

Can Soteira be named?

The problem of the bare trans-divine epithet

Despite being such a characteristic feature of Greek religious language, Greek cult epithets remain a relatively new area in the study of Greek religion.¹ So far discussions have tended to focus on different epithets qualifying gods' names, but the use of epithets without a divine name has received only passing remarks.² There are three common ways of referring to a god: by divine name alone, by epithet alone, and by the combination of god's name and epithet. While some epithets are specific to a single deity and hence easily recognizable when standing alone (such as Phoibos, Pythios and Lykeios for Apollo; Phytalmios for Poseidon), it is less straightforward with what Brulé calls 'épicleses trans-divines'.³

Trans-divine epithets (such as *Epekoos*, *Epiphanes*, *Hegemon* and *Soter*) were epithets that could apply to more than one god in the Greek pantheon. These might often be gods with shared genealogies and/or cults (such as altars or shrines),⁴ but the same epithet could also be borne independently by different gods who all lay claim, in one way or another, to the function referred to in the cult epithet. Given that a principal feature of Greek cult epithets is to identify a particular function or aspect of a god, it is not at all surprising that different gods performing similar functions, if in different ways or modes of operation, can carry the same epithet.⁵ Unlike some

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¹ The main theoretical analyses of the Greek cult epithets are H. Usener (1948), *Götternamen* (Frankfurt), 3rd ed.; R. Parker (2003), 'The Problem of the Greek Cult Epithet', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 28, 173-83 (with bibliography); N. Belayche et al. (2005), *Nommer les Dieux* (Turnhout); P. Brulé (2007), 'Le langage des épicleses dans le polythéisme hellénique (l'exemple de quelques divinités féminines)', in P. Brulé, *La Grèce d'à côté* (Rennes), 313-332 (revision of his article in *Kernos* (1998), 13-34); H.S. Versnel (2011), *Coping with the Gods* (Leiden), 60-88.

² E.g. F. Graf (1985), *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome), 37-9; F. Graf (2010), 'Gods in Greek Inscriptions: Some Methodological Questions', in J. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds), *The Gods of Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh), 55-80, at 70-2.

³ Brulé (n. 1), 329 (épicleses trans-divines), Parker (n. 1), 174 (epithet-sharing), 180 (three ways of divine naming).

⁴ E.g. S. Paul (2010), 'À propos d'épicleses «trans-divines»: le cas de Zeus et d'Athéna à Cos', *ARG* 12, 65-81, discusses epithets shared by Zeus and Athena on Cos (but has little reflection on the phenomenon of 'épicleses trans-divines' in her title).

⁵ But the same epithet need not imply the same function or similarity between the gods concerned.

epithets which were exclusively or frequently associated with certain deities,⁶ Soteira had no consistent association with any particular divinity, and could apply to more goddesses than some other ‘trans-divine’ epithets. Goddesses called Soteira (‘Saviouress’) are ubiquitous in the Greek world: Artemis, Athena, Hecate, Hera, Hygieia, Isis, Kore, Meter Theon, and Tyche.⁷ As it is borne by so many divinities, ambiguities can arise as to which goddess is meant when Soteira does not accompany a divine name. This practice of signifying a god with a bare epithet is, of course, not unique to Soteira,⁸ but this is probably the commonest epithet used in this way. Without collecting all available instances of Soteira standing alone,⁹ I shall discuss the most interesting and enigmatic cases and consider wider issues in Greek cult epithets.

The most disputed Soteira of all is in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, a central issue of which was how to save Athens and Tragedy when both were at risk in 405 B.C. One scene shows the Chorus of initiates marching in a procession while singing hymns to various deities, including to Soteira ‘who affirms that she will keep (Attic) land safe for all time to come’ (ἡ τὴν χώραν σώσειν φήσ’ εἰς τὰς ὥρας).¹⁰ That the rites in

⁶ E.g. Euploia and Ourania qualify Aphrodite exclusively. On Aphrodite Ourania see V. Pirenne-Delforge (2005), ‘Des épicleses exclusives dans la Grèce polythéiste? L’exemple d’Ourania’, in Belayche et al. *Nommer les Dieux* (Turnhout), 271-90.

⁷ One example each: *IG* XII.3 271 (Artemis on Anaphe), *IG* II² 676 (Athena at Athens), *OGIS* 441 (Hecate at Lagina), *CIRB* 36 (Hera at Panticapaeum), *IG* IV² 419 (Hygieia in Epidaurus), *IG* XI.4 1253 (Isis on Delos), *FD* III.3 342 (Kore in Cyzicus), *I.Delta* I 18 (Mother of the Gods at Kanopos, Egypt), W. Peek (1969), *Inscripfen aus dem Asklepieion von Epidaurus* (Berlin), no. 334 (Tyche at Epidaurus, partly supplemented). Other instances are collected by O. Höfer in W.H. Roscher (1909-1915), *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig), vol. 7, 1236-47, s.v. Soteira. I have excluded here goddesses called Soteira in poetry but without parallels in practised religion, e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 8.21 (Themis), 9.15 (Eunomia).

⁸ Other epithets which could likewise be used alone are, e.g. (Apollo) Hypatos, Keraunios, Ktesios, Pelinaios, Phosphoros. See Graf (n. 2) above.

⁹ Other cases not discussed here are e.g. L.I. Maragkou and A.P. Matthaiou (2010-3), ‘Ἐπιγραφές ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῆς Μινώας Ἀμοργοῦ’, *Horos* 22-25, 519-20, no. 1 (Minoa on Amorgos, statue base inscribed with *Ἀντιφῶν Σωτείραι*); *IG* XII.1 914 (Lartos on Rhodes, a *pinax* dedicated to hiera Soteira Phosphoros Ennodia); *IG* XII Supp. 433 and *BCH* 63 (1944), 154-6, no. 1 (Thasos, two dedications by polemarchoi to Soteira, one of which is by supplement); *I.Didyma* 424.48 (Didyma, *ψυκτῆρ* inscribed *Σωτείρας*); *MAMA* VI 241 (Akmonia, dedication to ὁ Φοῖβος καὶ ἡ σῶτιρα (sic) θεά); *IG* V.2 524 (Lykosoura in Arcadia, a monarch’s dedication to *Despoina kai Sotira* (sic), see n. 26).

¹⁰ Ar. *Ran.* 378-81. Soteira’s identity is disputed. Kore: F.H.M. Blaydes (1889), *Aristophanis Comoediae. Pars VIII. Aristophanis Ranae* (Halis Saxonium), 277; J. van Leeuwen (1896), *Aristophanis Ranae* (Lugduni Batavorum), 69; Höfer in Roscher (n. 7), 1244-5, W.S. Stanford (1958), *Aristophanes: The Frogs* (London), 108; C.H. Whitman (1964), *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge, Mass), 247. Demeter: W.H.D. Rouse (1902), *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge), 188 n. 10; M. Tierney (1935), ‘The Parodos in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*’, *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy* 42,

the parodos (lines 323-459) probably draw on those in the Eleusinian Mysteries has led some scholars to think that an Eleusinian deity is meant.¹¹ Kore seems to find support from the grammarian Ammonius' *On Similar and Different Words*, which refers to an *ἱερόν Σωτείρας Κούρης* in the Attic deme Corydallus.¹² It is arguable, however, whether *κούρη* refers to the goddess Kore or the 'maiden' Athena, and there is no attestation of Kore Soteira within Attica (unless this is one).¹³ Ammonius is explaining that Korydos and Korydal(l)os are not the same: the former is a bird sacred to Ge, whereas the latter is an Athenian deme with a shrine of Soteira Kore. This can be contrasted with the scholion to Plato's *Euthydemus* 291b, according to which Korydoi, said to be Korydalloi by some, were birds sacred to Ge and Athena.¹⁴ Whether the two words were the same is not important for our purpose; what matters is that the scholion's reference to Athena may confirm that the *κούρη* in Ammonius is the 'maiden' Athena. Ammonius' testimony is therefore unhelpful for our purpose: all that it provides is a possible instance of Athena Soteira or of Kore Soteira in Korydallos, which need not correspond to the Soteira in Aristophanes' passage. The other Eleusinian goddess, Demeter, is extremely unlikely. She is invoked a few lines later in another hymn (385-93), and the Chorus leader's formal introduction of her name and epithets (383-4) indicates that what follows is another hymn to a different deity, and not to Soteira as sometimes supposed.¹⁵ It would also seem odd and inappropriate to appeal to Demeter (or her daughter) for protection of Attica, when this was traditionally the role of its patron goddess Athena.

199-218, at 205-6. Athena: Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 378, J.A. Haldane (1964), 'Who is Soteira? (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 379)', *CQ* 14, 207-9; F. Graf (1974), *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, New York), 47-8, n. 37. Kore or Athena: A.H. Sommerstein (1996), *Aristophanes: Frogs* (Warminster), 190-1. K.J. Dover (1993), *Aristophanes: Frogs* (Oxford), 244, leaves the possibilities open.

¹¹ Opinions have varied on which mysteries are meant, see e.g. Stanford (n. 10), xviii-xx, and bibliography in Haldane (n. 10), 207 n. 1. Here I follow the dominant view that the reference is to the Eleusinian Mysteries.

¹² Ammon. *Diff.* 279 Nickau: *κόρυδος καὶ Κορύδαλος διαφέρει. κόρυδος μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὄρνειον, λέγεται δὲ Γῆς ἱερόν. Κορύδαλος δὲ δῆμος Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ᾧ Σωτείρας Κούρης ἱερόν.*

¹³ That *κούρη* might refer to Athena here was suggested long ago by L.K. Valckenaer (1787), *Ἀμμωνίου περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν λέξεων* (Erlangae), p. 84, followed by C.A. Lobeck (1829), *Aglaophamus sive de Theologiae Mysticae Graecorum Causis* (Königsberg), vol. 2, 980. Outside Attica, Kore Soteira is attested in e.g. Arcadia (Paus. 8.31.1-2), Laconia (Paus. 3.13.2), Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 201.a.49), Cyzicus (*FD* III.3 342).

¹⁴ Schol. vet. Pl. *Euthydemus* 291b Greene: *κόρυδοι ὄρνιθες ὄρνυξιν ὅμοιοι, οὗς ἐνιοὶ μὲν κορυδάλλουσι φασίν, Γῆς καὶ Ἀθηναῶς ἱεροί.* This is cited by Lobeck (n. 13).

¹⁵ As pointed out by Haldane (n. 10), 208-9 and Dover (n. 10), 244.

Known gods and goddesses bearing the title Soter/Soteira in Attica are Athena, Artemis, Asclepius, the Dioscuri, Zeus and Poseidon.¹⁶ Artemis Soteira received several private dedications in the Ceramicus and the Agora, and some Athenians dedicated to her while in military service away from Athens.¹⁷ Athena, long ago identified by the scholiast (ἔστι γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀθηναῖ Σώτειρα λεγομένη, ἧ καὶ θύουσιν) and supported by Haldane, is preferable for various reasons.¹⁸ That Soteira should be unnamed presupposes great familiarity among the audience, and Athena was undoubtedly the most familiar Saviouress to the Athenians. The martial tone of this passage also fits well with the goddess's military attributes.¹⁹ As the play was staged in 405 B.C. when the *soteria* of Athens was at stake, the city's patron goddess was the most appropriate goddess who would 'keep our (Attic) land safe for all time to come'. The deliverance of Athens from external or internal threats is the theme of several of Aristophanes' plays during the Peloponnesian War. The chorus of Aristophanes' *Knights* (424 B.C.) invokes Athena Poliouchos as the 'guardian of land that is the most sacred of all' (τῆς ἱερωτάτης ἀπασῶν μεδέουσα χώρας) who prevails over war and poetry. The women in the *Thesmophoriazousae* (411 B.C.) call upon Athena, who alone holds their city and manifest power and is called Keeper of the Keys (ἡ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει καὶ κράτος φανερόν μόνη κληδοῦχος τε καλεῖται). Many other passages too allude to Athena as the city's protectress, illustrating Solon's image of Athena holding her hand over the city of Athens.²⁰ Athena appears alongside Zeus Soter in many Attic inscriptions;²¹ they shared a shrine in the Piraeus and were honoured in the Attic festival *Diisoteria* with

¹⁶ Athena: *IG* II² 676, 690, 783, 1008, 1035, *Agora* XVI 186; Artemis: see the following note; Asclepius: *SEG* XIV 177, *IG* II² 3579, 3704, 4501, 4516, 4521a, 5180; the Dioscuri: *IG* II² 1291, 4796; Zeus: Ar. *Plut.* 1178-84, *SEG* XXXI 268, *IG* II² 380, 410, 448; Poseidon: *IG* II² 1300.9 (supplemented).

¹⁷ Artemis Soteira in Athens: *IG* II² 1343, 4631, 4695, *Hesperia* 10, p. 63 no. 28 (none of these gives any hint of her divine functions or dedicatory contexts). Dedications by Athenians away from Athens: *OGIS* 18 (perhaps by an officer in a garrison in Egypt), *I.Estremo Oriente*, no. 416 (Soteles and his soldiers on Ikaros in the Persian Gulf).

¹⁸ Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 378.

¹⁹ See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 6.305 (Athena is invoked as ἐρυσίπολις), *Hymn. Hom.* 5.10-11, 11.1-4, Hes. *Theog.* 924-6. In Greek art the goddess is typically depicted as a fully armed warrior: *LIMC* II.1 s.v. Athena, p. 969-76.

²⁰ Ar. *Eq.* 581-5, *Thesm.* 1136-42. See also Aesch. *Eum.* 288, 1001-2, Ar. *Eq.* 763, *Nub.* 601-2. Solon: fr. 4.1-4 West. On Athena as the protectress of Athens, see C.J. Herington (1955), *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester), 55-8; R. Parker (2005), *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford), 395-7.

²¹ Zeus Soter, mentioned twice in Ar. *Ran.* (lines 738, 1433), is alluded to as many as 11 times in Aristophanes' post-411 plays. Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira: e.g. *IG* II² 333 (see now *IG* II/III³ 445), 676, 689 (see *SEG* XLVI 134), 690, 783.

processions and sacrifices. In the Hellenistic period their joint cult is also attested in Rhamnous.²² If Athena is correctly identified as Soteira here, this would be the earliest attestation of Athena Soteira at Athens. A complication nevertheless arises: Athena Soteira does not appear in Attic epigraphic record until the 330s and always alongside her father. Why she was absent in the sources between 405 and the 330s is not at all clear.

Another unnamed Soteira is mentioned in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, in which Pericles asked the seer Lampon 'about initiation into the sacred rites of the Soteira' (περὶ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν τῆς σωτείρας ἱερῶν).²³ When Lampon replied that it was not possible for those not initiated to be told about them, Pericles asked how Lampon could have known about them when he himself was uninitiated. The Athenian context has led to the assumption that this concerned the Eleusinian Mysteries, and that Demeter or Kore was the saviour goddess here.²⁴ As Dover notes acutely, however, the point of the anecdote is that neither Pericles nor Lampon had been initiated into those sacred rites, hence the reference is unlikely to be to Eleusis. Many major and minor mysteries are attested in the Greek world.²⁵ Megalopolis in Arcadia, for example, has a mystery cult of the Great Goddesses (Megalai theai), Demeter and Kore, based on that in Eleusis, and Kore was called Soteira by the Arcadians.²⁶ Yet her mysteries must date to the period after the city's foundation in c. 370-367, and hence too late for the fifth century. Similar chronological problems are presented by the mysteries of Artemis in Ephesus and of Isis from Egypt, though the goddesses had

²² Piraeus: Lycurg. *Leoc.* 17, Paus. 1.1.3, Strabo 9.1.15, 396, *IG* II² 1035.15-16. *Diisoteria*: e.g. *IG* II² 380, 971, 1006, 1008, 3483, Parker (n. 20), 466-7. Rhamnous: B.C. Perakos (1999), *Ο Δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος* (Athens), nos. 22, 26, 31, 146, 148-53.

²³ Arist. *Rh.* 3.18, 1419a. Most manuscripts have *σωτείρας*, but some have *σωτηρίας*.

²⁴ Demeter: J.E.C. Welldon (1886), *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* (London), 298, n. 1; W.R. Roberts (1959), in *The Works of Aristotle Translated into English under the Editorship of W.D. Ross* (Oxford), vol. 11, ad loc. n. 2. Kore: Höfer in Roscher (n. 7), 1246; F. Graf (1974), *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, New York), 47-8, n. 37. Cf. Dover (n. 10), 244.

²⁵ On mystery cults, see e.g. M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.) (2003), *Greek Mysteries* (London), H. Bowden (2010), *Mystery Cults in the Greek World* (London). In Arcadia alone, for example, M. Jost (2003), 'Mystery Cults in Arcadia', in Cosmopoulos (ed.), 143-68, identifies no fewer than thirteen sanctuaries with mystery cults. See also F. Graf (2003), 'Lesser Mysteries — Not Less Mysterious', in Cosmopoulos (ed.), 241-62.

²⁶ Paus. 8.31.1-2, 7, Jost (n. 25), 153 (on the disputed date of the mysteries' establishment). R. Stiglitz (1967), *Die grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens* (Wien), 34 n. 7, suggests that the unnamed Soteira in the dedicatory inscription *IG* V.2 524 refers to Kore Soteira in Megalopolis, but M. Jost (1970), 'Les grandes deesses d'Arcadie', *REA* 72 (1970), 138-51, at 146-7, considers Artemis in Lykosura more probable.

the title Soteira.²⁷ More probable are the mysteries of Kore at Cyzicus on the Propontis. Tradition had it that the city was given by Zeus to Kore as her dowry upon her marriage to Hades, and there she was honoured above all the gods. Fourth-century silver coins of the city bear the image of her head (wreathed by ears of corn) and the word Soteira, which suggests that the cult of Kore Soteira was popular from at least the fourth century on.²⁸ Initiates of her mysteries are mentioned in many inscriptions of imperial date, one of which speaks explicitly of ‘the Great Mysteries of Kore Soteira’ (μεγάλα μ[υ]στήρια τῆς Σωτήρας Κόρης).²⁹ It is unclear how far back her mysteries go, but they probably feature in the third-century treatise *Περὶ τελετῶν* by Neanthes of Cyzicus.³⁰ A Panhellenic festival called the *Soteria* was instituted in honour of Kore in the late third or early second century B.C.³¹ Yet the precise nature of her mysteries and the kind of blessings that they conferred remain little known.

A recently published text from Aigai in Aiolis has brought to light another Soteira. Inscribed on the front side of an opisthographic stele broken at the top, the decree concerns the establishment of divine honours for Seleucus I and Antiochus I immediately after Seleucus’ victory over Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedium in

²⁷ See G.M. Rogers (2012), *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesus* (New Haven, London); H. Bowden (n. 25), ch. 8; L. Bricault (2013), *Les cultes isiaques dans le monde gréco-romain* (Paris).

²⁸ App. *Mith.* 75. On Kore in Kyzicus, see W. Hasluck (1910), *Cyzicus* (Cambridge), 210-3; L. Robert (1978), ‘Documents d’Asie Mineure’, *BCH* 102, 395-543, at 460-77 (= *Documents d’Asie Mineure* [1987], 91-239, at 156-73). Coins: *BMC Mysia* p. 36, nos. 124-33; *SNG Copenhagen, Mysia* nos. 53-6, 58-62; *SNG von Aulock, Mysien* nos. 1217-26; F.F. Sandstrom (1993), ‘The Fourth Century B.C. Silver ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ Coinage of Cyzicus: the Question of the Fractions’, in C. Courtois, H. Dewit and V. van Driessche (eds), *Actes du XIe Congrès international de numismatique = Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress* (Louvain-la-Neuve), vol. I, 243-7.

²⁹ μεγάλα μ[υ]στήρια: M. Barth and J. Stauber (eds) (1996), *Inschriften Mysia & Troas* (Munich) (= *IMT*) no. 1445 = *BCH* 14 (1890), 537-8, no. 2; μύσται: e.g. *IMT* nos. 1455, 1457, 1459-60, 1463-4, 1468, 1570-1 (= *IG* XII.8 191-2); μυστάρχης: *IMT* nos. 1459-61, 1464, 1467, 1476 (= *CIG* 3662), 1866 (= *CIG* 3678); μυστηριάχης: *IMT* no. 1401 (= *CIG* 3666).

³⁰ *FGrHist* 84 F 15 = Ath. 9.18.

³¹ See the oracle and the fragmentary decrees collected in K.J. Rigsby (1996), *Asyilia* (Berkeley, London), 342-4, nos. 165-71; C. Habicht (2005), ‘Notes on Inscriptions from Cyzicus’, *EA* 38 (2005), 93-100, at 95-6; C. Habicht (2010), ‘The City of Kyzikos, Client of Oracles’, in G. Reger, F.X. Ryan and T.F. Winters (2010), *Studies in Greek Epigraphy and History in Honor of Stephen V. Tracy* (Borgeaux), 311-22 (who argues for the festival’s foundation around 180). Previously the documents were thought to concern the festival of Soteria in honour of Artemis Soteira in Megara. Kore’s festival was variously called *Soteria*, *Koreia* (Posidonius *FGrHist* 87 F 28 = Strabo 2.3.4), *Phersephassia* (Plut. *Luc.* 10), and *ἱερόν Κόρης Ἰσοπύθειον* (*AEM* 8 (1884), 219-20, no. 49).

281 B.C.³² In return for the kings' benefactions, a temple was to be constructed next to the precinct of Apollo (Chresterios).³³ There would be two cult statues bearing the names of Seleucus and Antiochus, and an altar inscribed 'Of Saviours Seleucus and Antiochus', upon which the priest would perform the opening sacrificial rites in assembly meetings. In front of the temple were to be a statue and an altar of Soteira. The cult title Soter/Soteres, traditionally reserved for the gods, was here conferred on the kings on account of their liberating the city from Lysimachus' rule: Seleucus I and Antiochus I were 'saviours' of Aigai in the sense of liberators.³⁴

Who was the Soteira (Decree I = *SEG* LIX 1406 A, line 11) whose statue and altar were to be erected outside the new temple? Athena may find support from the end of the text, which provides for two copies of the decree to be set up, one in the sanctuary of Apollo, and the other in the sanctuary of Athena next to the altar of Zeus Soter (lines 61-5). This seems to imply a joint cult or shrine shared by Athena and Zeus in Aigai, and Athena is very likely to be called Soteira when paired with Zeus Soter.³⁵ It is tempting to see in the pairing of Athena (Soteira?) and Zeus Soter the influence of Pergamum, where the divine pair appeared often in inscriptions (but did

³² H. Malay and M. Riel (2009), 'Two New Hellenistic Decrees from Aigai in Aiolis', *EA* 42, 39-60, no. 1 (= *SEG* LIX 1406 A). On Aigai in the Classical period, see L. Rubinstein (2004), 'Aiolis and South-Western Mysia', in M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds) (2004), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Polis* (Oxford), 1033-52, at 1038-9, no. 801. On the remains at Aigai, see Bohn and Schuchhardt (1899), *Altertümer von Aegae* (Berlin); R. Stillwell, W.L. MacDonald and M.H. McAllister (eds) (1976), *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton), 19, s.v. Aigai; and bibliography in Malay and Riel (n. 32), 42, n. 5.

³³ Apollo Chresterios was the main deity of Aigai. Later, in 46-44 B.C., it was to Apollo Chresterios that the people of Aigai set up a thank-offering after being saved ($\sigma\omega[\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma]$) from a crisis by Publius Servilius Isauricus: *OGIS* 450 = *IGR* IV 1178.

³⁴ See lines 19-20 of Decree I = *SEG* LIX 1406 A: there were to be two sacrifices each month on the day the city became free ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tilde{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta[\epsilon\rho]\iota \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$). The same epithet Soter was given to Seleucus I after he delivered ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) the Athenians on Lemnos from the bitter rule of Lysimachus after Corupedium: see Ath. 254f-255a = Phylarchos *FGrH* 81 F 29, with discussion in J.D. Grainger (1997), *A Seleucid Prosopography and Gazetteer* (Leiden), 57.

³⁵ The pair Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira is attested in e.g. the Piraeus, Rhamnous (see n. 22), Cos (*IG* XII.4 407, 350, 358.16, 28-9) and Delos (*I.Délos* 371-2, 396, 442-3, 456, *SEG* XXXV 882, *I.Délos* 2605, 2607-8). On the pairing of Soter and Soteira, see also *CIRB* 36 = *IosPE* II 29 (Zeus Soter and Hera Soteira in Pantikapaion, third century A.D.). Zeus and Athena were honoured under the same epithet in different parts of Greece: e.g. Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania at Sparta (Plut. *Lyc.* 6.1), Zeus Xenios and Athena Xenia at Sparta (Paus. 3.11.11), Zeus Apotropaïos and Athena Apotropaïa at Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 201.a.35-46), Zeus Patrios and Athena Patria on Anaphe (*IG* XII.3 262), and other instances collected in L. Preller and C. Robert (1894-1926), *Griechische Mythologie* (Berlin), vol. 1, 220, n. 4; L.R. Farnell (1896-1906), *Cults of the Greek State* (Oxford), vol. 1, 412, n. 116; and Brulé (n. 1), 329 n. 89. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find Zeus Soter alongside Athena with another epithet in inscriptions: see n. 44.

not have a joint cult).³⁶ It would, however, be anachronistic to attribute their presence at Aigai to Attalid influence. After the battle of Corupedium in 281 B.C., Aigai remained under Seleucid control at least until the time of Eumenes I and possibly later; and it was not until 218 B.C.,³⁷ when Attalus I supplanted the Seleucids as the ruler north of the Taurus, that Aigai is clearly attested as transferring its allegiance to Attalus I.³⁸ Earlier in the third century, dedications made by Philetaerus (founder of the Attalid dynasty) to Apollo Chresterios in Aigai only indicate the dynast's attempt to cultivate relations with the city and/or its god, but not Pergamene authority over Aigai.³⁹ If the joint cult of Athena and Zeus Soter existed in Aigai in the early Hellenistic period (as the present inscription seems to suggest), it most probably developed independently from Pergamene influence. The general popularity of Athena and Zeus among soldiers fits well the present context where a military crisis was involved.⁴⁰ Athena is depicted on the obverse of the third-century coins of Aigai;⁴¹ Athena and Zeus (symbolized by a thunderbolt) feature on the coins of a nearby community Olympos, with which Aigai signed a treaty in the late fourth century B.C. or the third.⁴² Of the three temples in the north-western corner of the acropolis, the Doric one surrounded by stoas on two sides has been attributed to Athena.⁴³ Taken together, these pieces of evidence make Athena a strong candidate for Soteira.

³⁶ In Pergamum the pair usually appears in dedicatory inscriptions as Athena (Nikephoros or without epithet) and Zeus (without epithet), not Athena Soteira and Zeus Soter, though an altar of Zeus Soter existed in Pergamum. See e.g. *I.Pergamon* nos. 29 (both without epithet), 51-6, 58, 60, 63, 65-6, 69, 151 (both without epithet), 214, 225. E. Ohlmutz (1940), *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (Darmstadt), 31-2, points out that their frequent occurrence together is due to their genealogy, not a shared cult in Pergamum.

³⁷ E.V. Hansen (1971), *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca, London), 39; R.E. Allen (1983), *The Attalid Kingdom* (Oxford), 16-8, 26.

³⁸ See Polyb. 5.77, with commentary in F.W. Walbank (1957-79), *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford), vol. 1, 603. Pergamene influence and patronage after 218 explains the resemblances in city plan and architecture between Pergamum and Aigai: see L. Robert (1937), *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris), 75-89, esp. 82ff.; Hansen (n. 37), 285-7.

³⁹ Philetaerus' dedications: *SEG* XXXVI 1110, *CIG* 3527 = *OGIS* 312, discussed in Hansen (n. 37), 18; Allen (n. 37), 18-19. Later, Eumenes I similarly dedicated land to Apollo Chresterios: see boundary stone in H. Malay (1999), *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis* (Wien), no. 3 (= *SEG* XLIX 1746).

⁴⁰ Association with soldiers: e.g. *I.Pergamon* 29, *IG* IV² 765, *OGIS* 301, *I.Kition* no. 2003.

⁴¹ Coins: W. Wroth (1894), *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in British Museum. Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos* (London), 94-5, nos. 1 (third century B.C.), 11, 15 (second and first centuries B.C.).

⁴² Treaty: H.H. Schmitt (1969), *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, III (Munich), no. 456. It used to be thought that the coins belonged to Lycian Olympos, but L. Robert (1955), 'Monnaies d'Olympos', *Hellenica* 10, 178-87, attributed them to the Aeolian Olympos.

⁴³ Bohn and Schuchhardt (n. 32), 35ff. (with description), followed by Hansen (n. 37), 286, Malay and Riel (n. 32), 47 n. 26.

It is not uncommon, however, to find Zeus Soter alongside Athena of a different epithet.⁴⁴ Could Soteira have been any other goddess than Athena? Other known goddesses worshipped in Aigai include Hestia, Demeter, Kore, and Artemis.⁴⁵ Artemis features in a third-century B.C. inscription discovered about five kilometers south-east of ancient Aigai, concerning royal taxation levied at the city. After mentioning various kinds of taxes payable to the king in side A, side B of the text provides for the restoration of property to the people, and it ends with the warning that anyone who acts contrary to the present provisions may, along with his descendants, be destroyed by Apollo, Zeus, Artemis and Athena (Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσει καὶ αὐ<τὸν> καὶ ἐ[γγ]λόγους).⁴⁶ These must have been the major gods honoured in Aigai, and the order in which they were named may suggest that Artemis was more prominent than Athena in Aigai's local pantheon. Although the king who presumably issued this decree cannot be identified with certainty,⁴⁷ the text at least attests to the cult of Artemis in a third-century date that may be contemporaneous with our new inscription. Its use of stoichedon, though not a decisive dating criterion, may favour a date before c. 250 B.C.⁴⁸ According to this decree, the inhabitants of this rural community had been deprived of their land, vineyards and houses (ἀφηρερημένα) (presumably during some crisis, perhaps a war?), and now the king restored (ἀπέδωκεν) these to the people. Might the crisis be linked to the regime of Lysimachus until 281 or the war with him in that year, and might the restoration of property constitute one of Antiochus I's benefactions that earned him

⁴⁴ E.g. Zeus Soter and Athena Nike in *I.Priene* no. 11.28-9 = W. Blümel, R. Merkelbach and F. Rumscheid (2014), *Die Inschriften von Priene* (Bonn), no. 6.28-9; Zeus Soter and Athena Nikephoros in *OGIS* 301 (Panion in Thrace), *I.Kition* no. 2003 (Kition on Cyprus); Zeus (without epithet) and Athena Nikephoros in Pergamum (see n. 36); Zeus Soter and Athena Despoina (Din. *In Demosthenem* 36).

⁴⁵ Bohn and Schuchhardt (n. 32), 34 (Zeus Bollaios and Hestia Bollaia, Aeolic dialect for Boulaios/Boulaia), 41-2 (temple of Demeter, Kore and σύνναοι θεοί).

⁴⁶ H. Malay (1983), 'A Royal Document from Aigai in Aiolis', *GRBS* 24, 349-53 (= *SEG* XXXIII 1034), C. Chandezon (2003), *L'Élevage en Grèce (fin Ve-fin Ier s. a.C.): l'apport des sources épigraphiques* (Bordeaux), 201-5, no. 52. The precedence given to Apollo here confirms Apollo Chresterios' place as the chief deity in Aigai.

⁴⁷ Malay (n. 46), *GRBS* 24, suggests Antiochus I. I. Savalli-Lestrade, *REG* 105 (1992), 227 (= *SEG* XLII 1106), attributes it to Antiochus II. H.S. Lund (1992), *Lysimachus: A Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (New York), 149-50 (= *SEG* LXII 1793) considers the possibility of Lysimachus.

⁴⁸ Malay (n. 46) suggests a date in the early third century based on letter forms (except xi) and the stoichedon style. But R. Descat (2003), 'Qu'est-ce que l'économie royale?', in F. Prost (ed.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée* (Rennes), 149-68, at 160-5, suggests c. 310-300 as the *terminus ante quem* on palaeographic grounds: the xi with a vertical bar and the use of stoichedon (*SEG* LIII 1363). Cf. R.P. Austin (1938), *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (London), 113-18, who gives examples of stoichedon texts later than c. 250 B.C.

the title of Soter?⁴⁹ Artemis Soteira is widely attested in the Greek world and often associated with war; in Asia Minor her cult is found in, for example, Ephesus, Magnesia on the Maeander, and perhaps Erythrai.⁵⁰ In the absence of her attestation among the admittedly few surviving inscriptions from Aigai, the possibility of Artemis Soteira remains uncertain but at least deserves to be considered.

Had her cult statue survived in Aigai, Soteira's identity would have been apparent to us. Such is the case of another Soteira, referred to in a remarkable statement of personal piety in Roman Epidaurus: *Λυσίμαχος τῆ ἔμαντοῦ σωτείρη καὶ Τελεσφόρω* ('Lysimachos to my Soteira and to Telesphoros').⁵¹ To emphasize his personal relations with his saviour goddess, Lysimachos qualified Soteira with *ἔμαντοῦ* but without making explicit who she was.⁵² This must be obvious to the viewers, as the text was inscribed on a statue base carrying a marble statue of Hygieia, represented as a young woman standing with a snake draped around her shoulders, which she feeds from (a *phiale* in?) her hands (now missing).⁵³ Lysimachos must have appealed to Hygieia to cure him, recovered from some illness, and set up this statue in honour of the goddess. In this as in several other cases, Soteira need not be named as the accompanying object speaks for itself, even if we cannot exclude the possibility that a goddess might be given the statue of another god/goddess.⁵⁴ A first-century limestone block found reused in the Rhodian *peraia* of Loryma in Caria is inscribed

⁴⁹ Cf. Ath. 254f-255a = Phylarchos *FGrH* 81 F 29: Seleucus I not only delivered the Athenians on Lemnos from Lysimachus' rule, but also gave back (*ἀπέδωκεν*) both cities to them.

⁵⁰ E.g. *I.Ephesos* 1265, *I.Magnesia* 80.29, *I.Erythrai* 201+207+SEG XXX 1327.

⁵¹ *IG IV*² 570; V. Staïs (1910), *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée National* (Athens), 92, no. 272; *LIMC* s.v. Hygieia, no. 120; N.C. Stampolidis and Y Tassoulas (eds.) (2014), *Hygieia: Health, Illness, Treatment from Homer to Galen* (Athens), 208-10, no. 73.

⁵² Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 2: *σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι ξύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένω*. Other examples of 'my' or 'our' qualifying the name of gods are e.g. G. Manganaro (1965), 'Le Iscrizioni delle isole Milesie', *ASAA* n.s. 25-26, 293-349, at 324-5, no. 24 (*Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἡμετέρας*); *I.Smyrna* 766 (an elegiac couplet praising the River Meles as *σωτήρ μου*); *CIRB* 979 = *IosPE* II 356 (queen Dynamis as *ἑαυτῶν σωτέριρα καὶ εὐε[ργέτι]ς* of the demos of Agrippia); *BE* (1961), no. 826 (oath of a Cypriot community to Tiberius).

⁵³ Hygieia, identified long ago by M. Fraenkel in *IG IV*¹ 1333, is extremely likely to be meant. A priest of Hygieia Soteira is attested in Roman Epidaurus in *IG IV*² 419 (third century A.D.). Other goddesses called Soteira in Epidaurus are Artemis and perhaps Tyche. Artemis: *IG IV*² 277, 506, 516, Peek (1972), *Neue Inschriften aus Epidaurus* (Berlin), no. 56 (supplement). Tyche: W. Peek (1969), *Asklepieion* (n. 7), no. 334 (supplemented).

⁵⁴ The practice of dedicating a god's image to another god is not uncommon, as discussed in B. Alroth, 'Visiting Gods — Who and Why', in T. Linders and G. Nordquist (1981), *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* (Uppsala), 9-19.

with *Σόφων Σωτείραι· Ἀθανόδωρος ἐποίησε.*⁵⁵ Its niche (in the form of an aedicula) probably once held a statuette which no longer survives. Artemis is very likely to have been meant and represented, as is suggested by comparison with another dedication in Loryma: Aristomenes dedicated to Soteira Bacchia (*Ἀρι[στο]μῆνης Σωτ[ε]ραι Β[α]κχίαι*)⁵⁶ a statuette in white marble, representing Artemis striding forward in a short tunic and with a quiver over her left arm.⁵⁷ The cult of Artemis Soteira might have travelled with some worshippers from Rhodes to its *peraia* Loryma.⁵⁸ On a much smaller scale, but no less intense in personal piety, is a terracotta figurine thought to be from Asia Minor, depicting Artemis in a short tunic with a hare and a deer, and inscribed simply with *ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ* on its back.⁵⁹ Might some dedicators have been constrained by space or cost of inscribing to engrave simply Soteira?⁶⁰ Even if economy of space and cost was a factor, it is still very telling that the last individual, in choosing one word to engrave, should put Soteira rather than, for example, the goddess's name or his own.

Dedications aside, we also find Soteira and its cognates or variants used alone in other contexts. Attic naval catalogues of the fourth century attest to Athenian

⁵⁵ *I.Rhod.Per.* no. 7 (c. 40 B.C.), *I.Pér. rhod.* no. 205 (c. 60-41 B.C.); O. Benndorf and G. Niemann (1884), *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* (Vienna), vol. 1, 22, with fig. 18 (drawing). Athanodoros (*LGPN* I s.v. Athanodoros (13)) was a well-known artist in the first century B.C.

⁵⁶ *I.Rhod.Per.* no. 6 (with bibliography), *I.Pér.rhod.* no. 200; L.R. Farnell (n. 35), vol. 2, 535, with pl. XXXIIa (photo); A.H. Smith (1904), *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London), 21, no. 1559 (with detailed description); F.H. Marshall (1916), *GIBM* IV.2 no. 1040 (with drawing); D.F. McCabe (1991), *Rhodian Peraia Inscriptions* (Princeton), no. 6. The monument has been variously dated: 4th/3rd century B.C. (Marshall in *GIBM* based on letter forms, followed by Blümel in *I.Rhod.Per.*, *LGPN* I s.v. Aristomenes (43), and McCabe), second half of the second century or first half of the first century B.C. (Bresson in *I.Pér.rhod.*), or 1st century B.C.? (Smith). *Βάκχος* is an epithet of Dionysus; the use of *Βακχία* as an epithet of Artemis is not otherwise attested.

⁵⁷ Farnell (n. 56) noted its similarity with Artemis (Soteira)'s iconography on the coins of Megara and Pagae — clad in a short tunic and running with a torch in each hand — modelled perhaps on the statue fashioned by Strongylion in Megara for Artemis Soteira, who was thus named for saving the Megarian troops from the Persians (Paus. 1.40.2-3, 44.4). Bresson (n. 55), no. 200 suggests that Aristomenes' statuette could be placed exactly in the niche of Sophon's limestone block, but the two objects have not been connected by other scholars.

⁵⁸ Artemis Soteira on Rhodes: *IG* XII.1 915 (Lartos, undated), see also 914 (Lartos, not after third century B.C.).

⁵⁹ E. Pottier and S. Reinach (1883), 'Inscriptions sur les figurines en terre-cuite', *BCH* 7, 204-30, 205, no. 5 (date not specified; 'provient sans doute d'Asie Mineure').

⁶⁰ Space is not an issue in Lysimachos' and Aristomenes' marble dedications (more space is available). I have not seen a photo of the terracotta statuette in the above note.

warships called *Σωζομένη*, *Σώζουσα*, *Σωσίπολις*, *Σώτειρα* and *Σωτηρία*.⁶¹ These are normally used in religious contexts as titles of Greek divinities, but comparison with other names of Athenian warships in this period shows that the majority of warships were named using abstractions with positive connotations (such as *Boetheia*, *Euploia* and *Pronoia*), and it has therefore been suggested that these were chosen for their literal meanings rather named after known divinities. It is not until later, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, that we find warships in various parts of the Greek world named after major gods or goddesses (such as *Artemis*, *Athena*, *Asclepius*, *Heracles*, *Poseidon* and so on).⁶² This overlap between divine naming and ship naming is nevertheless interesting: both reflect a tendency to project the desired results onto the names, and both tend to focus attention on what was auspicious or favourable to important enterprises.

Less clear in meaning and religious significance are several anchors inscribed with various forms of the word *Soteira*: *Σώτειρα* (one from the island of Syme near Caria but now at Athens, and another from the Bay of Bon-Porte), *Σώτρα* (Corsica), and *Σώτιρα* (Cagliari).⁶³ Different interpretations have been advanced: are these referring to the anchor's role as the 'saviouress' of the ship, the names of ships to which the anchors belonged, the gods/goddesses to whom the anchors were dedicated,

⁶¹ *Σωζομένη*: *IG II²* 1611.378; *Σώζουσα*: *IG II²* 1609.83, 1631.38-39 (supplemented), 1632.20, *Plut. Mor.* 1057E; *Σωσίπολις*: *IG II²* 1604.70, 1607.47 (partly supplemented), 1611.95, 1612.17; *Σώτειρα*: *IG II²* 1611.149; *Σωτηρία*: *IG II²* 1607.22, 1611.101, 1622.729. *Anth. Pal.* 11.331 further attests to a ship named *Σωτήριχος* (probably not genuine): it is a literary exercise which deliberately plays on the boat's name 'saviour' but had no *soteria*. No Attic warship was called *Σωτήρ* in the Classical period presumably because the Athenians customarily named their warships in feminine form.

⁶² Names of Attic warships are usefully collected in F. Miltner (1931), *RE Supplementband V* (Stuttgart), 906-62, s.v. Seewesen, at 946-52 and K. Schmidt (1931), *Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe* (diss. Leipzig), 96-9. On names of ships, see also N. Sandburg (1954), *Euploia: études épigraphiques* (Gothenburg), 14, 42-3; L. Casson (1971), *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton), 348-60; J.L. Shear (1995), 'Fragments of Naval Inventories from the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 64, 179-224, at 186-8.

⁶³ Anchors: P.A. Gianfrotta (1980), 'Ancore «Romane». Nuovi materiali per lo studio dei traffici marittimi', in J.H. D'Arms and E.C. Kopff (eds) (1980), *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History* (Rome), 103-16, at 109, with figs 16-19; P.A. Gianfrotta (1994), 'Note di Epigrafia «Marittima»: Aggiornamenti su Tappi d'Anfora, Ceppi d'Ancora e Altro', in *Epigrafia della Produzione e della Distribuzione* (Rome), 591-608 (= *SEG XLIV* 1679), at 602-3; M.R. Recio (1999), 'Inscripcion a Zeus Casio y Afrodita sobre ancla de plomo hallada en 1905', *Ostraka* 8, 541-9 (= *SEG XLIX* 1408); M.R. Recio (2000), *Culto Marítimo y Religiosidad de Navegantes en el Munde Griego Antiguo* (Oxford), 55ff. Both Gianfrotta and Recio mention another anchor similarly inscribed (apparently with a form of *Soteria* or similar), from Sardinia and now in private possession, but without giving the actual inscription (I have not been able to track this down).

or the divinities with whom sailors were connected? That they were inscribed at the time of production may militate against their use as ‘converted’ offerings, that is, anchors used originally at sea and dedicated later to the gods in secondary use.⁶⁴ Comparison with Athenian warships called *Soteira* (or similar) and with anchors bearing gods’ names with or without epithets mostly in the nominative — such as *Ἀρτέμιδος*, *Δελφίνιος*, *Ἥρα*, *Ἡρακλῆς*, *Ζεὺς Ὑπατος*, *Ζεὺς Κάσιος*, and *Τύχη*⁶⁵ — seems to suggest that these might be ships’ names. Yet a lead anchor from Cartagena in Spain was inscribed with *Ζεὺς Κάσιος Σώζων* on one side and *Ἀφροδίτη Σώζουσα* on the other at production stage (third to first century B.C.), making it unlikely that we have the name(s) of a ship or two ships here.⁶⁶ It is perhaps not a coincidence that the phrase *Ἀφροδίτη σῶζουσα* appears below a ship in a painting in Pompeii.⁶⁷ Aphrodite is further mentioned on a marble anchor from fifth-century Aegina, inscribed with *Ἀφροδίτ- - | [Ε]πιλιμεν- -*. We also find the Latin inscription *Venus* inscribed in reverse direction on an anchor from Maratea, and *Veneri* paired with *Iovi* in dative on another anchor from Palermo.⁶⁸ It has been pointed out that inscribed anchors were predated by anchors with pictographs, one of the commonest of which depicts a set of four astragaloi arranged to show the ‘Venus throw’.⁶⁹ These pieces of evidence suggest that the favour of Aphrodite must have been important for seafarers, which is not surprising given her maritime

⁶⁴ Greg Votruba informed me that the texts were engraved at production stage rather than added later. But *some* other inscribed anchors were indeed intended as dedications: a well-known example is the stone anchor from Tarquinia (c. 500 B.C.), dedicated by a wealthy merchant Sostratos of Aegina to Aeginetan Apollo: see *SEG XXVI 1137*, *ThesCRA I*, 311 no. 183, cf. *Hdt* 4.152. See also Phayllos’ anchor dedication to Zeus Milichios (early fifth century B.C.): *SEG XVII 442*, D.E. McCaslin (1980), *Stone Anchors in Antiquity* (Gothenburg), 50, *IGDGG I*, II no. 90. ‘Converted’ offerings: A.M. Snodgrass (1989-90), ‘The Economics of Dedication at Greek Sanctuaries’, *ScAnt* 3-4, 287-94, esp. 291-2.

⁶⁵ Most of these anchor inscriptions are in the nominative, but a few are in the genitive or dative. See Gianfrotta (1994, n. 63), 600ff (= *SEG XLIV 1679*). M. Sève, *BE* (1995), no. 121: ‘il doit s’agir le plus souvent de noms de navires’.

⁶⁶ Recio (n. 63) (= *SEG XLIX 1408*).

⁶⁷ A. Maiuri (1958), ‘Navalia Pompeiana’, *RAAN* 33, 7-34, at 16 with tav. iv = Gianfrotta (1980, n. 63), fig. 19; *BE* 1960, no. 457.

⁶⁸ *IG IV*² 1005 (with bibliography). The text has been restored as *Ἀφροδίτ[α]ς|Ε]πιλιμεν[ία]ς* or *Ἀφροδίτ[α]ι|Ε]πιλιμεν[ία]ι*. Scholars’ varying interpretations are summarized in I. Polinskaya (2013), *A Local History of Greek Polytheism* (Leiden), 197-9, with fig. 9. Venus, Veneri/Iovi: Gianfrotta (1994), 601-2.

⁶⁹ G. Votruba (forthcoming).

associations.⁷⁰ Must we suppose, therefore, that the anchor inscriptions *Σώτειρα*, *Σώτρα* and *Σώτιρα* refer to Aphrodite as the protective goddess of mariners? Despite her many epithets related to the sea, however, Aphrodite is never called *Σώτειρα* in the available evidence,⁷¹ nor are there other attestations of Aphrodite *Σώζουσα* except the two already mentioned.⁷²

Similar interpretative problems are presented by a group of bronze strigils from Central Italy. Eleven of these are stamped, apparently at production stage, with *Σώτειρα*, and one with *Σώζουσα*.⁷³ It is uncertain whether they refer to the name of their manufacturer,⁷⁴ the protective divinity of the workshop,⁷⁵ Fortuna who was the chief goddess at Praeneste (where a lot of these came from),⁷⁶ or the abstraction *soteria* personified.⁷⁷ Yet the distinction between the various interpretations is fine

⁷⁰ Aphrodite has many epithets related to the sea, e.g. Euploia ('Fair-Sailing'), Galenaia ('Calmer'), Pontia ('of the Deep Sea'), Pelagia ('of the Open Sea'), Limenia ('of the Harbour'). On Aphrodite and the sea, see e.g. the opening lines of Lucretius Book I; V. Pirenne-Delforge (1994), *L'Aphrodite grecque* (Athens, Leige), esp. 433-9; R. Parker (2002), 'Cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia on Cos', in H. F. J. Horstmanshoff, H. W. Singor, F. T. Van Straten, and J. H. M. Strubbe (eds) (2002), *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel* (Leiden), 143-60; V. Pirenne-Delforge (2007), "'Something to do with Aphrodite": *Ta Aphrodisia* and the Sacred', in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Malden, MA; Oxford), 311-23, esp. 316-8.

⁷¹ The few instances cited by Höfer in W.H. Roscher (1909-1915), s.v. Soteira, 1238 are all doubtful or misinterpretations.

⁷² *Σώζουσα* is attested as an epithet for other deities, e.g. Eileithyia (*IG* II.2 4793, *IG* XII.5 1022: *Εἰλειθυίη σωζούση ἐπισωζούση*), Moirai (*IGBULG* I.2 no. 305(4) = *SEG* XXIV 902). See also Höfer in W.H. Roscher (1909-1915), *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig), IV, 1286 s.v. Sozusa; Honigmann (1927), *RE* V (Stuttgart), 1257 s.v. Sozousa.

⁷³ R. Garrucci (1864), *Dissertazioni archeologiche* (Rome), 133-42; V. Jolivet (1995), 'Un foyer d'hellénisation en Italie centrale et son rayonnement (IVe-IIIe s. av. J.-C.). Préneste et la diffusion des strigiles inscrits en grec', in P. Arcelin, M. Bats, D. Garcia, G. Marchand and M. Schwaller (eds), *Sur les pas des Grecs en Occident* (Paris), 445-57 (= *SEG* XLIV 799). Where the provenance is known, six came from Praeneste (Jolivet nos. 87-92), one each from Musarna (no. 84), Barbarano Romano (no. 85 bis), and Orvieto (no. 86) in Central Italy, and one from the island of Corsica (no. 85).

⁷⁴ Cf. other strigils stamped with what appears to be the workshop owner's name (sometimes preceded by the preposition *para*): e.g. *Ἀπολλοῶρω* (sic, nos. 2-62), *παρ' Ἄνδρωνος*, *παρ' Ἀπολλωνίδα*, *παρ Δαμοθάλεος*, *παρ Συμμάχου*, *παρ Χρησίμου εἰμί* (Jolivet nos. 66-80).

⁷⁵ C. Friederichs (1871), *Berlins antike Bildwerke. II* (Düsseldorf), 90, no. 212: 'Göttin die Schutzpatronin der Fabrik'.

⁷⁶ Tyche Soteira is rare in the Greek world; early instances all come from Greek poetry and do not allude to any actual cult: Pind. *Ol.* 12.2, Aesch. *Ag.* 664 (Tyche Soter: E. Fraenkel ad loc. discusses the common habit in tragedy of combining an agent noun with a feminine substantive), Soph. *OT* 80-1 (Tyche Soter), *MAMA* IV 143.D.5 (*βωμὸς Τύχης Σωτηρίου*, 14-19 A.D.), Peek (1969), *I.Eph* 1238 (statue of Tyche Soteira, second century A.D.), *I.Eph* 3220 (So[teira?] Tyche, undated), *Inscriptionen aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (Berlin), no. 334 (Tyche S[oteira], 297 A.D.?).

⁷⁷ *ILLRP* 132 = *CIL* I² 62 attests to an *ara Salutis* at Praeneste; here Salus appears to be a deified abstraction rather than Fortuna. On the cults of Salus (also attested in Rome, Pisaurum and Horta), see H.L. Axtell (1907, repr. 1987), *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (New York), 13-15; A.J. Clark (2007), *Divine Qualities* (Oxford), 50-4, 165-6. On personifications

and fluid: to name a ship or a bronze workshop after Soteira was surely to entrust the enterprise to the goddess's protection (whatever her divine name might be), and the very choice of the word Soteira implies individuals' close connection with the saviour goddess and their hope for *soteria*. Ships thus named and anchors and strigils thus inscribed (whatever their precise reference may be) reflect worshippers' hope for safety and protection in potentially dangerous enterprises. While the form of the word used (Soteira, Soteria, Sozousa etc.) and the identity of the goddess might vary from one context to another, what is fundamental is worshippers' need for divine protection amid the uncertainties of their undertakings.

Soteria was such a central concern to the ancient Greeks that the abstract concept itself could receive cult and worship. In Epidaurus, an altar found in building E in the sanctuary of Asclepius bears a single word *Σωτηρίας*.⁷⁸ If one is pressed to supply a divine name for the goddess, Artemis would seem probable as she received at least two altars inscribed with *Ἀρτέμιδος* (or *Ἀρτέμιτος*) *Σωτείρας* in the genitive, and she had a small temple immediately south of building E.⁷⁹ However, the abstract noun Soteria (not the feminine agent noun Soteira) may suggest that a cult of the abstract *soteria* is concerned. Might the prevalence of saviour gods and goddesses in Epidaurus have encouraged the development of the cult of *soteria* itself?⁸⁰ The possibility that *soteria* could receive cult is supported by parallels elsewhere in the Peloponnese. Pausanias tells us that the Achaean city of Patrae had a sanctuary of Soteria with a stone image, founded by the local hero Eurypylus when cured of his madness.⁸¹ If Pausanias' aetiology may be relied upon, it would imply that the cult of Soteria had a long history going back to shortly after the Trojan War. But while the concern for physical and/or mental recovery must always have existed, the actual concept of *soteria* did not emerge in the sources until the Persian Wars (and was not

cults, see L. Deubner (1909), 'Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe', in Roscher (1902-9), *Lexikon* (n. 72), III.2, 2068-2169; E. Stafford (2000), *Worshipping Virtues: Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece* (London).

⁷⁸ *IG IV*¹ 1319 and *IG IV*² 310 has *Σωτηρίαι*, but W. Peek, *Asklepieion* (n. 7), no. 133, thinks that *Σωτηρίας* is to be read. Below *Σωτηρίας* is a circular symbol and the letters *ιθ'*: see *IG IV*¹ p. 190, no. 48 (not no. 49 as in *IG IV* ad loc.).

⁷⁹ *IG IV*² 277, 506, 516. See n. 53 for known Soteirai at Epidaurus.

⁸⁰ Saviour gods and goddesses attested in Epidaurus include Apollo, Artemis, Asclepius, Dionysus, Hygieia, Telesphoros, Zeus, and possibly Tyche. See n. 53 for references to Soteirai.

⁸¹ Paus. 7.19.6-20.1 (Eurypylus), 21.6-7 (Soteria at Patrae). For traditions on Eurypylus, see also J. Herbillon (1929), *Les Cultes de Patras* (Baltimore), 123-9 (Dionysus Aesymnetes), 153-6 (Soteria); D. Gondicas in *LIMC* IV.1, 109-11, s.v. Eurypylus.

used for healing until several decades later), and Pausanias was applying the word (probably inscribed in the shrine or image that he saw?) to a period before it was coined and conceptualized.⁸² Another Achaean city, Aegium, had a sanctuary of Soteria with an image seen only by the priests, who would throw cakes into the sea while saying that these were sent to Arethousa at Syracuse.⁸³ It is not clear why cults of the abstract Soteria are not more widely attested, but the few pieces of evidence testify significantly to the great importance attached to *soteria* in ancient Greece.

We have seen that the epithet Soteira, when used alone without a divine name, can be an abbreviation of the goddess-epithet combination. Soteira can often be named in such cases, especially when given sufficient contextual information about the local pantheon. But we have also seen that the concept of Soteria itself could receive cult and worship. Was the saving aspect of the gods so important that it became separated from the divinities and received worship as an autonomous figure? Or did the abstraction exist in some localities (like Patrae and Aigium) as an autonomous divine power but was elsewhere associated with the major Olympian goddesses? Yet we need not suppose that the development of these cults must follow *either* one route *or* the other. Similar questions may be raised with other concepts such as *nike*, *homonía*, *hygieia* and *peitho*, which, in Parker's words, have an 'identité

⁸² Two of the earliest applications of the word *soteria* (and its cognates) to healing from a malady are probably Soph. *Ajax* 692 and Soph. *Phil.* 1379, but the verb *sozein* is used and not the abstract noun.

⁸³ Paus. 7.24.3. Cf. Artemis Soteira in another Achaean city Pellen (Paus. 7.27.3, Plut. *Aratus* 32): only her priests could enter her shrine, and her image was terrifying to look at. Herbillon (1929), 154: 'Il n'est pas impossible que Sôteira ait parfois été confondue avec Sôteira; la légende d'Aigion relative aux gâteaux sacrés... fait supposer que la même divinité était adorée à Aigion et à Syracuse'. Although the priests of Soteria in Aegium would throw cakes to be sent to Arethousa at Syracuse, it is unclear whether Soteria was linked to Arethousa or some other goddess at Syracuse as Herbillon suggested. Numismatic evidence attests to at least one and possibly two goddesses called Soteira at Syracuse: i) Fourth- and third-century coins of Syracuse have the bust of Artemis (identified by her bow or quiver) and the word Soteira: R.S. Poole (1876), *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Sicily* (London), 183 no. 252, 197, no. 405, 199 no. 422, 200, no. 426, B.V. Head (1911), *Historia Numorum* (Oxford), 2nd ed., 178, 182. ii) The letters ΣΩ are read on the obverse of a fifth-century coin type depicting Arethousa, and it has been suggested that ΣΩ stands for ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, and that it commemorates Syracuse's victory over Athens in 413 B.C.: see H.A. Cahn (1993), 'Arethusa Soteira', in R. Bland, A. Burnett and M. Price (eds) (1993), *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (London), 5-6. The coin type is also mentioned in A.B. Brett (1936), *Victory Issues of Syracuse after 413 B.C.* (New York), 6 (ΣΩ is not read or discussed). But the epithet Soteira is otherwise unattested for Arethousa. The connection (if any) between Artemis Soteira or Arethousa Soteira (?) in Syracuse and Soteria in Patrae should remain uncertain.

quasi-autonome'.⁸⁴ Often associated with a goddess (e.g. Athena Nike, Demeter Homonoia, Athena Hygieia, Aphrodite Peithos), the abstract quality may also be invoked alone in other contexts as if it was an independent divinity.⁸⁵ But is it, after all, the same thing to worship Soteira and Soteria? Did the Greeks distinguish or perceive any difference between honouring Soteira and Soteria (as historians do)? The questions just considered were perhaps of little concern and relevance to ancient worshippers; what mattered most to them was the divinity's power to save. Whether they were addressing a prayer to Athena Soteira, Soteira, or Soteria, surely what individuals had in mind was their *soteria*. Whether to put Soteira, Soteria, ὑπερσωτηρίας, or σωθεις ἐκ κινδύνων (or similar) on a dedication are but different ways of expressing the same concern.

The various ways of referring to a god suggest a certain fluidity in divine naming. Although it is often held that using the correct divine name was essential to having access to divine power,⁸⁶ what we have seen suggests at least a degree of flexibility in naming the gods in different circumstances (or even the same god in the same context), and that there was no single 'correct' way of addressing a particular god in a given situation. Not only could various forms with similar meanings be used (Soteira, Soteria, Sozousa, Soterios), different epithets could also be applied in the same situation to achieve similar results (Aphrodite Euploia, Aphrodite Epilimena, Aphrodite Sozousa). More interesting still is how the Greeks switched imperceptibly between divine name, epithet, and god-epithet combination. This can be illustrated by two dedicatory inscriptions from third-century Ambracia in Epirus, addressed to Σωτηῆρι Διῖ, Αφροδείτα.⁸⁷ Seemingly attesting to the cult of Zeus Soter, they have led scholars to postulate the cult's diffusion from neighbouring Cassope to Ambracia, or vice versa.⁸⁸ Yet the unusual word order Σωτηῆρι Διῖ,⁸⁹ together with attestations

⁸⁴ Scholars' interpretations of the 'origins' of personification cults are summarized in Stafford (2000), esp. 19-27. 'Identité quasi-autonome': R. Parker (2005), 'Artémis Ilithye et autres: le problème du nom divin utilisé comme épiclese', in Belayche et al. (n. 1), 219-26, at 225.

⁸⁵ E.g. Nike is usually an attribute of Athena, and appears as a separate deity in the so-called Themistocles decree (ML 23, lines 38-40).

⁸⁶ S. Pulleyn (1997), *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford), esp. 97; H.S. Versnel (2011), *Coping with the Gods* (Leiden), 53-4.

⁸⁷ CIG 1798-1799, but [Σωτηῆρι] is supplemented in 1799.

⁸⁸ S. Dakaris (1971), *Cassopais and the Elean Colonies* (Athens), 86, #319; C. Tzouvara-Souli (1993), 'Common Cults in Epirus and Albania', in P. Cabanes (ed.) (1993), *L'Illyre méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité*, II (Paris), 65-82, at 74; C. Tzouvara-Souli (2004), 'The Cult of Zeus in Ancient

of Apollo Soter in Ambracia, has led Picard to argue that these were not dedicated to ‘Zeus Soter and Aphrodite’, but to ‘(Apollo) Soter, Zeus, and Aphrodite’, with Apollo being the main deity of Ambracia.⁹⁰ If Apollo Soter is correctly identified, this would illustrate nicely the ease with which the Greeks changed from one form of divine naming to another, and the fact that they saw no contradiction between the two modes. If Athena is indeed Soteira in the Aigai inscription, it would be an example where both forms of names are used of the same goddess in the same document.⁹¹

If Athena Soteira can interchangeably be called Soteira and Athena, are the entities Athena, Soteira, and Athena Soteira the same or not? What factors governed the choices made between them in different contexts, and why was the bare Soteira sometimes used? If a principal function of the Greek cult epithet is to focus attention on the relevant aspect of divine power, the bare epithet may be an even more intense focusing device: the function identified is so important that it obliterates, if momentarily, all other aspects of the divine figure, including her name or identity. Such may be the case in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*. When the safety of Athens was at stake in 405 B.C., the Chorus probably used the bare Soteira as a momentary form of invocation and an intense expression of a pressing concern. This is different from the case in Aigai in the Aiolis: the statue and altar of Soteira juxtapose with those in honour of Seleucus I and Antiochus I, and Soteira was used to match the kings’ new title Soteres on the one hand and to emphasize the city’s newly attained *soteria* (in the sense of ‘liberation’) on the other. Different again is Lysimachos’ Soteira in Epidaurus: to call Hygieia ‘my soteira’ is an intimate way of emphasizing the close

Epirus’, in P. Cabanes and J.-L. Lambolley (eds) (2004), *L’Illyre méridionale et l’Épire dans l’antiquité*, IV (Paris), 515-47, at 528. Zeus Soter in Cassope: *SEG* XXVI 718 (dedication by *strategoí*), *SEG* XXXIV 589-590 (altar).

⁸⁹ Though somewhat unusual, the word order is perhaps not decisive, as there are parallels of the epithet Soter/Soteira preceding the divine name. E.g. Soter Asclepius in *IG* II² 4521a, *IG* IV² 415, 428-431, 549, *TAM* V.2 948 (all late); Soteira Kore in Ammon. *Diff.* 279 Nickau (quoted in n. 12) and *I.Didyma* 504; Asphale(i)os Soter Poseidon in *I.Didyma* 132.14; Soter Apollo in H. Malay (n. 39), no. 24 (= *SEG* XLIX 1706). In Thyateira, apart from Soter Asclepius (*TAM* V.2 948), we also find Asclepius Soter (*TAM* V.2 885-6).

⁹⁰ O. Picard ap. P. Cabanes (1985), ‘Le règlement frontalier entre les cités d’Ambracie et de Charadros: compléments’, *BCH* 109, 753-7, at 755-7. Apollo Soter Pythios at Ambracia is attested in the *aition* reported by Ant. Lib. *Met.* 4, Athanadas, *FGrH* 303, and is perhaps the Soter whose name is not preserved in a treaty: P. Cabanes and J. Andréou (1985), ‘Le règlement frontalier entre les cités d’Ambracie et de Charadros’, *BCH* 109, 499-544, esp. 532-4 = *SEG* XXXV 665 (fr. B. line 45: [Ομνύω τὸν Απόλλωνα Σ]ωτηῆρα). Coins of Ambracia depict both Apollo and Zeus: see Head (n. 83), 320. Zeus with or without epithet is attested in several dedications in the museum of modern-day Arta, as cited in Cabanes and Andréou (1985), n. 66-68.

⁹¹ Malay and Riel (n. 32), no. 1 Decree I = *SEG* LIX 1406 A (line 11: Soteira; line 64: Athena).

personal relation between the dedicator and his saviour goddess. If, in the cases of Athens and Aigai, the epithet Soteira specified the goddess's relevant sphere of action among many, it would seem unnecessary to do so with the functionally specialized Hygieia, who was a specialist in health with a relatively restricted sphere of influence. To call Hygieia 'Soteira' was not to 'zoom in' to her saving action, but to emphasize the *soteria* ('cure') attained by virtue of which the statue was set up.⁹² There are, of course, other possible factors behind the omission or suppression of the divine name: the cost of inscribing on stone, economy of space in a literary text or on an object, the monumental context (such as the use of iconography). Some worshippers probably did not find it necessary to specify who Soteira was: they themselves and the goddess knew. A goddess's relevance could have been too obvious in a particular sanctuary (Hygieia at Epidaurus), locality (Athena at Athens?), or sphere of activity (Aphrodite at sea?) to need specification, even if it is less clear to us.

Despite historians' interest in uncovering the name behind the bare Soteira, ancient worshippers were probably less concerned. Confronted with the uncertainties and anxieties in life, the Greeks turned to their gods for *soteria* ('protection', 'deliverance', 'salvation'), and the saviour's identity probably did not matter as long as she could 'save'. Goddesses called Soteira are ubiquitous in the Greek world as the epithet represents a divine function which the Greeks widely recognized, hoped for, and expected their gods to perform. The omission of the goddess's name, and in particular the worship of the abstract Soteria, emphasized the power of the gods over their personality.⁹³ Such practices accord well with the 'practical' nature of Greek religion: in some contexts it was the efficacy of the gods, not their name or identity, that mattered most.

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⁹² The relation between *hygieia* and *soteria* is interesting: in some contexts (as in Lysimachos' dedication) they seem to merge and overlap with each other, so that they referred to the same thing (*soteria* in the sense of 'cure' from illness, i.e. good health), but in other situations the two appear to be separate but related (as in the many prayers and sacrifices *ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας*).

⁹³ See J.-P. Vernant (1985), 'Aspects de la personne dans la religion grecque', in J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs Études de psychologie historique* (Paris), 355-70, esp. 362-5, for the idea that the Greek gods were powers, not persons.