

# Cult Associations and Politics: Worshipping Bendis in Classical and Hellenistic Athens

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## 1. Introduction

In ancient Athens there was not any linear, causal relation between the politics of the city-state and private cult associations. Instead, there was a firm connection linking the introduction of a foreign cult with the Athenian *polis*; Athenians reserved the right to grant the necessary means to groups of foreigners, defined as *ethne*, in order to make veneration of their deities possible. This was the case with the traders from Kition and the Egyptians, both of whom are referred to in inscription *IG II<sup>3</sup> 337 (333/32)*.<sup>1</sup> The entrance of Thracian Bendis into the Athenian pantheon followed the oracular path, not via the traditional Delphic route but through the oracle of Zeus in Dodona. Accounts of her introduction in Athens usually treat her as an exotic goddess who came from a distant land. Recent scholarship has focused on the marginality of the cult in the Attic landscape and on the ‘otherness’ of the goddess.<sup>2</sup> Scholars have been

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1. The decree concerns the grant of *enktesis* to the traders from Kition; the Egyptians are mentioned as a precedent in ll. 42-45, therefore their *enktesis* antedate that of the Kitians. For the inscription see also *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 280; Michel 104; Tod II 189; *LSCG* 34; *SIRIS* 1; Schwenk (1985, no. 27); Rhodes – Osborne, *GHI* 91; *IKition* T159; *SEG* 24.98; 25.67; 35.239; 36.154; 39.84; 42.229 & 1803; 46.2361; 47.26, 961, 2320; 49.100, 2471; 52.93; 53.365(4) & 2180; 54.151 & 1535; 55.30; *BE* 1964, no. 82; Poland (1909, no. E2). Translations: Le Guen (1991, 81); Brodersen (1996, 262); Kearns (2010, 337). For the decree see Rhodes – Lewis (1997, 26). I am indebted to Vincent Gabrielsen who provided the occasion to deal with the thorny subject and to the anonymus referee whose remarks prompted me to clarify certain points. All remaining infelicities are mine.

2. See Montepaone (1990), Stavrianopoulou (2005) and Deoudi (2007). Blomart

struggling to come to terms with the meteoric rise of Bendis to the pantheon of deities whose cult was sponsored by the Athenian *polis*, and the equally resounding retreat from the epigraphic limelight. Before I proceed to a discussion of the sources about Bendis' worship in Athens, let me put forward my working hypothesis. The introduction and the oscillation of Bendis' (public and private) cult between front scene and backstage depended largely on the maneuvering of the Athenian *polis* in the inter-*poleis* politics. To put it bluntly, the addition of Bendis into the group of publicly funded cults as well as her temporary prominence was due to the political dynamics over time. The topics to be discussed include 1) the way we understand her 'Thracian' background through inscriptions and reliefs found in central-southern Bulgaria, northern Greece and the European part of Turkey, 2) the date and the circumstances of the deity's adoption by the *polis*, and 3) the epigraphic dossier concerning her cult by non-public groups in the fourth and third centuries.

## 2. Bendis at home?

Research associates Bendis with Thrace on the basis of mainly Athenian pieces of evidence; nevertheless our knowledge about Bendis in Thrace comes from two different kinds of sources, epigraphic (in particular onomastics) and archaeological, most often dated in the Roman era.<sup>3</sup> Epigraphic testimonies of theophoric Bendis-names

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(2000-2001, 19-20) and (2001) argued that the cult of Bendis in Athens has all the characteristics of 'alterité'; he also claims that the Athenian version of the cult has got the label 'Thracian' not referring to the origin but as a synonym of the 'strange', the 'alien'. Further in Blomart (2002b) it is argued that Bendis received the treatment of a metec.

3. See recently Goceva (2003, 171) who doubts whether Bendis should be considered a Thracian deity 'étant donné qu'il n'en subsiste aucun vestige en Thrace même. Son nom ne se trouve mentionné nulle part. On ne le rencontre même comme épithète à l'époque romaine et on n'emploie jamais en Thrace son iconographie sous sa variante grecque, bien qu'on accepte que les représentations des dieux barbares, qui n'ont pas de noms et ne sont appelés que Theoi, selon Hérodote, sont créées à l'époque hellénistique sous l'influence grecque'. She suggests that Bendis' cult came to Athens from Bithynia. However, Goceva's suggestion cannot account for the public worship of a Bithynian deity, the lack of Bendis personal names in Bithynia (e.g.

constitute a reliable indication about the spread of the cult because personal names, thanks to their conservatism, preserve the attachment to an old, pre-Greek cult, when other pieces of evidence (e.g. dedications or statues) may disappear or are prone to syncretism.

According to the onomastic evidence, Bendis appears to have been popular in clusters in Hellenistic – Roman Maroneia and Byzantion, and in imperial Thasos, Philippoi, and Philippopolis (mod. Plovdiv).<sup>4</sup> Apart from these nuclei, Bendis-names are attested in an area delimited to the north by the upper course of Evros (Marica) river, south by the Aegean Sea, east by the Black Sea and west by the middle and lower course of Strymon (Struma) river.<sup>5</sup> Five

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see *LGN* v.1) and its abundance in the European shore of Bosphorus, and finally the place name in the vicinity of Philippopolis (see below note 7).

4. Maroneia: *IaegThrace* 268 (2nd /1st century): Βενδ[ις]/ Μη[τρο]/φάνο[υς]/ *vacat*/ [ό δ-] ήμο[ς]; *IaegThrace* 279 (2nd century AD): Βενδ[ις] Δουκίλου γ[υνη]/ Μηγόδοτος Ίσιδ[ό]ρου/ *vacat*/ ό δ[η]/μο[ς]; *IaegThrace* 379 (Imeros, 3rd century AD): Αλέξανδρος Ταρούλου ό και Βέβιος, Βενδ[ι]ον Πούφο<υ>/<Ζ>ώσιμος Ταρούλο<υ>/ *vacat*/ ό δ[η]μο[ς]; *IaegThrace* 386 (Asomatoi, 3rd century AD): Ίουλιανός Δολέου Βένδ[ι] Βίζου τη πενθερά μνείας/ χάριν. Byzantion: *I. Byzantion* 11 (3rd century): Όλυμπιόδωρος Μενιδιόρου; *ISamothrace* 27, 5 (Robert, *OMS* 6, 603-5) (Byzantion?, Hellenistic): [Βε]νδιδωρος; *I. Byzantion* 296 (3rd century AD): Αύρ. Μενδ[ι]ας Φύλωνος. Thasos: *BCH* 91 (1967) 41 (Imperial): Βενδ[ις] Εύτυχίονος; *BCH* 97 (1973) 159 no. 11 (Imperial): Βενδ[ι]ος Διέου; *BCH* 97 (1973) 161 no. 13 (Imperial): Βενδ[ις] Νικομάχου; *IG XII*, 8 478 (Imperial): Ζόη Βενδιδ[ο]ς/ χαίρει; Dunant – Pouilloux, *Recherches sur Thasos*, II, 178 no. 13 (Imperial): Βενδ[ις] [---]τος πρ[ο]σοφιλ[ι]ς/ χέ[ρ]ε; *IG XII* (8) 622 (3rd century AD): Βενδ[ι]ος Τυ — — — / Αύρ(ήλιος) Εύτυχ[ο]ς; *IG XII Suppl.* 460 (Imperial): Διογένης/ Βενδιδ[ο]ς/ προσφιλ[ι]ς/ χαίρει; *IG XII Suppl.* 493 (Imperial): Βενδ[ις] Ζευσ[τ]ιδος; *IG xii Suppl.* 504 (Imperial): [Β]ενδ[ι]ς [— —]. Philippoi: Collart (1937, 442 n. 1) (Imperial): --- *Valeriae quae et Bendis uxori*; Pilhofer (2000: no. 134) (Imperial): *B[en]/dis Ruffa mari]/to ...*; Pilhofer (2000, no. 638) (Eletheroupolis, Imperial): *Bendis Sauciles filia*; Pilhofer (2000, no. 649) (Georgiane, Imperial): *Bendi Paibis filiae uxori*. Philippopolis: *IGBulg* 956 (Imperial): Βενδ[ι]ος Βάσσου άγαλ[μα — —]/ ΙΕΡ[Ι] — — —]; *IGBulg* 1344 (Burdapa, Imperial): Βενδ[ι]ζητα εύχην; *IGBulg* 1347 (Burdapa, Imperial): Οενδ[ι]ς Δρωδηγους/ εύχα[ριστή]ριον.

5. An exception being *IGBulg* 861 (Markianopolis, Imperial): Βισδης Αντόνις/ Βενδικου. For the above regions see *AD* 26 (1971) Chron. 260 (Ainos, 3rd /2nd century): Διοσκοουρίδης Βενδιφάνου; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 9223 (Lysimacheia, 3rd century): Βενδιδώρα Βηρεισιάδου Λουσιμαχίς Μηνοφίλου γυνη; *IGBulg* 1801 (Hadrianoupolis-Duganovo, Imperial): Φλ(αβία) Βενδ[ι]ς σύνβις ένθ[ά]δε — — —]/ ΠΕΡ[Ι]Κ[ — — —]; *IGBulg* 1828 (Hadrianoupolis-Kaminski Dol, Imperial): άγαθ[η] τύχη/ [Βε]νδ[ι]ς Απολλοδώρο[υ]/ [τ]ῆ τέκν[ω] Απολλοδώρο[υ]/ [άνε]θηκεν. χέρε, παροδεΐτα/ εντύχει; perhaps *IGBulg* 2141 (*IGBulg* 5863, Blatshritsa

inscriptions reveal sanctuaries or place names connected to Bendis, like the boundary stone in Pilhofer (2000, no. 517) (Philippoi-Protsotsani, Imperial): [*B*]endidei/*sacr(um)*, which most likely records the boundaries of a sanctuary (or property) of Bendis, an intriguing reference to a *Mendideum* in Byzantion<sup>6</sup> or three inscriptions dated in AD 211/2 from the area north of Philippopolis which designate the boundaries of land belonging to a locality called *Bendipara*<sup>7</sup> (*-para* being a standard Thracian ending for a village, e.g. *Bessapara*, *Skaptopara*). Bendis-names are also attested in scattered places in mainland Greece, Asia Minor, and the Black Sea region.<sup>8</sup>

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(mod), Imp): [Μ]ουκατραλις ἔθαπεν θυγατέρα/ Μενδραν ἔνθα φύλητήν/ [ἦν] π[α]ιδέουσα, ἔτεσιν θ, *IGBulg* 2292 (Laskarevo (mod.), Imperial): Δεβαβενός Δειδικουρου γ[υ]νή]; *ILBulg* 176 (Breste (mod), 3rd century AD?): *Bendina Bitua*. Detschew (1955) has argued that Bendis' cult was widespread in the region between the middle and lower Strymon (Struma) and Nestos (Mesta) followed by Popov (1975b, 58), Popov (1975a, 296), Popov (1976, 118ff) and Gerasimova-Tomova (1980). Fol (1986) thinks more likely the assimilation of Artemis with Bendis in the region Strymon – Nestos after the arrival of Artemis; however, recently Goceva (2003, 171) has expressed doubts about this concentration, since the theophoric names are too few and all of the Roman era. For the iconography of Bendis in reliefs from middle Strymon see Cerkeзов (1997, 57-59) and the figure in the funerary banquet of *IGBulg* 2311 table 153 (Vranja, AD 198) and 2346. It remains to be shown that in this area Artemis is not the Hellenized Bendis (Popov 1976, 122), see most recently Marcaccini (1995, 36) and Manov, M. (2008) *La vie dans les établissements situés le long de la cours moyen du Strymon du IVe/IIIe siècles a.C. au IIIe siècle p.C. sur la base des monuments épigraphiques antiques*, Sofia (in Bulgarian with an English summary) (= *BE* 2010, no. 430), where a collection of Artemis-names from the area.

6. Livy 38.41: *Romanorum primum agmen extra saltum circa templum Mendidium castra loco aperto posuit* (pertaining to events in 188). See also reference to a *Bendideion* in Alexandria: Synesios, *Ep.* 4.1; *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Recensio γ' 31.36; *Suda* A 2572: Ἀνουβίδειον τόπος τις Βενδίδειον δὲ. Lucian, *Icar.* 24.26 and Scholia in Luc. 21.8.4-5: καὶ ἡ Δωδώνη τότε καὶ ἡ Πίσσα λαμπραὶ καὶ περιβλεπτοὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ καπνοῦ τῶν θυσιῶν οὐδὲ ἀναβλέπειν μοι δυνατόν· ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς μὲν Ἀπόλλων τὸ μαντεῖον κατεστήσατο, ἐν Περγᾶμω δὲ τὸ ἱατρεῖον ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον ἐγένετο ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ τὸ Ἀνουβίδειον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

7. *IGBulg* 5534 (between Stroevo and Trud): κατὰ θεῖαν/ ἀπόφα/σιν τε/θέεντες/ ὑπὸ Κ(οῖντου) Ἀ/τρίου Κλο/νίου πρε/σβ(ευτοῦ) Σεββ(αστῶν)/ ἀντιστρ(ατήγου)/ διὰ Μουκί/ου Οὐήρου/ ὄρου/ ἀγροῦ Βεν/δυπαρων, also in *IGBulg* 1455 (Stroevo (mod.)) and *IGBulg* 1472 (Kaloyanovo (mod.)).

8. For a study of the *Bendis* onomastics see Masson (1988) and Parissaki (2007).

Archaeological remains, especially statuettes as votive offerings<sup>9</sup> or depictions on funerary monuments, convey the impression that the cult of Bendis was spread in an area delimited by the Haemos mountain range and the northern Aegean Sea.<sup>10</sup> The rock cut reliefs on the acropolis of Philippoi pose a different question; most of them are dated in the Imperial era and it is not quite clear whether the depiction of a hunting deity refers to Bendis, to Greek Artemis, to Roman Diana or it is the result of an iconographic-religious syncretism of the three.<sup>11</sup>

The nature and the function of Bendis in her native religious system, be it Thracian or Bithynian, remains largely a matter of speculation. It was suggested that Bendis originates in a powerful Eastern Mother of the Gods figure that developed into the Phry-

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Mainland Greece: *IG XII Suppl.* 585 (Eretria, 2nd century): Βενδιδόρα, *Eretria* 6, 33-34, Bern 1978 (3rd century): Ζηνίβενδης, *MH* 45 (1988) 7: Βενδιδορος Θηβαῖος; *I.Oropos* 565 (3rd/2nd century): Βενδιδόρα/ Σώτου, *SEG* 42.580, 78 (Kalindoia, AD 68-98) Βενζης Διοσκοουρίδου and *IG X*, 2.1 446 (Thessaloniki, 2nd century AD): Μενδης, Asia Minor: *SEG* 16.505 (*BE* 1958, no. 395, Troas-Gergis, 3rd century): Βενδιδόρα/ Μητροφάνου/ Γεργισίου, *AM* 6 (1881) 122 no. 4 (Kyzikos, Imperial): Μενδᾶς, Black Sea: *CIRB* 663 (Pantikapaion, 1st - 2nd century AD): Βενζει θυγάτηρ Μοκαπορεως χάρει, Solomonik, *NEPKh* 147 (Chersonasos Taurica, 3rd century): Μενδικό [Ἡρ]αίου Σαννίωνος γυνά. *SEG* 52.1221 (NW Bithynia, Imperial): Ταλάρις Δα[---]/εως ἀνέθ[ηκεν]/μηνός Δί[ου Βεν]/δίδει. Λ[---]/κατὰ ἐπι[τα]/γήν δῶρ[ον], and the occurrence of the month Βενδ(ίδειος) in the calendar of Klaudiopolis, ca. AD 130 (*J. Klaudiopolis* 7), suggesting a cult in that month (see also the 14th-century *chartophylax* Andreas Libadenus who in his work *Nomina mensum* refers to Βενδιαῖος as the name of a month in Bithynia). See Popov (1976, 297), Goceva (1978); Bendis on coin from Bithynia (*LIMC* s.v. *Bendis* 96 no. 6); in Thessaly, Moustaka (2009).

9. See a moulded terracotta from Tanagra (mid 4th century), now in Paris, Louvre CA 159, *LIMC* s.v. *Bendis* 97 no. 10.

10. Popov (1975), Gerasimova-Tomova (1980), Cerkezov (1997) and Deoudi (2009).

11. In contrast to an earlier hypothesis supported by Collart (1937, 443) that the different Dianas of the Roman era were but ‘des formes particulières de la déesse thrace, vers laquelle continuaient d’affluer, après tant d’autres, les hommages des colons romains’, Collart - Ducrey (1975, 222-5), followed by Marcaccini (1995, 9 n.6), remain skeptical on the identity and origin of the deity depicted on the rock cut reliefs. Ducrey (1976, 155-6) thinks that in most of these reliefs the Roman Diana is depicted; Popov (1976, 299) is not inclined to see in Bendis the Greek Artemis. See also Abrahamsen (1995).

gian Kubiliya, the ‘Thracian’ Bendis etc.<sup>12</sup> She was identified with a protector of nature, therefore prone to be blended with the figure of Artemis by the Greeks; almost all the available information we have about Bendis was mediated by Greek sources (authors, artists, inscriptions). Therefore, their examination seems imperative.

### 3. Bendis and the Greeks

Whatever the origin and the routes that Bendis and her cult followed in the Mediterranean world, more solid evidence appears once the Greeks were acquainted with her. The sixth-century composer of iambs from Ephesos, Hipponax was the first to record Bendis as daughter of Zeus and homologous to Kybele.<sup>13</sup> Sometime in the mid fifth century, perhaps in the late 440s, the Athenian comic poet Kratinos in his comedy *Thracian women* calls Bendis δῖλογχον Βένδιν, and a few years later Aristophanes in the lost comedy *Lemnian women* labels her μεγάλη θεός.<sup>14</sup> The most prominent and extant pas-

12. Popov (1976) and Goceva – Popov (1986). See also Hsch. A 1155: Ἀδμήτου κόρη Ἐκάτη τινές δὲ τὴν Βενδῖν.

13. Hipponax, *IEG* frg. 127West: : καὶ Διὸς κούρη Κυβήβη καὶ Θρεϊκίη Βενδίς; also Hsch. K 4372. Herodotus does not mention her by name, Hdt. 5.7: Θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούρους τοῦσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτηῶν, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὀμνύουσι μόνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμῆω ἑστούτους; see discussion in Popov (1976, 115-7).

14. Kratinos’ fragment: Hsch. Δ 1847: δῖλογχον τὴν Βενδῖν. οὕτω Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις (*PCG* IV Cratinus, F85K-A) ἐκάλεσεν, ἦτοι ὅτι δύο τιμὰς ἐκληρώσατο, οὐρανιαὶ τε καὶ χθονία (λόγχαζ γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς κλήρους) ἢ ὅτι δύο λόγχαζ φέρει, κυνηγετικὴ οὔσα. οἱ δὲ ὅτι δύο φῶτα ἔχει, τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου. τὴν γὰρ σελήνην Βενδῖν καὶ Ἄρτεμιν νομίζουσιν. Phot. Δ 590: Δῖλογχον Βενδῖν διαπλάσσειται παρὰ τισιν ἢ Ἄρτεμιν δύο λόγχαζ ἔχουσα παρὸ καὶ Ἀθήνησι πομπεούντες δύο λόγχαζ ἔχουσι τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις, ἢ δύο τιμῶν λελογχηῖαν, οὐρανιαῶν καὶ ἐπιγείων. ἢ τὴν δύο λαμπάδας ἔχουσαν λόγχαζ δὲ καὶ ἔγχη τὰς δάδας λέγεσθαι. See also Str. 10.3.16: Τοῦτοις δ’ ἔοικε καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Θραξὶ τὰ τε Κοτύττια καὶ τὰ Βενδιδαία, παρ’ οἷς καὶ τὰ Ὀρφικὰ τὴν καταρχὴν ἔσχε. Τῆς μὲν οὖν Κόττωος τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἡδωνοῖς Αἰσχύλος (*TGF* III F57) μέμνηται καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ὀργάνων. Aristophanes’ fragment: Hsch. M 456: μεγάλη θεός Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη τὴν Βενδῖν Θρακία γὰρ ἢ θεός. Phot. M 162: μεγάλην θεὸν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Λημνίαις (*PCG* III (2) F384K-A) ἴσως τὴν Βενδῖν Θράκιος γὰρ. See also Hsch. B 514: Βενδίς ἢ Ἄρτεμιν Θρακιστὶ παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἑορτὴ Βενδιδαία and Phot. B 126: Βενδίς Θρακία δαίμων ὀπαδὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. Διὸ καὶ οἱ ἀγείροντες αὐτὴν δῖλογχιδίω ἔχρῳντο. See also Simms (1988, 60).

sage, rich in information about the celebration of *Bendideia* in Athens, is provided by Plato in the introduction to his *Republic*. The festivities included a procession of Athenians and Thracians, a night torch-race relay on a horseback (something that perhaps was indeed a novelty) and all night long celebration.<sup>15</sup> In the narrative of the events leading to the ousting of the Thirty tyrants and the restoration of democracy in Athens in 403, Xenophon locates the sanctuary of Bendis in Peiraeus, next to that of Artemis Mounychia.<sup>16</sup>

Archeological evidence include an Attic red-figure *skyphos* (475-

15. Pl. *Resp.* 327a-b: Κατέβην χθές εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος προσευξόμενος τε τῆ θεῶ καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν ἅτε νῦν πρῶτον ἄγοντες, καλὴ μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πομπὴ ἐδοξεν εἶναι, οὐ μὲντοι ἦττον ἐφαίνετο πρέπειν ἢν οἱ Θυρᾶκες ἔπεμπον. προσευξάμενοι δὲ καὶ θεωρήσαντες ἀπῆμεν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ. 328a-b: καὶ ὁ Ἀδείμαντος, «ἄρά γε, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐδ' ἴστε ὅτι λαμπράς ἐσται πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφ' ἕππων τῆ θεῶ»; «ἀφ' ἕππων;» ἦν δ' ἐγὼ· «καινὸν γε τοῦτο. λαμπράδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀμιγλῶμενοι τοῖς ἕπποις; ἢ πῶς λέγεις;» «οὐτως;» ἔφη ὁ Πολέμαρχος, «καὶ πρὸς γε παννυχίδα ποιήσουσιν, ἦν ἄξιον θεάσασθαι· ἐξανασησόμεθα γὰρ μετὰ τὸ δεῦπνον καὶ τὴν παννυχίδα θεασόμεθα. καὶ συνεσόμεθα τε πολλοῖς τῶν νέων αὐτόθι καὶ διαλεξόμεθα. ἀλλὰ μένετε καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιεῖτε.» See Kearns (2010, 338-9). For the question of the dramatic date see Nails (1998), a detailed examination of the arguments for the proposed dates; Planeaux (2000-2001) argues for a date in 429/8, while Sakurai – Notomi (2006) for 412. See also the comments of Procl. in Pl. *Politeia*, 1.18.8 & 10 & 12-13 & 15 & 17; 1.19.3; in Pl. *Tim.* 1.8.31; 1.26.12-14; 1.84.27; 1.85.4 & 27 & 29.

16. X. *HG* 2.4.11.7: Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχειρήσαν μὴ ἀνέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὕτω πολλοῖς οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. Οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πενήκοντα ἀσπίδων. Οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. For a collection of the circumstantial evidence for Thracian support for Thrasybulos in the events following Phyle see Middleton (1982). The remains of the sanctuary of Artemis Mounychia were studied by Palaiokrassa (1991) (location of Bendideion [1991, 36 n. 21]) and von Eickstedt (1991: 114 & 176-7). For the affinities between Artemis, Hekate and Bendis in myth and ritual see Viscardi (2010). For later sources see Lucian, *J. Tr.* 8: εὐκαίσα δ' οὖν, ὃ Ζεῦ, οἱ βαρβαρικοὶ προεδρεύουσιν μόνον ὡς τοὺς γε Ἑλληνας ὄρας ὅποιοί εἰσι, χαρίεντες μὲν καὶ εὐπρόσωποι καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐσχηματισμένοι, λίθινοι δὲ ἢ χαλκοὶ ὅμως ἅπαντες ἢ οἱ γε πολυτελέστατοι αὐτῶν ἐλεφάντινοι ὀλίγον ὅσον τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐπιστίλβον ἔχοντες, ὡς ἐπικεχράνθαι καὶ ἐπιηγάσθαι μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὑπόξυλοι καὶ οὔτοι, μυθὼν ἀγέλας ὄλας ἐμπολιτευόμενας σκέποντες· ἢ Βενδῆς δὲ αὕτη καὶ ὁ Ἄνουβις ἐκείνοσι καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ἄττις καὶ ὁ Μίθρης καὶ ὁ Μῆν ὀλόχρυσοι καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ πολυτίμητοι ὡς ἄληθες.

425) depicting Bendis together with Themis, a red-figure *kylix* (475-425) in which Bendis is running holding a spear, a red-figure bell-shaped *krater* dated ca. 370, in which the goddess in her Thracian cap approaches a seated Apollo with Hermes in the background; Bendis is also portrayed with her traditional attire in the reliefs of two honorary decrees, *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1255 and 1256.<sup>17</sup>

Traditionally scholarship regards the introduction of Bendis into the Athenian pantheon as an event of the late 430s. Some have connected it to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war and the alliance with Sitalkes, king of the Thracian tribe of Odryseis, while other associated the goddess with the plague, although Bendis was not considered as a healing deity.<sup>18</sup>

The interpretation advanced by Nilsson (1942), i.e. introduction of the cult as public between 431/30-429/8 throws light into the political underpinnings of the case; nevertheless, it unduly favours the alliance with the king of the Odrysians Sitalkes as the decisive factor

17. See Goceva – Popov (1986, 96-97) and Deoudi (2007). *Skyphos*: *CVA* Deutschland 54, Tübingen 5, pl. 21, (Deutschland 2638), München 1986 (*LIMC* s.v. *Bendis* 96 no. 2). *Kylix*: *CVA* Italy 34, Verona 1, 3I, pl. 3, 1b (Italia 1531), Roma 1961, see *LIMC* s.v. *Bendis* 96 no. 1 and Tsiafakis (2000, 386-8). *Krater*: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, USA, Boston 1983.553. Decrees: 1255 in the British Museum BM 2155 (Smith (1904: iii 226-7); *LIMC* s.v. *Bendis* 96 no. 3), London and 1256 in Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek IN 462, Copenhagen (*LIMC* s.v. *Bendis* 96 no. 4) with Nilsson (1942, 169-71), Popov (1977), Simms (1988, 66-67) and Güntner (1994, 77-78).

18. Bendis, despite Simms (1988, 61), was most probably known among Athenians earlier than the 440s. Political motivation: Nilsson (1942, 170, 178-83), (1951, 45), followed by Ferguson (1944, 98), Schwenk (1985, 286-7), Garland (1987, 119), Simms (1988, 61) and Parker (1996, 173). Popov (1975b) rightly attributes particular importance to the role of the local Thracian tribe of Edonians, Archibald (1998, 458) interprets the preferential treatment of Bendis as part of an effort to establish contact with the Odrysian elite, cf. Pache (2001) who remarks that Bendis' popularity was due to a somewhat more complex process of assimilation, her appeal goes much deeper and lasts much longer than is warranted by diplomatic concessions or palliative in times of crisis. Healing deity: Ferguson (1949, 157-62) and Planeaux (2000-2001, 179-82). Combination of both: Beschi (2002, 15). For whatever it's worth there is no aetiological myth for the introduction of Bendis' cult (also Garland [1992, 112] and Parker [2005: 380-1]) as for example there was for the Mother of the Gods, see Ruiz Perez (1994), Blomart (2002a) and an overview in Xagorari-Gleissner (2008, 20-24). For aetiology in religious events see Kearns (2010, 67-70).



and underestimates another particular dimension of Athenian policy.<sup>19</sup> A direct association between Bendis and the Athenian-Odryian alliance should demonstrate, at least, that the kingdom of the Odrysians extended or had under control the region where Bendis was popular; however, historians agree now that the tribes living in the eastern bank of Strymon were, at most, allied to Odrysians.<sup>20</sup> The Athenians tried twice to establish a colony in the lower Strymon, near the site of later Amphipolis, an area providing access to fertile lands, timber and minerals (especially silver and gold) of the Pangaiion mountain (already known by the time of Peisistratos in mid sixth century).<sup>21</sup> In the second quarter of the fifth century they have made their presence felt twice; first in 476 with Kimon besieging the Persians at Eion<sup>22</sup> at the estuary of Strymon (eventually conquering it) and the second one in 465 when they have managed to establish a

19. For an updated approach see Archibald (1998, 97), (1999: 456-8), Pache (2001) and Lambert (2010, 161). Cf. Wijma (2007, 2) regarding the introduction of Bendis as a more gradual process. Political overtones in the cult of *Meter Theon* in late 5th century, Blomart (2002b, 29-31).

20. Accounts of the extent of the Odrysian kingdom: Archibald (1998, 114-7), Veligianni-Terzi (2004, 126-7) and Zanni, Gay-des-Combes & Zannis (2007).

21. Aristl. *Ath. Pol.* 15 with Rhodes (1981, 207): καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συνῶκισε περὶ τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται Ραϊκηλος, ἐκείθεν δὲ παρήλθεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πάγγαιον τόπους, ὅθεν χρηματισάμενος καὶ στρατιώτας μισθωσάμενος, ἔλθων εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ἑνδεκάτῳ πάλιν ἔτει τότε πρῶτον ἀνασώσασθαι βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεχειρεῖ... See Popov (1975b, 56); Wijma (2007, 2) on Peisistratos' mercenaries as constituting the first community of Thracians in Athens.

22. Hdt. 7.107: τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μόνον τὸν ἐξ Ἡΐονος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγη· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελεθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλεί, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐαυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε ὑπὸ Περσέων. Thuc. 1.98 with Hornblower (1991, 149-50): Πρῶτον μὲν Ἡΐονα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκία εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδιαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούτου (also D. S. 9.60.2; Plut. *Kimon* 7) with Collart (1937, 64-67), Isaac (1986, 18-21 and 60-62) and Zahrt (2007).

settlement at *Hennea Hodoi* but the whole mission ended up in tatters with the massacre at Drabeskos.<sup>23</sup> The settlement called Amphipolis was established finally in 437/6 by Athenians and other Greeks led by the Athenian *Hagnon*, son of *Nikias*<sup>24</sup> (*LGPN* (II) 22). It is also significant to remind that one of the major deities of Amphipolis was Artemis Tauropolos, already worshipped in two Athenian demes;<sup>25</sup> it is difficult to ascertain why the Athenians chose Artemis unless there were aware of similarities with a local deity or deities. So, one can fairly assume that a) even before the successful establishment of Amphipolis, the Athenians were acquainted with the adjacent area, its inhabitants and their cults, and b) the introduction of Artemis Tauropolos may have facilitated and even accelerated her identification

23. Hdt. 9.75: αὐτὸν δὲ Σοφάναε χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάργῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανέντι ὑπὸ Ἡδώνων ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσεῶν μαχόμενον. Thuc. 1.100.2-3 with Hornblower (1991, 155-6): καὶ ναυαὶ μὲν ἐπὶ Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχία ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκίτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ζυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοῦς αὐτοῦς χρόνους ὡς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἐννέα ὁδοῦς, νῦν δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον Ἡδωνοὶ, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἐς μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ζυμπάντων, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον· ζαὶ Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ κτιζόμενον. Thuc. 4.102.2-3 with Hornblower (1996, 320-7): τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐφ' οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπέειρασε μὲν πρότερον καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος φεύγων βασιλέα Δαρεῖον κατοικήσαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ Ἡδώνων ἐξεκρούσθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτεσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ὕστερον, ἐποίκους μυρίους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον πέμψαντες, οἱ διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ ὑπὸ Θρακῶν. καὶ αὐθις ἐνὸς δέοντι τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἄγνωνος τοῦ Νικίου οἰκιστοῦ ἐκπεμφθέντος, Ἡδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες ἔκτισαν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, ὅπερ πρότερον Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο. ὀρμῶντο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἡϊόνος, ἣν αὐτοὶ εἶχον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιθαλάσσιον, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως, ἣν Ἀμφίπολιν Ἄγνων ὠνόμασεν, ὅτι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα περιρρέοντος τοῦ Στρυμόνος (διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτὴν) τείχει μακρῷ ἀπολαβὸν ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμὸν περιφανῆ ἐς θάλασσαν τε καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ὄκισεν. Also D. S. 12.68. See Perdrizet (1910, 12-13) and Isaac (1986: 23-31).

24. See Isaac (1986, 36-40) and Malkin (1987: 81-84).

25. Cult of Artemis Tauropolos in Athens in the deme of *Halai Aixonidai*, *SEG* 34.103 (second half of the 4th century); in *Halai Araphenidai*, *SEG* 55.252, 10 (mid 4th century). Papastavru (1936, 51) followed by Isaac (1986, 55) calls Artemis Tauropolos 'die thrakische Gottheit'; cult in Amphipolis, *SEG* 40.525 (5th/4th century), *horos* of sanctuary; deity mentioned in *SEG* 28.534 (3rd century); sanctuary, *SEG* 27.245 (*SEG* 33.499) (118); dedication of king Perseus, *SEG* 31.614 (179); dedication of a priestess, *AD* 26 (1971) B2, 471 no. 4 (1st century) and *SEG* 28.536 (Imperial).

with a local deity with similar features. Furthermore, one of the strategies used by the Athenians to legitimize their claims on land was the appropriation of a deity of the area they want to annex or colonize. If this is so, then the introduction of Bendis into the Athenian pantheon would have been simultaneously expedient and easier once it appeared as another form of Artemis (or under the guise of Artemis). Having met Bendis on their first attempts to establish a colony in that area, the Athenians endorsed her cult in Athens as part of their strategy to legitimize their claim to establish a colony and appropriate the adjacent lands.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, the introduction of Bendis' cult into the publicly funded celebrations may not be explained by the overtly political motives spelled out by Nilsson, but by something more ambiguous and perhaps cynical such as a move to usurp the main religious figure of an area and its population in order to appear as legitimate claimant. Acquiring a stake in the lower Strymon could provide Athenians with a privileged position in negotiating with the king of Odrysians, Sitalkes, at the dawn of the Peloponnesian war. Consequently, in order to date the entrance of Bendis into the pantheon of the Athenian *polis*, there is no need to be constrained by the date of the treaty with Sitalkes. It might have happened even before the successful establishment of the colony in Amphipolis, in 437/6. Certainly, the cult of Bendis by individuals (Athenians and 'Thracians') in Attica could have started even earlier. A major problem, however, to antedating the introduction of Bendis in the Athenian pantheon remains; before embarking on the colonizing expedition in the lower Strymon the oracle at Delphoi was consulted,<sup>27</sup> while inscription *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1283, 4-7* (240/39, archon *Polystratos*) refers to an oracle from Dodone, according to which land and sanctuary was granted to the *ethnos* of Thracians. If the introduction of the cult happened at a time when Athenians could consult Delphoi, why the Athenians had chosen to consult Dodone and not Delphoi?

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26. For this strategy see Nilsson (1951, 33 on Salamis and 44 on the Athenian empire). For the Salaminian *genos* see Robertson (1992, 126-8), Taylor (1997), Lambert (1997), (1999), and Ismard (2010, 224-38). For the case of Amphiaraios when Oropos was granted to Athenians, see Sineux, P. (2007) *Amphiaraios. Guerrier, devin et guérisseur*, Paris.

27. See Bowden (2005, 122) and Parker (1996, 340 n.4).

Scholars assumed that the consultation of the Dodone oracle is directly associated with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war and the unqualified support of the Delphian oracle for the Spartans.<sup>28</sup> An alternative way to explain the discrepancy is to assume that there were two different consultations regarding Bendis' cult, one to Dodone during a period of strained or even severed relations between Athens and Delphoi and one to Delphoi associated with the colonizing expedition.<sup>29</sup>

While the riddle seemed insoluble, an inscription found in 1936 promised a breakthrough; three fragments of a decree, now *IG I<sup>3</sup> 136*, were discovered in the southwest slope of Mounichia hill in Piraeus and published by N. Pappadakis. Since only fragments A and C join it is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty any continuous text, isolated words convey the impression that it concerns the (re-)organization of a festival to honour Bendis (ll. 8 (partly restored), 13, 35, 39 (restored)) while Thracians had a role to play (l. 15 Θραῖττα). In particular, it seems that apart from the customary prayers at the beginning of the assembly's business (εὔχασθαι), there are isolated references to enemies (τῶν πολεμίων), a statue (τὸ ἄγαλμα), a tax or levy (ἐπαρχεῖς), and all night festival ([-- τ]έν παννυχίδα ποῖν ὅς [κάλλιστα---]), the question to an oracle about the wife of a priest (εἶτε χρὲ γυναιῖκα hieréōs), the demand to Athenians to attend the procession ([... c.8 ... Ἀθηναίων πάντων πεμφσάντων), public sacrifice with ten sacrificial victims and their hides (λαμβάνεν τῶν δημοσίου θυο[μένον ...]. [ ...c.7 ... ἀπ]ὸ δέκα hieréion

28. Thuc. 1.112-118 with Hornblower (1991, 181-96), Ferguson (1949, 161) and Parke (1967, 149).

29. For the oracle of Dodone see Parke (1967) with a selection of the questions to the oracle. Eidinow (2007) presents a list of all the known questions by collectivities and individuals. The contacts between Athens and Dodone are discussed in 272-3 n. 37. Examples of questions by collectivities concerning worship in Parke 5 (= Eidinow 10, ca. 330-320) and Parke 6 (= Eidinow 8, end of the 4th century). For the role of oracles in the foundation of new cities and the introduction of cults, see Parker (1985) and Kearns (2010, 328-9). For the relationship between Athens and Delphoi, see Giuliani (2001, 106-9) and on the importance of asking the oracle of Dodone, Stavrianopoulou (2005, 148-9). Note that Athenian access to Delphoi was severely hampered after 446 when Boiotians recovered control of the route.

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα δέρματ[α ... *c.28* ...]), allotment by *hieropoioi* ([ ... *c.5* ... τὸ λοιπὸν κληρὸν περὶ τοῦτον τὸς ἱερο[ποιός ... *c.23*... ]), state officials (κολακρέται, πολεταί)<sup>30</sup> were involved, the council is designated as having absolute power (τὲν βολὲν αὐτοκράτορα ἔναι).<sup>31</sup> Scholars argued about the position of the fragments and their date. Initially, based on the editor's proposition, it was thought that it included two decrees dated before 429, concerning the introduction of the public cult of Bendis. J. Bingen argued rather convincingly that the inscription preserves one decree dated most likely in 413/2 or thereabout and it concerns reforms introduced in the public celebration and regulation of Bendis' cult.

However, the interpretation is again stained with uncertainties once one tries to reconcile the inscription with the passage from Plato's *Republic* 327a-b quoted above. Does the description composed in the early fourth century pertain to the introduction of the public cult, to a reformed celebration (reflected in *IG I<sup>3</sup> 136*) or the setting provides only a dramatic background? Planeaux (2000-2001) has vigorously argued recently that the description in the introductory chapter of *Republic* concerns the inauguration of the public cult, which took place in 429 (based on *IG I<sup>3</sup> 383*, frg. V, 142-143).<sup>32</sup> The situation is getting more complicated since it is believed that the steps towards the inauguration of the public cult are reflected in

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30. Ismard (2010, 261) sees in these *polis* magistrates 'un rôle financier dans l'animation du culte'; however, the role of these officials relates to the publication of the decree.

31. Ed. pr. Pappadakis (1937). See also Nilsson (1942, 183-8), Roussel (1943), Ferguson (1949: 134-5), Bingen (1959); review in Simms (1988, 64-65). *Terminus ante quem*: 411 (abolition of *kolakretai*, *Pasiphon* of *Phrearrhioi*, *LGPN* (II) 3). *Terminus post quem*: the word *polemion* dates it in the post-431 period (outbreak of the Peloponnesian war). Ferguson (1949, 133): the three fragments record the inauguration by the Athenians of the public cult of Bendis. Bingen (1959, 35 [reforms]; 36-37 [date of the decree, ca. 413/2]) followed by Simms (1988: 66), Parker (1996: 172) and Lambert (2010: 162). Subsequent literature in *SEG* 10.64; 17.5; 19.19; 21.52; 24.12; 29.17; 36.137; 38.287; 39.324; 41.251; 45.231; 46.21; 47.64; 49.51 & 861; 50.1759; 53.31; 54.2100; and Ismard (2010, 261-2).

32. What significantly weakens Planeaux's argument is the absence of Polemarchos and Kephalos from Athens in the period between ca. 430 to ca. 412, see Simms (1988, 59). Cf. Stavrianopoulou (2005, 147) the introduction of Plato's *Republic* introduces new festivities on an existing celebration.

a decree of the *orgeones* of Bendis when Polystratos was archon (dated now in 240/39), *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1283.4-7: ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δεδωκότος τοῖς Θραξὶ μύνοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τὴν ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὴν ἴδρυσιν τοῦ/ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν μ[α]ντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δωδώνης καὶ τὴν ποντὴν πένπειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου, (*since the demos of the Athenians has granted solely to the Thracians, among the other ethnē, the right to acquire land and to found a sanctuary according to the oracle from Dodone and to perform the procession from the hearth of the Prytaneion ...*). What, however, the decree makes clear is that only the grant of land and sanctuary were accorded in accordance with an oracle from Dodone. The institution of a procession starting from the hearth of the *polis*, the *prytaneion*, was probably authorized by the Athenian *demos* at a later stage.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, I think that the following reconstruction of events seems more probable: sometime even before 437/6 an oracle from Dodone sanctions the grant of land and sanctuary to the Thracians,<sup>34</sup> which was duly implemented by the Athenians; sometime between 437/6 and 429/8 the cult of Bendis is incorporated into the public pantheon and in ca. 413/2 a second consultation of an oracle about modifications to the celebrations is reflected in the Platonic passage and in *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 136.

From 429/8 onwards the public cult of Bendis appears well established. Bendis' name is securely restored in the accounts of the treasurers of the other gods (concerning the reception of their property in Acropolis) of the same year, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 383, frg. V, 142-143: Ἀδρα[στείας]/ καὶ Βε[νδίδος] and in the accounts of *logistai* for the year 423/3, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 369, 67-68: [Ἀδρασ]τείας 86 δρ., τ[όκος τούτο ...]/ [Βενδ]ίδος 86 δρ. τόκος τού[το ---].<sup>35</sup> In Lycourgan Athens, in 331/30 her festival procured a considerable amount of money, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1496, col. IV frg. A, 86: ἐγ Βενδιδέων παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν, 457 δρ., while the dedication in

33. See ll. 6-7 and 10-12; similar interpretation by Ferguson (1944, 97-98). For the social implications of procession see Burkert (1985, 99-101), Graf (1996) and Parker (2005: 178-80).

34. Cf. Marcaccini (1995, 33) who thinks that *enktesis* was granted 'poco prima del 430'.

35. For the treasurers of the other gods see Linders (1975). For *logistai* in classical Athens see Adam-Magnissali (2004, 119-21) and in Hellenistic Athens see Fröhlich (2004, 79-80).

*SEG* 39.210 (ca. 300): λαμπάδι νικήσας Δᾶος/ Βενδίδι ἀνέ/θηκεν<sup>36</sup> concerns most likely a victory in the torch relay competition during the public festival. At the same time individuals bearing a Bendis name are attested in classical and Hellenistic Athens, but not in significant numbers. The fragmentary inscription *Ag.* 16, 329<sup>37</sup> (dated to the late 2nd or early 1st century) is the latest reference to Bendis and Deloptes.

#### 4. Bendis' *orgeones* and *thiasotai*

Most scholars associate the participants in the ritual procession with the associations of *orgeones* and *thiasotai* of Bendis; some go as far as to claim that similar corporate groups existed in 429.<sup>38</sup> However, this assumption is not based on any explicit evidence; it relies mostly on the Platonic *Republic* and on the reference to the ritual duties mentioned in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1283.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, the same inscription explicitly designates as subject of the obligation to perform the ritual celebration an entire *ethnos*, the Thracians (whatever that meant in fifth- and fourth-century Athens).<sup>40</sup> The participants in the pro-

36. See Themelis (1989) where 3 statuettes are published. In the same period a few examples of Bendis-names occur, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10 (401/400) Βενδιφάνης σκαφη--, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4866 (4th-3rd century?): Βενδιδώρα Ζήνωνος θυγάτηρ εὐζαμένη ἀνέθηκε τιη θεῶι, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9223 (3rd century): Βενδιδώρα Βηρεισάδου Λυσιμαχίς Μηνοφίλου γυνή.

37. [— — — ]ων[-2-3]/ [— — — ]πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. *vacat/ vacat o. o4m.*/ [— — — ]ι τεῖ Βενδίδι καὶ τῷ Δηλόπτει[- - - ]/ [— — — ]οἱ Θραῖκες ἐπειδὴ ἡ βουλή κ[αὶ ὁ δῆ]/[μοῦς — — — ] ἐμίσηθωσαν Ἀθηναίους [- 2.5 - ]/ [— — — ]τοῖς[— — — ]. See also Behrend (1970, no. 42); *Ag.* 19, L16; *SEG* 19.125; 41.103; *BE* 1961, no. 264. It is noteworthy that Pausanias (1.1.4) does not mention anything about the *Bendideion* in the vicinity of Artemis Mounychia's temple.

38. E.g. Planeaux (2000-2001, 169 and 174).

39. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1283, 11: δς κελεύει τοὺς Θραϊκας πέμπειν τῆμ πομπῆν; and 22-26: ὁ[πρὸς ἂν τοῦ] τῶν γινόμενων καὶ ὁμονοῶντος παντὸς τοῦ ἔθ[νους αἱ τ]/ε θυσίαι γίνονται τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα πρ[οσῆκει]/ κατὰ τε τὰ πάτρια τῶν Θραϊκῶν καὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλ[εως νόμου]/ς...

40. See *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1283, 4-5, 11, 22-26 (above n.39). Wilhelm (1902, 130) was convinced that these *orgeones* were Thracians. Who was qualified as Thracian in the mindset of the average Athenian? A Greek from the colonies in the Aegean coast (despite his or her distinctive *ethnikon*) could have been considered as Thracian too? Ferguson (1949, 162-3) while commenting on the honorary inscription *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2947 (3rd/2nd century): στεφανοῦσιν/ *vac.*/ οἱ ὀργεῶνες/ Ἀσκλάπωνα/ Ἀσκλάπωνος/ Μαρωνίτην./ *vac.*, notes that

cession were taking part as members of that ill-understood community and not *qua* members of particular corporate groups. The community of the Thracians included not only the worshippers of the group in Peiraieus but also those in the city of Athens. Perhaps members of these groups have had a leading role in the celebrations. Moreover, the designation *orgeones* for worshippers of Bendis occur only in the last third of the fourth century and after. Moving away from the composition of the procession, the main question concerns the corporate designation *orgeones* assigned to the Thracian worshippers. Since Ferguson scholars have thought that the title *orgeones* (associated with Athenian citizenship) was a privilege granted to the Thracians together with the public endorsement of Bendis' cult.<sup>41</sup> Recently Lambert (2010) has put forward a refined interpretation, which essentially builds upon Ferguson's main idea. In particular, in a thorough, fresh reading on *gene* and their relation to priesthoods, Lambert argues that while the Athenians before 451/0 were appointing priests and priestesses for *polis* cults from among *gene* members, after the introduction of Perikles' citizenship law they were selecting individuals to perform priestly duties from among 'all Athenians', in conformity to the democratic principle. In the question of how to fill the priesthood of Bendis adopted by the *polis*, Lambert claims that priests and priestesses were appointed

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Maroneia was for Athenians a Thracian city; as to the names he remarks 'They are all Hellenic. There is not a distinctively Thracian name in the lot ... but we must always bear in mind that the Thracian partisans of Bendis in Athens may have belonged, in some parts at least, to the Greek cities in the Thraceward parts (...). I wonder if Nymphodoros of Abdera, *proxenos* of Athens, Sitalkes' brother-in-law, the Greek was chiefly instrumental in bringing Athens and Sitalkes together (Thuc. 2.29), was wholly uninterested in the founding of the shrine of Bendis in the Piraeus'. See also Simms (1988, 69), Steinhauer (1993, 40 n.36) and Arnaoutoglou (2003, 59-60) who has touched upon this question with no further elaboration. Compare the names in inscription IG II<sup>2</sup> 1956 (a casualty list of mercenaries?) of the late fourth century with Thracian names (a correction in SEG 56.212) in ll. 1, 21-23, 25-30, 37-38, 40, 42-43 and 185; see Fraser (1993, 445-8); cf. Bayliss (2004) for the date.

41. The privileged status is associated with the performance of a *polis* function, see Ferguson (1944, 104), (1949, 155-7), Simms (1988, 68), Planeaux (2000-2001, 175, 177) and Stavrianopoulou (2005, 150-1).



from groups of *orgeones*.<sup>42</sup> The first objection, which cannot be answered, concerns whether there were organized group of *orgeones* so early. Assuming that Wilhelm's distinction between citizen and Thracian *orgeones* holds,<sup>43</sup> from which group of *orgeones*, the citizen or the Thracian, priests would have been selected? If from among the Thracian *orgeones*, it would mean that 'Thracians' could, in theory, perform sacrifices on behalf of the Athenian *polis*, something unheard so far. If from among the citizen *orgeones*, it would be an exception from a consistent policy implemented since the 450s, so convincingly expounded by Lambert. The public cult of Bendis is not a peculiar case that requires extraordinary arrangements; accepting the goddess as part of the official Athenian pantheon meant that she should have been honoured by Athenians in the same way as the one correctly identified by Lambert for other public cults, i.e. 'among all Athenians'. Since we do not know anything about any secret ancestral knowledge being transmitted or revealed to initiates, the involvement of Thracians could have been restricted to the performance of apparently Thracian elements, which include the torch relay on horseback and the contingent of 'Thracian' worshippers in the procession. What, however, remains deeply problematic and perhaps elusive is the appropriation (and the reasons for that) of the title *orgeones* by the group of Bendis worshippers in the late fourth century. Ferguson likened the involvement of *orgeones* in Bendideia with that of *Salaminioi genos* in *Oschophoria*;<sup>44</sup> nevertheless it re-

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42. Lambert (2010, 163) 'In such circumstances one can see that none of the conventional modes of appointing this polis priesthood would seem appropriate. A priest selected from a *genos*, a deme (Piraeus would have been the obvious one in this case) or from all Athenians would exclude the Thracians. To involve them a new system for appointing the priest was needed, and that chosen was one which drew on the model of the pre-existing *orgeones*-groups. As we saw above, these groups seem to have performed a similar role to *gene* in that they were groups within phratries, might administer shrines for which they supplied priests, and to which they provided access for other groups of worshippers. They do not, however, seem to have shared in the strong ideology of autochthonous origins and descent from Ur-Athenians which characterised the *gene*, and in that respect were eminently suitable to be adapted to administer a cult in which foreigners were to have a significant role.'

43. However, see now the objections in Ismard (2010, 263-70).

44. Ferguson (1944, 155) and (1949, 104). On the differential degree of involvement of

mains to be assessed whether the performance of a public function (the procession in this case) can dilute the otherwise 'private' nature of the association of *orgeones*.<sup>45</sup> The association seems to have been proud of its link with the *polis* (see *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1283, 6, 10, 25), despite the fact that the Athenian *polis* did not fund any activities of the group or show any sign of mingling in the association's business. Therefore, I would be reluctant in regarding the performance of a public function as an implicit (even less an explicit) intrusion of the *polis* in the realm of the private cult associations.

The epigraphic evidence for the associations of worshippers called *orgeones* and *thiasotai* appear for the first time in the second half of the fourth century and were found in Peiraeus (close to Mikrolimano or to Zea) or Salamis (Akropolis and the port). In particular, inscription *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1255,<sup>46</sup> the earliest testimony of a group of *orgeones* of Bendis, records an honorary decree, proposed by a certain *Olympodoros* (*LGPN* (II) 16), for three *hieropoioi*,<sup>47</sup> all Athenian citizens, for their performance in taking care of the procession and the distribution of meat (following a sacrifice) in the archonship of *Phrynichos* (337/6). The *orgeones* award them a golden crown worth 300 dr. Less than ten years later in the archonship of *Kephisophon* (329/8) the same probably group of *orgeones* decided to honour two *epimeletai* (superintendents) of the sanctuary, *Euphyes* (*LGPN* (II) 1) and *Dexios* (*LGPN* (II) 6),<sup>48</sup> and erected a stele whose text is recorded in inscrip-

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*genē* in festivals see now Sourvinou-Inwood (2011). On the festival of *Oschophoria* see Parker (2005, 211-8).

45. See, however, Ismard (2010, 273) in an attempt to disentangle the question from the polarity private – public and suggests the notion of a developed network of Bendis cult associations with its centre in Peiraeus and peripheral groups in Salamis, Athens and Laurion.

46. Also Schwenk (1985, no. 13); *SEG* 35.239; 46.2363; 49.162; Poland (1909, no. A6E).

47. [Ἀντιφάνην Ἀντι]σθένους Κυ[θήρρ]/[ίον, (*LGPN* (II) 52) Ναυσίφιλον] Ναυσινίκο[υ Κεφ]/[αλήθεν, (*LGPN* (II) 1) Ἀριστομέ]νην Μοσχ---5---]. For *hieropoioi* see Garland (1984, 117-8), in private cult associations Arnaoutoglou (2003, 107).

48. It was suggested that the personal names imply a servile status, e.g. Popov (1975, 61), Schwenk (1985, 256); cf. the statistical analysis in Vlassopoulos (2010) and a traditional approach in Arnaoutoglou (2011).

tion *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1256*.<sup>49</sup> They were awarded a golden crown, worth 100 dr. each, because they have taken care well and zealously of the goddess and her worshippers.

Inscription *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1361* (now dated ca. 330-324/3) is considered a *lex sacra* issued by the citizen *orgeones*.<sup>50</sup> It contains regulations about the dues to be paid to a priest and priestess for sacrificing (ll. 4-8),<sup>51</sup> the use of the income generated by corporate assets (lease of a house and sale of water) for repairs (ll. 8-12), fines for those not abiding by the decision of the group (ll. 13-14), the sanction of regular meetings in the sanctuary on the second day of each month convened by the *hieropoioi* and the *epimeletai* (ll. 14-17),<sup>52</sup> the payment of two dr. by each *orgeon* to *hieropoioi* for sacrifices<sup>53</sup> (with a fine of the same value for

49. Also *Syll<sup>3</sup>* 1095; Michel 980; Meyer (1989, A107); Güntner (1994, G4); Schwenk (1985, no. 52); Lawton (1995, no. 47); *SEG* 35-73, 239; 39-324; 45-231; 46-2363; 47-30; 49-162; *BE* 1987, no. 168; Poland (1909, no. A3a).

50. Also Michel 979; *LSCG* 45; Behrend (1970, 37); Le Guen (1991, no. 6); *SEG* 25.167; 42.1803; 47-26; 50-22; 54-212; *BE* 1942, no. 32; *Hóros* 17-21 (2004-2009) 103-4; *APMA* 1, 101 no. 359; Tracy (1995: 129); Poland (1909: no. A2a). See now Ismard (2010, 269) who challenges the above ascription.

51. On fees and taxes in cults see Sokolowski (1954).

52. The question whether the three *hieropoioi* of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1255* and *1361* were members of the annually appointed board by the *polis* as suggested by Ferguson (1944, 98-99 n.43) and Simms (1988, 69), or they are members of the *orgeones* group (Parker 1996, 171 n.65; Arnaoutoglou 2003, 107-8; Ismard 2010, 265, 268) is still open for debate. Schwenk (1985, 67) insisted on the inconclusiveness of the evidence. However, given the responsibility of the Thracian *ethnos* to organize the procession, the main event of the publicly funded *Bendideia* festival it should not come as surprise the award of honours to *polis-hieropoioi*; what is really troubling is the possible involvement of *polis* appointees in the day-to-day running of the group, something not attested in any other private association. *Hieropoioi* appear also in (a) an honorary decree of the deme of *Halimousioi* for *Charisandros*, son of *Charisios*, *SEG* 2.7, 6-10 (ca. 330-325): ἐλομένον αὐτὸν τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ <ἐπ>ὶ τὰς ἱεροποιίας ὅσας οἱ δημόται προσέταξαν, (b) *SEG* 55.252, 10 from the deme *Halai Araphenidai* (mid 4th century), (c) the Marathonian Tetrapolis (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2933*, mid 4th century, four *hieropoioi*), (d) cult associations (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1261*, 1263, 1265, 1291, 1292, 1297) and (e) a dedication to Artemis, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2859* (archon Philippides, 3rd century, by 4 *hieropoioi*, 2 citizens, an *isoteles* and a foreigner). Simms (1988, 71) points out the involvement of *hieropoioi* in the administration of the citizen association of Bendis in Peiraieus, while noting the absence of similar interference in the Thracian *orgeones* association.

53. The association of the fee with the income from the sale of the hides after the

those not complying) and rules about those wishing to join the group (ll. 17-23).

Inscriptions *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1284A and B<sup>54</sup> record on a single stele two decrees of the *orgeones* of Bendis, the first one is dated on the basis of the letter style between 251- ca. 240, the second one was issued in the archonship of *Lykeas* (241/40). *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1284A has its upper part missing, so there are no details about the date and the position of the person honoured, a certain *Olympos*, son of *Olympiodoros* (*LGN* (II) 28). He was crowned with an oak leaves crown because he has proved himself zealous and benevolent towards the sanctuary and the members of the group; this allows us to surmise that he may have contributed financially to the cost of repairs or renovation. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1284B was issued on the eighth day of *Skirphorion* (June/July)<sup>55</sup> following a motion by *Sosias*, son of *Hippokrates* (*LGN* (II) 40). *Eukleides* son of *Antimachos* (*LGN* (II) 74) having been elected secretary for several years not only has administered properly the affairs of the association but he rendered account of his overall administration and underwent a successful scrutiny of his financial dealings. The existence of a secretary, a treasury, the date of the meetings and the award of an oak leaves crown, taken together with the mover of the decree, point to the likely fact that this group should be identified with the one of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1283.

One of the richest in details and information inscriptions is *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1283,<sup>56</sup> dated in the archonship of *Polystratos* (240/39). *Sosias*, son

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sacrifice (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1496, 334/3) put forward by Ferguson (1944, 101) is now undermined by the re-dated *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1361 in the period ca. 330-324.

54. Also *SEG* 46.2363; 53.156; Tracy (2003, 125); Poland (1909, no. A3d-e).

55. The day of the monthly meeting, 8<sup>th</sup> day of *Skirphorion* (June/July), does not agree with the date of monthly meetings stipulated in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1361, 14-17. Because of this discrepancy, Wilhelm (1902, 132-3) thought that we should distinguish between the Thracian associations (meeting on the 8<sup>th</sup> of the month and awarding oak-leaves crowns) and Athenian associations (meeting on the 2nd of the month and awarding olive crowns), and was followed by Ferguson (1944, 98-99) and Simms (1988, 69). This distinction, however, cannot account for *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1255 and 1256, unless one assumes that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1361—a decree dated later than the above-mentioned honorary decrees—introduced reforms in the date of meetings and the type of crowns, cf. Arnaoutoglou (2003, 59-60) and Ismard (2010, 263-5).

56. Also Michel 1551; *LSGS* 46; Le Guen (1991, no. 7); *SEG* 24.155; 25.99; 29.136;

of *Hippokrates* (already attested in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1284B) in a meeting on the eighth day of the month *Hekatombaion* (July/August) introduced a motion that the group agrees to a request submitted by the Thracian *orgeones* of the *asty* to participate in the traditional procession from *Prytaneion* to Peiraicus, to be greeted by the *epimeletai* of the group in Peiraicus and be provided with water, sponges and bowls in the *Nymphaion* and breakfast in the sanctuary, the priests and priestesses to address the usual prayers including the *orgeones* of the *asty* (Thracians, Athenians or both). On top of that, *orgeones* from the *asty* are to have privileged treatment once they approach the group and have privileged access to membership. However, wealth of detailed information does not necessarily imply accuracy; the *orgeones* of Bendis, as it has already been suggested, were economical with the truth on two counts: a) they may have been the earliest but they were not the only ones awarded *enktesis*, in 333/2 the traders from Kition got the same privilege and before them the Egyptians;<sup>57</sup> and b) they were not only the Thracians to perform the procession from *prytaneion* to Peiraicus; according to Plato's *Republic* there was an Athenian contingent. Despite these inaccuracies, the decree reveals the existence of two groups of *orgeones*, οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστυ (‘those in the *asty*’) and τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς (‘those from the Piraeus’), both subsumed under the ethnic designation Thracians (*ibid.* II. 4, II, 25-26). It is not known whether the former constituted an organized group as they did not have and only intended to built an *hieron* (probably in the *asty*).<sup>58</sup> It is also clearly envisaged the possibility of membership

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41.582; 42.1803; 46.1472 & 2371; 49.162; 53.31; *BE* 1981, no. 239; Tracy (2003, 85); Poland (1909, A3c); Planeaux (2000-2001); Ismard (2010, 263-4) adopting the old dating of the decree in 269/8. Wilhelm (1902) remains fundamental.

57. Noted also by Parker (1996, 170) and Lambert (2010, 163 n. 118). It is noteworthy that the traders from Kition, while referring to the Egyptian precedent, appear to ignore the Thracian (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 337, 42-45); perhaps the Egyptian case was much more recent. One could argue, as Nilsson did, that the exclusivity claimed by the Thracians does not refer to the grant of *enktesis* only but it includes the combined grants of *enktesis*, building a sanctuary and participating in the public festival, see Simms (1982, 62). Despite its vagueness, the expression reveals the perception of the Thracians in Peiraicus that they were enjoying a privilege vis-à-vis other foreign *ethne*.

58. Wilhelm (1902, 130) notes the identification of *orgeones* with the Thracian *ethnos* and the fact that the grant of *enktesis* seems to have included the acquisition of

in both *orgeones* of *asty* and Peiraieus. Reading behind the lines of the decree, it is repeatedly stressed the duty of the whole Thracian *ethnos* – recipient of *enktesis* (ibid. I. 4)<sup>59</sup> – to observe the traditional cultic rules (ibid. I. 25) as well as the laws of the *polis* about the procession (ibid. I. 11), living either in Athens or in Peiraieus. It is noteworthy that the *koinon* is served by a priest, a priestess and *epimeletai*, just as in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1361*.

The latest piece evidence of the corporate existence of Bendis *orgeones* is the honorary decree *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1324*, issued ca. 190. The *orgeones* honoured a certain *Stephanos* (*LGN (II) 100*) because he financed the repair of the sanctuary of Bendis and Deloptes, took care of the proper performance of the procession and everything befitting his position. This display of zeal (*philotimia*) to the *orgeones* and piety (*eusebeia*) to the gods earned *Stephanos* an olive leaf crown and a suitable place in the sanctuary to erect the dedication. The secretary of the group is ordained to have the decision inscribed and erected next to the dedication, while the treasurer is to allocate the necessary funds.<sup>60</sup>

Bendis' worshippers were not active only in Athens and its port. Five inscriptions originating in two groups of *thiasotai* from the third-century Salamis provide not only considerable amount of information about them,<sup>61</sup> but also contribute to the establishment of

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effectively two plots of land, one in Peiraia in the second half of the 5th century and one in Athens in mid 3rd century.

59. *Enktesis* was required by the Thracian worshippers only; citizen *orgeones* were not bound by that restriction. There is also the possibility that both groups hold their meetings at the *Bendideion*.

60. See also Michel 1558; *SEG* 46.2363; 49.162; *BE* 1950, no. 94; Tracy (1990, 110); Poland (1909, no. A3b). It is difficult to ascertain the office or the offices that *Stephanos* held; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* restores ἐπιμελητής but the contribution and the circumlocutions used point to the post of *hieropoios*, treasurer or secretary; see *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1255*, 5 and 1284B.

61. According to Osborne (2004-2009). Acropolis-group: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1317* (archon Lysitheides, 272/1); Michel 1557; *SEG* 3.127; 46.2363; 47. 237; 53.9, 157; Osborne 2004-2009, 658); *BE* 1926, p. 266; 1938, no. 83; Poland 1909, no. A20, *SEG* 2.10 [archon Thersilochos (251/0); Michel 1881; *SEG* 44.60; 53.162; Tracy (2003, 123-4); Osborne (2004-2009: 660); *ZPE* 171 (2009) 91 (date); *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1317b* (archon Hieron, 249/8); Michel 1879; *SEG* 44.60; 46.2363; 53.9; *PAA* 74 (1999) 67-80; Tracy (2003, 125); Osborne (2004-2009, 661)]. Harbour-group: *SEG* 2.9 (archon Kydenor, 245/4);

a consistent chronology of mid third century Athens.<sup>62</sup> All of them – except *SEG* 2.9, a decision to honour officials for successive years – are honorary decrees for the annually elected officials of the associations. Among the documents of the Akropolis group the earliest is *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317, passed during the archonship of *Lysitheides* (272/1), while the remaining are dated in mid third century. They were all discussed in meetings on the second day of *Skirophorion* (June/July), the exception being again *SEG* 2.9 which was passed on the third day of *Anthesterion* (February/March).<sup>63</sup> The evidence, then, suggests that there was a fixed date for regular meetings in both groups but that a group could also convene on any other day. The associations were run by an executive board comprising a treasurer, a secretary<sup>64</sup> and three *epimeletai* (superintendents), while in the Akropolis group an *hierews* is mentioned. Officers were honoured for taking care of the sacrifices, of every other corporate business and accounting for

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Michel 1880; *SEG* 44.60; 47.237; 50.1; 53.159; *BE* 2004, no. 163; Tracy (2003, 123-4); Osborne (2004-2009, 662); *ZPE* 171 (2009) 92 (date); *SEG* 44.60 (archon Lysiades, 244/3); *SEG* 53.9, 158; *PAA* 74 (1999) 67-80; *ZPE* 143 (2003) 95-100; Tracy (2003, 127); Osborne (2004-2009, 661); *ZPE* 171 (2009) 92 (date). This distinction implies that there should have been two sanctuaries (however modest) in third-century Salamis. See, however, Taylor (1997, 111-12) who identifies only one. For a thorough discussion of the findspots, dates and the historical setting see Steinhauer (1993) and most recently Osborne (2004-2009).

62. Osborne 1989; 1999; 2000; 2003b; 2003a; 2004; 2004-2009.

63. Note that the second of the month was prescribed as the day for regular meetings in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1361, 16-17 too. There is a number of similarities between the *thiasotai* of Salamis and the *orgeones* of Peiraieus as far as their organizational structure (*epimeletai*, secretary, treasurer and an *hierews*), the kind of honours (olive crown). Is it an indication of the affiliation between the group in Salamis' Akropolis and the one in Peiraieus? Or we may consider the Salaminian groups as offshoots of the Peiraieus group? See Steinhauer (1993, 40-41). The hypothesis of Foucart (1873, 209) and Wilhelm (1902, 131) that the stones were transferred from Peiraieus to Salamis has been now abandoned.

64. *SEG* 2.10, 11-12 should be read γραμματέα Στρατοκλήην Ἐλευσίνιον. The priest (*hierews*) remains anonymous, corresponding to the vacant wreath beneath, see Osborne (2004-2009: 664 n.12). In *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317b, 1-2 the priest appears in the dating formula and holds the office of treasurer. An *hierews* with a demotic is also attested in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1297, IV 44 (archon Kimon, 236/5). For the officials in Athenian cult associations see Arnaoutoglou (2003: 107-115)

the money they had administered (*SEG* 2.10), because of their care for the sacrifices and the sanctuary of Bendis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317b), because they took care of the sacrifices, the business of the group and accounted for their administration (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317 and *SEG* 2.9) or for holding the sacrifices to the gods 'as it is traditional' and took care of all the remaining affairs as dictated by the rules of the group (*SEG* 44.60).<sup>65</sup> Usually, officials were awarded an olive leaf crown (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317b and *SEG* 44.60) with an amount of 15 dr.<sup>66</sup> Certain individuals appear in several inscriptions, such as *Nikias* (*LGPN* (II) 198, 213-14) and *Stratokles* (*LGPN* (II) 23, 54) both under different titles in inscriptions *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317, 1317b and *SEG* 2.10;<sup>67</sup> *Rhythmos* (*LGPN* (II) 1) in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317b and *SEG* 2.10; *Batrachos* (*LGPN* (II) 12) features in *SEG* 2.9 and *SEG* 44.60; while *Dokimos* (*LGPN* (II) 13-14) in *SEG* 2.9 and 2.10.<sup>68</sup> The decision in *SEG* 2.9 sanctions the election of a committee of three members (*Batrachos*, *Dokimos*, *Krates*) encumbered with inscribing the decree, the honours and with accounting for the money spent for that purpose. In the list of have-been officials several names occur for successive years such as *Batrachos* (twice *grammateus*, *tamias*), *Thallos* (*LGPN* (II) 41) (thrice *epimeletes*),<sup>69</sup> *Krates* (*LGPN* (II) 34) (twice *tamias*), *Archeopolis* (*LGPN*(II) 8) (twice *grammateus*). Finally, in the harbour-group irregularities are observed concerning the number of officials, e.g. during *Polyeuktos*' archonship there were two *epimeletai*, in *Diomedon*'s year there were four *epimeletai* and no treasurer while in *Eurykleides*' year there are no *epimeletai* at all. These irregularities taken together with the exceptional character of inscrip-

65. The phrase 'as it is traditional' appears also in *SEG* 2.9.

66. The amount is attested in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317b, 7, *SEG* 44.60, 8 and restored in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317, 9 by Osborne (2004-2009, 658).

67. It is unusual but not improbable that *Nikias* and *Stratokles* are board members of the group in 270s (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317) and again in 250s-240s (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317b, *SEG* 2.10). Indicative of the inconsistent way of identifying individuals is the fact that in *SEG* 2.10 *Stratokles* is designated as coming of Eleusis, while in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1317b as plain *Stratokles*.

68. See Osborne (2004-2009, 668 n.33). To Parker (1996, 171) 'many ... members sound from their names like slaves or ex-slaves'.

69. Despite Ismard (2010, 267 n.292), it is not possible to relate *Thallos* of *SEG* 2.9 with the one in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1255, since the inscriptions are far removed chronologically and the name is not that rare.



tion *SEG* 2.9 reveal a shortage of willing candidates due either to economic difficulties or to the initial structural fragility of the group,<sup>70</sup> especially if Osborne's (2004-2009, 668) claim that it was founded when *Polyeuktos* was archon (250/49) is accepted.

In this essay I have tried to recapitulate most of the aspects of the recent discussion about Bendis, her cultores in classical and Hellenistic Athens and their corporate organization. Bendis, probably an indigenous form of the Mother of Gods figure of the southern Thracian area, was made known in Athens by the mid fifth century. For reasons we do not yet understand well, but surely connected with the Athenian tapping of resources in the estuary of Strymon, it was given a place in the pantheon of the Athenian *polis*, earlier than 429. A reorganization of her festival, probably reflected in Plato's *Republic*, took place in the closing years of 410s. Cult associations devoted to her worship are attested epigraphically since the late fourth century, have been active in Peiraieus (*orgeones*) and Salamis (*thiasotai*) to the early second century. *Orgeones* in Peiraieus seem to have been organized in a citizen and a Thracian grouping. Despite the fact that they were encumbered with the performance of a procession during Bendideia, they have not lost their primarily private nature as an association. Their structure and discourse follows the blueprint of other similar associations and espouses the rhetoric and values of the Athenian *polis*.<sup>71</sup>

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70. Arnaoutoglou (2003, 68-69) envisaged the possibility of a split in the old Acropolis group (without further elaboration); this would explain (a) the coexistence for a few years of both groups, (b) *Dokimos* appearing as official in both groups (cf. Osborne 2004-2009, 668 n. 33), and (c) organizational similarities (date of meetings, composition of executive board). However, it is still not possible to confirm it.

71. Three articles and a monograph related to topics discussed here have appeared after I submitted the article for publication. On the cult of *oikistes* Hagnon: I. Asmonti 2012, 'Gli ecisti di Anfipoli', *Aristonothos* 6, 111-118. On the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* in Amphipolis: M. Mari 2012, 'La conciliazione degli opposti. Il culto e il santuario di Artemide *Tauropolos* ad Anfipoli', *Aristonothos* 6, 119-166 (available online <http://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/aristonothos/>), M. Mari 2013, 'Culti e identità (mutanti) di una *polis* greca: il caso di Anfipoli', in M. Palma and C. Vismara (eds.) *Per Gabriella. Studi in ricordo di Gabriella Braga*. vol. 3. Cassino, 1169-1227 and S. Wijma 2014. *Embracing the Immigrant: The participation of metics in Athenian polis religion (5th-4th cent. BC)*. Historia Einzelschriften 233. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

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