1. LSAM 16: Gambreion, 3rd c. BC.

With good fortune. Hieronimos was Demetrios. In the month Thargelion, on the second day, Alexon, son of Damon proposed. It is law of the citizens of Gambreion that the widows wear light coloured clothes, unstained by ashes; ...

The treasurer who is appointed after the stephanephorate of Demetrios should see to it that this law is inscribed on two stelae and [that] one of these is consecrated in front of the doors of the Thesmophorion, and the other one in front of the temple of Artemis Lochia. The treasurer is to forward the bill for the (sc. making and setting up of) the stelae to the first accountant.

2. SEG XXVIII 103 (NGSL 2, ll. 18-21 & 43-47): Eleusis, 4th c. BC.

The president of the deme ought to have this decree inscribed on a stone stele and to set it up in the sanctuary of Heracles of the hilltop, in order that what has been decided by the deme could remain valid for ever.
3. SEG XXXI 122 (NGSL 5, ll. 1-5): Attica, 2nd c. AD

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλάβιου Κόνωνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Δρούσου ὑπάτου, Μουνιχίωνος ὀκτάς καὶ δεκάτης ἐδόξει τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἑρακλιαστῶν τῶν 5 ἐν Λίμναις...

With good fortune. Titus Flavius Conon was archon and priest of Consul Drusus, on the 18th day of month Mounichion, Marcus Aemilius Eucharistus of Paenia deme, president of the council of the association of Heracles of the Marshes has decided...

4. SEG XXXVI 267 (NGSL 4, ll. 1-8): Marathon, 61/60 BC

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἐπὶ Θεοφήμου ἄρχοντος· Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σωσίκρατος καὶ Λύσανδρος οἱ συνέφηβοι Πανί καὶ Νύμφαις ἀνέθηκαν. <Α> ἀπαγορεύει ὁ θεός· μὴ ἐσφέρειν χρωμάτινον
[μη̣δε βαπτὸν μη̣δε Δ]

With good fortune. Theophemos was archon. Pythagoras and Sosikrates and Lysander were fellow ephebs of Pan and the Nymphs and have decidated this. The god prohibits: one should not bring in coloured items nor dyed items nor ...

5. SEG XXVII 421 (NGSL 7, ll. 1-3): Megalopolis ca. 200 BC.

Στάλα Ἰσιός Σαράπιος. Θεός· τύχα ἀγαθά. Ἱερὸν ἱερόν Ἰσιός Σαράπιος Ανούβιος.


6. Some examples of Greek metrical sacred regulations (non oracular); for a fuller overview cf. Petrovic/Petrovic (2006):

a) SGO 01 / 17 / 01 Euromos 2nd AD

1-3 Vers 1 εἰ καθαρὰν, ὡς ἦσσε, φέρεις φρένα καὶ τὸ δίκα | ον
3-4 Vers 2 ἡσπερὶς ψυχή, βα[ι]νε κατ᾽ εὐίερον
4-6 Vers 3 εἰ δ᾽ ᾧ ἱδίκων φαύνει καὶ σοι | νόος οὐ καθαρεύει, |
7-8 Vers 4 πόρρω ἀπὸ ἀθανάτων | [ἐ]ργεο καὶ τεμένους |
9-11 Vers 5 οὐ στέργει φαύνος | [ἰ]ερὸς δόμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λάξει,
11-13 Vers 6 τοῖς δ᾽ ὧσιός | [ὁ]σίους ἀντινέμει | [χάριτας]

If you bring a pure mind, stranger, and if in your soul the justice is practiced, come to this place of sanctity.
But, if you touch the unjust and if your sense is not pure, stay away from the gods’ rite and land.
The holy house does not approve of the villains, it castigates them, but the pious ones will receive pious gifts in return.
b) LSS 91 (I.Lindos II 487, II. 23-26), Lindos, imperial period

Having trodden the virtuous path toward Olympus, enter- that is to say
If you are coming pure, stranger, enter without fear,
but if you are carrying blame with you, leave the blameless temple
go where ever you want, but stay away from Athena´s precinct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epigraphic context (I.Lindos II 487):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>τὰν ποτ´ Ολυμπον ἐβας ἀφεταφόρον· εἰσίθι τοιγάρ εἰ καθαρὸς βαίν(ε)ις, ὡ ξένε, θαρραλέως· εἰ δὲ τι πάμα φέρ(ε)ις, τὸν ἀπάμονα κάλλιτε νάνων στείχε δ´ ὅπα χρῆζ(ε)ις Παλλάδος ἐκ τεμένους.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>According to the regulations may the pure ones proceed within the perirrhanteria and the gates of the temple let them enter piously, abstaining from looking at [breast-fed?] children, being cleansed from any pollution, impurity or transgression, 5 not only in respect to their body, but also to their soul. They are not to carry iron weapons. They are to wear pure clothes, without head gear. Without shoes, or in white sandals, but not made of goat skin. One should have nothing goat-y. 10 One should have no knots in one's belts. After miscarriage by a woman, or a bitch, or an ass, 41 days. After defloration, 41 days. After death of a member of the household, 41 days. After washing of the corpse, seven days. After a visit, three days. 15 After [contact to] a woman who has delivered a child, three days. A woman who has delivered a child, 21 days. After [menstruati?]ion, after the woman has cleansed herself. After sex, after one has washed or cleansed himself. After [sex with] a prostitute, one day. After things unlawful, one is never pure. 20 Priests, singers, musicians, performs of hymns, temple attendants, after involuntary [pollution], are always pure after they have applied sacred purifier. Having - precinct.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) LSS 108, Rhodes, 1st c. AD.

| [π]ειρατεῖοι εἶσο, καὶ τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ [πυλῶν] [ἰ]ναί ὀσιον φειδομένους ὀράτεως τέκνων β[ης]... | [π]ειρατεῖοι εἶσο, καὶ τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ [πυλῶν] [ἰ]ναί ὀσιον φειδομένους ὀράτεως τέκνων β[ης]. |
| ἐνμέναι· οὐ λουτροῖ ἀλλὰ νός καθαρὸς. | ἐνμέναι· οὐ λουτροῖ ἀλλὰ νός καθαρὸς. |
| Ἔγεραν χρῆ ναοῖο θ[ν]· ἱώδεος ἐντός ἱόντ[ια] ἐνμέναι· οὐ λουτροῖ ἀλλὰ νός καθαρὸς. | Ἐγέραν χρῆ ναοῖο θ[ν]· ἱώδεος ἐντός ἱόντ[ια] ἐνμέναι· οὐ λουτροῖ ἀλλὰ νός καθαρὸς. |
| He who goes inside the sweet smelling temple must be pure. Pure not by bathing, but in mind. | He who goes inside the sweet smelling temple must be pure. Pure not by bathing, but in mind. |
d) AP XIV, 71:

 하나님 τροφοδοτείς καθαρός, ξένε, δαίμονος ἕρχου ψυχήν νυκτεραίον νάματος αὐτάμενος.

ὡς ἁγαθοῖς ἀρκεὶ βασιλείας· ἀνδραὶ δὲ φαύλον οὐδ’ ἂν ὁ πάς νιψᾷ νάμασιν Ὡκεανός.

Stainless in respect to your soul, stranger, come to the temenos of the pure deity, after you have washed yourself with water sacred to Nymphs.

For the virtuous, just a drop will suffice, but him who is wicked will not wash the water of the whole Ocean.

e) AP XIV, 74:

Ἰρὰ θεῶν ἁγαθοῖς ἀναπέπταται, οὐδὲ καθαρμῶν χρεῖ· τῆς ἀρετῆς ἥψατο οὐδὲν ἄγος.

ὁστὶ δ’ οὐλόῦ ἦτορ, ἀπόστιχε· οὔποτε γὰρ σὴν ψυχὴν ἐκνίψει σῶμα διαινόμενο.

The sanctuary of gods is open for the virtuous, I do not even require cleansing – because to virtue clings no pollution.

But whoever is wicked in heart – away with you! Because never will bathing your body purge the filth of your soul.

f) Cf. also LSAM 84, 2-5 (Nock 1958), Smyrna, 2nd/3rd c. AD (SGO 05/01/04 ~ I.Smyrna 1.728):

..της Μενάνδρου ὁ θεοφάντης ἄνεθηκεν.

[πάν]τες ὅσοι τέμενος Βρομίου ναοῦς τε περάτε, τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἡματα ἀπ’ ἐχθέσεως πεφύλαχθε νηπιάχοι βρέφος, μὴ δὴ μηνείμα γένηται, ἕκτρωσίν τε γυναικὸς ἕματα τόσσα· ἤδεις τρίσσοις μεῖναι φθιμένοι, μηδὲ γένηται ἀπ’ ἀλλοτρίων οἴκων τιμία ἔκτρωσις ἄφθασσαι, μηδὲ μελανφάρους προσίναι χιλιοειδεῖς θυσίας ἔκτρωσις — οὐδὲ θυσίαν ἄνοιξαν οἰκος ἀπεδήσθη.

Theophant [—]tes, son of Menander has dedicated this.

All of you who are to enter the precinct and the temple of Bromios forty days since exposure you must observe
of a new-born child, so that no cause for wrath is given, 5 and after miscarriage by a woman, just as many days.
If someone in the household is swept by doom and death withdraw from the propylon for a third part of a month.
An if in somebody else’s house some pollution ensues, stay [away] for three suns when the dead has perished,
10 nor are people to approach the altars of the lord wearing black cloaks, nor to lay hands onto sacrificial animals before they are sacrificed, nor to put an egg [onto a table] for lunch during Bacchic feast [?]
and to offer a heart on the sacred altars is [forbidden ?]
and keep away from green mint, that Dem[eter turned to dust   ?]
15 most despicable root from the seed of beans [---- ?]
One should first tell the initiated that the Titans’ [---?]
and it is [not allo
ted to make racket with flutes [---]
on the days on which the initiated [perform?] sacrifices
and one is not allowed to wear [----?]
7. Fontenrose's classification of the topics of oracular responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Historical responses</th>
<th>Quasi-Historical responses</th>
<th>Legendary responses</th>
<th>Fictitious responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>probable date falls within the lifetime of the writer who attested it</td>
<td>allegedly spoken within historical times, but first attested by a later writer</td>
<td>appear in narratives supposedly taking place before the eighth century BC</td>
<td>invented by writers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Res Divinæ</strong></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cult foundations</td>
<td>54 (73%)</td>
<td>81 (30,3%)</td>
<td>51 (29%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrifices, offerings</td>
<td>15 (20,3%)</td>
<td>41 (15,4%)</td>
<td>22 (12,5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religious laws</td>
<td>23 (31,1%)</td>
<td>25 (9,4%)</td>
<td>16 (9,1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 (21,6%)</td>
<td>13 (4,9%)</td>
<td>3 (1,7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Res Publicæ</strong></td>
<td>14 (18,9%)</td>
<td>66 (24,7%)</td>
<td>28 (15,9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Res Domesticae</strong></td>
<td>6 (8,1%)</td>
<td>120 (44,9%)</td>
<td>97 (55,1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Plato, Republic 427 b-c

Τί οὖν, ἐφη, ἐτι ἂν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν τῆς νομοθεσίας εἴη:
Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον ὅτι Ἡμῖν μὲν οὐδὲν, τῷ μέντοι Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς τὰ γε μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ πρῶτα τῶν νομοθετημάτων.
Τὰ ποία; ἦ δ᾿ ὃς.
ἀἱερῶν τε ἱδρύσεις καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἄλλαι θεῶν τε καὶ δαμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ἑρατειαι· τελευτησάντων <τε> αὖ θηκαι καὶ όσα τοις ἐκεί ἐδε ύπηρετοῦντας ἱλειας αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τοιαῦτα οὔτ’ ἐπιστάμεθα ἡμεῖς οἰκίζοντες τε πόλιν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ πεισόμεθα, ἐὰν νυν ἔχωμεν, οὔτε χρησομεθα ἐξήγητη τοιαῦτα ἀλλ’ ἦ τῷ πατρίῳ οὔτος γὰρ δήσεθα ὁ θεὸς περί τα τοιαῦτα πάσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξήγητης [ἐν μέσῳ] τῆς γῆς ἐπι τού ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται.

"Then", he asked, "what still remains for us in the way of legislation?"
"For us", I replied, "nothing; but for the Delphian Apollo, the first and chiepest, and fairest objects of legislation."
"Which?" he said.
"Establishment of shrines, and sacrifices, and other service of gods and daemons and heroes, and burials of the dead, and all the rites which we must fulfil to propitiate the departed. For of such matters we ourselves know nothing, and in founding our city, if we are wise, we shall take no advice and ask for no guidance save from our national guide. For surely this god, as he gives his guidance from his seat on the Omphalos in the centre of the earth, is the national guide of all men."
9. PW 124 c. 430-420 BC

Enquirer: The Athenians
Enquiry: Not precisely stated
Evidence: IG I3 7 [I2 80]

ἔδοχσεν τῆι βοῦλικαὶ καὶ τῶι δήμωι ἵνα ἐγραμμάτευε ... ἄηθι ὅν δέον[ται] ... ἔως καὶ τὰ προ[ ... γράφο]ντας ἐν στή[η]ι[η] λιθίνη καταθεῖναι ἓμι πόλει[ ...] θεοῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτριακαὶ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ῦ οἱ κωλακρέται διδόντων. 

Council and the people have decided ... NN was president of the pritany ... NN was notary ... which are needed ... having written on the stone stele
One is to set it up in the city ... far/close to/from the old temple ... Financial officials must provide the money so that one can adorn the seat of the goddess according to the ancestral customs and the divine prophecy. Apollo has prophesised that the following is better and more appropriate for those who organize adornment of the goddess and the first sacrifices for the Moirai, Zeus leader of the Moirai, and Ge...

10. PW 277, before 320 BC

Enquirer: The people of Halieis
Occasion: A sacred snake of Asclepius was carried unobserved in the wagon which brought Thersandros back from Epidaurus to Halieis, where the snake cured him.
Enquiry: What should they do: Take the snake back to Epidaurus or let him stay where he is?
Evidence: IG 4, 2, 1, 122, xxxiii 69ff.


Since the city of Halieis reported the incident and since the debate concerning the snake arose whether to escort it back to Epidaurus or to let it stay in their territory, the city has decided to send a delegation to Delphi in order to enquire what to do: the god has prophesised that the snake should be allowed to stay there and that they should consecrate a precinct of Asclepius and that they should make an image of the god and dedicate it in the sanctuary. When the prophecy has been announced, the city of the Halieis has consecrated a precinct of Asclepius on that place and has fulfilled what has been prophesised by the god.
When the Athenians were attacked by pestilence, and the Pythian priestess bade them purify the city, they sent a ship commanded by Nicias, son of Niceratus, to Crete to ask the help of Epimenides. And he came in the 46th Olympiad (596 BC), purified their city and stopped the pestilence in the following way.

12. Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 131-2

εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα
χρήσω δ’ ἄνθρωποι Διός νημερτέα βουλήν.
"The lyre and the curved bow shall ever be dear to me, and I will declare to men the unfailing will of Zeus".

Further texts characterising Apollo as mouthpiece of Zeus: H.H. Merc 471f.; A. Eu 16; 614-28; 713; Fr. 86; Pi, O, 8.41; S. OT 151; Fr. 313; Ar. Fr. 309; Aristonoos’ Paian to Apollo 1-8.

13. Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 247-253

Τελφοῦσ ἐνθάδε δή φρονεώ περικαλλέα νηὸν
ἀνθρώποιν τεῦξαί χρηστήριον, οἱ τέ μοι αἰεὶ
ἐνθάδ’ ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας,
ἠμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσιν (250)
ἡδ’ ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτους κατὰ νῆσους,
χρησόμενοι· τοῖσι δὲ τ’ ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλήν
πάσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ.
"Telphusa, here I am minded to make a glorious temple, an oracle for men, and hither they will always bring perfect hecatombs, [250] both those who live in rich Peloponnesus and those of Europe and all the wave-washed isles, coming to seek oracles. And I will deliver to them all counsel that cannot fail, giving answer in my rich temple."

14. Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 287-293

ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονεώ τεῦξειν περικαλλέα νηὸν
ἐμμεναι ἄνθρωποις χρηστήριον οἱ τέ μοι αἰεὶ
ἐνθάδ’ ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας,
ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσιν, (290)
ἡδ’ ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτους κατὰ νῆσους,
χρησόμενοι· τοῖσι δ’ ἄρ’ ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλήν
πάσι θεμιστεύομι χρέων ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ.

“In this place I am minded to build a glorious temple to be an oracle for men, and here they will always bring perfect hecatombs, [290] both they who dwell in rich Peloponnesus and the men of Europe and from all the wave-washed isles, coming to question me. And I will deliver to them all counsel that cannot fail, answering them in my rich temple.”

15. Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 480-485

εἰμὶ δ’ ἐγὼ Διός νῦός, Ἀπόλλων δ’ εὐχόμαι εἶναι, (480) ύμεάς δ’ ἦγαγον ἐνθάδ’ ύπέρ μέγα λαίτμια θαλάσσης οὐ τι κακὰ φρονεόν, ἀλλ’ ἐνθάδε πίονα νηῷ ἐξετ’ ἐμὸν πάσιν μάλα τίμιον ἀνθρώποις, βουλάς τ’ ἀθανάτων εἰδήσετε, τῶν ἰσότητι αἴει τιμήσεσθε διαμπερές ἦματα πάντα.

“I am the son of Zeus; Apollo is my name: but you I brought here over the wide gulf of the sea, meaning you no hurt; nay, here you shall keep my rich temple that is greatly honored among men, and you shall know the plans of the deathless gods, and by their will [485] you shall be honoured continually for all time.”

16. Homeric Hymn to Apollo 525-543

τὸν καὶ ἀνειρόμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ηὔδα· (525) ὡ ἄν’ ἐπεὶ δὴ τῆλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης ἦγαγες· οὕτω τοῦ τῷ σῷ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ· πῶς καὶ νῦν βιόμεσθα; τό σε φράζεσθαι ἀνωγμέν. οὕτω τοῦ θυμῷ ἐπήρατος οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἥδε’ εὐλείμων, ὡς τ’ ἀπὸ τ’ εὐ ζώειν καὶ ἀμ’ ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπηδεῖν. (530)

“The master of the Cretans asked him, saying:

“Lord, since you have brought us here far from our dear ones and our fatherland, -- for so it seemed good to your heart,--tell us now how we shall live. That we would
know of you. This land is not to be desired either for vineyards or for pastures so that we can live well thereon and also minister to men.

Then Apollo, the son of Zeus, smiled upon them and said:

“Foolish mortals and poor drudges are you, that you seek cares and hard toils and straits! Easily will I tell you a word and set it in your hearts. Though each one of you with knife in hand should slaughter sheep continually, yet would you always have abundant store, even all that the glorious tribes of men bring here for me. But guard you my temple and receive the tribes of men that gather to this place, and especially show mortal men my will, and do you keep righteousness in your heart. But if any shall be disobedient and pay no heed to my warning, or if there shall be any idle word or deed and outrage as is common among mortal men, then other men shall be your masters and with a strong hand shall make you subject for ever. All has been told you: do you keep it in your heart.”

17. Themis as a previous occupant of a prophetic centre at Delphi:

a) not mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo which ignores both the Delphians' claim to autochthony and the existence or any previous cult on the site (but she is however the first goddess to feed the new born Apollo with nectar and ambrosia, l. 124-25).

Other texts regularly mention Ge and Themis as previous owners of the oracle:

b) Pausanias, 10. 5.

"Many and different are the stories told about Delphi, and even more so about the oracle of Apollon. For they say that in earliest times the oracular seat belonged to Ge (Earth), who appointed as prophetess at it Daphnis, one of the Nymphs of the mountains. There is extant among the Greeks a hexameter poem, the name of which is Eumolpia, and it is assigned to Musaios, son of Antiophemos. In it the poet states that the oracle belonged to Poseidon and Ge (Earth) in common; that Ge gave her oracles herself, but Poseidon used Pyrkon as his mouthpiece in giving responses. The verses are these:--'Forthwith the voice of Khthonies uttered a wise word, And with her Pyrkon, servant of the renown Earthshaker.' They say that afterwards Ge (Earth)
gave her share to Themis (Divine Law), who gave it to Apollon as a gift. It is said that he gave to Poseidon Kalaureia, that lies off Troizen, in exchange for his oracle.”


d) Themis discovering oracular responses:

Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 5. 67. 4

Θέμιν δὲ μυθολογοῦσι μαντείας καὶ θυσίας καὶ θεσμοῦς τοὺς περί τῶν θεῶν πρώτην εἰσηγήσασθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν καὶ εἰρήνην καταδείξαντα, διὸ καὶ θεσμοφύλακας καὶ θεσμοθέτας ὅνομαζοντας τοὺς τὰ περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὀσία καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἁνθρώπων νόμων διαφυλάττοντας· καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, καθ’ ὅν δὴ χρόνον τοὺς χρησμούς διδόναι μέλλει, θεμιστεύειν λέγομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τὴν Ἐμίν εὑρέτριαν γεγονέναι τῶν χρησμῶν.

Of the female titans it was Themis, the myths tell us, was the first to introduce divinations and sacrifices and ordinances which concern the gods, and to instruct men in the ways of obedience to laws and of peace. Consequently men who preserve what is holy with respect to the gods and the laws of men are called ‘law-guardians’ (thesmophulakes) and ‘law-givers’ (thesmothetai), and we say that Apollo at the moment when he is to return the oracular responses, is ‘issuing laws and ordinances’ (themisteuein), in view of the fact that Themis was the discoveress of oracular responses.”

e) Strabo, *Geography* 9. 3. 11

ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν ἐπιφέρει παραχρῆμα, ὅτι ὑπολαμβάνουσι κατασκευάζαι τὸ μαντεῖον Ἀπόλλωνα μετὰ Θέμιδος ὑφελήσαι βουλόμενον τὸ γένος ἡμῶν.

"He [Polybius] adds forthwith that historians take it for granted that Apollo, with Themis (Divine Law), devised the oracle [of Delphoi] because he wished to help our race.”

18. a) IG IV(2), 1 128, 8-9 [cf. for text and commentary Kolde 2003: 60-74], late 4th/early 3rd c. BC.

εὐξάμαν ἀνγράψεν, αἰ κ’ εἰς τάνδε τὰν γνώμαν πέτη
ὁ νόμος ἀκιν, ὃν ἐπέδειξα· ἐγεντὸ δ’ οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν.

"I promised to have [the text] inscribed, if this proposition which I moved, was to become our law. For it did not come about without gods. Isyllos has found this sacred law by divine allotment never-wilting, ever-flowing gift for immortal gods.

b) OGIS 383, t.a.q. 31 BC, Nemrud Dağı

ἐν στή- 110 Λ[α]ξ ἀσύλοις ἐχάραξα γνώμηι θεῶν
ιερὸν νόμον.
On divine advice I had the sacred law inscribed onto sacrosanct stelae.

121-122

νόμον δὲ τοῦτον φωνὴ μὲν ἐξήγγειλέν ἐμή, νοῦς δὲ θεῶν ἐκύρώσεν.

.. and this law was pronounced by my voice, but the mind of the Gods determined it.


BEc. ll. 4-6:

tοῦτον τύπον ἱδίας γνώμης νόμον τε κοινῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς χρόνον ἄπαντα προνοιαὶ δαιμόνων στήλαις ἐνεχάραξεν ἱεραῖς.

He had this image from his mind, as well as the law of common piety, inscribed for ever onto sacred stelae, thanks to divine providence.

For the same phrase cf. also OGIS 404, 6-9 (Crowther/ Facella (2003: 69)); SEG 32, 1385, 6-9 [suppl.] (Crowther/ Facella (2003: 71)).

c) Further on cf. LSS 115, Cyrene, 4th c. BC; LSCG 55, Attica, 2nd c. AD (cathartic text; the author of the text chosen by the divinity, ll. 1-3: Ξάνθος Λύκιος Γαΐου Ὀρβίου καθειδρύσατο ἱερ[ὸν τοῦ Μηνὸς] Τυράννου, αἱρετίσαντο τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπ’ ἀγαθή τύχη· καὶ [μηθένα] ἀκάθαρτον προσάγειν.

Xanthos Lykios, [slave] of Gaius Olbius, consecrated the sanctuary of Men Tyrannos, having god chosen [him], with good luck. No-one is allowed to approach impure.

19. Hesiod Th. 399f.

τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς τίμησε, περισσὰ δὲ δῶρα ἐδωκεν.

And Zeus honoured her, and gave her very great gifts, for her he appointed to be the great oath of the gods, and her children to live with him always.

20. Hesiod Th. 783-806

καὶ ὦ ὥστες ψευδῆται Ὀλύμπια δῶματ’ ἐχόντων, Ζεὺς δὲ τε Ἰοῖν ἐπεμψε θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ἐνεῖκαι τηλόθεν ἐν χρυσῇ προχόῳ πολυώνυμον ὤδωρ, (785)

ψυχρόν, ὃ τ’ ἐκ πέτρος καταλείβεται ἠλιβάτοις ὄροις-πολλῶν δὲ ὤπο χθονὸς εὐφυοδείῃς ἐξ ἱερὸς ποταμοῦ ὀλίγῳ δύα νύκτα μέλαιναν- ὤκεανοῖο κέρας, δεκάτη δ’ ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται ἐννέα μὲν περὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐφέρεω νύστα θαλάσσης (790)

δύνης ἀργυφείης εὐλιγιμένοις εἰς ἄλλα πίπτει, ἢ δὲ μι’ εκ πέτρος ποροφέει, μέγα πῆμα θεοίσιν. ὃς κεν τὴν ἐπίστροφον ἀπολλείψας ἐπομόσση
ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρηνιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου, κεῖται νήμασις τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν· (795)
οὐδὲ ποτ’ ἁμβροσίας καὶ νέκταρος ἔρχεται ἄσσον βρώσις, ἀλλὰ τε κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἀναυδος

στρατοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι, κακὸν ἄρ’ ἐπὶ κώμα καλύπτει ἄλλος ἄρ’ ἐς ἄλλου δέχεται χαλεπώτερος ἄθλος· (800)

εἰνάετες δὲ θεῶν ἀπαμείρεται αἰὲν ἐόντων, οὐδὲ ποτ’ ἐς βουλὴν ἐπιμισέσθαι οὐδ’ ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἐννέα πάντ’ ἔτεα δεκάτῳ δ’ ἐπιμισέσθαι αὐτὶς τε εἰρέας ἀθανάτων οἳ Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσι.

And when any of them who live in the house of Olympus lies, then Zeus sends Iris to bring in a golden jug the great oath of the gods from far away, the famous cold water which trickles down from a high and beetling rock. Far under the wide-pathed earth a branch of Oceanus flows through the dark night out of the holy stream, and a tenth part of his water is allotted to her. With nine silver-swirling streams he winds about the earth and the sea’s wide back, and then falls into the main (24); but the tenth flows out from a rock, a sore trouble to the gods. For whoever of the deathless gods that hold the peaks of snowy Olympus pours a libation of her water is forsworn, lies breathless until a full year is completed, and never comes near to taste ambrosia and nectar, but lies spiritless and voiceless on a strewn bed: and a heavy trance overshadows him. But when he has spent a long year in his sickness, another penance and a harder follows after the first. For nine years he is cut off from the eternal gods and never joins their councils or their feasts, nine full years. But in the tenth year he comes again to join the assemblies of the deathless gods who live in the house of Olympus. Such an oath, then, did the gods appoint the eternal and primaeval water of Styx to be: and it spouts through a rugged place.

21. Hesiod, Th. 416-417
καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε ποῦ τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἱλάσκηται…
And to this day, whenever any one of men on earth offers rich sacrifices and prays for favour according to custom…

22. Hes. Th. 65-67 (of Muses):
ἐρατὴν δὲ διὰ στόμα ὄσσων ἱεῖσαι μέλπονται, πάντων τε νόμων καὶ ήθεα κεδνὰ ἀθανάτων κλείουσιν.
Uttering through their lips a lovely voice, they sing and celebrate the laws of all and the goodly ways of the immortals.

23. Herodotus 5,72 (Cleomenes attempts to enter the temple while in Acropolis) :
ΗΔΤ 5, 72: Αθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτῶς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονταί ἐκ τῆς χώρης ὡσιν αὐτῶν Δακεδαιμόνιοι. Επετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλειομένει ἤ φήμη. Ός γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν
The rest of the Athenians united and besieged them for two days. On the third day as many of them as were Lacedaemonians left the country under truce. [3] The prophetic voice that Cleomenes heard accordingly had its fulfilment, for when he went up to the acropolis with the intention of taking possession of it, he approached the shrine of the goddess to address himself to her. The priestess rose up from her seat, and before he had passed through the door-way, she said, "Go back, Lacedaemonian stranger, and do not enter the holy place since it is not lawful that Doriens should pass in here. "My lady," he answered, "I am not a Dorian, but an Achaean." [4] So without taking heed of the omen, he tried to do as he pleased and was, as I have said, then again cast out together with his Lacedaemonians.

23. AP 9, 147 = G-P Antagoras II

Inscription for a bridge built by Xenocles over Cephisus, on the road between Athens and Eleusis.

Ω ἰτε Δήμητρος πρὸς ἀνάκτορον, ὦ ἰτε, μῦσται, μηθ’ ὕδατος προχοὰς δείδιτε χειμερίους· τοῖον γάρ Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Ζείνιδος ἁσφαλὲς ἔβαλεν ποταμοῦ. Come, come to the temple of Demeter, you initiated, And do not fear the winter floods. So safe a bridge has Xemocles, the son of Zeinis, Built for you over this broad river.

24 Posidippus AB 116 = XII G-P

Inscription for a temple of Arsinoe Aphrodite at Zephyrium

μέσσον ἐγὼ Φαρίης ἀκτῆς στόματός τε Κανώπου εἶν περιφαίνομένωι κύματι χώρον ἔχω, τὴν ἀνατεινομένην εἰς Ποσιδίππου, ἐνθα καλλικράτης θυρίσεως κύπελλος ἀνᾶμεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν Ζεφυρῖτιν ἀκουσομένην Ἀφροδίτην, Ἑλλήνων ἁγνὰ, βαίνετε, θυγατέρες, ὅ τ’ ἀλὸς ἐργάται ἄνδρες· ὁ γάρ ναυμαχος ἐτευχεὺς τοῦθ’ ἱερὸν παντὸς κύματος εὐλίμενον. (10) Midway between the shore of Pharos and the mouth of Kanopus In the waves visible all around I have my place, This wind-swept breakwater of Libya rich in sheep, Facing the Italian Zephyr,
Here Callicrates set me up and called me shrine
Of Queen Arsinoe-Aphrodite
So then, to her who shall be named Zephyritis-Aphrodite
Come, ye pure daughters of the Greeks,
And ye too, toilers on the sea. For the captain built
This shrine to be a safe harbor from all the waves.

25 Hedylus  G-P IV

Come, lovers of strong wine, and behold this rhton
in the temple of the venerable Arsinoe, dear to the West Wind,
It represents the Egyptian dancer Besas, who Trumpets a shrill
Blast when the stream is opened up, allowing the wine to flow.
This is no signal for war, through its gold bell
Resounds the summons to celebrations and festivities
Like the beloved traditional song King Nile produces
From his sacred waters for those who celebrate his mysteries.
But honor this clever invention of Ctesibius –
Come young men! –  In this temple of Arsinoe.
Literature:


