-20): This small section of the calendar of the Aloulaia/Eloulaia begins, as is clearly stated, "on the day after the procession". As can be reconstructed (see already Carbon for an outline of the festival, and now Bouchon - Decourt, p. 171-172), the core of this festival was a procession which took place on the 17th of Itonios (see below on lines A15 and B61-62). However, this is not described, but the calendar skips to the following days. On the 18th, a sacrifice is made to Adara and another ritual gesture is added, *ἄλι βάλλειν*, which could simply refer to the throwing of salt; an alternative interpretation would view the phrase *ἄλι βάλλειν* as denoting washing with saltwater (for this sense of *βάλλω*, which can mean to "bathe", cf. *LSJ* s.v. B.II; for *ἄλις* as the sea (and thus seawater), cf. *LSJ* s.v. (B)). The next day is the 19th, but the stonemason appears to have made a mistake about the correct date (this should have read *τῆι ἑνατηκαίδεκάτῃ*). A sacrifice appears to be missing for Artemis Phylake and Apollo Pylouchos, since dining is to result, and this may also have included Lilla (unless this goddess only received an aspersion or bath of saltwater). This is the only case where Phylake is shown to be a *cult-title* of Artemis and the goddess here appears alongside Apollo, who bears the new but not unexpected epithet Pylouchos. The 20th and final day contains the unusual "sacrifice of table", apparently with optional additional offerings. The recipient, however, is clear: this is the main goddess of the sanctuary, here honoured on the last day of the festival (as she was no doubt on the 17th, the day of the procession, too).

§ 4 (lines A18-30): The short phrase "initiatory rite of the goddess" appears to introduce a new topical rubric in the regulation. What follows is an elaborate description of the rituals to be undertaken by those wishing to be initiated in the cult. There seem to be two categories of individuals who may be concerned: the first are not immediately qualified, but are probably those called "pure of the goddess" a bit later in line A21; the second, by contrast, are called impure (line A19). This status is not clear to us, but, as might be expected, the procedures for both groups are not exactly the same. Shaving was the first requirement specified and took place on the third day of the ritual. As all the verbs are medio-passive, we opt to translate them cautiously in the passive: though the initiate may have been responsible for shaving her- or himself, presumably visibly or in the presence of the others, it is also possible that this was done

by the cult personnel. Shaving appears to have been connected with the manipulation of an object called *σχοῖνος*. We have opted to interpret the *σχοῖνος* as a mat made of reeds (cf. [LSJ](#) s.v. I.3). It appears to have been provided by the sanctuary, since it needed to be paid for with money consecrated to the goddess (line A26-27), and it received the additional offering of a bread (line A28). As two phrases in this section make clear (lines A20 and 27-28), the *σχοῖνος* was received "in three places" (of the body? cf. [LSJ](#) s.v. *χωρίον* 7 and see esp. *Luc. Syr.D.* 55 for pilgrims to Hierapolis shaving their head and their eyebrows). After shaving, a propitiation was necessary (line A27, for which an obol was paid). Another important prescription concerned purification of the mouth, which involved water for the pure, blood for the impure. The verb used for this washing, *διακλαίνω*, is unattested, but we take it that the sense of the verb *διακλύζω* was meant (for a possible Mesopotamian parallel, see Parker - Scullion, p. 229-230; for an attempt to explain *διακλαίνω* from *διακλύζω*, see Willi in Parker - Scullion, p. 259 n. 227). For a golden vessel and vegetables used in purifications by priests on Kos, cf. the recurring phrase *ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ προσπερμείας* in [CGRN 148](#) (Kos). Usually, it is not known what happened with an animal used in a purification; here, we learn that the bird was to be consumed by the cult personnel (the *phoibatriai* who were presumably responsible for the purifications), but forbidden to the initiate. A collection also took place on the third day, which may have appropriately coincided with the 12th of Itonios, at the start or before the Aloulaia/Eloulaia, and also involved a sacrifice to Moira (cf. further Carbon, p. 193 n. 12). Two offerings in kind were made from this collection: one consisting of flatbreads (*λάγανα*; presumably made without yeast, cf. [LSJ](#) s.v.); the other of wine. The remainder of the prescriptions are less easy to reconstruct. The next section contains even more difficulties of interpretation. The subject of the participle of *καταβιβρώσκω* could either be the initiate himself (gnawed at by some disease or vermin) or the previously mentioned bread (mouldy or otherwise corroded; cf. [LSJ](#) s.v. *βιβρώσκω* in the passive for all of these senses). Without excluding the latter, we prefer to think that the individual is concerned. It is possible that the shaving may reveal the presence of some skin disease or other form of infestation. Apparently interpreted as a form of divine punishment (hence our suggested restoration *ἐ[ζημι]ώμενον*), this seems to have entail a delay in the initiation, during which the person concerned had to serve the cult, in order to propitiate the goddess and recover good health. Additionally, a small fee or fine was imposed, of unclear import given the following lacuna, as well as the deposition of the required bread (note the article in *τὸν ἄρτον*).

§ 5 (lines A30-39 and perhaps beyond): This section is concerned with a specific type of ritual which could be undertaken by participants: the successive lifting of two trays (*σκάφη*) with offerings. In the first case, the ritual begins with a lifting next to Moira and the sacrifice of an adult sheep (which is the necessary translation of *πρόβατον* since the animal has a fleece, lines A34-35). The gender is explicitly left optional; additionally, this animal is unusually qualified as "pure" (cf. here [CGRN 15](#), line 4). There follows a detailed list of substances which must be placed either on the cult table or, perhaps more suitably, on the tray itself; such a list of supplies is specified for placement as offerings on the table in several cases (cf. Face B). This here includes the usual type of flatbreads called *λάγανα* (cf. above line A24). Though fees were normally expected to be paid into the money-box of the sanctuary (cf. lines B37, 47, 52-53, etc.), it appears that sums of money here also needed to be placed "into the hands", which one

could hypothesise are those of the statue of the goddess (this is found only in the case of these trays; at any rate, not on Face B). Compare perhaps the placement of entrails "into the hands" and "on the knees" of the cult statue as attested on Chios, e.g. [CGRN 36](#). From the sheep offered, portions are to be extracted. Typical prerogatives are to be given to the priestess: the raw leg, along with the fleece (in the latter case, an injunction curiously repeated in a generic plural in line A35). The internal reference to the division of the animal is to the ritual called "table-filling" (τραπεζοπλησία), mentioned on Face B, lines 44-48. This is puzzling, since in the relevant passage, no explicit mention is made of parts and the animal is to be cooked whole. For the second tray of offerings, the list of requirements is analogous, with notable differences in quantity (generally, larger ones here, e.g. the κόφινος of λάγανα, which measured nine Attic *choinikes*), as well as in kind. Another type of baked good is specified in this case. This is ὄμορα, which Hesychius (s.v. ὄμορα) defines as a cooked (or baked) mixture of fine flour, also containing honey and sesame. It would appear that this was a type of cake or sweet, perhaps not dissimilar to μελιτώματα (cf. also Athen. 14.646d on ἀμόρα) or even to modern sesame candies. The mention of "sacred portions" extracted "just as for the first (tray of offerings)" implies the sacrifice of another animal, presumably also a sheep. The next clause seems to refer to the consumption of the meat from this sacrifice by the initiates: take-away is allowed wherever one wants and this is contrary to the case of the first tray of offerings where consumption on the spot (ἀναλίσκειν α[ὐ]τοῦ) was mandatory. A few very fragmentary rules follow in the next lines, perhaps until line 42, which may have added further specifications concerning this type of ritual.

Lines A43-47: These highly fragmentary lines, which resist any coherent interpretation, might at different points form separate sections of the document, as might be suggested by the beginning of line A43, "If someone wishes to fill (?) a jar...", or part of line A46. For another ritual involving a jar filled with water, see above lines A13-14. Here, however, the jar appears to have been accompanied by a complex sacrificial offering (or filled with diverse substances), such as the intriguing list of pulses found at the beginning of line A45. Interestingly, garlic appears to be excluded from this offering (line A47). For purity from garlic, compare the cult of Men Tyrannos at Sounion, [LSCG 55](#), lines 10-11 (garlic, pork) and see now the purity regulation from Thyateira, with the commentary of Parker 2018a, esp. p. 180. However, the general sense of these lines remains almost entirely elusive.

§ 6 (lines A48-54): This penultimate section of the face is considerably obscure, even where legible. It manifestly concerned different types of oaths which could be sworn. The topic or importance of the first type of oath is unknown. A small fee is required (an obol) and the ritual involved a significant gesture: grasping the implement of the goddess of one's choosing (ὄπλον does not necessarily have a martial connotation). The identification of this is uncertain, but it could refer to any object related to the goddess (perhaps on her statue). Other ritual variations appear to be evoked, of which one concerns the status of the individual. If he is uninitiated, he must "drink from the altar", which is as mysterious as the next phrase, which apparently involved "drinking from the fish". In the latter case, after paying the small fee of a drachma, a more stringent religious requirement was imposed on the individual: to abstain from impurity for life. This is an astonishing and unparalleled requirement of ἀγνεία for an individual participating in a ritual; however, it does compare with the strict conditions of purity imposed on priests and

priestesses in the Greek world (for example on Kos, [CGRN 148](#)) and particularly with the absolute ἀγνεία apparently required of the personnel at the cult of Artemis Hymnia in Arcadia (Paus. 8.13.1: τούτοις οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐς τὰς μίξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγιστεύειν καθέστηκε τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα). The final oath considered was sworn "concerning something small". This was apparently an oath about comparatively trivial matters: it involved only purification by washing (compared to the immediately aforementioned abstention from impurity for life), swearing in a pit of some kind (for the word, cf. Hsch. s.v. γυνῦθοι and Lyc. *Alex.* 485), and again a small fee (only half an obol compared to the other fees listed prior).

§ 7? (lines A54-55): Finally, a short phrase in these lines concludes this face of stele. Since it is preceded by punctuation, it could be viewed as a small, separate section, perhaps applying to many or all of the sacrifices concerned in the cult. It evokes the required payment of half-obols to an individual who should be identified as the μάγειρος of the cult: this was the person responsible for slaughtering the sacrificial animals and butchering them, removing the "sacred parts".

Face B

§ 1 (lines B1-6): The first section of this face presents rules concerning entry into the temple (ναός) of the goddess and it begins with a general statement restricting entry of non-initiates into this building. For rules marking off the uninitiated from a certain space, cf. here [CGRN 222](#) (Andania), lines 36-37 (uninitiated barred from the place cordoned off by the *hieroi*); for other rules concerning entry, compare e.g. [CGRN 33](#) (Elateia, restriction on entry for women); [CGRN 169](#), Kallatis, lines 9-10 (participation of women and the uninitiated?). In the case of a transgression, a sanction is specified: a purification is to be made with (blood from) a hen (see below, § 15, for the choice of this sacrificial animal as an offering to the goddess), and this is to be followed by a sacrifice on the altar of Moira, access to which seems to have been granted to the non-initiates. It is clear that, while the one contravening the rules must supply the hen and the other mature fowl to be sacrificed afterward, as well as bread and wine for the krater, he is not the person responsible for performing the purification itself. This is to be taken care of by one of the members of the cult personnel: the priestess of the goddess, the resident *neokoros* (see below on lines B34-35), or "one of the women who carries (or: lifts) the *hiera*". This last phrase is considerably mysterious, being nowhere else attested in the text. However, the carrying or lifting of sacred objects does parallel the lifting of σκάφαι which is discussed in lines A30-38 and perhaps beyond (it seems clear that the verb here must be αἶρω and not αἰρέω, since these women are unlikely to have acted as butchers "removing the sacred portions", cf. the masculine forms in lines A54-55). While it could refer to another group, it is conceivable that this expression was meant as a paraphrase of the women called *phoibatriai*, who normally play a key role in performing purifications (see lines A7, A23, B34-35); in this connection, note especially that the *phoibatriai* appear to be carrying the ἱερά during the ἀγερμός (see below on lines B18-19). If that interpretation is right, this unique use of a paraphrase is nevertheless difficult to explain. For the sacrifice following and complementing the rite of purification, here designated by the verb μεταθύειν, cf. Parker - Scullion, p. 239-241, and Georgoudi; see also here [CGRN 10](#) (Gortyn), line 3, and [CGRN 12](#) (Delphi), line 4.

§ 2 (lines B7-12): This section also restricts entry for the uninitiated into the area in front of the door of the temple (the πρόθυρον or "vestibule"). An exception is immediately made for anyone wishing to make prayers to the goddess and requirements are then stipulated. The person must wear pure clothes (for requirements concerning dressing in white clothes, sometimes viewed as "pure", in sanctuaries, cf. here [CGRN 126](#), Lykosoura; for the cleanliness of clothes, compare also the mourning clothes stipulated in [CGRN 108](#), Gambreion, lines 5-6). The individual was also to have completely abstained (this seems to be the sense of the rare verb ἐξαγνεύω) for the specified period of three days concerning all the sources of impurity listed elsewhere (ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προγεγραμμένων). The verb προγράφω might tend to indicate that the list of sources of impurity was defined earlier in the document, but this is unlikely (even in the missing lines above Face A). Instead, it should reasonably be supposed that the phrase here makes an allusion to another document: this may be the same of which a lengthy excerpt appears to be interpolated in lines B25-34 and which seems to be designated as ἡ προγεγραμμένη τοῦ περιστύλου κάθαρσις in line B77-78 (for another inscription on the peristyle, see also lines B21-23). This, therefore, appears to have been a sign affixed to the peristyle around the temple, listing requirements of purity for entry into the sanctuary; see below. Three days is often specified in ritual norms as a duration of ἀγνεία for male individuals entering into incidental contact with a source of impurity: cf. e.g. [CGRN 85](#) and [CGRN 148](#) (on Kos, priests from a house where a woman has given birth or aborted; cf. also similar cases at [CGRN 181](#), Eresos, and [CGRN 99](#), Cyrene); compare the standard delays of three days also in the Asklepieion of Pergamon, [IvP III 161](#). The required offerings for the prayers performed in the vestibule are relatively modest and do not involve animal sacrifice. An obol, though this is not explicitly specified, was surely to be deposited in the money-box (cf. line B37, etc.); lamp-oil was to be provided (for lamps presumably already present in the vestibule; Chaniotis alternatively thinks that all of "oil for a lamp" specifications in the regulation indicate tariffs to be paid for the sanctuary); torches, perhaps both for illuminating the prayers and for burning frankincense, were also specified; a libation was also to be poured. For the burning of incense and the pouring of libations during prayers, a frequent ritual combination, see here e.g. [CGRN 137](#) (Aigai), lines 45-51, and [CGRN 176](#) (Priene), lines 13-19.

§ 3 (lines B13-16): This small section complements the preceding one, prescribing the necessary rituals to be performed as a penalty if a non-initiate enters the vestibule for a purpose other than prayer. In this case, the material used for the purification is to consist of (the blood of) either a male or a female fowl (the word ἀλέκτωρ is normally masculine, designating a rooster, but here appears to apply to both genders, as indeed could ἀλεκτρύων, cf. [LSJ](#) s.v. I and II). The complementary, ensuing sacrifice (μεταθύειν, cf. § 1 above) was perhaps to be burned on the altar of Moira as was also specified above (cf. again § 1). Remarkably, however, the sanction does not require the offering of a whole animal, but only a part of it: the leg, while as often in this text, bread and wine were also to be supplied (interestingly, in somewhat greater quantities than in § 1). A reasonable explanation seems to be that the cult in certain circumstances allowed the offering of portions of meat which had not necessarily been sacrificed in the sanctuary (see Parker - Scullion, p. 249-250) or were not even destined for burnt sacrifice; cf. esp. here the offerings of meat which appear to be implied by Near Eastern cults on Delos, [CGRN 171](#). As fre-

quently found in this document, the animal or meat offered is not to derive from swine (χοιρέος here interpreted to refer to all pork meat). In Greek cult, such a requirement can sometimes be found (cf. e.g. [CGRN 17 B](#), Thasos), but its regular occurrence in this text suggests that the restriction should nonetheless be tied to the Semitic background of the cult; cf. also lines B31-32, 49-50.

§ 4 (lines B17-20): This section has a different focus from the preceding three, defining the dates for rituals of collections and specifying a sanction in case of non-compliance, specifically on the part of the female cult personnel as we shall see. The action described by the verb ἀγείρειν here appears to overlap with the ritual begging or collection (ἀγερωμός) taking place prior to the 14th of Itonios during the Aloulaia/Eloulaia and during "the initiatory rite of the goddess": see above on lines A8-9 and 24-25 respectively. The reading of the passage is somewhat corrupt and three supralinear corrections have been added in an attempt to clarify it (perhaps by a later cutter). The first correction has inserted the missing date for a first occasion of collection in the month of Itonios: on the New Moon (the 1st day); this collection was to take place ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλους, which ought to designate open-air areas where threshing was done (Carbon) or at least public areas connected with agricultural work (Bouchon - Decourt, p. 171 n. 10, think of storage places). Since Itonios corresponds approximately to the month of September in the Thessalian calendar after 190 BC (and presumably in that of Larisa even before), the ritual of the ἀγερωμός may have been aimed at collecting grain or even grapes gathered in these places within the community (see Carbon); Itonios, however, may be too late for produce, especially grain, to still be available in the open air (so Bouchon - Decourt, p. 171). At any rate, it is clear that the collection was made in kind (rather than in cash, see again above lines A8-9 and 24-25). Explicitly forbidden during the collection was entering into a private home as well as carrying in the ἱερά while doing so. The latter requirement seems to indicate that this clause specifically applies to the cult officials known as *phoibatriai*. Compare esp. the case of the priestess of Artemis Pergaia at Halikarnassos, [CGRN 118](#), lines 25-28, who was also to make a collection lasting three days prior to the sacrifice and forbidden from entering houses. This suggests that the phrase ἐὰν μὴ τριῶν ἡμερῶν προείπη here should not be taken as an exception to this rule (i.e. permitting someone to enter a house and carry in the sacred objects "if they announce it for three days beforehand"), but rather as the required period of proclamation by the *phoibatriai* during the ritual of collection. A second occasion for collecting has been clarified by a later correction: the action of ἀγείρειν was also to take place on the 10th until the 12th (i.e. of Itonios). Not only does this overlap well with the specifications for the dates of the Aloulaia/Eloulaia (cf. lines A3-9) and for the three-day period of the initiations (lines A24-25), it also clarifies that the genitive plural expression τριῶν ἡμερῶν may not have had its expected sense "within three days", but should have been more iterative or durative, meaning something like: "proclaim (every day?) for three days" (cf. [LSJ](#) s.v. ἡμέρα II.2 for diverse evidence). Each of the *phoibatriai* must thus have been engaged, along with other participants such as the initiates, in two collections at the beginning of the month of Itonios: a relatively circumscribed one on the 1st day of the month, and another lasting three days, which had to be accompanied by official announcements on the part of the *phoibatriai*. It is possible that these proclamations by the *phoibatriai* not only served to advertise the collections themselves but also to announce the beginning of the festival of the Aloulaia/Eloulaia (for proclamations announcing festivals, cf. here e.g. [CGRN 6](#),

Miletos, lines 12-13, and [CGRN 94](#), Eleusis, lines A5-9). For the sacrifice prescribed as a penalty to a *phoibatria* who disregarded these rules, compare here similar "fines" at Olympia, [CGRN 4](#) and [CGRN 5](#).

§ 5 (lines B21-22): This short section appears to quote (verbatim?) "an inscription" which was incised "on the peristyle"; for purity rules which were also inscribed on the peristyle, see § 2, above, and § 6 and 15, below. This prescribed preliminary sacrifices to Phylake and Men. In front of the peristyle, in the sanctuary which led to that of the unnamed goddess (see above), Phylake apparently assumed precedence (πρώτη) and served, as her name indicates, as a guardian. The content of the preliminary sacrifices to be offered to Phylake and Men is somewhat ambiguous (similarly, the content of the preliminary sacrifice given to Moira before the Aloulaia/Eloulaia is not specified, cf. line A3). The preliminary offering was to consist of θύματα and λιβανωτόν or, given the absence of any conjunction, of θύματα defined as λιβανωτόν. In the former interpretation, the θύματα might designate any sacrificial offering, perhaps animals (see the following section for white fowl); in the latter, θύματα should designate burnt offerings which consisted of frankincense.

§ 6 (lines B23-34): This lengthier section appears to complement the immediately preceding one, here defining the sacrifice of white fowl and of small lambs (ἄρνια) to the god Men and the goddess Phylake. It is possible that these were the expected offerings rather vaguely implied by the word θύματα in the "inscription on the peristyle" (§ 5, above) and which are now further defined here. At any rate, the prescription defines a strict gender segregation of these animal sacrifices: male bird or lambs are to be sacrificed to Men, female ones to Phylake (the cutter has apparently been misled by writing forms of θήλυς in this passage and erroneously cut θήλη instead of θέλη in line B25). White cocks were apparently thought to be sacred to the god Men (cf. Diog. Laert. 8.34.10). The passage immediately following presents a series of rules concerning purity and particularly abstentions to be performed by women visitors to the sanctuary. At first glance, this appears completely out of context, but it does in fact have a relation to the sacrifices being discussed for Phylake: in case of a contravention of the purity rules for entry, one was to perform an additional sacrifice "on the altar of Phylake", consisting, appropriately, of a female bird, but also of other things (see below). The rules of ἀγνεία (a word implicit here) for women appear to be cited from another source, which is likely to be identified with a regulation that was also affixed to the peristyle (cf. § 2 and § 15). The delays prescribed appear for the most part conventional: forty days are specified from an abortion or miscarriage, as in [CGRN 144](#) (Ptolemais), [CGRN 181](#) (Eresos), [CGRN 217](#) (sanctuary of Syrian gods on Delos), and [LSCG 55](#) (cult of Men at Sounion); washing from the head down after sex (cf. esp. [CGRN 212](#), Pergamon); seven day "from the things by nature", i.e. menstruation, cf. esp. [CGRN 155](#) (Megalopolis) and again [LSCG 55](#) (cult of Men at Sounion; at [CGRN 217](#), the delay is somewhat longer, nine days); however, thirty days "from the bed", i.e. for the woman who has given birth, appears much more severe than expected: twenty-one days are specified for the λεχώ at Lindos (Petrovic - Petrovic 2018), but this was the longest delay for this type of ἀγνεία known until now; nine days are specified for the woman in [CGRN 155](#) (Megalopolis), ten at [CGRN 181](#) (Eresos; cf. also [CGRN 162](#), Kos). Anyone (not only women) contravening these prescriptions was to provide for a purification, which was to concern the altars (τούς βωμούς): it is noteworthy

that the penalty clause is more general than the purity rules cited previously, since it employs the masculine line participle ἀγνεύσας at line B28. Perhaps this phrasing derives from a larger set of rules (see above). It is unclear which altars are concerned by the rite of purification. Perhaps all of those in the sanctuary are intended, but since this apparently used the blood of a single chick, it remains unclear how this will have been practicable. At any rate, the purification is to be performed by the *neokoros* (cf. § 1), though not the priestess, as was the case earlier. Here, this official is accompanied by "any of the *phoibatriai* who are present", which might be the group of women also mentioned earlier in this capacity (cf. § 1); this phrase also has the added interest of informing us that, while the *neokoros* was apparently resident in the sanctuary and expected to react to any intrusion, the *phoibatriai* were not subject to a residency requirement. Anyone transgressing the rules must then also perform the additional sacrifice to Phylake as a fine: ἐπιθύω here refers to a sacrifice which follows a purification, much like μεταθύω (on which see above, § 1), but it also seems to have connotations of a fine or penalty (compare the use of ἐπιθύω in the phrase ἐπιθυσεῖ ζαμίαν βοτὸν τέλειον at Cyrene, [CGRN 99 B](#), § 13-15). For the option of a fish-fry on the altar of Phylake, see also here the ἀποπυρίς in the cult of Diomedon on Kos, [CGRN 96](#), lines 42-43; for the sacrifice of an additional *mna* of meat except pork, see above on Face B, § 3.

§ 7 (lines B34-44): This section introduces the first among a series of different sacrifices or sacrificial options for worshippers in the cult (see further sections § 8-9 and 11-14 below). The recipient of the sacrifices is in every case the principal goddess (ἡ θεός) of the cult. In this case, the procedure is explicitly defined as "the Greek manner" (ἑλληνικὸς νόμος) of sacrificing to her. This specification is unique in the extant collection of Greek ritual norms and rare in literary sources (e.g. D.H. 1.30.3-4, cf. also Paus. 1.24.2). It appears precisely because of the mixed character of the worshippers concerned by the regulation. The sacrifice of any animal is allowed, except swine (lit. "a piglet"); for the exclusion of swine from the cult, cf. above on Face B, § 3. Parker and Scullion (p. 243) interpret this section as dealing with the sacrifice of other domesticated adult mammals, such as sheep and goat (see below § 12 for the sacrifice of a bovine). In their view, the application of the ἑλληνικὸς νόμος would depend on the size of the animal to be offered. But the offering of a full-grown sheep for the ritual of "lifting the offering tray" (lines A30-31) and for the "table-filling ritual" (lines B45-49) clearly show the limits of this interpretation. Neither the size nor the species of the animal seems to be the principal factor determining the application of the ἑλληνικὸς νόμος, but rather the way of handling it (see Pirenne-Delforge *forthc.*). The first set of prescriptions, referring to complementary offerings to be placed on the table as well as other requirements (line 38, sacrificial tariffs), is quite common in the inscription (see above on lines A30-39). The clauses that follow contain a level of detail regarding the sacrificial procedure which is unparalleled in the rest of the regulation. First, we understand the expression ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ as a synonym of ἱερεῖον (found elsewhere in the inscription, cf. lines B43 and 61). Two parts from the sacrificial animal are singled out: the breast or chest, once it has been cooked (ἐφθόν), is also to be placed on the table, while the leg (perhaps a hindleg?), still raw, is awarded to the priestess. This is the first attestation that a portion of meat placed on the table has to be cooked, and that by contrast, a priestly perquisite—an expected leg (cf. Paul; Carbon 2017)—was to be given raw. It is possible that the chest placed on the table would, after having been offered, later be taken by the cult personnel. For the chest given as a priestly perquisite, cf. [CGRN](#)

45 (Athens), fr. 3, col. 2, line 55, and [CGRN 86 A](#) (Kos), lines 51-52. We remark that the verb ἔψειν, which usually has the sense of "boiling", here should probably denote "cooking" in general, whatever the exact method may be (cf. Chantraine [DELG](#) s.v. for this later sense of the verb). Indeed, the next clause uses the same verb to specify the cooking of the viscera, which one would expect to be roasted. A mostly canonical list of these viscera follows: the liver, the lung, the diaphragm, the left kidney, and the tongue (Aris. *PA* 668b30-672b32; for the tongue as part of the group of σπλάγχνα, see e.g. Plu. *Mor.* 166a-b). Another detailed list prescribes the ἱερά which are to be placed on the altar-fire: the right kidney, a right extremity, the heart, the omentum, the "leg extracted from the chest" and the customary part of the tail. Though the set of portions placed on the altar literally seems to include a whole foreleg, we note that the different components are not necessarily unusual as far as Greek sacrifice is concerned: the leg and omentum may refer to the usual "bundle" or "package" of bones wrapped with fat; a piece from the extremities could echo μασχάλισματᾶ and other bits raw meat deposited on it (cf. [CGRN 103](#), Phrearrhioi, lines 16-17); the tail is well-attested elsewhere. For the heart as a portion consecrated to the gods (though in 2nd-century AD evidence), cf. [LSS 121](#), lines 5-12; [LSAM 84](#), lines 12-13. For one kidney given to the priest at Miletos, while the other kidney may have been burned on the altar, see [CGRN 39](#) (ca. 400 BC), lines 4-5, [CGRN 138](#) (275/4 BC), lines 16-18. Finally, a more unusual injunction concludes this paragraph. The offering of another sacrificial animal seems to be prescribed, but the relative clause introduced by οὗ, "wherever one wants", remains puzzling. Presumably the sanctuary is still the implied point of reference, since otherwise one does not understand why anyone is permitted to eat this additional offering. This could be a rare indication that animals which are not subject to the whole sacrificial process, but are still considered as ἱερεῖα, could be brought into a sanctuary and feasted upon. This consideration of the consumption of a whole ἱερεῖον may perhaps provide a logical link with the next section, which concerns the offering of a whole roasted sheep.

§ 8 (lines B44-48): This section concerns another form of sacrificial ritual for the goddess: this is literally called a "table-filling". The same sort of ritual appears to be considered by the rules for the cult of Men set up by Xanthos at Sounion, [LSCG 55](#), line 20: ἐὰν δέ τις τράπεζαν πληρῶι τῶι θεῶι, λαμβανέτω τὸ ἥμισυ] (cf. also Parker - Scullion, p. 228, for further discussion). In this case, we are informed in elaborate detail about how this ritual was made perfect or complete (τελέα): a mature sheep, regardless of gender, was roasted whole (see above § 7 on the sense of the verb ἔψω in this text) and perhaps deposited in parts on the cult table (but see the discussion on lines A33-34); it was accompanied by an amount of the sesame-honey-cake and flatbreads frequently found in the prescriptions in this text (for which, see above lines A30-42), as well as other typical requirements (wine, presumably for the krater as elsewhere; a tariff paid in the money-box, oil for the lamp). A final specification forbade non-initiates from tasting of these offerings. This not only informs us that the table-offerings were expected to be consumed after being offered to the goddess, but also seems to indicate that the table-filling ritual could be offered by non-initiates too (for similar interdictions, see lines A23-24, 35).

§ 9 (lines B48-50): Another form of ritual for the goddess is briefly considered here, "all-day-long" cult, employing the rare verb πανημερίζω (but see already [LSJ](#) s.v. πανημερεύω or the phrase οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο at H. *Il.* 1.472; cf. also Parker - Scullion, p. 249). As this was evi-

dently a durative and lengthy process, no doubt involving chanting, singing, supplication and/or prayers (see also above on Face B, § 2), bringing one's own lunch is permitted (with the usual exception of pork, see Face B, § 3), and oil is required for a lamp in the sanctuary (presumably the ritual might last into the night). For the right of bringing or provision for a lunch or snack (ἄριστον) during lengthy rituals, cf. here [CGRN 32](#) (Thorikos), lines 3-4 and 15-16 (in the latter case, during a holocaust), [CGRN 94](#) (Eleusis), lines 5-9 (proclamation of the festival of the Proerosia by the hierophant and the herald), and cf. also [CGRN 201](#) (Miletos), line 45.

§ 10 (lines B51-52): A small, distinct section appears to be introduced here concerning offerings specifically directed at (πρός) "the ear" and "the hair" of the goddess. Though the section offers what seems to be a generally applicable statement, it is not impossible, perhaps even probable, that, in the overall logic of the regulation, this is to be connected in some way with the "all-day" ritual in the preceding section: supplication and prayers to the goddess, assuming that entry into the vestibule was granted for this purpose (see on Face B, § 2), will have involved at least proximity to the cult statue (if for an initiate, entry was granted into the temple itself, perhaps even physical contact with the statue may have been possible—but this remains entirely speculative). At any rate, the rule here explicitly specifies a substantial list of aromatics to be offered: though no verb is specified, most are substances which could be burned (frankincense, myrrh, another form of incense, other aromatics), with the resulting smoke presumably reaching, or at least being imagined to reach, the cited attributes of the statue of the goddess. In the case of the penultimate item, rose-oil, we can perhaps imagine that it was sprayed or splashed rather than burned; a tariff was also paid separately into the money-box (see Face B, § 7 above). For deities who listen (ἐπήκοος), cf. here Astarte Palaistine Aphrodite Ourania and Zeus Ourios on Delos, [CGRN 171](#), lines 1-2.

§ 11 (lines B53-56): The sacrifice of a bird or goose to the goddess is discussed in this section, though it is not clear if any sacred portions to be burned were extracted from these animals. For other mentions of geese in a sacrificial context, cf. here [CGRN 66](#) (Chios), line 13. Apart from sacrificial tariffs to be paid in the money-box, the legs of these bipedal animals were to be placed on the table, as well as their innards (τὰ ἔνδον). The latter presumably refers to the whole of the guts and organs in the abdominal and thoracic cavities of these animals, without any special treatment of the σπλάγχνα being envisaged. This further demarcates this form of sacrifice from the ἑλληνικός νόμος (cf. § 7 above). The following phrase allows take-away of the remaining meat to be feasted upon wherever one wants (for similar rules allowing or restricting take-away, cf. here [CGRN 32](#), Thorikos, Commentary on lines 10-12). This also implies that the legs and innards of the bird would remain on the table as offerings. They might be later consumed by the cult personnel, but this remains unclear. The usual complementary offerings of wine (for the krater), flatbreads and oil (for a lamp) are also appended.

§ 12 (lines B57-60): This section addresses the possibility of sacrificing a bovine to the goddess. The complementary offerings for this sacrifice, to be placed on the cult table, are similar in kind to those made according to the ἑλληνικός νόμος (cf. § 7 above), except in quantity (e.g. triple the quantity of flatbreads, double the oil and wine); sufficient wood for fulfilling the ritual and the roasting of the meat is also speci-

fied in this case, since the animal is large. The phrase concluding the section literally refers to the extraction of sacred parts (ιερά) from the bovine "as from sheep" (for the meaning of πρόβατον, see above on lines A30-39). Parker and Scullion (p. 242-247) interpret this as a reference to the section on the ἑλληνικός νόμος (§ 7), which describes in detail the parts to be removed from an adult sheep. If that is right, then, the sacrifice of the bovine envisaged will also have been done "à la grecque". This is probably the case, though the reference to prescriptions "as from sheep" is a strange way of recalling the distinctive sacrifice ἑλληνικῶι νόμωι. Additionally, it should be noted that portions were apparently extracted from sheep in two other rituals of the cult: the "table-filling" ritual (see lines A33-34) and the lifting of the offering trays (see also lines A37-38).

§ 13 (lines B60-64): This paragraph discusses participation in the two major festivals of the cult: the Nisanaia and the Aloulaia. Anyone wishing to sacrifice on these occasions must take part in the procession, leading their animal to be sacrificed. However, as the final phrase makes clear, a purification from head to toe was necessary before sacrifice and entry was only allowed as far as the sanctuary of Phylake. Presumably the animals were either sacrificed in this sanctuary or were led in by the cult personnel to be sacrificed on the "great altar" to the goddess (compare below, § 16, for restrictions concerning sacrifice on this altar). The section provides us with precious information on the date of the two festivals and its main processions. The Nisanaia, expected in the springtime (see lines A1-2), would involve a procession "on the next day", "if the goddess returns from a river" (compare perhaps Luc. *Syr.D.* 47: ἐς τὴν λίμνην καταβάσεις;); the phrase presents a hypothetical statement which is probably only reflective of a (usually fulfilled) ritual expectation. The procession of the Aloulaia was to take place on the morning of the 17th (of the month Itonios, see lines A13-18), while a torchlit procession would also be held at night on the same day. For further discussion of these festivals, see also Carbon.

§ 14 (lines B65-69): This section introduces the first of three different possibilities for offering a holocaust in the cult. In this first case, the animal burned whole is either a full-grown ram or a male lamb. For the prevalence of holocaustic sacrifices in rituals from the Levant, in comparison with a relative rarity of cases in the Greek world, see Parker - Scullion (p. 225-228) and now Ekroth. Apart from several of the usual elements specified as sacrificial complements, which have already been discussed above, we also find here ΒΑΣΙΣΑΒΑΡΟΥΤΑ. The reading is indisputable, being twice clearly found on the stone (cf. also below in the next section at line 72). The first edition of Decourt - Tziaphalias (p. 42) correctly thought of seeing a type of wild rue here (βησασᾶ is a word of Near Eastern origin, which refers to a plant called "wild rue" or "Syrian rue" (*Peganum harmala*; cf. Dsc. *de Materia Medica* 3.45: πήγανον κηπαῖον ... Σύροι ἄρμαλά, οἱ δὲ βησασᾶ). But the first editors also proposed (following the advice of S. Amigues) to correct the reading to βάσισα (κ)α(ι) ροῦτα. Following the intuitions of the first edition of Decourt - Tziaphalias (cf. also Parker - Scullion, p. 216 n. 41), we interpret this phrase as βασισᾶ Βαρουτά. This can seem to be the accusative of a Doric (Thessalian) form of βησασᾶ Βηρυτ(ι)α, perhaps also influenced by the word ροῦτα; thus, the expression likely referred to rue from Berytos (Beirut). Moreover, it should be noted that in both cases this substance appears without a measure and preceding

λιβανωτόν; it must therefore either designate something for burning or a small quantity of a substance not unlike incense, to be used in the rituals; perhaps both. Indeed, the dried capsules of this plant, when placed in fire, pop or burst, while releasing fragrant smoke.

§ 15 (lines B69-73): For the holocaust of a goose, compare the (different) sacrifice of a goose mentioned earlier in the regulation at § 11 (lines B53-56). The third and final type of holocaust also concerns birds of two different kinds: one called τρύββα—the word is unknown—the other being a quail. The procedure was to follow the one for geese, though since the birds were smaller, only 1.5 obols were specified as a tariff (instead of 2 obols in the case of geese). For sacrifices of birds in this text, see Parker - Scullion, p. 220-225.

§ 16 (lines B73-81): This section, though it concerns sacrifice, also seems to reprise the first part of this face of the stele with its treatment of restrictions for non-initiates and other matters of purity. In the first case, non-initiates are forbidden from approaching the "great altar", which must be the main altar of the goddess in the sanctuary. The clause also has the interest of informing us that possibly the sacrifice that was expected to be performed on this altar consisted of a hen or the deposition of an egg. Such a sacrifice was allowed, but only on the altar of Moira. It's not clear if the phrase προσπορευέσθω ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Μοίρας καὶ Ἡλίου βωμόν should recapitulate this permission to access the same altar of Moira—shared with Helios—or whether it adds also the possibility of approaching another altar of Moira, which she shared with Helios. In a case where a non-initiate approached the "great altar", he was to perform a purification "according to the purification written in front of the peristyle". Parker and Scullion (p. 211) reason that the purification "of the peristyle" may be the same as the purification "of the altars" at lines B29-35. In our view, the purification should preferably have been part of a document written on the peristyle which was selectively cited in the regulations on this stele (cf. § 2 and 5). Reference to this sign on the peristyle may also be made in the final phrase of this section, which invokes the possibility of pollution in the peristyle in the form of urine or blood and the προγεγραμμένον καθαρμόν necessary for remedying it. Similar rules to those for the "great altar" were also applied to the altar shared by Adara and Lilla. Non-initiates could not "touch" this and a purification was required, in this case with reference to an inscription "of the precinct"; this may have been yet another sign belonging to the sanctuary.

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