

CAPInv. 361: **koinon ton orgeonon**

I. LOCATION

i. Geographical area	Attica with Salamis
ii. Region	Attica
iii. Site	Piraeus

II. NAME

i. Full name (original language)	κοινὸν τῶν ὀργεόνων (IG II ² 1314, l. 12; IG II ² 1316, l. 18; IG II ² 1327, l. 23; IG II ² 1334, l. 14)
ii. Full name (transliterated)	<i>koinon ton orgeonon</i>

III. DATE

i. Date(s)	272 - 70 (?) BC
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IV. NAME AND TERMINOLOGY

ii. Name elements	Cultic: <i>orgeones</i>
iii. Descriptive terms	κοινόν, <i>koinon</i> . σύνοδος, <i>synodos</i>
Note	<i>koinon</i> : IG II ² 1314, l. 12; IG II ² 1316, l. 18; IG II ² 1327, l. 23; IG II ² 1334, l. 14 <i>synodos</i> , IG II ² 1329, l. 8.

V. SOURCES

<p>i. Source(s)</p> <p>Note</p> <p>Online Resources</p>	<p>IG II² 1314 (213/2 BC) IG II² 1315 (211/0 BC) IG II² 1316 (272/1 BC) IG II² 1327 (178/7 BC) IG II² 1328A (183/2 BC) IG II² 1328B (175/4 BC) IG II² 1329 (175/4 BC) IG II² 1334 (c. 70 BC) Agora XVI 235 (212/1 BC)</p> <p>Ed. pr. IG II² 1314: <i>An.Ép.</i> 1862: 1 no. 1. IG II² 1315: Koumanoudis, St. (1860), <i>Hellenikai epigraphai</i>. Athenai 4 no. 5. (<i>APMA</i> 3: 271 no. 109) IG II² 1316: <i>BCH</i> 7 (1883) 69-75 no. 2. The inscription is written <i>stoichedon</i>. IG II² 1327: <i>Archaeologische Zeitung</i> 13/82-83 (1855) cols 83-85 no. 1. (<i>APMA</i> 5, 367 no. 2432) IG II² 1328: <i>An.Ép.</i> 1862: 189 no. 198. IG II² 1329: <i>Athenaion</i> 8 (1879) 294. (<i>APMA</i> 1, 73 no. 366) IG II² 1334: Koumanoudis, St. (1860), <i>Epigraphai hellenikai anekdotai</i>. Athenai, no. 6. (<i>APMA</i> 3, 272 no. 111) Agora XVI 235: <i>Hesperia</i> 26 (1957) 209 no. 57. (= SEG 17: 36)</p> <p>Other publications IG II² 1314: Lueders no.17; Foucart no. 7; Michel no. 981; CCCA 2.261; GRA I 28. IG II² 1315: Lueders no. 23; Foucart no. 8; Michel no. 982; CCCA 2.262; GRA I 29. IG II² 1316: Michel no. 983; CCCA 2.259; GRA I 16. IG II² 1327: Lueders no. 16; Foucart no. 6; Michel no. 984; CCCA 2.264; GRA I 35; AGRW 20. IG II² 1328: <i>Athenaion</i> 8 (1879) 294; Lueders no. 24; Foucart no. 4-5; Prott - Ziehen II, i 44; Michel no. 1559; LSCG 48. (SEG 25: 159); CCCA 2.263; GRA I 34; AGRW 19. IG II² 1329: Prott - Ziehen II, i p. 127; <i>Syll</i>³ 1102; Michel no. 985; LSCG 48; CCCA 2.265; GRA I 37. IG II² 1334: Lueders no. 18; Foucart no. 9; CCCA 2.266; GRA I 45.</p> <p>Cf. SEG 39: 195; SEG 44: 58; SEG 53: 163; SEG 55: 1975; SEG 56: 3; SEG 57: 29. <i>BE</i> 1938, no. 104; 1957, no. 175; 1995, no. 230.</p> <p>IG II² 1314 and AGRW ID 3914 IG II² 1315 and AGRW ID 3918 IG II² 1316 and AGRW ID 3686 IG II² 1327 and AGRW ID 3106 IG II² 1328 and AGRW ID 3102 IG II² 1329 and AGRW ID 3932 IG II² 1334 and AGRW ID 3952 Agora XVI 235</p>
<p>i.a. Source type(s)</p>	<p>Epigraphic source(s)</p>
<p>i.b. Document(s) typology & language/script</p>	<p>A series of Greek honorary decrees for priestesses (IG II² 1314; IG II² 1315; IG II² 1316; IG II² 1334; Agora XVI 235), a treasurer (IG II² 1327), a secretary (IG II² 1329), an assistant to the priestess (ζάκορος, <i>zakoros</i>, IG II² 1328B), and a regulation about the provisions for celebrations (IG II² 1328, ll. 1-20).</p>
<p>i.c. Physical format(s)</p>	<p>IG II² 1314: Marble pedimental stele measuring 1,10x0,38-44m. IG II² 1315: Marble pedimental stele measuring 0,85x0,29m. IG II² 1316: Marble stele with incised crowns at the top and bottom. IG II² 1327: Marble pedimental stele measuring 0,68x0,48m. IG II² 1328: Marble stele with a crown incised on top measuring 1,06x0,64m. IG II² 1329: Marble stele measuring 0,86x0,42m. IG II² 1334: Marble stele measuring 0,18x0,14m. Agora XVI 235: Fragment of a marble stele, measuring 0,27x0,245m.</p>
<p>ii. Source(s) provenance</p>	<p>Some of the inscriptions were found during excavations of the French army occupying Piraeus in 1855; see Michon 1918. IG II² 1314: Found in Piraeus, location Myloi, now in Piraeus Museum. IG II² 1315: Found in Piraeus, now in the Epigraphical Museum, EM 7855. IG II² 1316: Found in Piraeus, apud Alex. Meletopoulos. IG II² 1327: Found in Zea, Piraeus, now in the Epigraphical Museum, EM 7854. IG II² 1328: Found in Piraeus, now in the Epigraphical Museum, EM 10550. IG II² 1329: Found in Piraeus, now in the Epigraphical Museum, EM 7842. IG II² 1334: Found in Melos, now in the Epigraphical Museum, EM 7764. Agora XVI 235: Found built on a wall east of a late Roman fortification, north of Akropolis, now in the Agora, I 4991.</p>

VI. BUILT AND VISUAL SPACE

ii. References to buildings/objects

References to:

precinct (τέμενος, *temenos*, IG II² 1314, ll. 23-4).

Metroon (Μητροῶν, *Metroon*, IG II² 1327, l. 27).

sanctuary (ἱερόν, *hieron*, IG II² 1314, l. 11; IG II² 1315, l. 15; IG II² 1316, l. 9; IG II² 1328, l. 20; IG II² 1329, l. 9; IG II² 1334, l. 8).

stone slab (στήλη λιθίνη, *stèle lithine*, IG II² 1314, l. 23; IG II² 1315, l. 27; IG II² 1316, l. 21; IG II² 1327, ll. 26, 29; IG II² 1328, ll. 20, 44).

portrait (εἰκόν, *eikon*, IG II² 1314, l. 18; IG II² 1329, ll. 27-8; IG II² 1334, ll. 17-8).

framed portrait (εἰκὼν ἐν πίνακι, *eikon en pinaki*, IG II² 1327, ll. 24, 28).

bed (κλίνη, *kline*) (IG II² 1315, l. 9).

dedications (ἀναθήματα, *anathemata*, IG II² 1316, l. 11).

thrones (θρόνοι, *thronoi*, IG II² 1328, l. 10).

silver decorations (κόσμος ἀργυροῦς, *kosmos argyrous*, IG II² 1328, l. 11).

VII. ORGANIZATION

iii. Members

Members of the group are called ὀργεῶνες, *orgeones*, IG II² 1314, ll. 9, 13, 22; IG II² 1315, ll. 16, 19, 26, 29; IG II² 1316, ll. 9-10, 14, 19; IG II² 1327, ll. 6, 17, 20; IG II² 1328, ll. 8, 22, 28, 30, 33, 37, 39, 44; IG II² 1329, ll. 4, 7-8, 14, 19, 22, 25; IG II² 1334, ll. 11, 17; Agora XVI 235, l. 9.

In IG II² 1316 the members of the group in the incised crowns on the stele are called θιασῶται, *thiasotai*.

A lot of ink has been spilled in order to explain this occurrence, for a summary see GRA I 16. The scenario of a scribe's confusion may be the most likely (cf. Ferguson 1994: 110-1), since it is established that a sanctuary could have been used by more than one associations and according to the fresh dating of the documents, *thiasotai* association did not precede the *orgeones* one.

iv. Officials

Secretary (γραμματεὺς, *grammateus*, IG II² 1328, l. 44; IG II² 1329, l. 5).

Treasurer (ταμίας, *tamias*, IG II² 1316, ll. 22-3; IG II² 1327, l. 4; IG II² 1329, l. 17).

Steward (ἐπιμελητής, *epimeletes*, IG II² 1314, l. 21; IG II² 1316, l. 23; three in IG II² 1327, ll. 31-3).

Priestess (ἱέρεια, *hierēia*, IG II² 1314, ll. 3-4, 11, 14, 26; IG II² 1315, ll. 5, 29, 31; IG II² 1316, ll. 7, 15; IG II² 1328, ll. 6, 8, 17, 19, 23, 28-9, 33-4, 41; IG II² 1334, l. 4, 13, 15).

Known practice of appointment

Priestesses are allotted, λαχούσα, *lachousa* (IG II² 1314, ll. 4, 10; IG II² 1315, l. 5; IG II² 1334, l. 4, 6).

v. Other staff

Temple warden (ζάκορος, *zakoros*, IG II² 1328, ll. 16-7, 31, 35, 39).

Cup-bearers (φιαληφόροι, *phialephoroi*, IG II² 1328, l. 10).

Known practice of appointment

The temple warden in IG II² 1328, 21-44 is appointed exceptionally for life by decision of the association. The regular procedure of appointment rested on a decision of the serving priestess to select one of the priestesses who has served previously; it is described in ll. 17-9: καθιστάτω δὲ ἡ αἰεὶ λαγχάνουσα ἱερέ[ια ζάκο]ρον ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων [τ]ῶν γεγενε<α>ῶν π[ρ]ότερον, δ[ί]ς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν [μὴ ἐξεῖ]ναι καταστήσαι ἕως ἂν ἅπασαι διέλθωσιν, *kathistato de he aeī lanchanousa hierē[ia zako]ron ek ton hierēion [t]on gegene<α>ion p[r]oteron, d[i]s de ten autēn [me exeī]nai katastesai heos an hapasai dielthosin*.

vi. Laws and rules

The association prescribes what the priestess (ἱέρεια, *hierēia*) has to provide and how the bowl-bearers (φιαληφόροι, *phialephoroi*) should be embelished, IG II² 1328, ll. 8-11: τὴν λαχούσαν ἱερείαν εἰς [τὸν] μετὰ [Ἐρ]μογένην ἄρχοντα ἐνιαυτόν, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς [σ]τ[ρω]ννύειν | θρόνους δύο [ὄς] καλλίστους, περιτιθέναι δὲ ταῖς φιαληφόροις καὶ τ[α]ῖς πε[ρ]ὶ τὴν θεὸν οὔσαις ἐν τῷ ἀγεμ[ῶ]ι κόσμον ἀργυροῦν, *ten lachousan hierēian eis [ton] meta [Her]mogēnen archonta eniauton, kata tauta de kai tas loipas [s]t[ro]nnuein thronous duo [hos] kallistous, peritithenai de tais phialephoroiis kai t[a]i[s] pe[r]i ten theon ousais en toi agerm[o]i kosmon ar[gyrou]n*.

Rule about the appointment and iteration in the function of *zakoros*, IG II² 1328, ll. 17-9: καθιστάτω δὲ ἡ αἰεὶ λαγχάνουσα ἱερέ[ια ζάκο]ρον ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων [τ]ῶν γεγενε<α>ῶν π[ρ]ότερον, δ[ί]ς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν [μὴ ἐξεῖ]ναι καταστήσαι ἕως ἂν ἅπασαι διέλθωσιν, *kathistato de he aeī lanchanousa hierē[ia zako]ron ek ton hierēion [t]on gegene<α>ion p[r]oteron, d[i]s de ten autēn [me exeī]nai katastesai heos an hapasai dielthosin*.

vii. Judicial system

In case of violation of the above provision, the priestess (ἱέρεια, *hiereia*) will be liable to pay a fine of 50 drachmas, she shall be deprived of the praise, and she shall be removed, IG II² 1328, ll. 11-6: [ἐὰν] [δ]ὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖ, κύριοι ἔ[σ]τωσαν οἱ ὀργεῶνες ζημιούντε[ς τῆ]ν [π]α[ρ]αβαίνουσα[ν] | τι τῶν γεγραμμένων μέχρι δραχμῶν π[εν]τήκον[τα κα]ὶ εἰσπρατ[τόν]των τρόποι ὅτοι ἂν [δύ]νονται μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ μηθενὶ μηδ' ἐπισηφίσαι | τὸν εἰθισμένον ἔπαινον αὐταῖς· κύριοι δ' ἔστωσαν καὶ τὸ φύλλον τὰ[ξ]α[τ] | ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπειθούσης, *[ea]n [d]e para tauta poiei, kyrioi e[st]tosan oi orgeones zemiounte[s te]n [p]a[r]abainousa[n] ti ton gegrammenon mechri drachmon p[en]tekon[ta ka]i eisprat[ton]ton tropoi hotoi an [dynontai; m]e exeinai de metheni med' episephisai ton eithismenon epainon autais; kyrioi d' estosan kai to phyllon ta[x]a[i] hyper tes apeithouses.*

Also if anyone violates the rule about iteration in the function of *zakoros*, they are going to be liable to the same fine, IG II² 1328, ll. 18-9: εἰ δ[ὲ] μή, ἔν[ο]χος ἔ[σ]τω | ἡ ἱέρεια τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις, *ei d[e] me, en[och]os e[sto] he hiereia tois autois epitimiais.*

VIII. PROPERTY AND POSSESSIONS

i. Treasury/Funds

The association had a treasury designated as κοινόν, *koinon*, IG II² 1327, l. 29; IG II² 1316, ll. 23-4). The association set up a fund called ἔρανος, *eranos* on the initiative of Hermaios son of Hermogenes of Paionidai, IG II² 1327, ll. 13-5: καὶ τοῦ ἐράνου τοῦ ἀργυρηροῦ ἀρχηγὸς γενόμενος συναχθῆναι, *kai tou eranou tou argyrou archegos genomenos synachthenai.*

ii. Realty

The association perhaps owned a sanctuary which is designated variously as Μητροῶν (*Metroon*, IG II² 1327, l. 7), temple (ναός, *naos*, IG II² 1327, l. 25; IG II² 1329, l. 28; IG II² 1334, l. 18; IG II² 1315, l. 28; IG II² 1314, l. 18), ἱερὸν (*hieron*, IG II² 1329, ll. 9, 30; IG II² 1334, l. 8; IG II² 1316, ll. 9, 21; IG II² 1315, l. 15; IG II² 1328, l. 20), precinct (τέμενος, *temenos*, IG II² 1314, ll. 23-4). Ferguson 1944: 113 claimed that the precinct was enclosed by a wall.

iii. Income

The mentioned income of the group derived mainly from the fines imposed on recalcitrant officials, see above section on judicial system. In IG II² 1316, ll. 12-3 the honoured priestess and her husband are reported to have handed down the income accrued during their term of office: ἀπέδοκᾶν [δ]ὲ κα[ὶ] τῆν π[ρ]όσοδον [τῆ]ν γ[ε]ν[ο]μένην ἐφ' αὐτῶν [δικ]αίως, *apedokan [d]e ka[i] ten p[rosodo]n [ten g]e[n]omenen eph' auton [dik]aios.* Although not strictly an income, individuals like the one honoured in IG II² 1329 contributed to the financial health of the association by proposing to cut unnecessary expenses (ll. 10-13: εἰσήνεκεν δὲ καὶ | ψηφίσματα ἐπὶ τοῖς συμφέροντι ἵνα συνσταλῶσιν αἱ λίαν ἄκαιροι δαπάναι, *eiseneken de kai psephismata epi toi synpheronti hina synstalosin hai lian akairoi dapanai*) and lend money in advance to the group (ll. 16-7: προευχρήστηκεν δὲ καὶ διάφορον | πλεονάκις ἄτοκον ἀποδημόντος τοῦ ταμίου, *proeuchresteken de kai diaphoron pleonakis atokon apodemountos tou tamiou.*

IX. MEMBERSHIP

i. Number

Around twenty members (?) are mentioned.

ii. Gender

Men
Women

Note

Men: 13
Women: 7
Ferguson 1944: 109 n.53 thinks that the allotment of women as priestesses did not make them members. Robert 1936: 207 identifies *hiereia* Glaukon of IG II² 1316 with the priestess in IG II² 4687a.

iii. Age

Adults

iv. Status

Citizen: 10
Unidentified: 10

X. ACTIVITIES

i. Assemblies	<p>The association hold regular meetings, perhaps monthly on <i>Mounychion</i> (April/May), designated as main assembly (ἀγορᾶ κυρία, <i>agorai kyriai</i>), IG II² 1314, ll. 1-2; IG II² 1315, l. 3; IG II² 1327, l. 2; IG II² 1328, ll. 4, 21; IG II² 1329, l. 1-2; IG II² 1334, ll. 1-2. Only in IG II² 1316, l. 5 the assembly was held on <i>Hekatombaion</i> (July/August).</p>
iii. Worship	<p>Members and officials of the association were organizing and participating in a variety of rituals, such as sacrifices (θύσῳιαι, <i>thysiai</i>, Agora XVI 235, l. 5; IG II² 1327, ll. 8, 25; IG II² 1334, ll. 9-10, 19; IG II² 1315, ll. 6-9, 24; IG II² 1314, l. 20), the spreading of a couch of the gods (στρώσις (τῆς κλίνης τῶν θεῶν), <i>strosis (tes lines ton theon)</i>: Agora XVI 235, 7-8; IG II² 1315, ll. 9-10), collection of money (ἀγερμοί, <i>agermoi</i>, IG II² 1329, l. 15). For the sacrifices at the beginning of the new year (εἰσιτητήρια, <i>eisiteteria</i>, IG II² 1315, l. 7) see Ferguson 1944: 113. The worshipped deity is referred to without exception as the goddess (ἡ θεός, <i>he theos</i>), IG II² 1328, ll. 11, 27, 33, 35-37, 39, 42; IG II² 1314, ll. 7, 12, 16, 24; IG II² 1316, ll. 17-18; IG II² 1334, ll. 9, 14, 16) or the goddesses (θεαί, <i>theai</i>, IG II² 1315, ll. 14, 18, 22; IG II² 1329, l. 25) or the gods (θεοί, <i>theoi</i>, IG II² 1327, ll. 5, 8, 19). It is meant the Mother of the Gods and her consort deities. Reference to a festival of Attis in IG II² 1315, l. 10.</p>
Deities worshipped	<p>ἡ θεός, <i>he theos</i>: Mother of the Gods and her consort deities</p>
iv. Honours/Other activities	<p>The association honoured the serving magistrates with a praise (ἐπαινέσαι, <i>epainesai</i>, IG II² 1314, l. 14; IG II² 1315, l. 20; IG II² 1316, l. 14; IG II² 1327, l. 17; IG II² 1329, ll. 22-3; IG II² 1334, l. 14), a crown (στέφανος, <i>stephanos</i>, IG II² 1327, l. 18), sometimes an olive-leaves crown (θαλλοῦ στέφανος, <i>thallou stephanos</i>, IG II² 1329, l. 24; IG II² 1334, ll. 15-6; IG II² 1315, l. 21; IG II² 1314, l. 15) or a golden crown (χρυσῶδες στέφανος, <i>chrysous stephanos</i>, IG II² 1316, l. 16), proclamation of the crown (ἀναγόρευσις, <i>anagoreusis</i>, IG II² 1329, l. 26; IG II² 1315, ll. 24-5; IG II² 1314, ll. 20-1), dedication of an engraved portrait at the expenses of the group (IG II² 1327, l. 24; IG II² 1329, ll. 27-8; IG II² 1334, 17-8; IG II² 1314, l. 18). The honoured individual in IG II² 1327 has provided funds for the burial of destitute members, ll. 10-2: καί τισιν τῶν ἀπογεγονότων οὐχ ὑπάρχοντος ἀργυρίου τῶι κοινῶι προίεμενος εἰς τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ εὐσχημονεῖν αὐτοῦς καὶ τετελευτηκότας, <i>kai tisin ton apogegonoton ouch hyparchontos argyriou toi koinoi proiemenos eis ten taphen tou euschemonein autous kai teteleutekotas</i>. The priestesses were honoured because of their piety (εὐσέβεια, <i>eusebeia</i>) and zeal (φιλοτιμία, <i>philotimia</i>), IG II² 1314, ll. 15-7; IG II² 1315, ll. 21-2 with the exception of IG II² 1316, 16-7: ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ δικαιοσύνης, <i>aretēs heneken kai dikaiosynēs</i>. The treasurer in IG II² 1327, ll. 18-9 and the secretary in IG II² 1329, ll. 24-5 were honoured because of their virtue (ἀρετή, <i>arete</i>) and piety (εὐσέβεια, <i>eusebeia</i>).</p>

XI. INTERACTION

i. Local interaction	<p>Ambiguous phrase denoting perhaps the participation of the lower strata of the Athenian population to association's contributions, IG II² 1329, ll. 12-4: ἐφρόντισεν δὲ τοῦ καὶ τοὺς δημοτικούς μετέχειν τῶν δεδομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ὀργεῶνων φιλανθρώπων, <i>ephrontisen de tou kai tous demotikous metechein ton dedomenon hypo ton orgeonon philanthropon</i>, Ferguson 1944: 113. Note that one of the members, Simon, son of Simon of Poros (IG II² 1327, l. 32) is attested as member in the <i>orgeones Dionysiastai</i> (CAPInv. 235).</p>
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XII. NOTES

i. Comments	<p>The above mentioned decrees were issued in the following archonships: IG II² 1314: Herakleitos. IG II² 1315: Aischron. IG II² 1316: Lysitheides. IG II² 1327: Philon. IG II² 1328A: Hermogenes IG II² 1328B: Sonikos. IG II² 1329: Sonikos. IG II² 1334: [Z]enion. It is tempting (but precarious) to associate the dedication IG II² 2950/1 from second-century Piraeus, by Nikias, the treasurer, to the Mother of the Gods with this group.</p>
ii. Poland concordance	<p>IG II² 1314: Poland A2b IG II² 1315: Poland A2e IG II² 1316: Poland A2c IG II² 1327: Poland A2d IG II² 1328: Poland A2g-h IG II² 1329: Poland A2i IG II² 1334: Poland A2f</p>
iii. Bibliography	<p>Arnautoglou, I. (2003), <i>Thusias heneka kai sunousias. Private religious associations in Hellenistic Athens</i>. Athens: 109-11, 116-7, 149. Baslez, M-F. (2001), 'Entre traditions nationales et intégration: les associations sémitiques du monde grec', in S. Ribichini, M. Rocchi, and P. Xella (eds.), <i>La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca. Stato degli studi e prospettive della ricerca</i> (Atti del Colloquio Internazionale Roma, 20-22 maggio 1999), Roma: 235-47. Baslez, M.-F. (2006), 'Entraide et mutualisme dans les associations des cités grecques à l'époque hellénistique' in M. Molin (ed.), <i>Les régulations sociales dans l'antiquité</i> (Actes du colloque d'Angers 23 et 24 mai 2003). Rennes: 157-70. Ferguson, W. (1944), 'The Attic orgeones', <i>HThR</i> 37: 61-140 esp. 107-15, 137-40. Ismard, P. (2010), <i>La cité des réseaux. Athènes et ses associations VIe – Ier siècle av. J.-C.</i>. Paris: 286-7, 347-57. Jones, N. (1999), <i>The associations of classical Athens. A response to democracy</i>. New York: 262-7. Michon, E. (1918), 'Buste de Mélitiné, prêtresse du Métroon du Pirée (musée du Louvre)' <i>Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires</i> 75: 93-129. Mikalson, J. (1998), <i>Religion in Hellenistic Athens</i>. Los Angeles: 142-3, 148, 202-4, 277-8. Pakkanen, P. (1996), <i>Interpreting early Hellenistic religion. A study based on the mystery cult of Demeter and the cult of Isis</i>. Helsinki. Parker, R. (1996), <i>Athenian religion. A history</i>. Oxford: 192-3. Robert, L. (1936), 'Etudes epigraphiques', <i>BCH</i> 60: 190-207. Roller, L. (1999), <i>In search of God the Mother. The cult of Anatolian Cybele</i>. Berkeley: 219-24. Tracy, S. (1990), <i>Attic letter-cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.</i>. Berkeley: 77, 126. Tracy, S. (2011), 'Line 6 of IG ii² 1334 revisited', <i>ZPE</i> 179: 139-40. Verdejo Manchado, J. and Antela-Bernardez, B. (2011), 'IG II² 1334: A crown for Onaso and the archon Athenion', <i>ZPE</i> 177: 91-96. Wilhelm, A. (1897), 'Zu griechischen Inschriften', <i>AEMO</i> 20: 90. Wilhelm, A. (1902), 'Inscription aus dem Peiraius', <i>JÖAI</i> 5: 132.</p>

XIII. EVALUATION

i. Private association	Certain
Note	The association displays all the hallmarks of a private association: distinct name, membership, organization, property and durability.