

from the upcoming workshop dedicated to the Ptolemaic dynasty, which, as the editors have announced, is to take place at the Martin-Luther-Universität in Halle-Wittenberg in 2023.

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HONOURS RECORDED AT DELPHI

GRZESIK (D.) *Honorific Culture at Delphi in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. (Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy 17.) Pp. xvi+247, b/w & colour figs, colour ills, b/w & colour maps. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021. Cased, €118, US\$142. ISBN: 978-90-04-50247-5.

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This volume, a revised version of G.'s Ph.D. thesis defended at the Universities of Wrocław and Liverpool, is the first exhaustive study on a subject to which Henri Bouvier dedicated two articles (*ZPE* 30 [1978]; *ZPE* 58 [1985]) in a more traditional way with chronological tables 40 years ago. G. writes not only about the text of the inscriptions, but also about their material support and their location in Delphi, that is in the sanctuary of the Pythian god. For her project Delphi is a special place: no other has yielded so many honorific decrees, even if it was politically an undersized city. Conversely, the number of foreign decrees for local citizens is much more in line with the range of the city in the Greek world. This unbalanced situation is due to the appeal of the oracular sanctuary and also to the Pythian games for athletes, horse-owners and musicians.

G. studies the decrees and one of their results, the honorific statues often known from their *tituli honorarii*, together: in epigraphic publications the two categories of inscriptions are usually published in different sections, the *tituli honorarii* with dedications, a divinity sometimes being mentioned in the dative. Until the laws and decrees of the city will be published in volume 6, *Lois et décrets de la cité de Delphes*, of the *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes*, and *tituli honorarii* in volume 7, *Dédicaces*, the texts are to be found in the third series of *Les Fouilles de Delphes*, in old German publications and in scholarly journals. All inscriptions are available in *PHI*, but the same document can be found several times in relation to different editions. It is a pity that G., who came to Athens and frequented the American School and the British School, does not seem to have visited the French School to make contact with the team in charge of the decrees in the *Corpus*. The confrontation of different approaches to the same object could have been fruitful.

The number of well-dated documents allows for a fine chronological study of the way in which the city of Delphi, and also the Amphictyony, co-administrator of the sanctuary, and different groups (cities, leagues, associations) chose to honour people and to display it.

Between the book's introduction and epilogue there are six chapters: the situation of epigraphy and honours in Delphi from 600 BCE to 400 CE, clearly illustrated in colourful graphs – the documents date mostly from the third century BCE to the second century CE; in Chapter 2 the different types of honours given at Delphi are shown through the centuries, also with histograms (in black and white): so the evolution of the 'standard package' can be more easily followed than in Bouvier's tables; in Chapter 3

G. describes the Delphic proxeny network: sadly the maps were not executed for this book – the difference of scales between the originals and the copies here makes them unreadable: maps 1 and 2 are over-scaled; maps 3–7 allow readers to follow the narrowing of the network, but those who are not familiar with the Delphic proxenies would not know the cities the *proxenoi* were from; the choice (maps 8 and 9) of online movable maps is strange: in the book (even in the e-book) the ‘balloon’ prevents one from seeing the exact place the proxenos came from. Chapter 4 extends the study to other types of gifts with a special focus on particular honorands such as Hellenistic kings, Roman magistrates and emperors, and a section on women. Chapter 5 is a precise study of the Delphic honorific decrees’ formula, with commentaries of texts given in Greek and in translation, showing the distinction between abbreviated and full pattern decrees, the first category being very popular, and the *tituli honorarii*. In the sixth and last chapter the honours, that is the stone copies of decrees, and the statues with their bases, are situated in the sanctuary of Apollo. G. states well the question of the decrees being written on *stelai* or on building walls. She explains the motives of the choice of walls (costs, durability etc.). For the number of *stelai* in the fourth century and the reversion of the trend in the third century it is also possible that the demolition of the temple before its reconstruction provided good material with the marble tiles for many decades. In this chapter it is a pity that some of the illustrations are obsolete: G. Daux published a drawing A. Martineau made in 1910 for the first study of the base of the Rhodian pillar by E. Bourguet; recent studies give a higher support for Helios’ chariot, and a second dedication on the bottom (p. 144); the reconstruction of the base of the statue of Aemilius Paullus that K. Michalowski published in 1949 was an artistic production of A. Tournaire; a new, more accurate, image was published in *BCH* in 1982.

G. worked hard in order to write this book, but she has not achieved a deep familiarity with the Delphic realities: for example, the constructions linked with Domitian’s activity (p. 32) were paid for with Apollo’s money under the supervision of the Amphictyonic *epimeletes* (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων, ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ δεῖνα ἐπιμελητείαν *vel sim.*, *CID* 4.139–41, 146–8); an *archeis* is not a priestess of Apollo, but of Dionysus (p. 61 – the biography on the theme is not restricted to Bourguet 1905 and Jannoray 1946: see M.-C. Villanueva Puig, in: *L’Association dionysiaque* [1986]); if the relation between Athens and Delphi was weakened in the Hellenistic period because of the antagonism between the Aetolian League and Macedonia (p. 84), the Marathonian *Tetrapolis* sent its *theoria* long before Athens did. A confusion between the Coan physician Philistos (*Choix d’inscriptions de Delphes* 121) and a supposed *synoikos* Philistion (*Choix* 111) turned the second and another *synoikos* Teisimachos (*Choix* 113) into physicians (p. 108 n. 139), even though he was a carpenter. Elis would be a better example than Olympia (p. 122), because the latter was not a city, and was not even a proper settlement before Proto-Byzantine times (*idem*, p. 178). Attalus II is not the father, but the brother of Eumenes II (p. 125); the description of Olympia with statues of him is due to Pausanias, not to Plutarch (p. 148); Aemilius Paullus appropriated the base of Perseus for his statue after the victory at Pydna in 168 BCE (p. 156).

For the list of honours given by Delphi or the Amphictyony one important point is that you cannot give a privilege not belonging to you (p. 44): a federal Aetolian decree about *ateleia* explained this fact clearly (*Choix d’inscriptions de Delphes* 105). The Delphic sanctuary was at the same time a local one (civic ritual, administration of the oracle), an Amphictyonic one (management of Apollo’s fortune), a common sanctuary (Pythia as games belonging to the *periodos*) and an oracle everybody (Greek or Barbarian) could consult. The different scales of religious life had consequences on Delphic habits: because

theoroi were citizens from Delphi, the organisation of the *theorodokoi*-network depended on the city, the only one in a position to give *theorodokia*.

Let us hope that the publication of this stimulating book, which raises a lot of questions about the honours in Delphi, will accelerate the completion of *CID* 6, making the work of researchers easier, just as *CID* 5 has recently boosted studies about slavery and manumission with new approaches.

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RELIGIOUS INSCRIPTIONS FROM PALMYRA

KUBIAK-SCHNEIDER (A.) *Des dédicaces sans théonyme de Palmyre. Béni (soit) son nom pour l'éternité.* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 197.) Pp. x+404. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021. Cased, €165, US\$199. ISBN: 978-90-04-46529-9.

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This French monograph published in the renowned RGRW series by Brill is a slightly reworked version of K.-S.'s doctoral dissertation of 2016. It is a substantial piece of scholarship on some crucial aspects of Palmyrene religion, which opens the field of Palmyrene religious inscriptions to a much broader field of religious studies, underlining the profound philology, history of religion and knowledge of Palmyra in general as well as the analytical skills of the author. The three main phrases around which the work evolves are those alluding to the divinities mentioned as: 'The Merciful', 'Master of the Universe' and 'Blessed (be) his name forever'. K.-S. re-evaluates and interprets, within a new and solid analytical framework, earlier attempts at ascribing these phrases to specific deities. The analysis is undertaken through a careful and comprehensive analysis of other groups of evidence reaching far beyond Palmyra's religious sphere, drawing on evidence from other regions and sites, such as Edessa, Hatra and Mesopotamia in general. For the first time, the religious contexts of these phrases, as found in the Palmyrene epigraphic record, are set within the framework of a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the inscriptions in a broader religious context – but with a point of departure in the Palmyrene religious sphere. This framework helps K.-S. to come to entirely new conclusions about the three enigmatic phrases in question. Through a tight and detailed analysis, the basic conclusion is that the two phrases 'the Merciful' and 'Master of the Universe', respectively, can be connected to Bel (the Merciful) as well as Bel and Baalshamin (Master of the Universe). Furthermore, the third phrase 'Blessed (be) his name forever' is more generally connected with all (male) divinities who listen and respond to those (Palmyrenes) who give prayers/dedicants (p. 217). While at first sight these might seem like quite basic conclusions, these are not easy to arrive at, and K.-S. convincingly takes readers through the vast span of evidence and backs up her arguments solidly on all fronts, showing the quality of the research that has gone into this book.

The monograph consists of two major parts, a text part comprising 227 pages and a well-organised catalogue part comprising 150 pages with a total of 202 entries. The work, according to the back cover, revolves around 203 Palmyrene Aramaic votive