

# Acclamations as a form of religious communication\*

von

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## 1 Competing for the presence of a god

During Hans-Dietrich Genscher's busy term as Germany's foreign minister, it was said that if two airplanes were to collide in the air, he would be in both of them. Pagan gods would have envied Genscher this ability: they could only be in one place at a time. A miracle of Asklepios, narrated in the hymn composed by Isyllos in Epidauros in the late fourth century BC, makes this clear:<sup>1</sup>

You gave the following proof of your efficacy, Asklepios, at the time when Philip led his army against Sparta with the intention of destroying its royal power. Asklepios came swiftly to their rescue from Epidauros out of respect for the descendants of Herakles, and Zeus saved their lives. He went to them at the time when my son arrived in Epidauros from Bousporos, sick, and as he approached, you met him shining in golden armour, Asklepios. When my son saw you, he stretched out his hand to you and spoke an imploring word of address: <I do enjoy the blessings of your gifts, Asklepios Paian, please have mercy on me!> And you spoke to me the following words: <Take courage. I will come to you in due course of time. You stay here while I ward off disaster from the Spartans, since they justly observe the oracles of Phoibos which Lykourgos imposed on the city after consulting the Delphic oracle.> Thus he went on his way to Sparta (translation W. D. FURLEY, J. M. BREMER).

Asklepios eventually both saved Sparta and cured Isyllos' son, but he performed his miracles one after the other. Unlike the Christian god and more like Superman, Spiderman, and other heroes of pop culture, a pagan god respected (some of) the physical laws of time and space. When in the first book of the *Odyssey* the gods held a council to discuss the return of Odysseus, they could only do so because Poseidon was absent, visiting the Ethiopians and receiving a sacrifice of bulls and sheep: while feasting there, he could not be elsewhere. When the Athenians had the wings of Nike virtually and iconographically cut off, it was with the expectation that this Apteris Nike, the new wingless goddess, would not leave their city. When the Ephesians claimed that Apollo and

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<sup>1</sup> *IG IV*<sup>2</sup> 128. FURLEY, BREMER 2001, I 227–240. II 180–192.

Artemis were born in their city, they explicitly denied the birth of the twins on Delos.<sup>2</sup>

The presence of a god in a place is the result of his personal choice; mortals have to compete to attract his attention. Narratives of miracles, dedications in fulfilment of vows, and dedications in response to divine commands given in dreams were all evidence of successful communication with a deity.<sup>3</sup> The authors of the narratives and the dedicants implied with their texts that they had been successful where others had failed: they had succeeded in bringing a deity, even for a short period of time, to a particular place. A festival was an occasion for the god's institutionalised communication with humans. The coming of the god was not to be taken for granted. A god had to be invited in order to come, either to a festival or as a rescuer. The ὕμνοι κλητικοί presupposed this absence of a god and performed the very function of inviting a god to appear in a festival. Kallimachos' hymn to Apollo describes the anxiety of the worshippers anticipating the god's imminent arrival on Delos.<sup>4</sup> In the first verses the poet observes the movement of the sacred palm tree and the flight of the birds; these are signs that the god is approaching. With the sacred cry εὐφημεῖτε (<use good language>) he then urges the worshippers use pious words, avoiding the use of any articulate or inarticulate sound which might disturb communication with the god and present an obstacle to his coming. Even Achilles' mother, Thetis, eternally mourning for her son's death, has to postpone her lament as soon as she listens to this ritual cry.<sup>5</sup>

## 2 Acclamations:

### multifunctional acoustic signals in asymmetrical communication

This introduction establishes the context in which religious acclamations are to be understood: they are acoustic signals used in situations where communication with the divine was competitive and fragile. The terms *euphemein/euphemia* and *eulogein/eulogia* are crucial for the understanding of this communication. *Euphemia*, the pious use of voice, was one among many signals used by the organisers of sacrifices and festivals to attract the attention of the divinity.<sup>6</sup> These included signals that could be seen, such as bright clothes,

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Ann. 3.61.1: *primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse apud se Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam edidisse ea numina ...*

<sup>3</sup> CHANIOTIS 2005a, 143 f.

<sup>4</sup> DICKIE 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Kallimachos, *hymn. Apoll.* 17–25: εὐφημεῖτ' αἰόντες ἐπ' Ἀπόλλωνος αἰοιδῆ. | εὐφημεῖ καὶ πόντος, ὅτε κλείουσιν αἰοδοὶ | ἢ κίθαριν ἢ τόξα ... | οὐδὲ Θέτις Ἀχιλλῆα κινύρεται ἀλῖνα μήτηρ, | ὀππὸθ' ἰὴ παιῶν ἰὴ παιῶν ἀκούσῃ ... | ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε ...

<sup>6</sup> E. g., IG II<sup>2</sup> 4473 and SEG XXIII 126 = FURLEY, BREMER 2001, 229 no. 7.5 line 2: ὕμνεῖτε... εὐφήμωι γλώσση.

crowns, beautiful animals with gilded horns, and decorated altars, tables, and *klinai*; signals that could be heard, such as hymns, prayers, invocations, musical performances, and acclamations; and signals that could be smelled, such as incense, wine, and thighs burning on the altar. *Euphemia* is often translated as ‘ritual silence’. Although the possibility that in some cases *euphemia* implied silence should not be excluded, this is not its primary meaning in Greek ritual. If the Greeks wanted to prescribe silence in a ritual, they would have used a different word (for example, *sige* or *siope*) and not a word composed with *phemi*, implying the use of speech. In Kallimachos (see note 5), *euphemia* is connected with the ritual cry *hie paieon* which the worshippers are urged to utter. Both literary and epigraphic sources suggest that *euphemia* is one of the Greek terms for acclamation, certainly in the Imperial period.<sup>7</sup> Other terms are *βοᾶν* and its compounds (*ἀναβοᾶν*, *ἐκβοᾶν*, *ἐπιβοᾶν*), *κράζειν/ἀνακράζειν*, *εὐλογεῖν/εὐλογία*, and *φωνή*.<sup>8</sup>

I define as acclamations short texts performed orally by a group (or an individual) in the presence of an audience, expecting and eliciting the audience’s verbal approval. The same acclamation was sometimes repeated, as we know from the introduction to the *Codex Theodosianus*. Acclamations often adopt stereotypical formulas or elements thereof (for example, *πολλοῖς ἔτεσι/πολλὰ ἔτη*, *ναοῖς τὸν σωτήρα*, *ἄξιος/ἄξιοι*, *αὔξει*, *εἷς ἀπὸ αἰῶνος*, *μέγα τὸν ὄνομα*, *εἷς*, *νίκαι* et cetera; see Appendix I), but variation and stylistic elaboration (rhythmical structure, neologisms, hyperbole) were also used in order to increase the acclamation’s impact. As H. S. VERSNEL has pointed out, acclamations often also display emotion.<sup>9</sup>

Secular acclamations, in particular of emperors, cities, benefactors, the senate, and statesmen, have attracted much attention. Their memorialization in inscriptions became quite common from the late second century AD onwards.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> E. g., Menander Rhet. 2.381.10–14: πάντες φιλοφρονούμενοι ταῖς εὐφημίαις, σωτήρα καὶ τεῖχος, ἀστέρα φανότατον ὀνομάζοντες, οἱ δὲ παῖδες τροφέα μὲν ἑαυτῶν, σωτήρα δὲ πατέρων; 2.417.27–30: καὶ εὐαγεῖς χοροὺς ἰστάτωσαν αἱ πόλεις, ἀδέτωσαν, εὐφημείτωσαν ... Cf. I. Ephesos 1391 line 5: δεξιούμενοι μὲν εὐφημίαις --]. Flav. Ios. Ant. Jud. 16.14: ὑπατῶντος τε τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐν ἑορτῶδει στολῇ καὶ δεχομένου τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν εὐφημίαις, Plut., Brutus 24.7: δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου προθύμῳ αὐτὸν σὺν εὐφημίαις; Plut., Tim. 38: χρόνον τινὰ δοὺς ταῖς εὐφημίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις; TOTTI 1985, 78 f. no. 22 lines 27–29 (hymn of Isidoros, Medinet-Madi): τερφθέντες δ’ εἰς οἶκόν τε πανηγυρίσαντες ἔβησαν εὐφύμῳς. See also GÖDDE 2003, 27–30; STEHLE 2004, 121–155 and STEHLE 2005, 103.

<sup>8</sup> *Boan*, *krazein*, and their compounds: PETERSON 1926, 191–193. *Eulogein/eulogia*: ROBERT 1964, 28–30; PLEKET 1981, 183–189; DE HOZ 1999, 119; BELAYCHE 2006b, 76–81; BELAYCHE 2008. *Phone*: see Appendix I no. 2.

<sup>9</sup> VERSNEL 2000, 150 f. (‘phatic or expressive language’). On ‘acclamatory hyperbole’ see CHANIOTIS 2008a; for hyperbole in secular acclamations see, e. g., ROUGEMONT 2004 (Bactria, second century BC): τὸμ πάντων μέγιστον Εὐθύδημον βασιλέων. SEG LIII 1290 (Ephesos, Imperial period): Ῥώμη πανβασίλια, τὸ σὸν κράτος οὐποτ’ ὀλήται. SEG XLVIII 1961, 1962, 1964, 1965 (Alexandria, c. AD 201): γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότην καὶ φιλοσάραπιν αἰεὶ ζῶντα.

<sup>10</sup> ROUECHÉ 1984, 1989a, 1989b, and 1999; WIEMER 2004; KRUSE 2006.

Secular acclamations perform a variety of functions (see the texts in Appendix I). They praise, as in Tralleis (Appendix I no. 4), where the priest Eumelos was acclaimed <as unique in history>, or as in Laodikaia (Appendix I no. 2), where a governor was honoured with acclamations as mild, a worker of good deeds, and the best of proconsuls; they express gratitude (Appendix I no. 9 xi: <he who forgets you, Albinus *clarissimus*, does not know God>); they express loyalty (Appendix I no. 9 ii: <long live the emperors>); they grant titles (<rescuer>, <great>, <lover of the fatherland>, <constructor of the city>; Appendix I nos. 3, 4, 7, 9); they request honours, for example, the erection of a statue of the benefactor in a temple (Appendix I nos. 3 and 4) or the issue of an honorary decree (Appendix I no. 7); they express approval (Appendix I no. 4: <well-done, high priest>; Appendix I no. 9 v: <look around Albinus, and see what you have donated>); they express the pride of a community (Appendix I no. 4: <the Pylitai are worthy of the gifts>); they express demands (Appendix I no. 4: <the Pylitai are worthy of more>); they insinuate unanimity against opponents (Appendix I no. 9 vi: <the whole city says this: your enemies to the river!>); and they imply superiority in a context of competition, as between circus factions (Appendix I no. 10: <bad years for the greens>; Appendix I no. 11: <victory for the red>), associations (Appendix I no. 1: <now our Bakchus club is the first among all clubs!>), and cities (Appendix I nos. 5 and 6: <long live Perge, the peak of Pamphylia>). Secular acclamations perform these functions in two contexts: while competing, and while attempting to persuade a more powerful superior.

With the exception of the relevant studies by HENK VERSNEL and NICOLE BELAYCHE,<sup>11</sup> less attention has been paid to the part played by acclamations in ancient ritual practice. This is in part a consequence of the epigraphic habit, since the inscribing of acclamations became popular only in the Imperial period (Appendix II). The *locus classicus* is the passage in *Acta Apostolorum*, where it is reported that the Ephesians shouted for hours <Great is the Ephesian Artemis>.<sup>12</sup> The longest epigraphic testimonium is a collection of graffiti in the gymnasium at Delphi (second/third centuries AD).<sup>13</sup> They record acclamations for Apollo and for victorious athletes during an athletic contest, probably during the Pythian festival.

Good Fortune! One god! Great is the god! The name of the god is the greatest! Great is Apollo Pythios! Great is the Fortune of the Delphians!

<sup>11</sup> Especially VERSNEL 1990, 193–196, 243–244; VERSNEL 2000, 129–158; BELAYCHE 2005, 2006a, 2007, 96–101 and 2008; cf. CHANIOTIS 2008a and 2008b (acclamations in <confession inscriptions>). I also note the seminal study of PETERSON 1926, 141–240, on the acclamation *heis theos*.

<sup>12</sup> *Acta Apost.* 19, 34; most recent discussion by VERSNEL 2000, 140, and BELAYCHE 2008. Cf. Xenoph. Ephes. 5, 13 on similar acclamations for Isis in Ephesos: μεγάλην θεὸν ἀνακαλοῦντες τὴν Ἴσιν (VERSNEL 2000, 137).

<sup>13</sup> QUEYREL 2001; SEG LI 613–631; CHANIOTIS 2008c. Cf. BELAYCHE 2008, Appendix II no. 6.

Good Fortune! There is one god in heaven! Great is Apollo Pythios! Great is the Fortune of the Delphians.

The epigraphic habit is not the only explanation for the lack of direct evidence for religious acclamations. Because they were purportedly spontaneous, acclamations were not included in cult regulations; nor are they ever mentioned in laws or decrees concerning religious matters. This does not mean that they did not exist, merely that they must sometimes be mined out of literary and epigraphic texts, legends on coins, and acclamatory epithets.

We should distinguish between two forms of acclamation: those that seem to have occurred spontaneously and those that occurred by design in the context of rituals. The two forms certainly overlap, since spontaneous acclamations usually occurred in sacred space, thus in the space of ritual performances; an element of spontaneity must be assumed also for ritualised acclamations, in particular as the source of their variation and innovation.

One of the best testimonia for spontaneous acclamations is the narrative of a miracle at Panamara, when the sanctuary of Zeus and Hekate was attacked by the troops of Labienus (40 BC).<sup>14</sup> Zeus' fire burned the weapons of the enemy, and a sudden storm, with thunder and lightning, terrified the assailants to such an extent that

many were those who deserted, asking for forgiveness and crying out with loud voice <Great is Zeus Panamaros>.

The phraseology of the narrative, in particular the reference to the loud acclamations, is similar to that known from New Testament sources and narratives of rituals. The spontaneous acclamations of the terrified soldiers performed two functions: a *propitiatory* or *supplicatory* (asking for forgiveness), and a *testimonial* (testifying to a god's visible power). The testimonial acclamation regularly attributes the designation *megas* (<great>) and *heis* (<singular>) to a particular god. For instance, when Aelius Aristides thought that he had established a personal relationship with Asklepios, he joyfully exclaimed εἶς, referring to the god and thus expressing his devotion.<sup>15</sup> This is the most elementary form of a Greek acclamation, either for a god or a mortal,<sup>16</sup> and is found in countless dedications and <confession inscriptions>. The narrative of Menophilos' punishment is a characteristic example:<sup>17</sup> it begins with the acclamation <Great is Zeus, the one established at the Twin Oaks, and great are his powers>. This acclamation is then followed by the attestation (*martyrion*) of the god's miraculous power as demonstrated by his punishment of Menophilos for buy-

<sup>14</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* 10. See CHANIOTIS 2008a for further bibliography and parallels.

<sup>15</sup> Ael. Arist. *Hieroi Logoi* 4, 50: κάγω περιχαρῆς τῇ τιμῇ γενόμενος καὶ ὄσον τῶν ἄλλων προῦκρίθην, ἐξεβόησα, “εἶς”, λέγων δὴ τὸν θεόν.

<sup>16</sup> MÜLLER 1913; PETERSON 1926, 196–208; BELAYCHE 2008; CHANIOTIS 2008a.

<sup>17</sup> PETZL 1994, no. 9: Μέγας Ζεὺς ἐκ Διδύμων Δρυῶν κατεκτισμένος καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ Μηνόφιλος ἠγόρασε ἱερά ξύλα, διὰ τοῦτο ἐκολάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ... Ἀνέστησε δὲ τὸ μαρτύριον ... Cf. Appendix II no. 2.

ing timber from a sacred grove. In addition to their testimonial function as *martyria* and their affirmative function – their confirmation of the worshipper's faith and devotion to the god – such acclamations (designated as *eulogia*)<sup>18</sup> also had a propitiatory function. They were part of the ritual obligation of a worshipper, performed to reconcile him with the punishing god. This is why many <confession inscriptions> stereotypically begin or end with an acclamation, for example, <Great are the Nemeseis in Perkon!>, <Great is the Mother who gave birth to Mes; great is Mes Ouranios!><sup>19</sup> The formulation <and from now on I/we praise the god> is also stereotypically used to refer to the speech act concluding the conflict between mortal and god.<sup>20</sup> Both the acclamation at the beginning and the promise of continual praise at the end reflect rituals performed in sanctuaries and occasionally depicted in the images that decorated stelae. Worshipers are represented standing, with their right hand raised; in one case, a man touches or holds the sceptre of the god; a woman is represented falling on her knees, probably in front of the statue of the god.<sup>21</sup>

Acclamations are loud oral performances addressed in theory to the god, but primarily intended to impress an audience of mortals assembled in a sanctuary or another ceremonial space (for example, a theatre). This is directly attested for the sanctuary of Asklepios on the Insula Tiberina in Rome. As we may infer from accounts of healing miracles, after his rescue the worshipper was expected to come to the island sanctuary and express his gratitude to the god in public.<sup>22</sup> The best known piece of evidence – often quoted in this context – is the reference to the acclamations of the Ephesians in the theatre at Ephesos (see note 11). Acclamations in the context of <confessions> naturally performed an educational function as well, informing others of the power of the god and warning them against sacrilege and misdemeanours. Among the numerous examples, I briefly present a single dedication from Lydia (AD 57; Appendix II no. 1):<sup>23</sup>

(1) Great is the Mother of Mes Axiottenos.

(2) Glykon, the son of Apollonios, and Myrtion, the wife of Apollonios, (set up) this praise (*eulogia*) for Mes Ouranios and for Mes of Artemidoros who rules over Axiotta, for their rescue and for that of their children.

<sup>18</sup> BELAYCHE 2006b, 76–81; BELAYCHE 2008; see also note 8.

<sup>19</sup> E. g., PETZL 1994, nos. 10–11. 37. 47. 55 and 72. VERSNEL 2000, 140 and 145 f.; BELAYCHE 2008; CHANIOTIS 2008b.

<sup>20</sup> E. g., PETZL 1994, nos. 20. 33. 34. 37. 44. 54. 62. 64. 69. 101. CHANIOTIS 2008b.

<sup>21</sup> Raised hand: PETZL 1994, nos. 6. 7. 10–12. 20 (= GORDON 2004, 185 and 182 fig. 3). 37. 38. Touching the sceptre: PETZL 1994, no. 6; cf. GORDON 2004, 185 with fig. 5. Kneeling: PETZL 1994: no. 38. For this gesture see VAN STRATEN 1974. See also CHANIOTIS 2008b.

<sup>22</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1173 = *IGUR* I 148 lines 4–5. 9–10. 13–14. Cf. Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 21: <there was also much shouting from those present and those coming up, shouting that celebrated phrase, «Great is Asklepios».> An inscription in the Asklepieion in Pergamon records this acclamation: HABICHT 1969, 129 no. 114. Cf. CHANIOTIS 2008a.

<sup>23</sup> MALAY 2003 (*SEG* LIII 1344); further comments: BELAYCHE 2007, 91 f. and BELAYCHE 2008; CHANIOTIS 2008a and 2008b.

- (3) For you, Lord, have shown mercy, when I was a captive.  
 (4) Great is your holiness! Great is your justice! Great is your victory! Great your punishing power! Great is the Dodektheon that has been established in your vicinity!  
 (5) For the son of my brother Demainetos made me his captive.  
 (6) For I had neglected my own affairs and helped you, as if you were my own son. But you locked me in and kept me a captive, as if I were a criminal and not your paternal uncle!  
 (7) Now, great is Mes, the ruler over Axiotta!  
 (8) You have given me satisfaction. I praise you.

The text begins with an acclamation (§ 1), followed by two other sets of acclamations (§§ 4 and 7). Unlike the spontaneous acclamations of the terrified soldiers at Panamara, here the acclamations were part of a ritual action, that is, the dedication of the stele. The function of the acclamations is nevertheless the same: they testify to the god's power both in front of the god and in front of an audience. The most probable context of Glykon's acclamations was that of the erection of the stele. Presumably, the phrase <for you, Lord, have shown mercy, when I was a captive> reflects what Glykon said aloud when he came to the sanctuary of Mes to set up his inscription. Since sanctuaries were not always open and accessible, we may suspect that dedications – in particular in rural sanctuaries – did not take place on any given day, but preferably on the days of festivals.<sup>24</sup> After the motive for the dedication is given, a second group of acclamations follows (§ 4) in which the worshipper characterises the various qualities of Mes: his holiness, his justice, his victory, his power to punish. The reference to the Twelve Gods reveals the setting of the acclamations: they took place in Mes's sanctuary, where the Iranian Moon-God was worshipped together with an Anatolian group of the Twelve Gods. It was in the presence of their images or symbols that Glykon performed his acclamations.

The next phrase (§ 5) contains Glykon's accusations against his nephew. In the course of a family quarrel, perhaps involving property claims, Glykon was obviously locked up by his nephew until divine punishment forced the nephew to set him free. After his liberation, Glykon came to the sanctuary, certainly accompanied by his nephew, who was present when Glykon not only praised the god, but also delivered his emotional denunciation (§ 6). The text ends with a final acclamation (§ 7) and an address of thanksgiving that corresponds to the principle of *do ut des* (§ 8): <You have given me satisfaction. I praise you.> Compared to that in Panamara, this acclamation of Mes demonstrates the wider impact, and therefore an additional function, of acclamation. Since it was performed in a sanctuary in the presence of an audience and – more important – since it was inscribed on stone and continually read by its visitors or read aloud by the priests, it also served educational and propagandistic purposes.

Acclamations for Mes seem to have been a very common aspect of his cult, as we can infer from the fact that they are also found beyond the context of confession and dedication. They are, for example, registered on a stele in

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<sup>24</sup> CHANIOTIS 2008b, with examples.

Saittai, in Lydia:<sup>25</sup> <One god in heaven! Great is Heavenly Mes! Great is the power of the immortal god!> Two of the acclamations deserve particular attention. The acclamation εἷς θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς is widely attested, and associated with a variety of gods.<sup>26</sup> As has been often observed, most recently by H. S. VERSNEL and N. BELAYCHE, not every reference to *heis theos* refers to a *single* god, whose existence excludes that of other gods, as in Christian attestations of this acclamation. Often this phrase designates a singular, unique, or superior god in a polytheistic system.<sup>27</sup> A more accurate translation of *heis theos* is <there is only one truly powerful god in heaven>. This acclamation is attributed in Saittai to Mes, in Delphi to Apollo, in Aizanoi to Theos Hypsistos (Appendix II nos. 4–6). To regard a deity as the single most powerful god <denotes a personal devotion to one god («there is no other god *like* this god»)>, as VERSNEL has put it. Because of the competition among cults and cult places that characterises the Imperial period,<sup>28</sup> this quality is attributed to a variety of gods. An objective of acclamations, in general, is to express the superiority of one (cult) community over others. For instance, the acclamations during a meeting of the association of the Iobakchoi stressed the fact that the club with its new statutes would be the best among the Dionysiac associations:<sup>29</sup> <They called out: – Long live our priest Herodes! – Now we are happy! Now our Bakchus Club is the first among all (Bakchic) clubs!> The acclamations for Artemis in the theatre at Ephesos (see note 11) had a similar function. The acclamations for Perge (Appendix I no. 5) aimed at proclaiming the city's preeminence over other Pamphylian cities: <Long live Perge, the only inviolable city! Long live Perge, the first among the *conventus* cities! Long live Perge, the peak of Pamphylia! Long live Perge, the city that never lies!> Each of these acclamations presupposes an opponent or a competitor, exactly as each acclamation for a god who is given the attribute *heis theos* presupposes another divinity who does not deserve this designation. THOMAS CORSTEN has briefly presented a new inscription from Kibyra that refers to an otherwise unattested <old> *asylia* of Kibyra (ἐκ πάλαι ἀσύλης).<sup>30</sup> This expression possibly originates in an acclamation stressing that Kibyra had its *asylia* from ancient times, unlike other cities that had been recently awarded this privilege. The phrases *ek palai asylos* in Kibyra and *mone asylos* in Perge were responses to the claims of other communities. Similarly, the legend <Victoria Romanorum is an Ephesian deity> (Ῥωμαίων Νείκη Ἐφεσίων θεά) on coins of Ephesos (second/third

<sup>25</sup> TAM V.1.75 (Appendix II no. 4). Cf. BELAYCHE 2008.

<sup>26</sup> E.g., Appendix II nos. 4–6. For other examples, see PETERSON 1926, 78 and 85; BELAYCHE 2006c, 21; CHANIOTIS 2008a; BELAYCHE 2007, 96–97 and BELAYCHE 2008.

<sup>27</sup> PETERSON 1926, 268–270; VERSNEL 1990, 35. 50. 235; VERSNEL 2000, 146–152; MARKSCHIES 2002, 209–214; BELAYCHE 2006a, 264 f.; BELAYCHE 2007, 94–102; BELAYCHE 2008; CHANIOTIS 2008a.

<sup>28</sup> CHANIOTIS 2008c. Cf. BELAYCHE 2008.

<sup>29</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1368; LSCG 51; BASLEZ 2004, 118–120; CHANIOTIS 2006, 232–234.

<sup>30</sup> CORSTEN 2004.



century) may originate in acclamations on the occasion of the introduction or expansion of this cult, possibly in connection with the festival of the Epinikia; with these acclamations the Ephesians staked a claim to a privileged relationship between their city and *Victoria Romanorum*.<sup>31</sup>

The propagandistic aim of acclamations is very closely connected to a celebratory one, as we may observe in the case of the Delphic graffiti (Appendix II no. 6):

Good Fortune! One god! Great god! The name of the god is the greatest! Great Apollo Pythios! Great is the Fortune of the Delphians!

Good Fortune! Place of Marcus Aurelius Juncus Aemilianus Onesimos, long-distance runner, winner at the Pythia. God! Great is the Fortune of the Delphians! Great is Apollo Pythios! Good luck, Daidalos (a nick-name of the runner).

Good Fortune! One god! Great is Apollo Pythios! Great is Artemis! Great is Hekate!

Other graffiti of this group attest the same acclamations as well as the formulas <the Pythian god is great> and <One god in heaven!> These graffiti record acclamations that must have taken place during the celebration of the Pythian festival. They are addressed to athletes, to the Delphians and their city, and above all to the local god, not Apollo in general, but *Pythian* Apollo, the god in Delphi. Not a single acclamation invokes Apollo without his epithet Pythios; one addresses him simply as the Pythian god. These are the most significant features of these texts: the spirit of local patriotism; the stressing of the privileged relation of Delphi and Apollo; and the use of a language known from the praise of <a single god>.

The acclamations leave no doubt that Apollo Pythios was regarded as superior, consequently that his cult place also occupied a privileged position among cult places.<sup>32</sup> That a spirit of competition emerges in acclamations that take place during a contest should not surprise us. In the same period in Ephesos, Apollo's sister was called not only the goddess of the forefathers (*patrios*), and not just *megiste* – a superlative commonly used as an epithet – but in direct comparison with the other Olympians she is declared <ever the greatest among all the gods>.<sup>33</sup> Although this phrase is found in a letter, it certainly recalls acclamations in praise of the local goddess. In Delphi, the superior position of Apollo is evident in the acclamation in which he is named together with Artemis and Hekate: <One god! Great is Apollo Pythios! Great is Artemis! Great is Hekate!> All three divinities are designated as great, but only Apollo has a local epithet, and only Apollo is honoured with the acclamation *heis theos*.

The aforementioned acclamations were performed publicly by a cult community gathered to attend a celebration or to worship a god. The same applies to acclamations of Sarapis inscribed on a plaque in Rome:<sup>34</sup> <[---] and the

<sup>31</sup> NOLLÉ 2003, 459–465.

<sup>32</sup> CHANIOTIS 2008c.

<sup>33</sup> SEG XLIII 756 (c. AD 128–161): ... ἢ τε πάτριος Ἐ[φρσίω]ν θεὸς Ἄρτεμις καὶ θεῶν πάν]των πρόποτε μεγίστ[η].

<sup>34</sup> IGUR 192 (interpreted as an aretology); Appendix II no. 8.

great Sarapis! Good luck, donor of the water of the Nile! Sarapis, benefactor, may every season be good for you!» Acclamations require the existence of a community, even when they are performed in order to be heard by an audience that did not belong to the community, whether the community was that of the panhellenic attendants of the Pythian festival in Delphi, the citizen community of Ephesos, the club of the Iobakchoi in Athens, or the secretive community of the initiates in a mystery cult.

Acclamations performed in the context of mystery cults, the last set to be discussed in this article, attest to a final, important ritual function of acclamation: they mark the acceptance of a new member or the transition from one grade of initiation to the next. Because of the secrecy of mystery cults, such acclamations marking transitions are naturally not very numerous. It is quite possible that some of the formulaic phrases found in the Dionysiac-Orphic tablets were acclamations performed by the worshippers who witnessed the initiation, but there is no direct evidence for this hypothesis.<sup>35</sup> The earliest attestation of an acclamation of the *heis*-type is in the context of Dionysiac initiation: the ritual acclamatory phrase εἰς Διόνυσος appears as a *symbolon* (‹password›) in a papyrus of the third century BC, which probably preserves earlier ritual material.<sup>36</sup> Again, in the context of a mystery cult, an aretology of Sarapis gives instructions to the worshippers to utter the acclamation *heis Zeus Sarapis*, probably after the narration of Sarapis' miracle:<sup>37</sup>

This miracle is recorded in the libraries of Mercurius. Do all of you who are present say:  
«There is only one Zeus Sarapis».

The numerous acclamations of the *heis-theos*-type and *Heis Zeus Sarapis* on lamps, coins, amulets and stones also reflect acclamations that were associated with mystery cults.<sup>38</sup>

Far better documented are acclamations in the context of the Mithraic mysteries. Graffiti and dipinti found in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome and in the Mithraeum in Dura-Europos often consist of the Mithraic ritual formula *nama* followed by the name of an initiate and the designation of a grade in the dative,<sup>39</sup> for example, *Nama Gelasio leoni* (‹nama to Gelasius, who has the rank of lion›). Presumably, these were acclamations accompanying the transition of the worshipper into this grade. In the graffiti of Dura-Europos the ritual formula *nama* is followed by the praise of the god and the leaders of the community, for example, «nama to the god Mithras; nama to the patres Livianus and Theodoros; nama also to Marinus, the petitioner; nama to

<sup>35</sup> Most recent edition and discussion: GRAF, JOHNSTON 2007.

<sup>36</sup> *P.Gurob* 1. Cf. VERSNEL 1990, 205 and VERSNEL 2000, 152 f. On the Gurob papyrus see now GRAF, JOHNSTON 2007, 150–155.

<sup>37</sup> *P.Oxy.* XI.1382; TOTTI 1985, 32 f. no. 13; VERSNEL 2000, 139 note 163. See Appendix II no. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Examples in Appendix II nos. 9–11. Cf. BELAYCHE 2007, 99 and BELAYCHE 2008.

<sup>39</sup> VERMASEREN, VAN ESSEN 1965, 179–240.

all the companions of the god». Or, «nama with good hopes to Antoninus, the *sterotes*, the virtuous companion, the pious».<sup>40</sup> As RICHARD GORDON has put it, «acclamations such as these ... underline the importance of going through the sequence of grades: each successive rise is collectively acknowledged by the whole congregation, and fixed in writing on the walls of the temple».<sup>41</sup> Thus acclamations integrated new members into the cult and also transmitted the values connected with the worship of Mithras.

Finally, the significance of acclamations in forging the identity of worshippers can be observed also in Lucian's description of the new mystery cult of Glykon, the New Asklepios founded by Alexander of Abonou Teichos.<sup>42</sup> During the ritual of *prorrhesis*, that is, the expulsion of the cult's adversaries, atheists, Christians, and Epicureans were symbolically expelled with acclamations. Alexander exclaimed «away with the Christians!», and the worshippers responded «away with the Epicureans!» Alexander's ritualised aggression and enmity towards two other distinctive and influential groups in this region separated the worshippers of Glykon from «the others» and strengthened their sense of solidarity.

### 3 Religious acclamations and the language of religious communication

Let me sum up the results of this survey. Religious acclamations were, like their secular counterparts, an important medium of communication in the Imperial period and performed a variety of functions. They gave public testimony to the power of a god and confirmed the worshipper's faith; they propitiated the god after a misdemeanour and warned others; they contributed to emotional intensity during celebrations; they marked the transition to a new status and expressed solidarity and identity; and they invoked the protective power of gods.<sup>43</sup> Like secular acclamations, they are best understood as communication in an asymmetrical relationship and communication that was competitive. Acclamations constructed the illusion of direct contact with the god and asserted a privileged relationship with a divinity. Since acclamations were performed in public, in festivals, and in front of both members of a community and an external audience, they also contributed to the dissemination of similar formulations throughout the Roman East (for example, *heis theos*, *heis theos en ouranois*, *megas theos*, et cetera). I suspect that acclamations were also one of the channels by which divine epithets and concepts of the divine were transferred both from one god to another and from one area to another.

<sup>40</sup> Appendix II no. 12.

<sup>41</sup> GORDON 2001.

<sup>42</sup> Lucian, *Alex.* 38. Commentary: VICTOR 1997, 40 f.; SFAMENI GASPARRO 1999, 299–302; CHANIOTIS 2002, 77 f.

<sup>43</sup> On the protective function of acclamations (e. g., εἶς θεὸς βοηθός) see BELAYCHE 2008.

The praising epithets of secular acclamations are often identical with honorary civic titles subsequently granted by decree, such as *soter*, *ktistes*, *philopatris*, *euergetes*, et cetera (see Appendix I). The best example is provided by an honorary decree for the benefactor Epameinondas in Akraiphia in Boiotia (circa AD 43/44).<sup>44</sup> Epameinondas is compared to other benefactors, whom he had surpassed in every respect. It is in this context of competition that we find the phrase:

He surpassed in magnanimity and virtue all men of the past, by devoting himself to the love of fame and virtue through continual expenditure, so that he is regarded as the one patriot and benefactor.

This expression undoubtedly reflects acclamations for Epameinondas, and this is true also for the phrase <the man, whom the voices of all the people call *polystephanos* (honoured with many crowns)><sup>45</sup> in an honorary epigram for a high priest in Synnada (third century AD). The rhythmical expression θεὸν ἐκχ θεῶν, εὐεργέτην ἐκ εὐεργετῶν in a dedication of a statue of Drusus in Stratonikeia also seems to recapitulate acclamations,<sup>46</sup> as do, most likely, honorary epithets such as <the son/daughter of the city>, which may have been awarded to benefactors upon popular demand through acclamation.<sup>47</sup>

I suspect that a similar connection can be established between acclamations and a particular group of epithets given to gods, epithets that I would like to designate as <acclamatory epithets>. Unlike traditional epithets, which derive from a place name (for example, Apollo Klarios), or express a specific quality of a deity (for example, Athena Ergane, Hermes Chthonios), or are connected with a ritual in the cult of a divinity (for example, Demeter Thesmophoros), or allude to the merging of a Greek and a pre-hellenic god (for example, Apollo Maleatas), we observe from the Hellenistic period onward a great diffusion of epithets which praise in very general terms a divinity and its power, epithets that cannot be connected with, and were not exclusively attributed to, a particular deity: benevolent, sacred, most sacred, immortal, *invictus*, helper, king, lord, lady, virtuous, willing to listen to prayers, continually present, with visible power, bringer of good tidings, benefactor, great, greatest, almighty, protector, rescuer, highest, et cetera.<sup>48</sup> We have encountered some of these epithets

<sup>44</sup> *IG* VII 2712 lines 52–55: [ὑπερβάλλετο] δὲ τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ πάντα τοὺς [προτέρους τρέψας] ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ φιλόδοξον [καὶ] φιλόγαθον ταῖς ἐπ[αλ]λή[λ]οις δαπάναις, εἰς φιλόπατρις καὶ εὐεργέτης νομιζόμενος. On the date see KANTIRÉA 2007, 180. On this use of εἶς cf. BARBET 2005, 43 (graffiti in Zeugma).

<sup>45</sup> *MAMA* VI 66 = MERKELBACH, STAUBER 2001, 374 f. no. 16/51/01: ὄν πάντων φωνάφασσι πολυστέφανον.

<sup>46</sup> *SEG* LII 1101 (Stratonikeia; c. 14–23 AD): Δροῦσον Καίσαρα, Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν, θεὸν ἐκχ θεῶν καθειέρωσεν, εὐεργέτην ἐξ εὐεργετῶν, ὁ δῆμος.

<sup>47</sup> For this title see STRUBBE 2001, 36–38. For the award of honours through acclamations cf. note 53 and CHANIOTIS 2005b, 55 f. The honorary attribute πανηγυριάρχης εὐσεβῆς (<prior *panegyriarches*>) written on a column in Samos (*IG* XII 6, 982; first century AD) may also record an acclamation during the celebration of a panegyris.

in acclamations. Other divine attributes possibly deriving from acclamations are epithets that express a spirit of competition, for example, <Artemis, the ancestral goddess of the Ephesians ever the greatest among all the gods> (see note 33) or <the god who does not lie and was not created by hand>.<sup>49</sup>

I should briefly address a final question. The bulk of the evidence comes from the Imperial period. But how old are religious acclamations and what is their origin? The spirit of competition, which is quite prominent in acclamations, suggests an <agonistic> context.<sup>50</sup> Victorious athletes and entertainers were cheered by audiences with expressions such as μόνος καὶ πρῶτος (<the first and only>), πρῶτος ἀπὸ αἰῶνος (<the first ever>), and παράδοξος (<the one who has accomplished an unexpected achievement>);<sup>51</sup> the award of the prize for military achievement during a battle (*aristeia*) must have involved cheering, as did the election of the Spartan elders, the enthronement of Hellenistic kings and their reception after military campaigns,<sup>52</sup> symposia (for example, *kalos*), and funerals (for example, *chrestos* and other attributes of praise). It was through acclamations that the people demanded the award of honours and honorary titles, as a decree from Knidos shows, relating what had happened at the funeral of a prominent woman.<sup>53</sup>

The people were astounded beyond measure by her virtue and her reputation; and they gathered with huge passion in the theatre [lacuna] during her funeral; and after the people had seized her body, they unanimously demanded that they might bury her with the participation of the entire people, and manifested through acclamations her virtue, in order that she receive also after her death the appropriate honours.

Acclamations in the popular assembly are mentioned by Plutarch (and his sources) on several occasions.<sup>54</sup> The invocation ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ (<for good fort-

<sup>48</sup> Examples of acclamatory epithets: ἀγαθός, ἄγιος, ἀγιωτάτη, ἀθάνατος, ἀνείκητος, ἀρωγός, βασιλεύς, βοηθός, δεσποίνα, δεσπότης, ἐνάρετος, ἐπήκοος, ἐπιδήμιος, ἐπιφανής, ἐπιφανέστατος, εὐάγγελος, εὐεργέτης, εὐμενής, καλοκαγάθιος, κύριος, μέγας, μέγιστος, οὐράνιος, παντοκράτωρ, πασικράτα, προστάτης, σωτήρ/σώτειρα, ὑπατος, ὑψιστος. For references see the indices of *SEG* (cf. CHANIOTIS 2008a).

<sup>49</sup> *SEG* XXXVIII 1335 (Aspendos, first/second century AD): Θεῶ ἀψευδεῖ καὶ ἀχειροποιήτῳ εὐχῆν. For other examples see CHANIOTIS 2008a.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. VERSNEL 2000, 153, who also suspects Egyptian influence.

<sup>51</sup> ROBERT 1938, 108–111; GÜNTHER 1989. For this practice in the Roman amphitheatre see Appendix I nos. 8 and 10–11.

<sup>52</sup> Some of the honorary titles of Hellenistic kings may have their origin in acclamations.

<sup>53</sup> *I. Knidos* 71 (late first century AD): ... [ὁ μὲν] δῆμος ἐν οὐ μετρία συνχύ[σει γε]νέομενος διὰ τὰν ὑπάρχουσ[αν] περὶ αὐτὰν ἀρετὰν τε καὶ δόξα[ν, μετὰ] πάσας προθυμίας συνελ[θόν] ---] ἰς τὸ θέατρον, ἀνίκα ἐξεκ[ομίζετο], τὸ τε σῶμα κατέχων αὐ[τὰς] --- συν]επικελεύσατο θάπ[τεν αὐτὰμ πανδαμ]εῖ καὶ ἐπεβόασε τ[ὰν ἀρετὰν α]ὐ[τὰς], ὅπως τ[ῶν ἀξίων τιμῶν τύχοι] καὶ μετὰ τ[ὰν τελευτάν]. On this text see JONES 1999 and CHANIOTIS 2006, 224–226.

<sup>54</sup> Plutarch, *Alkibiades* 10: τοῦ δήμου κροτοῦντος καὶ βοῶντος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς; *Timoleon* 38: χρόνον τινα δοῦς ταῖς εὐφημίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις; *Aratos* 10: συνεδρίου καὶ θεάτρου μίαν φωνὴν ἀφιέντος ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν καλῶν ἐραστής. Cf. Athen. IV 168 f: ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνεβόησαν.

une»), which appears as the heading of inscriptions containing decrees and other documents approved by the popular assembly, certainly reflects oral performances during the assembly, perhaps prayers,<sup>55</sup> but possibly also acclamations.

What about religious contexts? During a festival of Dionysos the women of Elis traditionally invoked the god with the ritual phrase <worthy bull! worthy bull!>, which in content and structure is the same as an acclamation.<sup>56</sup> Analogous ritual cries were heard in many festivals, for instance ἰή, ἰή (see note 6) and ἰή, παίων in Apollo's festivals. The acclamation ἰή, παίων was so closely associated with Apollo that it eventually became an epithet of this god.<sup>57</sup> It was later used in the cult of Asklepios<sup>58</sup> and also adopted by Alexander of Abonou Teichos for the festival of Glykon Neos Asklepios.<sup>59</sup> When Marc Antony arrived to Ephesos in 41 BC and the Ephesians greeted him with acclamations calling him Dionysos *Charidotēs* and *Meilichios*,<sup>60</sup> they probably only transferred a traditional practice from one ritual context (the cult of Dionysos) to another (the advent of a monarch).

The bottom register of the <Archelaos relief> in the British Museum (second century BC?) may also be seen in the context of acclamations.<sup>61</sup> Worshippers approach in procession a deity seated behind an altar. Labels identify the deity as Homer and the worshippers as personifications, but the representation was certainly inspired by acts of worship in real life. Three worshippers raise their right arm in a gesture of salutation: their opened mouths suggest that the gesture was accompanied by words of greeting exclaimed by the entire group. What the relief represents in images, is narrated by Herodas in his *Fourth Mimiamb* (Ἀσκληπιῶι ἀνατιθεῖσαι καὶ θυσιάζουσσαι). Two women enter a temple of Asklepios bringing their dedications. One of them, Kynno, invites the gods and his *synnaoi* to accept their offerings by using words of address (lines 1–13: χαίροις, χαίροισιν, χαίροι, χαίρόντων) and laudatory epithets (lines 1–18: ἄναξ Παίηον, πάτερ Παίηον, ὦ ἄναξ); we can imagine Kynno raising her hand while approaching the god's statue and uttering these words. These are not acclamations, since there is no audience and no repetition. We come closer to acclamations when the temple warden approaches and engages himself in a dialogue with the worshippers (lines 79–86). He uses twice the ritual cry ἰή ἰή Παίηον (line 82: ἰή ἰή Παίηον, εὐμενῆς εἴης; line 85: ἰή ἰή Παίηον· ὦδε ταῦτ' εἴη), to which Kynno responds repeating the warden's last word (εἴη) and adding an acclamatory epithet (line 86: εἴη γάρ, ὦ μέγιστε). A very similar scene is described by Theocritus in his *Adoniazousai*. Two women,

<sup>55</sup> CHANIOTIS 1996, 83–85.

<sup>56</sup> FURLEY, BREMER 2001, II 373–377: ἄξιε ταῦρε, ἄξιε ταῦρε.

<sup>57</sup> *Homeric hymn on Apollo* 272.

<sup>58</sup> E. g., Herodas 4, 82–85.

<sup>59</sup> Luc., *Alex.* 39; cf. CHANIOTIS 2002, 79.

<sup>60</sup> Plut., *Anton.* 24: Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων Χαριδότην καὶ Μειλίχιον.

<sup>61</sup> NEWBY 2007 (with the earlier bibliography).

Praxinoa and Gorgo, enter the palace in Alexandria to attend the Adonia. Praxinoa admires the representation of the young god: <And look at him; how marvellous he is, lying in his silver chair with the first down spreading from the temples.> What follows (<thrice-loved Adonis>, <loved even in death>), is the spontaneous acclamation of a worshipper experiencing the effect of divine power and attesting to it. The attribute *triphiletos*, a composite of *treis*, finds its closest parallels in other acclamatory epithets, such as *trismegistos*.<sup>62</sup> This seems to be what the Greeks imply by the term *euphemia*: the use of pious language in ritual contexts.

If the verb *euphemeo*, which is already attested in Homer, encompasses ritual cries and spontaneous acclamations, then Greek rituals were not dominated by silence in the pre-Imperial period. The term *euphemia* appears, for instance, in a decree of Magnesia on the Maeander concerning a festival for Artemis Leukophryene.<sup>63</sup> In the presence of magistrates the sacred herald is to request *euphemia* after the libations and then make a prayer. The herald did not proclaim *sige* (<silence>), but *euphemia*. Could this have been the granting of permission for spontaneous acclamations in praise of the goddess? The early history of acclamations still needs to be investigated, but in the Imperial period speech rather than silence prevails: religious acclamations have left their traces in the epigraphy of the Roman East, on gems and lamps, on coins, on paintings, and on stones full of voices. In addition to reading stones, we should also be listening to them.

## Appendix I

### *Examples of secular acclamations*

1. Association of the Iobakchoi, Athens, AD 178; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1368*: ἐξ(εβόησαν)· πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τὸν κράτιστον ἱερέα Ἡρώδη· Νῦν εὐτυχεῖς· Νῦν πάντων πρῶτοι τῶν Βακχείων!
2. Acclamations for a governor, Laodikeia, c. AD 200–250; *I.Laodikeia 38*: φωναῖς· μείλιχον, εὐρέκτην, φέρτατον ἀνθυπάτων.
3. Acclamations for a benefactor, Ephesos, third century AD; *SEG L 1160*: ναοῖς τὸν σωτήρα!
4. Acclamations for the governor Taurus and the high priest Eumelos, Tralleis?, c. AD 250–300; *SEG XXXVIII 1172*: μεγάλῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Ταύρω· ναοῖς τὸν σωτήρα· πάσῃ τειμῇ [β]ουλὴν δῆμον τετείμηκας· Ἄξι[οι οἱ Πυ]λεῖται τῶν δωρεῶν· Ἄξιοι Πυ[λεῖται] πλειόνων· Εἷς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Εὐ[μηλε]· Οὐᾶ, καλῶς ἀρχιερεῦ· Μέ[γα τὸ ὄνομ]α Διονύσου!

<sup>62</sup> Theocr. *Id.* XV 84–86: αὐτὸς δ' ὡς θαητὸς ἐπ' ἀργυρέῳ κατάκειται | κλισμῶ, πρῶτον ἰσουλὸν ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλον, | ὁ τριφίλητος Ἄδωνις, ὁ κτὴν Ἀχέροντι φιληθεῖς.

<sup>63</sup> *I.Magnesia* 100 line 41 (early second century BC).

5. Acclamations for Perge, Perge, AD 275/276: *I.Perge* 331: αὔξει Πέργη, ἡ μόνη ἄσυλος· ... ἡ πρώτη ἀγορῶν· ... ἡ κορυφή τῆς Παμφυλίας· αὔξει Πέργη, ἡ μηδ[ε]ν ψευδομένη!
6. Acclamation for Perge, Gadara, undated; *SEG XLVII* 2012: αὐξίτω Πέργη, ἡ πρώτη τῆς Παμφυλίας!
7. Acclamations for Hermaios, an *eirenarches*, Termessos, late third century AD; *SEG LI* 1813: Ἐρμ[αῖος] Ἀσκουρέως τῆ πόλει[τι] ἵνα δυνάμεθα ζῆσαι· ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδημείτω ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιδημείτω το[ῦ]το συμφέρει τῆ πόλει[τι]· ψήφισμα τῷ ληστοδ[ει]ώκτῃ· ὁ εὐγενῆς λη[σ]τοδ[ει]ώκτῃς τὴν π[ό]λιν φρουρεῖτω· ὁ ληστὰς φονεύσας τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖτω.... Ἐρμαῖος Ἀ[σ]κ[ου]ρέως ληστοδ[ει]ώκτῃς ἕως ζῶμεν· ἐπι[δ]ημείτω ἵνα δυνάμεθα [ζῆ]σαι.
8. Acclamations for the donor of a venatio, mosaic inscription at Smirat (Tunisia), c. AD 250; BESCHAOUCH 1966, 139–145: *Adclamatum est: <Exemplo tuo, munus sic discant futuri! audiant praeteriti! unde tale? quando tale? Exemplo questorum munus edes, de re tua munus edes, (i)sta dies.> Magerius donat. <Hoc est habere, hoc est posse, hoc est ia(m)! nox est ia(m)! munere tuo saccis missos!>*
9. Acclamations for the benefactor Albinus, Aphrodisias, c. AD 480; ROUECHÉ 1989a, no. 83: (i) εἰς τὸν † κόσμον ὅλον εἶς ὁ θεός. (ii) πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων. (iii) πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν ἐπάρχων. (iv) φιλόπατρι κύρι διαμίνης ἡμῖν. (v) Πέρδε Ἀλβῖνε, ἡδὲ τί ἐχαρίσω. (vi) ὅλη ἡ πόλις τοῦτο λέγει· τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου τῷ ποταμῷ. ὁ μέγας θεὸς τοῦτο παράσχη. (vii) αὔξει Ἀλβῖνος ὁ κτίστης καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου. (viii) ἐκ προγόνων φιλόπατρι Ἀλβῖνε λανπρ(ότατε) ἄφθονά σοι γένοιτο. (ix) ἡ πόλις ὅλη ὁμοφώνως εὐφη[μ]ή(σα)σα λέγει· ὁ σοῦ ληθαργῶν, Ἀλβῖνε λανπρ(ότατε), θεὸν οὐκ οἶδεν.
10. Acclamation against the circus faction of the Greens, Aphrodisias, c. fifth century AD; ROUECHÉ 1989a, no. 181 ii: Κακὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν πρασίνων!
11. Acclamation for the circus faction of the Reds, Aphrodisias, c. fifth century AD; unpublished: Νίκα τῷ Ῥούσῳ!

## Appendix II

### *Examples of religious acclamations*

1. Dedication, Lydia (north of Ayazviran), 57 AD; *SEG LIII* 1344: Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Μηνὸς Ἀξιοττηνοῦ. Μηνὶ Οὐρανίῳ, Μηνὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξιοττα κατέχοντι. Γλύκων Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Μύρτιον Γλύκωνος εὐλογίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων. Σὺ γάρ με, κύριε, αἰχμαλωτιζόμενον ἠλέησες. Μέγα σοι τὸ ὄσιον, μέγα σοι τὸ δίκαιον, μεγάλη νείκη,



μεγάλα σαί νεμέσεις, μέγα σοι τὸ δωδεκάθεον τὸ παρὰ σοὶ κατεκτισμένον. Ἥχμαλωτίσθην ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ τέκνου τοῦ Δημαινέτου. Ὅτι τὰ ἐμὰ προέλειψα καὶ σοὶ βοίθεαν ἔδωκα ὡς τέκνω. Σὺ δὲ ἐξέκλεισές με καὶ ἤχμαλωτίσάς με σὺχ ὡς πάτρως, ἀλλὰ ὡς κακοῦργον. Μέγας οὖν ἐστὶ Μεῖς Ἄξιοττα κατέχων. Τὸ εἰκάνον μοι ἐποίησας. Εὐλογῶ ὑμεῖν. Ἔτους ρμβ', μη(νός) Πανήμου β'.

2. Dedication with acclamations, Hamidiye, AD 102; HERRMANN, MALAY 2007, 75–76 no. 51: Μέγας Μεῖς Οὐράνιος Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἄξιοττα κατέχων καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ, κρ[ι]τῆς ἀλάθητος ἐν οὐρανῷ.

3. Aretalogy of Sarapis (the miracle concerning the captain Syron), second century AD; *P.Oxy.* XI.1382 = TOTTI 1985, 32 f. no. 13: Ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐν ταῖς Μερκουρίου βιβλιοθήκαις· οἱ παρόντες εἶπατε εἰς Ζεὺς Σάραπισ.

4. Acclamations for Mes, Saittai, c. second century AD; TAM V.1.75: Εἷς θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Μέγας Μῆς Οὐράνιος. Μεγάλη δύναμις τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ.

5. Acclamation for Hosion kai Dikaion, Aizanoi, undated; SEG XLII 1192: Ἴς θεὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ. Μέγα τὸ Ὅσιον, μέγα τὸ Δίκεον.

6. Acclamations in the gymnasium, Delphi, late second/early third century AD 178; SEG L 613–631 (selection): (i) Ἀγα[θῆ] Τύ]χη· [εἷς θεός· μέγας] θεός· μ[έγισ]τον ὄν[ομα] τοῦ θε[οῦ]· [Πύθιος μέγας Ἀπόλλων· μεγάλη Τύχη Δελφῶν· τόπος [---ο]υ Πλα[ταιέως? παιδός] δι[α]λυ[ο]δρο[μ]ου Πυθιονίκου ---]. (ii) Ἀγα[θῆ] Τύ]χη· [τόπος Μά]ρ. Αὐρ. [Ἰούν]κ[ου? Αἰμι]λ[ι?]ανού Ὀνησίμ[ου] δολιχ[?]α[δρό]μου Πυθ[ι]ο[ν]είκ[ου]· θε[ός?· μεγάλη Τύχη Δελφῶν· μέγας ὁ Πύθιος] [Ἀπόλλων· ἐ]τύχ[ει] Δαίδα[λε]. (iii) Ἀγα[θῆ] Τύ]χη· εἷς θεός· [μέγας Πύθιος] Ἀπόλλων· [μεγάλη Τύχη Δελφῶν· μεγάλη Ἄρ]τεμις· [μεγάλη] Ἑκάτη· τόπος Σεξ(τίου) Πρίμου. (iv) Ἀγα[θῆ] Τύ]χη· εἷς θεός ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· μέγας Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων· [μεγάλη Τύχη Δελφῶν· τόπος --- τοῦ Θεοδούλου ... παιδός διαλυδρομ] [Πυθιονίκου ὑπὸ προστάτην ---]. (v) Ἀγα[θῆ] Τύ]χη· εἷς θεός· μέγας Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων Δελφῶν· [τόπος Σ]ωσικλῆ[ος] παιδός διαλυδρομ[ου] Πυθιονίκου ὑπὸ προστάτην [-----]μην Μ.Ν [-----] Λακεδεμόνιον· [μεγάλη Τύχη τῆς πόλεως]· εὐτυχῶς]. (vi) Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις Προ[?]θυραία. Μέγας ἅγιος Παλέμων. (vii) Ἀγα[θῆ] Τύ]χη· [εἷς] θεός ἐν οὐρανῷ· [μέγας Πύθιος] Ἀπόλλων· [μεγάλη Τύχη Δελφῶν· τόπος Θεοδό]του Θεσπαιῶς [παιδός?] διαλυδρομ[ου] .....τος κατὰ ΑΝ...

7. Acclamation, Ephesos, third century AD; *I.Ephesos* 3100; SEG L 982: μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, μέγα τὸ ὄσιον, μέγα τὸ ἀγαθόν.

8. Acclamations for Sarapis, Rome, second/third century AD; *IGUR* 192; *IG XIV* 1028; *IGR* 1028: [---] καὶ ὁ μέγας Σάραπισ· ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ σοὶ γένοιτο Νειλάγωγε· καλή σου πᾶσα ὥρα, εὐεργέτα Σάραπι.

9. Gold amulet with acclamation, Perinthos, first/second century AD; *I.Perinthos* 43: Εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις.
10. Drachma, Alexandria, reign of Hadrian; STAFFIERI 1996: Εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις.
11. Stone stele with representation of a raised hand, Quintanilla de Somoza, province of León, third/fourth century AD; DE HOZ 1997: Εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις Ιαω.
12. Acclamations in the Mithraeum, Dura-Europos, third century AD; CUMONT, ROSTOVITZ 1939, 87 and 120: (i) Ναμα θεῶ Μίθρα· ναμα πατράσι Λιβειανῶ καὶ Θεοδώρῳ ναμα καὶ Μαρεῖνῳ πετίτορι· ναμα πᾶσι τοῖς συνδεξίοις παρὰ τῷ θε[ῶ]. (ii) ναμα ἐλπῖσι Ἄντωνεῖνῳ [στ]ερεώτη ἀγαθῶ συνδεξίῳ, τῷ εὖσεβεῖ.

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