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Δελφίνια φλάμπουρα και κανονιές.
Το πέλαγο τόσο πικρό για την ψυχή σου κάποτε
σήκωνε τα πολύχρωμα κι αστραφτερά καράβια (...)
τόσο πικρό για την ψυχή σου κάποτε
τώρα γεμάτο χρώματα στον ήλιο
G. Seferis, *Mythistorema* 13 (*Hydra*)

In 2004, Wolfgang Blümel published a series of newly discovered inscriptions from Mylasa, one of which is a short text incised in a rectangular field on the vertical surface of a small cylindrical altar.¹ The inscribed and recessed field is topped by a relief of a dolphin resting on some sort of narrow pole or pillar. The inscription, dating roughly to the late 2nd or 1st century BC, would be almost unremarkable were it not for this distinctive iconography: “Auf dem Stein ist ein Delphin in Relief dargestellt, darunter ein Stab (?).”



The cylindrical altar at Mylasa

Εὐτυχος
εὐχὴν
καὶ οἱ τεμενῖται

“Eutychos (made/fulfilled) a vow along with the precinct-fellows.”

Who was the god to whom Eutychos made a vow, which resulted in the erection of this small altar? He is not explicitly stated, but instead left implicit both in the consecration of the altar and in the name of the association joining Eutychos, the *Temenitai*. Given the evocative image represented on the relief, I suggest here that the prime candidate is the god who is himself ‘dolphin-like’ and who can readily appear as one of these propitious marine creatures: Apollo, and particularly Apollo Delphinios.² The dolphin-pillar can, I will argue, be seen as an emblem of the god, which was found in a number of major sanctuaries across the Greek world.

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¹ W. Blümel, *Neue Inschriften aus Karien: Mylasa und Umgebung II*, *EA* 37 (2004) 1–42, here: 13 no. 15. Cf. *SEG* 54, 1107. The altar appears broken at the top and the bottom.

² For the god and his cult, see the excellent study of F. Graf, *Apollo Delphinios*, *MH* 36 (1979) 2–22.

Associative groups known as *Temenitai* (“precinct-members”) or *Temenizontes* (“precinct-builders”) were thus far unknown at Mylasa, but are particularly well-attested at Miletus, also during the late Hellenistic period.³ These cult-groups appear to have focussed on fairly diverse cohorts of deities, but ones where Apollo is an integral god. In an inscription erected by one of these groups, Apollo, without epithet, is associated with Zeus and Aphrodite; another appears to involve the pairing of Apollo Didymeus with Demeter [Karpophoros]; a more recently discovered example lists Agathe Tyche first, then Apollo (again without epithet) and Hermes, and the contributors to the association are exclusively foreigners.⁴ Another text, inscribed at nearby Didyma, is a decree enacted by “an association (*koinon*) of those who set up a precinct for Aphrodite and Apollo Didymeus”.⁵ The *Temenitai* or *Temenizontes* are thus rather varied cult-groups, though they all share in the worship of Apollo. Their focus was perhaps especially on Apollo Didymeus, but in the few cases where Apollo had no epithet, he may simply have been known as Temenites, the god of the precinct.

Though the evidence is not at all as clear as one might wish, it might be thought that these diverse associations, though of a quite different origin and character, partly modelled themselves on the most important local precinct, the Delphinion near the harbour of Miletus. There, the worship of Apollo Delphinios and a plurality of figures, his ‘co-precinct gods’ (ἐντεμένιοι θεοί), is well-attested and constitutes a characteristic of the cult. From the Archaic to the late Hellenistic periods, the Molpoi were the fundamental religious and political group in the city, in their capacity as musical ‘modulators’ of Apollo Delphinios.⁶ The famous stele of these Molpoi, containing a text that was re-inscribed in ca. 200 BC or shortly thereafter, alludes to a series of divinities connected to Apollo, though not explicitly within the Delphinion: Hecate, Hermes, and possibly others. Apart from this, another supporting document is an early Hellenistic inscription defining the sacrificial prerogatives of the priest of Apollo Delphinios, which refers to sacrifices performed for these other gods in the *temenos*.⁷ A dedication of the same period was made by

³ P. Herrmann, *Urkunden milesischer Temenitai*, *MDAI(I)* 30 (1980) 223–239, for a small corpus of the inscriptions, all of which date to the 2nd or to the 1st century BC.

⁴ For the first case, cf. Herrmann (1980: 224–226 no. a; *Milet* VI,2 797), lines 5–7: οἱ τεμενίζοντες ἰ τῶι τε Απόλλωνι καὶ ἰ Διὶ καὶ ἰ Ἀφροδίτῃ. The second text is Herrmann (1980: 230–233 no. c; *Milet* VI,2 800, 47/6 BC), which begins: [ἐπὶ στεφάνῃ] γηφόρου Μενεστράτου, ἰ [μηνὸς Με]ταγειτνιώνος, συνή[χθησαν] Τεμ[ε]νεῖται τοῦ Ἀπόλλω[νος] τοῦ ἰ Διδυμέ[ως] καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τῆς ἰ Καρποφόρου. For the more recent case involving foreigners, cf. W. Günther, *Zwei neue Temenitenverzeichnisse aus Milet*, *Chiron* 25 (1995) 43–53, here no. 2 (ca. 190/189–180 BC; n.b. that a later, 2nd–3rd c. AD, inscription transformed the stele into an indication of the heroon of one Antiochos son of Epiktetos). For these texts, cf. also *SEG* 45, 1606–1607, the latter lemma noting well the prevalence and centrality of Apollo in the divine configurations worshipped by these associations.

⁵ *I. Did.* 486 (188/7 BC), lines 2–5: [ἐ]δο[ξ]ε τῶι κοινῶι τῶν τεμε[νι]ζόντων τῆι Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλ[ω]νι τῶι Διδυμ[ε]ῖ; this confirms the restoration of Apollo Didymeus in Herrmann (1980: 230–233 no. c), above.

⁶ A. Herda, *Der Apollon-Delphinios-Kult in Milet und die Neujahrsprozession nach Didyma* (Mainz 2006). For useful reviews, see A. Chaniotis, *The Molpoi Inscription: Prescription or Riddle?*, *Kernos* 23 (2010) 375–379; R. C. T. Parker, *CR* 58 (2008) 178–180. The latest tangible evidence for the survival of the Molpoi, apart from a few occasional mentions, is probably *LSAM* 53 (30–1 BC). Note also that *μολπῶν* disappears from the title of the list of eponymous officials in 21/2–31/2 AD: *Milet* I,3 128.

⁷ *Milet* VI,3 1221 (cf. *LSAM* 46, ca. 300 BC), line 4: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν ἰ [ἐν]τεμενίων ὄσων ἱερῶται ὁ ἱέρεως, λάγεται ... That the inscription must relate to the priest of Apollo Delphinios at Miletus is assured by a clause in the final line: ἦν δὲ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίοις θύηι ξέγος ... The involvement of the basileus, an official closely associated with the rites described by Molpoi on their stele (cf. Herda 2006: 434), in the sharing of priestly portions of meat listed in *Milet* VI,3 1221, is a further token of proof. Cf. also *LSAM* 52, lines 6–7, which concerns the

the *aisymnetes* of the Molpoi to Apollo Delphinios and his ἐντεμένιοι θεοί.⁸ Alexander Herda has admirably highlighted who these gods are: a small circular altar of Hekate, constructed in the Archaic period, was brought into the Delphinion at a later date, more closely uniting her worship with that of Apollo; Hellenistic dedications to Zeus Soter and Artemis, respectively, were added to two archaic ‘Rundaltäre’ also present in the *temenos*; Hestia, Herakles, and several other figures were associated with Apollo; still further gods might be envisaged.⁹

It is striking that ἐντεμένιοι θεοί are seldom attested elsewhere by this phrase, except in the formulae relating to the cults of Egyptian gods. Miletus is therefore somewhat of a particular case, since it reveals not only a long tradition of the cult of Apollo Delphinios and his “co-precinct gods”, but also a number of Hellenistic associations defining themselves as *Temenitai* or *Temenizontes* of Apollo and other gods. There are perhaps hints of this genre of worship in other places, since the cult of an Apollo called Temenites, “of the precinct”, is sometimes attested.¹⁰ At any rate, we can be reasonably confident that the *Temenitai* associated with Eutychos at Mylasa worshipped Apollo, probably along with other gods. Here too, he might also have been simply called Temenites, but Apollo Delphinios is even more compelling as we shall see.

What do we know about dedications of dolphin-shaped votives and objects in Greek sanctuaries? The evidence is rather slim, yet nonetheless interesting and suggestive.¹¹ Dolphin-motifs were commonly depicted on a variety of supports, such as baskets, cups, shields, etc, but two sources attest to the dedication of dolphins which were specifically placed on pillars. One stems from the inventories of Delos, where a δελφίς ἐπὶ κιονίου, ἀνεπίγραφος, “a dolphin on a small pillar, uninscribed”, is periodically listed among the objects set up at the race-course (*dromos*) in the sanctuary of Apollo.¹² Another piece of the puzzle is provided by Eratosthenes’s description

priesthood of Asclepius and ἐντεμένιοι θεοί at Miletus around 14–50 AD, and fits the local pattern; but for perhaps another case involving Asclepius and ἐντεμένιοι θεοί, see *NGSL* 13, line 14 (Amphipolis, ca. 350–300 BC).

⁸ *Milet* I,3 159 (323/2 BC); see Appendix for discussion and the date. Cf. also J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon* no. 27c, a Hellenistic agreement of some sort, where the editors rightly note that the prescriptions must relate to cult performance at Miletus rather than at Amyzon itself (perhaps even as part of a Milesian decree set up at Amyzon): τὸν μὲν στεφάνηρον --- εὐ]ξασθαι τῶι τε Ἀπόλλ[ωνι (scil. τῶι Δελφινίῳ) καὶ τοῖς] | ἐντεμένιοις θεοῖς [---] | Μίλησ[ί]οις ἐπιτελε[---] | ἱερῶν τὰς νομιζο[μένας ---] etc.

⁹ Herda (2006: 213–214 with n. 1493); he returns to this question in more detail in A. Herda, *How to Run a State Cult. The Organization of the Cult of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos*, in: M. Haysom and J. Wallensten (eds.), *Current Approaches to Religion in Ancient Greece* (Stockholm 2011) 57–93, here 67–68. The altar of Hekate is *Milet* I,3 129 (500–494 BC).

¹⁰ Apollo Temenites: see *IC* I xxii 4C, line 67 (Olous, 3rd c. BC; the sanctuary referred to in the text was on the small island of Kasos, east of Crete); and Th. 6.75 for an archaic sanctuary of Apollo Temenites at Syracuse, with S. Hornblower’s *Commentary* vol. 3 (Oxford 2010), ad loc.; and note the shorthand expression used there “τὸν Τεμενίτην”: the god was implicit in the epithet. See also n. 12 below, for a case on Delos. But the epithet is of course attributed to other gods, such as Poseidon and Zeus.

¹¹ A further case beyond those discussed here is the dedication of stone dolphins (number not specified), which had apparently been gilded, by a woman called Pheidippe at the Asklepieion in Athens, *IG* II² 1534 (cf. S. Aleshire, *Athenian Asklepieion*, 249 no. V, ca. 275 BC), line 218: δελφίνες λί[θι]νοι Φειδ[ι]πης, ὀκκῆ τοῦ [πρ]οσόντος χρυσίου Ἦ ... Dolphins were of course not exclusively dedicated to Apollo. For another relief of a dolphin, cf. the famous series of dedications by Artemidoros of Perge on Thera, here *IG* XII,3 1347 (to Poseidon Pelagios).

¹² This is mentioned in *ID* 1416, line 24 (156/5 BC), 1417 B23 (155/4 BC; for this text, see also C. Prêtre et al. *Nouveau choix d’inscriptions de Délos* (Athens 2002) 199–238), 1442 A12 (146/5–145/4 BC), and 1452, lines 23–24 (145–140 BC?). Cf. also R. Hamilton, *Treasure Map* (Ann Arbor 2000), ArB 32 and SrD59. Note that this offering was immediately followed by an ἀπολλωνίσκον ἐπὶ βάσεως ἔχοντα ἱέρακα ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς. The last instance in *ID* 1452 appears to associate the preceding small figurine of an ox with the dolphin-pillar: βοῖδιον μικρὸν καὶ δελφίνα ἐπὶ κιονίου, ἀνεπίγραφα. Cf. an intriguing mention of a dolphin in an extremely

of the area surrounding the temple of Ammon in the oasis of Siwa. Noting the presence of marine fossils, he also observes several maritime votives along the sacred way towards the sanctuary, misinterpreting some of these as actual shipwrecks (Eratosthenes fr. 15 [Roller], ap. Strabo 1.3.4):

νῦν ἔτι εὐρίσκεισθαι πολλούς, ἀναφυσήματά τε θαλάττης εἰς ὕψος ἀναβάλλειν, πρὸς ᾧ καὶ ναυάγια θαλαττίων πλοίων δείκνυσθαι, ἃ ἔφρασαν διὰ τοῦ χάσματος ἐκβεβράσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ στυλιδίων ἀνακεῖσθαι δελφίνας ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντας “Κυρηναίων θεωρῶν”.¹³

So, here too apparently, there were dolphins on small pillars (στυλιδία) which were dedicated.¹⁴ The context is somewhat elusive: having probably himself travelled to visit the sanctuary, Eratosthenes was aware that the dedications were consecrated by fellow Cyreneans, who as *theoroi* had made a procession to the sanctuary of Ammon. Did they perhaps travel part of the way by sea from the Libyan shore, before making the rest of their way inland through the desert? At any rate, one might reasonably resist any notion that the dolphins were dedicated to Ammon outside his sanctuary. No doubt Apollo, the major god at Cyrene, was the intended recipient of the dolphins of the *theoroi*, perhaps erected in fulfillment of a vow made for safe travel and before they moved on to Ammon himself.¹⁵ This would be somewhat similar to what we find in Eutycho's dedication (εὐχή) at Mylasa.

Most significantly, the idea of setting up dolphins on pillars can be closely tied to the aitiology of the Delphinios cult which is described in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. After their wanderings and an epiphany of Apollo (vv. 440–447), the Cretans land at Crisa in Phocis. Upon beaching their ship, the god instructs them as follows (vv. 490–496):

καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης,
πῦρ ἐπικαίοντες ἐπὶ τ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ θύοντες·
εὐχέσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν.
ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἡεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
εἰδόμενος δελφῖνι θεῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,

fragmentary text at Delphi which may relate to horse-racing there, κατὰ τὴν ἰππάφ[εσιν?]: *FD* III,1 474 (ca. 272 BC). On Delos too, one finds an Apollo Temenites: *IG* XI,2 144 B11 (ca. 305–301 BC). Though the text mentions only an altar (and another one of Apollo Patroos), the epithet would nonetheless point to a *temenos* of Apollo, perhaps with associated gods.

¹³ Cf. also Strato of Lampsacus fr. 91 (Wehrli). Strabo later (1.3.15) returns to these dedications and takes issue with Hipparchus fr. 9 (Dicks) who disputed Eratosthenes' account. For a recent discussion of these passages in the wider context of *theoria* to the oracle of Ammon, cf. I. Rutherford, *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 2013) 112.

¹⁴ Cf. again Hipparchus fr. 9 (Dicks); there, p. 119, the editor prefers to read στυλιδῶν, i.e. a mast used to carry a flag at the stern of a ship. This would be a very nice thought and fit with the maritime connotation of the dedication (see also here on the *Homeric Hymn*, where the erection of the makeshift altar immediately follows the beaching of the ship of the Cretans), but it is not what the text of Strabo says and it is made less appealing by the word κίοντον clearly found in the Delian inventories (cf. n. 12 above).

¹⁵ Apollo is the likeliest addressee (or implicit referent) for the dedications made by the *theoroi*. He was a central (tutelary?) figure at Cyrene: cf. e.g. *LSS* 115 (purity regulations presented as foundational oracles of Apollo and set up in the Apollonion). So far as I can tell, there are no attestations of the epithet at Cyrene, but for the month Delphinios at Thera, its mother-city, cf. *IG* XII,3 330, lines 63 and 133 (foundation of Epikteta, ca. 210–195 BC); and see C. Trümper, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (Heidelberg 1997) § 151, also § 153 (Crete, where the god was widely popular) and § 155 (Aegina). Cyrenean coins often show dolphins, though not of this pillar-type to my knowledge; they also depict Ammon in some periods. For a detailed investigation of Cyrene and its relationship with Apollo (Karneios) as well as with Zeus Ammon, see I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994), esp. 143–168.

ὡς ἐμοὶ εὐχεσθαι Δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς
αὐτὸς δελφίνιος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.¹⁶

Since Apollo has made an epiphany in the guise of a dolphin, he orders that the Cretans set up a cult-site for himself with this new epithet, Delphinios. But the last line of the passage has perhaps not received sufficient attention.¹⁷ Apollo explicitly states that his altar at Crisa is also to be considered as Delphinios, αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς αὐτὸς δελφίνιος. Though one must scan this last word with some difficulty as δελφίνιος, the *lectio difficilior* of Ms M is rightly retained by Richardson in his recent edition of the *Hymn*. Tellingly, however, the other manuscripts betray some perplexity and instead give us δέλφιος (At D A Q P) or δέλφειος (B Γ V x), two malformed adjectives which ought also to signify “dolphin-like”. In other words, the phrase was most naturally interpreted as signifying not only that the altar would (fairly repetitively) also be called Delphinios as per the epithet of the god – a fact which is no doubt indicative of a sanctuary called Delphinion at Crisa, just as at Miletus – but also that it would somehow be “dolphin-shaped”. The final phrase, καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ, “and it will be for ever conspicuous”, or perhaps more literally, that it will always be “overseeing/overlooking”, would agree particularly well with the notion of a raised dolphin-pillar that one finds in the Hellenistic evidence I have examined here. This passage from the *Hymn* need not entail that altars of Apollo Delphinios always depicted dolphins or featured dolphins on pillars, but it is surely an *aition* which inspired later practice. At Mylasa, the representation of the dolphin-pillar on the relief could be easily and immediately understood as a marker of the god.

A final, but more conjectural suggestion can perhaps be made, if we come back to Miletus and its early cult-group of Apollo Delphinios: the Molpoi. Around the time of the redaction of the *Hymn to Apollo* or somewhat afterward, these ‘modulators’ were establishing and passing decrees codifying their *orgia*: the rituals of Apollo Delphinios which took place at Miletos and an elaborate procession to Didyma in the month Taureon.¹⁸ Despite the best efforts of past scholarship, including none other than Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, the interpretation of the lengthy inscription preserving one of these decrees remains uncertain in several passages. One such instance concerns the objects known as *gylloi*, which are usually explained as two rectangular sacred stones that were placed as processional ‘boundary markers’, one next to the Hecate in front of the gates of Miletus, the other at the gates of Didyma.¹⁹ Yet the only evidence for this interpretation of the word is a gloss of Hesychius, which reads: γυλλός· κύβος ἢ

¹⁶ Text and commentary in N. J. Richardson, *Three Homeric Hymns: to Apollo, Hermes and Aphrodite, hymns 3, 4, and 5* (Cambridge 2010). Cf. p. 145 and 147 for the descriptions of the arrival and beaching of the ship. Regrettably little is known about a sanctuary at Crisa. Cf. Paus. 10.37.8 for a temple of the triad of Apollo, Artemis and Leto: καὶ ἐπίνειον Δελφῶν ἐστὶν ἡ Κίρρα (= Crisa). παρέχεται δὲ καὶ ἐς θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ναόν τε καὶ ἀγάλματα μεγέθει μεγάλα καὶ ἐργασίας Ἰατρικῆς.

¹⁷ Richardson (2010: 146 apud v. 496) translates: “And the altar will be (called) Delphinian, and will be conspicuous for all time to come”. He notes well that ἐπόψιος could also be an epithet of Zeus or Apollo (Hsch. s.v.). Notice that the Apollo Temenites attested at Syracuse (n. 10 above) was also known for his beauty and conspicuousness, cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.4. 119: *signumque Apollinis, qui Temenites vocatur, pulcherrimum et maximum*, though here probably a cult-statue is meant; cf. also n. 16, above, for the statues at Crisa described by Pausanias.

¹⁸ Cf. Richardson (2010: 13–14) for the dating, following Janko’s proposal of ca. 585 for the first part of the text, with the possibility that this final portion of the hymn, notably relating to the arrival at Crisa, is perhaps to be dated somewhat later. The decrees cited in the stele of the Molpoi date to 476/5 and 447/6 BC; Herda (2006) follows other editors in assigning the activities of the Molpoi and the development of these *orgia* to the preceding century.

¹⁹ Herda (2006) lines 25–27, and comm. ad loc.: καὶ γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ τίθεται παρ’ Ἐκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν | πυλέων ἐστεμμένους καὶ ἀκρήτω κατασπένδετε, ὁ δ’ ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ | θύρας τίθεται.

τετράγωνος λίθος. While it is possible that the procession involved the transportation of a sacred stone (of whatever size and weight), over 18 km to Didyma, it ought to be conceded that this is not an absolutely compelling elucidation of a word that remains otherwise indecipherable and perhaps a feature of local dialect.²⁰ Despite the prevalence of aniconic sacred stones in a variety of Greek cults, one fails to see what such stones have immediately to do with Apollo Delphinios.²¹ Granted, stones like herms could be wreathed during a celebration and the pairing of the *gylloi* is indeed suggestive of some sort of delimiting of a procession, but it is odd to find further pairs of *gylloi*, sometimes also wreathed, cited in the lists of the archaic sacrificial calendar of Miletus, where one would surely expect offerings of a less solid or permanent kind.²²

It is possible that one could explain these ritual objects differently. After all, Hesychius is not the most reliable of sources, and he may have quite reasonably confused γυλλός with γύαλος/γυαλός, a good word for a cubic stone (*LSJ* s.v. pointing to Call. *Hecale* fr. 236 [Pfeiffer]). By contrast, he also gives us two other glosses which are perhaps more interesting or relevant: γύλλινα: ἐρείσματα, γεῖσοι; and: γυλλοί: στολμοί. Other evidence for the obscure word γυλλός will thus point us in the direction of short pillars and props (the diminutive γύλλινα, presumably from γύλλινον), or towards a wider range of ‘equipment’, cloths, wreaths, or even sails (στολμοί). Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that an Archaic round limestone block with a *circular* indentation on the upper side is thought to have marked the entrance to Didyma, where there were no actual “gates” in this early period: it has been suggested that this could be the stand for the second *gyllos* placed by the Molpoi.²³ Might γυλλός then have designated a less permanent and more explicitly figurative piece of cultic equipment, e.g. a type of round and wooden pil-

²⁰ Note that the blocks of wood which the (genos? of the) Onitadai must furnish according to the stele of the Molpoi, line 33, almost certainly cannot be envisaged as logs designed to help move the heavy *gylloi*, a suggestion one sometimes finds in the scholarship, e.g. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Satzungen einer milesischen Sängergilde*, *SBBerlin* (1904) 619–640, here 632, or more recently, S. Georgoudi, *La procession chantante des Molpes de Milet*, in: P. Brulé – C. Vendries (eds.), *Chanter les dieux* (Rennes 2001) 153–171, here 164: “rouleaux de bois”. Instead, they are to be taken with the preceding phrase which contains an expegetic infinitive, κρέα ἐπιδιαίρην φαλαγκτηρίων, and one should punctuate with commas accordingly (cf. differently, Herda, 2006: 390, who takes κρέα ἐπιδιαίρην with the reed-mats, ῥῖποι, which are less suitable for the cutting of meat, and more for serving portions meat or soaking up blood; he has difficulty elucidating the wood-blocks: 392). These are blocks “upon which to cut up meat”, i.e. wooden chopping-blocks and cutting-boards, presumably fairly orthogonal or rectangular as the association of this word with the notion of the phalanx would imply.

²¹ On sacred stones, see W. K. Pritchett, *Pausanias Periegetes* (vol. 1, Amsterdam 1998) 97–170 (166 briefly on *gylloi*). A stronger case for *gylloi* as stones could be built by looking at some of the cases assembled by Pritchett in more detail: p. 132 a “herm” of Apollo at Megalopolis; p. 152–153 on Apollo Carinus at Megara; p. 167–170 on Apollo Agyieus; and cf. also below, n. 22. More recently, see also M. Gaifman, *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity* (Oxford 2012), and cf. p. 167 n. 122.

²² The *gylloi* are prescribed as accoutrements or offerings in two unknown sacrifices described in the calendar (inscribed on the walls of the Delphinion, or according to Herda [pers. comm.], the South Stoa), cf. *Milet* I,3 31a with comm. ad loc. (cf. Sokolowski, *LSAM* 41, ca. 525–500 BC): [πρ]οδόρπια δίδονται : δ[... 6 ...]σιν : δύ[ο γ]υλλ[ο]ὶ | --- | [---] | σπονδαί : διφάσια [μ]ερίσματα : δύο γυλλοὶ ἐστεθμιμένοι : ζύλα. The editors rightly doubted that sacred stones were intended here, given how they clash with the usual sorts of offerings found in calendars. But for a critique, see Pfeiffer ap. Call. fr. 114, where the statue of Delian Apollo is invoked as “πολυγώνιε”.

²³ P. Schneider, *Zur Topographie der Heiligen Straße von Milet nach Didyma*, *AA* (1987) 102–129, here 128–129 for the block, with a hypothesis that this might be the stand for the second *gyllos*. If that inference is correct, note that the indentation is circular and thus precludes the cubic *gyllos* of Hesychius. On the sacred way, cf. again the extensive discussion of Herda (2006) who identifies this stone at Didyma as “Votivbasis (sog. archaischer Grenzstein)”, pl. 10, and also K. B. Gödecke, *Beobachtungen und Funde an der Heiligen Straße zwischen Milet und Didyma*, 1984, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 217–253.

lar, with an effigy of a dolphin on it, or one with a decorated cloth or sail showing a dolphin? I merely wish to suggest that this is an attractive guess, since it would mark a procession of Apollo Delphinios much more conspicuously (recall ἐπόψιος) than a pair of sacred stones. Both possibilities – stones and dolphin-pillars – are perhaps not mutually exclusive. But, of course, such a hypothesis must remain in the realm of speculation.

In any case, I think that the matter of a momentous procession, which starts from a seaside sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios where a feast is held, is then accompanied by the abundant singing of paeans, and finishes at an inland oracular sanctuary, deserves to be considered anew and more widely. That is what the *Hymn* envisages from Crisa to Delphi, what the Molpoi do when they go from the Delphinion to Didyma, and perhaps even the sort of thing the Cyreneans did when they left their Apollonion to visit the oracle of Ammon. Much admittedly remains enigmatic, even in the modest altar at Mylasa, whose context is lost apart from the visual and textual link to an Apollo Delphinios or Temenites. It is to be hoped that further material will continue to elucidate the idea of dolphin-pillars, since they echo with manifold resonances of the symbolic value of these animals in religious iconography, ritual practice, and even soteriology.²⁴

Appendix: Restoring an Aisymnetes in *Milet* I,3 159

The text is *Milet* I,3 159, a fragment of a rectangular block that was part of a votive base, and has been dated to ca. 300 BC by T. Wiegand:

..... ου μολπῶν αἰσυμνήσας
[Ἀπόλλωνι Δε]λφινίωι καὶ θεοῖς ἐντεμενίοις.

The editor notes that the number of letters missing in line 1 is only assured by the restoration in line 2. But it appears that the break was not even in lines 1–2, because he prints only 8 possible letterspaces in line 1, and moreover the *omicron* and *omega* are typically Hellenistic and smaller than the other letters. Ἀπόλλωνι would thus be fairly short; one might otherwise have thought that ca. 9–10 letters would be missing in line 1.

Quite simply, there are very few short names with an also suitably short patronymic in the list of the *aisymnetai* of the Molpoi around the approximate time of inscribing (cf. the end of *Milet* I,3 122 II, and the beginning of 123). In fact, there is only one name that fits the range of letters, ca. 8, and that can conceivably be restored here. This is Λέων Ἰνδοῦ:

[ν? Λέων Ἰνδ]οῦ μολπῶν αἰσυμνήσας
[Ἀπόλλωνι Δε]λφινίωι καὶ θεοῖς ἐντεμενίοις.

Two contemporaneous and analogous dedications by *aisymnetai* of the Molpoi are *Milet* I,3 157 (Πλάτωνα Εὐαινέτου μολπῶν αἰσυμνήσαντα | Ἐπικράτης Πλάτωνος τὸμ πατέρα Ἀπόλλωνι;

²⁴ For the symbolic value of the dolphin, one need only recall the ‘magical’ or oracular bone plaque from the Milesian colony of Olbia, *IGDO* 93 (ca. 550–525 BC): ἐπτά· λύκος ἀσθενής· ἐβδολμήκοντα· λέων δεινός· ἐπτακκόσιοι· τοξοφόρος φίλιος· δωρεὴ δυνάμει· ἀνητήκρος· ἐπτακισχίλιοι· δελφίς φρόνιμος εἰρήνη Ὀλβίη πόλι· μακαρίζω ἐκεῖ· | μέμνημαι Ἀητῶς. The dolphin is here the ultimate symbol and a good omen (*LSJ* s.v. φρόνιμος III.3) of peace for the city; one would expect φρόνιμος to be followed by the genitive, viz. εἰρήνης (or even περί + gen.). For Apollo Delphinios, among a plethora of epithets at Olbia, cf. also *IGDO* 99 (ca. 450 BC).

Platon was in service in 364/3 BC, but since the dedication is made commemoratively by his son, one should think of a date at least few decades later, perhaps ca. 330 BC), and *Milet* I,3 160 (301/0 BC: Κριτόβουλος Ἰ Ἀγασικράτους ἰ μολπῶν αἰσυμνήσας ἰ Ἀπόλλωνι). According to the revised chronology of P. J. Rhodes, adopted here, this places the inscription of Leon son of Indos in 323/2, or exactly 10 years after Alexander was the eponymous *aisymnetes* and 10 years before Asandros took on that role.²⁵

Özet

Makalede, geç Hellenistik devirde Mylasa'da (Milas), Eumenes adındaki bir adam ile *Temenitai* adındaki bir derneğin adak olarak birlikte diktirdikleri, önceden W. Blümel tarafından *Epigraphica Anatolica* 37, 2004, 12, no. 12'de yayınlanmış olan bir sunak yeniden incelenmektedir. Sunaktaki yazıtın üzerindeki tasvirde bir sütun ve onun tepesinde yer alan bir yunus balığı görülmektedir. Yazar, burada sözü edilen Temenitai adlı örgütün Apollon (ve özellikle Apollon Delphinios) ile ilişkili bir kült derneği olduğunu ileri sürmekte ve Arkaik devirden itibaren sütunlar üzerinde tasvir edilen yunus balıklarının Apollon'un sembolleri olarak kabul edilebileceğini ileri sürmektedir.

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²⁵ P. J. Rhodes, Milesian "Stephanephoroi": Applying Cavaignac Correctly, *ZPE* 157 (2006) 116.