

Place Names as Divine Epithets in Pausanias

1 Introduction

Pausanias' relevance to the study of divine epithets is obvious.¹ The *Periegesis* has been used as a source for the research on Greek epicleses by both historians of religion and historically-minded linguists, interested in comparative material. The question remains as to whether Pausanias availed himself of the oral tradition or alternatively of written literary sources while compiling his work.² Are divine epicleses related to place names drawn mainly from local informants or from written sources such as scholia, lexica, and literary documents?³ Is it possible to tell them apart in each individual case? In the absence of parallels in written documents, are we allowed to infer that Pausanias ought to have used them, or else to have profited from a source common both to him and the authors of lexica or scholia? And, for that matter, how are we to prove that he did not make use of a mixture of both written and oral sources?

My contribution is not aimed at sifting through the evidence in order to settle the matter, far from it. Bearing in mind that many epicleses gathered in the *Periegesis* are connected to geographic space and definite locations, it has rather the modest aim of (a) collecting the epicleses related to place names in Pausanias, (b) attempting a most basic semantic classification of them, and (c) referring to (a selection of) parallels in epigraphy, lexicography, and literary documents. It should be viewed merely as a first instalment of a larger study on all the epicleses attested in the work of Pausanias, carried out mainly from a philological point of view. With that in view, I have allowed myself a brief excursus in section 5 ("Combined geographical epithets"), where I try to draw some parallels, mainly from epigraphy, in order to assess a double and otherwise unattested epiclesis of Aphrodite in Pausanias. Even if my classification does not appeal to the reader, the data collected in the appendices will hopefully trigger further research.

¹ Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2008.

² Cf. Pretzler 2005.

³ Cf. Gaertner 2006.

Note: I thank an anonymous reader for the useful suggestions

2 Data

There are about 130 place names employed as divine epithets in Pausanias. A full list of epicleses, classified according to the relevant deity, is given in Appendix A, with selective reference to epigraphic, literary, and lexicographic material. These epicleses may be roughly divided up into two groups, topographic and toponymic epithets. As will become clear, this division is undertaken for heuristic purposes and does not always reflect a plain and obvious distinction between place epithets.

2.1 Topographic and Toponymic Epithets

Topographic epithets refer to various locations endowed with the same distinctive features (either natural or man-made). Examples: Ἀγνιεύς ‘of the streets’, Ἀγοραῖος/-ία ‘of the market’, Ἀκράια ‘of the height’, Πολιάς/-εὺς ‘of the city’, Λιμναία ‘of the lake’, Πρόναος ‘before the temple’, Προπυλαία ‘before the gate’, Ἐπιπυργιδία ‘on the tower’, Ὀριος ‘of the borders’, Χθονία ‘under the earth’, Σπηλαΐτης ‘of the cave’, Δωματίτης ‘of the house’, Πελαγαῖος ‘of the sea’, Ἐρκεῖος ‘of the front court’, and so forth. It should be stressed that they are usually a blend of the generic and the particular: πολιεύς means “of the city” in general *and* of the relevant city to which the epithet applies.⁴

Toponymic epithets are derived from names of cities, villages, settlements, or geographical features such as mountain, promontory, cape, river, cave, hill, etc. endowed with a proper name.⁵ Examples include Apollo Παρράσιος ‘of Parrhasia’ (city in south Arcadia), Artemis Καρυάτις ‘of Caryae’ (town in Laconia), Aphrodite Κωλιάς ‘(of) Colias’ (promontory in Attica), Athena Ζωστηρία ‘of Zoster’ (cape on the west coast of Attica), Dionysus Λευκυανίτης ‘of Leucyanias’ (river, tributary of the Alpheius), Zeus Κροκεάτας ‘of Croceae’ (village in Laconia), Demeter Προσύμνη ‘of Prosymna’ (town in Argolis), Asclepius Αὐλώνιος ‘of Aulon’ (town in Messenia), etc.

It is nonetheless not always easy to ascertain whether one is dealing with a toponymic epithet at all. A dozen or so examples are dubious as to the exact reference:

• Apollo Ἀργεώτας ‘[?]of Ἀργέου νῆσος’ (Egyptian islet off Canopus)? • Apollo Ἀκρίτας ‘[?](of) Acritas’ (mountain range and cape in Messenia)? • Apollo Κλάριος ‘of Claros’

⁴ The same holds e.g., for Helios ἐν τῷ Ἄστει ‘in the city’ (*ILindos* II, 135) and Ennodia Φαστικά (*SEG* 35, 590b). I will not consider here the compound epithet type with local reference such as Athena Πυλαμάχος ‘fighting at the gate/in Pylos’ (*Ar. Eq.* 1172), Zeus Σωσίπολις ‘upholding the city’ (*Magnesia* 2), Athena Φαστυόχος (*IG* V,2, 77, 1), Zeus Κρηταγενής ‘born in Crete’ (*I.Cret.* II, xvii, 1), Zeus Ὀρομπάτας ‘roaming the mountains’ (*RDAC* [1972]201, B).

⁵ In other words, whenever a topographic feature receives an individualising proper name, telling it apart from other topographic features of the same kind, I shall consider the epithet related to it as toponymic.

(sanctuary on the Ionian coast) or ‘of the lots’? • Apollo Μαλεάτης ‘of Malea’ (Cape Μαλέα in Laconia) or related to Malos, the first one to build the altar (Isyll., *Coll. Alex.* 132–1333, 27–28), or a different god altogether?⁶ • Artemis Μυσία ‘(of) Mysia’ (in Argolis, cf. Paus. 2.18.3) or ‘of the mouse’?⁷ • Similarly, Demeter Μυσία ‘(of) Mysia’, place name in Argolis or the man who entertained Demeter? • Athena Σκιράς ‘of Scirum’ (place Σκίρον near Eleusis) or related to the ceremonial canopy called σκίρον, or else to the seer Σκίρος from Dodona? • Zeus Σκοτίτας ‘(of) Scotitas’: what came first, epithet or place name?⁸ • Hera Βουναία ‘of the hill’ (βουνός ‘mound’) or, according to Pausanias, because of Bunus (Βούνος), son of Hermes? • Pan Νόμιος ‘of Nomos’ (mountain range in Arcadia) or related to νόμιος ‘of shepherds’? • Hermes Ἀκακήσιος ‘of Acacesium’ (town in Arcadia) or does it mean ‘sagacious’, or even ‘benevolent’?⁹ • Athena Ἀλέα ‘(of) Alea’ (site at Tegea in Arcadia) or originally a different goddess, whose name was later adopted as an epiclesis of Athena?¹⁰

In the last three cases, I strongly believe that no place name epithet is involved. A few examples, on the other hand, attest to the occasional difficulty in telling toponymic and topographic epithets apart. Artemis Κορυφαία, for instance, may be either taken as ‘of Mount Coryphon’ (near Epidaurus) or ‘of the peak’; Artemis Λιμναία, either ‘of Limnae’ (village on the frontiers of Messenia and Laconia) or ‘of the lake’; Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις, either as ‘in the gardens’ or ‘in the Gardens’ (a place where Aphrodite’s temple was built, on the right side of the Ilisus).¹¹ All ambiguous cases are marked with an asterisk in Appendices B and C.

Others might pertain to ethnonyms rather than to place epithets, like Artemis Περσική ‘of the Persians’ (or should one interpret it as ‘of Persia?’), Athena Λημνία ‘of the Lemnians’ (or ‘of Lemnos?’), Dionysus Κρήσιος ‘of the Cretans’ (or ‘of Crete?’), Hera Σαμία ‘of the Samians’ (or ‘of Samos?’), Apollo, Asclepius, and Hygieia Αἰγύπτιοι ‘of the Egyptians’ (or ‘of Egypt?’).¹² Finally, at least two examples might conceal a

⁶ Cf. Parker 2017, 20, and McInerney 2013, 60–67.

⁷ See Krappe 1944.

⁸ Paus. 3.10.6 τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν τὸ δὲ σκότος οὐ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας ‘the name of the district, Scotitas, is not due to the unbroken woods but to Zeus surnamed Scotitas’.

⁹ Cf. Beekes 2009, 48 (s.v. ἀκάκητα).

¹⁰ See McInerney 2013, 55–60. Ἀλέα may originally have meant “(goddess) protection” (cf. Macedo 2016, 76).

¹¹ Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 63–66. One may mention Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἑλεῖ ‘in Helos’ (*IG* V,1, 602, 10) as against Demeter ἐν Ἑλεῖ ‘in the marsh’ (Paus. 8.36.6).

¹² I will not consider the following epithets that are akin to ethnonyms: Athena Παναχαΐς ‘of all Achaea’, Demeter Παναχαΐα ‘id.’, Zeus Πανελλήνιος ‘of all the Hellenes’, Aphrodite Πάνδημος ‘of all the people’. This last epiclesis might incidentally be taken as a case halfway between ethnonym and place epithet: the deme πάνδημος refers to may well be evident in each case but is not mentioned.

geographical reference, but are too obscure to enable a decision: Apollo Θυρξεύς (7.21.13), Zeus and Poseidon Λαοίτας (5.14.4; 5.24.1).

As a cautionary remark, one may bear in mind that certain place epithets, while retaining their plain denotative function, may transcend space and take root in the mythic sphere, such as, for instance, Apollo Delios. Others may also be strongly correlated with iconography, like Artemis Ephesia and Aphrodite Cnidia, so that the geographical aspect is only one among others that come to the fore when using the epiclesis. Furthermore, some local epithets refer to isolated sanctuaries and are not necessarily attached to the communities of which the deity is a patron.¹³

2.2 Distribution

Place epithets amount to roughly 30% to 35% of all epicleses in Pausanias (ca. 140 out of ca. 440 tokens). This figure is evenly distributed among the deities, whose place name epithets range in average from 30% to 40% of their epicleses. Interestingly, Ares has no geographical epithet, nor do Persephone and the Dioscuri, whereas place epithets among Nymphs amount to 50%. Hermes' toponymic epithets may boil down to a single one, Κυλλήνιος 'of Cyllene', the others being of the topographical type.

Artemis, Apollo, and Zeus (in this order) are the deities most of the place epithets are related to. Next come Athena and Aphrodite. Regarding topographic epithets, the natural ones (Λιμνᾶτις-type) and the man-made ones (Ἀγοραία-type) are roughly in equal distribution. As for toponymic epithets, names of cities (or villages and settlements) claim the lion's share; next come names of mountains and their congeners (promontory, hill); epithets related to rivers are the fewest (and three out of eight qualify Nymphs and Muses).

Perhaps not unsurprisingly, mountain-related epithets figure prominently among Zeus' epicleses. Examples: Ἀγχέσμιος, Ἀπεσάντιος, Ἴθωμάτας, Κιθαιρώνιος, Λαφύστιος, Λυκαῖος, Παρνήθιος, and Ὑμήτιος. The importance of this natural feature for the god's epithets is borne out by epigraphical evidence, e.g., Αἰτναῖος, Δικταῖος, Ἰδαῖος, (F)ιδάτας, Κάρμηλος, Κάσιος, Κύνθιος, Τμάριος, Σκύλ(λ)ιος (Mount Scyllion, Crete), Ταλλαῖος (section of Mount Ida in Crete), etc.¹⁴ As is well known, Zeus is also Ἀκραῖος 'of the heights' in Arcadia, Caria, and Magnesia (where the epithet surely refers to Zeus' sanctuary on Mount Pelion¹⁵). The mainly Boeotian Zeus Καραῖός (if from κάρᾱ 'peak') might be related.

¹³ See Parker 2017, 97 on Artemis Brauronia, Mounychia, and Amarynthia.

¹⁴ Cf. Schwabl 1972.

¹⁵ Irrespective of referring to a specific location, I take it as a topographic epithet since the epiclesis itself is not individualising, as against Zeus Ἀκραῖος 'of Acrae' in Sicily (*I.Akrai* 14), which is toponymic.

As may be expected, a handful of topographic epithets are shared among deities in Pausanias: Aphrodite, Hera, and Tyche Ἀκράια ‘of the height’; Artemis, Athena, Hermes, and Zeus Ἀγοραία/-αῖος ‘of the market’; Artemis and Hermes Προπυλαία/-αῖος ‘before the gate’; Heracles, Apollo, and Hermes Σπηλαίτης ‘of the cave’; Athena and Hermes Πρόναος ‘before the temple’; Demeter and Zeus Χθονία/-ιος ‘under the earth’ (cf. Athena Πολιάς, Πολιάτης and Zeus Πολιεύς). By contrast, toponymic epithets common to more than one deity in Pausanias are fewer: Ὀλυμπία/-ιος ‘of Olympus’ (Aphrodite, Hera, and Zeus), Λιβήθρια ‘of Libethrion’ (Muses and Nymphs), and the dubious Μυσία (Artemis and Demeter).¹⁶

With respect to the absolute use of place epithets,¹⁷ without the accompanying theonym, one may point out that Pausanias tends to use them after having previously mentioned the pair [theonym + epiclesis]. A curious instance is Apollo Ἀμυκλαῖος ‘of Amyklæ’, referred to three times without the theonym (3.10.8; 3.18.8; 4.14.2), while texts from Laconia (*IG* V,1 863A-C, 1515c), Epidaurus (*IG* IV²,1 445), and Cyprus (*SEG* 25, 1071) always display the accompanying theonym.

2.3 Place of Attestation and Worship

Toponymic epithets may either refer (a) to the place being visited and which the epiclesis stems from or (b) to a different place, related e.g., to an offering or a cult brought from elsewhere or the diffusion of a cult (i.e., place name ≠ cult place). A few examples of (a): Aphrodite Κωλιάς in Book 1 (Attica); Apollo Ὀγκαιάτης in Book 8 (Arcadia); Artemis Ἰσσωρία in Book 3 (Laconia); Asclepius Αὔλώνιος in Book 4 (Messenia); Athena Λαρισία in Book 7 (Achaëa), Demeter Στιρίτης in Book 10 (Phocis), Zeus Λαφύστιος in Book 9 (Boeotia), the Nymphs Ἀνίγριδες in Book 5 (Elis). It is worth noting that these epithets may have been used not only to *refer* to the relevant deity but also to *worship* them, there being sure cases in epigraphy where the *reference* and *worship* title coincide.¹⁸

Examples of (b), where place name does not tally with cult place: Aphrodite Κνιδία ‘of Cnidus’ (Caria) is worshipped in Attica, although the Cnidians themselves (according to Pausanias 1.1.3) call her Εὐπλοία;¹⁹ Artemis Φεραία ‘of Phera’ (Thessaly) is mentioned in Book 2 (Corinth) and is known to be worshipped in Argos, Epidaurus, Corinth, Athens, Sicyon, Issa (Dalmatia), and western Macedonia,²⁰ while in Thessaly

¹⁶ Αἰγύπτιος ‘Egyptian’ (Apollo, Asclepius, and Hygieia) is probably best regarded as an ethnonym. An example of shared toponymic and topographic epithet is Διὶ Κυνθίῳ Ἀθηνᾶ Κυνθία Διὶ Πολιεῖ Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι ‘of Cynthus, of the city’ (*I.Délos* 372).

¹⁷ Referred to as [abs.] = ‘absolute use’ in Appendix A.

¹⁸ Cf. Parker 2017, 17 n. 63 on dedications from Lousoi to Artemis Lousiatis and similar cases.

¹⁹ Aphrodite *Euploia* is attested both in Caria (*I.Mylasa* 84) and Attica (*IG* II² 2872).

²⁰ See Robert 1960.

itself the epiclesis qualifies another goddess, Ennodia (*SEG* 48, 662); Athena Κυδωνία ‘of Cydonia’ (Crete) is worshipped in Elis (Book 6), in a temple said to have been founded by Clymenus upon coming from Cydonia; Hera Λακινία ‘of Lacinium’ (mountain near Crotone, Magna Graecia) is also worshipped in Elis.²¹

3 Word Formation

As far as gentilics are concerned, the morphology is quite straightforward. The most common types are: (a) adjectives in -ιο/-ιᾶ-; (b) nouns in -τᾶ-/ -τη- (masc.), -τιδ- (fem.); (c) nouns in -ευ- (masc.); (d) adjectives in -ικό/-ῖ- (in this order).

A few minor cases may be noted: (i) feminine adjectives in -αδ- like Nymphs Ἰλισιάδες and Athena Πολιάς, Σκιράς, and Σουνιάς;²² (ii) derivatives in -ᾱ-/ -η-: Artemis Αἰτωλ-ή ← Αἰτωλία (Paus. 10.38.12), Demeter Προσύμν-η ← Πρόσυμνᾶ (Paus. 2.37.1);²³ (iii) derivative in *-ī-no-/nā-: Aphrodite Ἐρυκ-ῖ-νη;²⁴ (iv) Derivative in *-ē-no-/nā-: Mother Δινδυμ-ή-νη.²⁵

Feminine epithets in -ῖ-τιδ- (Aphrodite Μιγωνίτις, Athena Ἴππολαῖτις, Demeter Στιρίτις) occur less often than those in -ᾱ-τιδ- and are not restricted to geographical epithets, like Aphrodite Δωρίτις (1.1.3), Μαχανίτις (8.31.6 [Athena: 8.36.5]), Athena Ὀφθαλμίτις (3.18.2). As for the masculine suffix *-ī-tā-, it figures in Σηλαίτις, Δωματίτις, and Λευκανίτις, but the most common are those in *-ā-tā-.

An interesting point is how to analyse some place epithets that could be either the outcome of zero derivation or a noun epithet. Examples: Aphrodite Κωλιάς ← Κωλιάς ‘(of) Colias’ (promontory); Apollo Ἀκρίτας ← Ἀκρίτας ‘(of) Acritas’ (mountain range?); Artemis Μουνιχία ← Μουνιχία ‘(of) Munychia’ (hill); Artemis, Demeter Μυσία ← Ὑμυσία ‘(of) Mysia’ (place?); Athena Ἀλέα ← Ἀλέα (place?); Athena Ἀσία ← Ἀσία (mountain); Pan Σκολείτας ← Σκολείτας (hill); Zeus Σκοτίτας ← Σκοτίτας (woods?). Further examples outside Pausanias are Zeus Ἀπέσας (Call. fr. 223 Pfeiffer) as against Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος ‘of Apesas’ (Paus. 2.15.3); Zeus Νεῖλος ‘Nile’ (Σ Pi. P. 4.97b; Athen.

21 For Hera *Lacinia* in Crotone, cf. *SEG* 34, 998 and *SEG* 40, 832.

22 Cf. Athena Καμειράς ‘of Cameirus’ [city in Rhodes] (*IG* XII,1 786) and Athena Ἀρακυνθιάς ‘of Aracynthus’ [mountain in Boeotia] (*FGH* 265 F 59). The ubiquity of the epithet Πολιάς might have influenced the other epiclises in -αδ- related to Athena.

23 Cf. Athena Σικελή ‘of Sicily’ (*I.Napoli* II, 112) ← Σικελία.

24 For the derivation, cf. Ῥηγῖνος ‘of Rhegium’.

25 Cf. Zeus Καρζηνός [-ē-no-] ‘of Karza’ (*Marek, Kat. Kaisareia Hadrianop.* 16). This is in fact a quite common derivation among Zeus’ epithets. One may mention Zeus Κμιστηνός, Ἀβοζηνός, Ἀκρεινηνός, Κραμψηνός, Σαρνεδηνός, Καριστορηνός, Καουατρηνός, Βονιτηνός, Ποροττηνός (Porotta = ὙΓόρδος, Lydia), Πεταρηνός, etc.

5.36.203c); Apollo Ζωστήρ [cape in Attica] (*SEG* 42, 112) as against Apollo Ζωστήριος (*IG* II² 5081); Ares Κνωσός ‘of Cnossus’ [not **Κνώσιος] (*I.Cret.* I, viii, 4).²⁶

4 Locative Epithets

These are well represented in Pausanias, with some ten examples: Aphrodite ἐν τοῖς Κήποις (1.19.2), ἐν Κήποις (1.27.3), ἐν Κωτίλῳ (8.41.10); Apollo ἐν Διδύμοις (2.10.5), ἐν Ἀμύκλαις (3.16.2); Demeter ἐν Κορυθεῦσι (8.54.5), ἐν Ἐλει (8.36.6); Zeus ἐν Δωδώνῃ (1.13.3), ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ (5.12.5; 6.19.10); Serapis ἐν Κανώβῳ (2.4.6).²⁷

As a rule, a toponymic reference is involved (mostly cities), but topographic sites such as ἐν Ἐλει ‘in the Marsh’ (Demeter) are not excluded. Parallels are not wanting, such as Aphrodite ἐν Καλάμοις,²⁸ Poseidon ἐπὶ Ἄκρῳ (*IG* V,1, 1336), Hermes and Heracles κατὰ Παλαίστραν ‘close to the palaestra’ (*I.Sardis* I, 7, 1, 21), Hera ἐν Πεδίῳ (*IG* XIV 643),²⁹ Demeter ἐμ Πύλαις (*CID* II 43); Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἄστει (*IG* II² 974); Zeus ἐξ Αὐλῆς ἐπήκοος θεός (*SEG* 16,753).³⁰

In epigraphy, such locative epithets are usually attested at the same place they refer to. Are the epicleses here superfluous or do they lend the relevant deity a “distinctive identity”? Some epigraphical examples are Apollo ἐγ Καλύμναι (*Tit. Calymnii* 77);³¹ Artemis ἐν Λούσοις (*IG* V,2 399);³² Artemis ἐν Παναμάροις (*Panamara* 184); Artemis ἐν Διδύμοις (*Didyma* 8); Asclepius ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ (*IG* IX,1² 3.613); Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἐλει ‘in Helos’ [Laconia] (*IG* V,1 602); Asclepius ἐν Ἀμφίσσῳ (e.g. *IG* IX,1² 3, 755); Asclepius ἐμ Βουθρωτῷ (*I.Bouthrotos* 4); Dionysus ἐν Πειραιεῖ (*IG* II² 1011); Dionysus ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ (*IG* IX,1² 3.628); Heracles ἐς Θεσπίας (*SEG* 30, 541); Heracles ἐν Ἀκριδι [hill of the Eleusinian acropolis] (*I.Eleusis* 85); Poseidon ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ (*IG* V,1 1226);³³ Zeus Ἥλιος μέγας Σάραπτις ἐν Κανώβῳ ‘in Canopus’ (*IGR* I,5 1050, 1092).³⁴

²⁶ In non-geographical epithets, too: Dionysus Κισσός ‘Ivy’ (Paus. 1.31.6; cf. Athena Κισσαία [2.29.1]); Dionysus Λαμπτήρ ‘Torch’ (Paus. 7.27.3).

²⁷ Many expressions solely employed to indicate location ought not to be included here, as for instance **Aphrodite ἐν πλινθίῳ (8.48.1 τῆς ἀγορᾶς δὲ μάλιστα εἰκικίας πλινθῷ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα, Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναὸς καλούμενος ἐν πλινθίῳ . . . ‘the market-place is in shape very like a brick, and in it is a temple of Aphrodite called “in brick”’).

²⁸ Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 65, 66 n. 281, 296, 442.

²⁹ Magna Graecia, ca. 525–500: τᾶς ἑρᾶς ἱερός ἐμὶ τᾶς ἐν πεδίῳ.

³⁰ Which αὐλή is implied? A temple courtyard or Zeus’ abode? Cf. *Od.* 4.74 Ζηνὸς . . . αὐλή.

³¹ Cf. Apollo Καλύμνιος (*Tit. Calymnii* 128B).

³² τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος τᾶς ἐν Λούσοις. Cf. *IG* V,2 397 τᾷ Ἀρτ<έ>μ[ι] τᾷ Λουσιάτι.

³³ Cf. *Ar. Ach.* 510 ὁ Ποσειδῶν, οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ θεός.

³⁴ Paus. 2.4.6: Serapis ἐν Κανώβῳ. Further examples: Artemis ἐν Κεκοῖαι (*I.Lindos* II 168, cf. Artemis Κεκοῖα), Asclepius ἐν Κρουνοῖς, common in Naupactus (*IG* IX,1² 3, 634), Hecate ἐμ Μεγάλῳ λόφῳ ‘on the Big hill’ (*I.Priene* 165), Apollo ἐγ Κοίλοις (*I.Erythrai Klazomenai* 60).

Locative reference and place of attestation may nevertheless differ, which is a sure sign that the place epithet is not merely referential. Some examples: Dionysus ἐν Κρητίνῃ ‘Cretine’ [near Ephesus] (*SEG* 34, 1395 [Lycaonia]); Aphrodite ἐμ Βάσσαϊς ‘Bassae’ [Oechalia, Messenia] (*IG* IV 757 [Troezen]); Zeus ἐν Νεμέαι [Argolis] (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen* 105,185a [Seleucia on the Calycadnus]); Demeter ἐφ’ Ἰπποδρόμῳ . . . ἐν Αἰγίλῳ ‘at the race-course . . . in Aegila’ [Laconia] (*IG* V,1 1390 [Andania, Messenia]); Asclepius ἐν Κενχρεαῖς ταῖς ἐν Ἄργει ‘in Cenchreae in Argos’ (*IG* XII,1 26 [Rhodes]).³⁵

5 Combined Geographical Epithets

The case of Aphrodite Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία ‘of the sea and the harbour’ (2.34.11) is intriguing and deserves further discussion. Let us first recall some data and make a little detour through epigraphy. Composite epithets made up of two elements linked by the conjunction are not unheard of, like Athena Νικηφόρος καὶ Πολιάς (common in Pergamon, cf. *I.Pergamon* II 497) and Zeus Πολιεύς καὶ Ἐπάρχειος ‘of the city and the province’ (*I.Cilicie* 109), where two topographic epithets are conjoined, as in Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία.³⁶ Examples in asyndeton are also attested; in fact, they are rather more common, e.g., Poseidon Κρᾶναιος Πυλαῖος ‘of the well, of the gate’ (*SEG* 35, 590b), Dionysus Ὀρειος Βάκχιος πρὸ πόλεως ‘of the mountains . . . before the city’ (*I.Ephesos* 674).³⁷

Combining two topographic epithets is only one among other possible patterns that are likewise attested. Overall, there are three combinations that stand out: (i) *functional + topographic epithet*, e.g., Poseidon Πόντιος Ἱππομέδων (*IG* IX,1 130); (ii) *functional + toponymic epithet*, e.g., Apollo Διδυμέυς Σωτήρ and Zeus Λαβραύνδος Σωτήρ [Didyma and Labraunda, in Asia Minor] (*I.Milet* VI,3 1269); (iii) *topographic + toponymic epithet*, e.g., Zeus Ἀγοραῖος Θάσιος [Thasos] (*IG* XII,8 361), Athena Ἰαλυσία Πολιάς [Ialysus, Rhodes] (*IG* XII,1 786), Hera Ἀργεῖα Ἐλεῖα Βασίλειαι ‘of Argos, of the swamp, queen’ [Cos] (*IG* XII,4 1.274).³⁸

³⁵ For the sake of completeness, two further classes ought to be mentioned: (a) compound derivatives in *-ijo- based on prepositional phrases, for instance Zeus Ἐγχώριος (*SEG* 18, 62), Ἐπιδήμιος (*Marek, Kat. Kaisareia Hadrianop.* 19), Ἐναύλιος ‘in/of the fold’ (*I.Byzantion* 20), Poseidon Ἐμπύληος ‘in/at the gate’ (*IG* VII 2465 [Thebes]: Boeotian for -αιος); and (b) adverbs in *-i, *-si, *-t^hen such as Dionysus Γαργηττοῖ ‘in Gargettus’ [Attic deme]’ (*SEG* 46, 155), Hermes Φενεοῖ ‘in Pheneos’ (*IG* V,2 360), Artemis Κότιλεοῖ ‘in Kotileon’ (*IPArk* 27), Demeter Στυνφάλοι (cf. Dubois 1988, ii.189), Aphrodite Ἀλωπεκῇσι ‘in Alopeke’ [Attic deme] (*I.Eleusis* 267), Aphrodite Κεφαλῆθεν ‘of/from Cephale’ [Attic deme] (*IG* II² 2604).

³⁶ Cf. θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι καὶ πολιεῖς (Poll. 9.40). Note that τε καὶ is never used.

³⁷ See also Ar. V. 875 (a prayer to Apollo): ὦ δέσποτ’ ἄναξ γείτον Ἀγνιεύ, τοῦ μοῦ προθύρου πρόπυλαιε ‘of the street . . . before the gate’.

³⁸ Cf. Poseidon Μεσοπόντιος Ἐρέσιος ‘amid the sea, of Eresos’ [Lesbos] (Call. *Aitia* fr. 39 Pfeiffer).

Given this overview, one may wonder whether two *toponymic* epithets may also be combined. There are certainly some collocations that resemble such a combination but are not quite the same. In Apollo Δᾶλιος Καλύμνας μεδέων ‘Delios, ruling over Calymnus’ (*IG* XII,4 2.532 [Cos]), one may note that Καλύμνιος is avoided, although Apollo Καλύμνιος (*Tit. Calymnii* 128B) is quite common. Similarly, Aphrodite Οὐρανία Ἀπατούρου μεδεούση ‘Urania, ruling over Apatourum’ (C 31)³⁹ does not refer to the goddess as Ἀπατουριάς, which might well have been the case (cf. *CIRB* 1045).⁴⁰ In *I.Délos* 2305, one reads Ἀστάρτη Παλαιστίνη Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία, apparently a pairing of Astarte Palestinian and Aphrodite Ourania, or (less probably) the pairing is between Astarte and “Aphrodite Palestinian Ourania”.⁴¹

As for Pan Κυφαρισσίτης Κυλλάνιος ‘of the cypresses (or of Cyparissia), of Cyllene’ (*I.Cret.* I, xvi, 7),⁴² Κυφαρισσίτης probably refers to his haunt in the woods, not to the city. Aphrodite Συρία Φιστύς ‘of Syria, of Phistyon’ [Aetolia] (*IG* IX,1² l. 98–104, 106)⁴³ may involve an ethnonym (‘of the Syrians’), not a toponymic epiclesis, and Aphrodite ἐξ Ἱεριδᾶν Φιστύς ‘of Hieridai, of Phistyon’ (*IG* IX,1² l. 97), on the other hand, may well refer to the same site.⁴⁴ The selfsame site is probably also at play in the following examples: (i) Apollo Διδυμεὺς Μιλήσιος ‘of Didyma, of Miletus’ (*IGDOLbia* 93);⁴⁵ (ii) Asclepius ὁ ἐν [Κ]ρουνοῖς ὁ ἐν Βουττοῖ (*IG* IX,1² 3, 634), for Krounoi is where the sanctuary is located, near Bouttos, territory of Naupactus; (iii) Asclepius ἐν Κενχρεαῖς ταῖς ἐν Ἄργει ‘in Cenchreae in Argos’ [Cenchreae is the ancient port village of Corinth] (*IG* XII,1 26).⁴⁶

As regards assuredly different locations, one may mention Apollo Δάλιος Κρήσιος ‘of Delos, of Crete’ (*Tit. Calymnii* 108)⁴⁷ – the usual collocation being Ἀπόλλωνι Δαλίῳ Καλύμνας μεδέοντι (*Tit. Calymnii* 109, 110; *IG* XII,4, 2, 532) or τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δαλίου τοῦ ἐγ Καλύμναι (*Tit. Calymnii* Test. XIII, XIV).⁴⁸ Is Κρήσιος here an intruding element? Or is Κρήσιος rather to be taken as an ethnonym?⁴⁹ The best candidate for the combined use of two toponymic, adjectival epithets is Asclepius Ἐπιδάυριος Περγαμηνὸς διώρυγα κατοικῶν ‘of Epidauros, of Pergamon, dwelling in

39 Apatourum is situated on the Bosphorus strait, see Ustinova 1999. Same pattern in *Ar. Nu.* 596 Δήλιε, Κυνθίαν ἔχων . . . πέτραν ‘of Delos, dwelling on Cynthus’ rock’ (Apollo).

40 She is also called ἡ Ἀπάτουρος (*Str.* 11.2.10).

41 Cf. *TAM* III,1 390 ἱερεῖα οὐρανίας θεοῦ [ἡ?] Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐφεσίας.

42 [Πανί] ὕλοσκ[όπωι] Κυφαρισσί[ται] εὐχάν. σοί, Κυφαρισσίτα Κυλλάνιε . . .

43 Cf. *IG* IX,1² l. 108 ταῖ Συρία Ἀφροδίται ἐμ Φιστύοι.

44 See *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* s.v. Neromana; cf. Talbert 2000, 828.

45 The sanctuary of Didyma was in the domain of the city of Miletus.

46 “Argos” is probably to be taken in broad terms; the inscription is from Rhodes (4th c. BCE).

47 Ἀπόλλωνι Δαλίῳ Κρησίῳ [Καλύμνας μεδέοντι].

48 And not, for instance, **Δαλίου Καλυμνίου (καλύμνιος is a common epiclesis of Apollo in Kalymnos).

49 Cf. *Hom. Il.* 16.233 Ζεῦ . . . Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικέ . . . Δωδώνης μεδέων ‘of Dodona, Pelasgian’.

the canal' (*I.Apameia Pylai* 5).⁵⁰ But note the participial-clause epithet as third member: not simply "the Epidaurian Asclepius of Pergamon".

To sum up: the combination of two plain toponymic epithets in the same epiclerosis is rare; a double toponymic usage such as the Hittite "Ḫebat of Aleppo of Ḫattuša" (= cult at Ḫattuša of the god Ḫebat of Aleppo)⁵¹ is nowhere to be found. In Greek, both members tend rather to be coordinated, without any clear subordination. When two place epithets are conjoined, they usually link two topographic epithets (as in Pausanias' Aphrodite Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία) or blend a topographic epithet with a toponymic one.

6 Conclusions

That Pausanias draws from an already established epiclerosis tradition is emphasised by Gaertner (2006), and Wentzel (1889) had earlier on suggested that Pausanias, Hesychius, and the scholiast to Lycophron may have drawn from the same epithet compilations. Yet judging from the toponymic epicleroses attested in Pausanias, many of which are apparently not attested in lexicography, it seems the case that the author may well have also based himself on the oral, local history tradition while going through his work, as highlighted by Pretzler (2005). One may cite a few examples like Aphrodite Μιγωνίτις, Apollo Δειραδιώτης, Artemis Λυκοῶτις, Asclepius Καούσιος, Athena Ἴππολαΐτις, Demeter Στιρίτις, Dionysus Λευκυανίτης, Heracles Βουρραϊκός, and Zeus Κροκεάτας.

Topographic epithets (see Appendix B) fulfil the basic function of cult epithets in general by identifying the deity (with reference to a landscape or a man-made site) and focusing on his or her relevant powers (as related to the landscape or site), thus praising the addressed god or goddess, and specifying which protection is thereby requested. *Toponymic* epithets (see Appendix C) could in principle be divided between those mainly restricted to identification (like the less known Artemis Κνακαλησία) and those whose distinctive character is bestowed by their being related to a specific site (like the renowned Artemis Ἐφεσία, of whom Pausanias himself remarks she is worshipped in "all cities, and individuals hold her in honour above all the gods").

Yet is the situation in fact so simple and clear-cut? Why then does Pausanias employ the local epithet related to lesser known sites instead of just stating the deity's name, as he does so many times? There remain a few open questions, for instance: is there a plain difference between *describing* and *addressing* a god? Often, in inscriptions, a given local epithet is used to *address* a deity stemming

⁵⁰ Compare Asclepius Διορυγείτης 'of the canal' (*I.Apameia Pylai* 6).

⁵¹ Cf. Allen 2015, 206 and Parker 2017, 17.

from the selfsame locality, and the purpose might have been not only to *identify* the godhead, but arguably to focus simultaneously on the powers implied in his or her geographical epiclesis. Still, whether *all* toponymic epithets are able to accord a distinctive character by being attached to a specific site is a matter of controversy.

And crucially, is identification and praise a matter of scale in toponymic epithets? Some of them, by their prestige, are meant chiefly to confer praise and less to pinpoint a specific site (and in this respect they resemble functional epithets), while others are in the main used to identify without relinquishing what little praise is implicit in them. On the other hand, however prestigious the place epithet is, it seems that it always carries a substantial load of identification with it, which probably accounts for the paucity of combined toponymic epithets in cult. Would it be possible, for instance, to worship a hypothetical **Artemis Ἐφεσία Κνακαλησία ‘of Ephesus, of Cnacalus’, ‘the Ephesian Artemis of Cnacalus’? Or, for that matter, to revere an **Artemis Ἐφεσία Βραυρωνία ‘the Ephesian Artemis of Brauron’? Given the data briefly discussed above, I very much doubt it.

Appendix A = List of Place Epithets

Book numbers (Pausanias)

1=Attica 2=Corinth 3=Laconia 4=Messenia 5=Elis 6=Elis 7=Achaea 8=Arcadia
9=Boeotia 10=Phocis

APHRODITE

Ἀκράια ‘of the height’ → 1.1.3; 2.32.6

- Hsch. α 2565, 2551; Str. 14.6.3; *SEG* 8.361; *SEG* 18.578. Cf. Artemis Ἀκράια in Thessaly (*IG* IX,2 303) and Pisidia (*SEG* 57.1617); Mother Ἀκράια in Lydia (*TAM* V,1 528); Zeus Ἀκραῖος in Thessaly (from the Hellenistic period onwards: *SEG* 25, 687; cf. Schwabl 1972, 265), in Asia Minor (*I.Smyrna* 46; *Halikarnassos* 37), and in Palestine (*SEG* 37.1529). Epiclesis also of Hera (2.24.1) and Fortune [Τύχη] (2.7.5) in Pausanias. Ἀκρία, epithet of several goddesses in Argos (Hsch.), is probably the epiclesis of Hera in Corcyra (*IG* IX,1 698).

Ἐρυκίνη ‘of Eryx’ (mountain in Sicily) → 8.24.6

- Or originally related to ἐρύκω ‘to hold back’, Ἐρυκίνη being “the one who wards off”? Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 256–60; *IG* XIV 281 [Ἀ]φροδίται Ἐρυκίν[αι] (Eryx, Sicily).

Κνιδία ‘of Cnidus’ (city in Caria) → 1.1.3

- *I.Knidos* I 103; cf. *SEG* 29,1074.

Κωλιάς ‘(of) Colias’ (promontory in Attica) → 1.1.5

- *IG* II² 5119; Str. 9.1.21; Hsch. κ 4816; cf. Ar. *Nu.* 52, *Lys.* 2.

Μιγωνίτις ‘of Migonion’ (site in Laconia) → 3.22.1

- “Place where people mingle (μίγνυμι)”? Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 212–3.

Οὐρανία ‘of heaven’ → 1.14.7; 1.19.2; 2.23.8; 3.33.1; 6.20.6; 6.25.1; 8.32.2; 9.16.3; cf. 6.27.6 [abs.] See Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 15–25.

Ὀλυμπία ‘of Olympus’ (Mount in Thessaly) → 3.12.11; 3.13.2

Παφία ‘of Paphos’ (city in Cyprus) → 8.53.7

- Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 556, etc.; common in Cyprus from the 4th/3rd c. BCE onwards, cf. SEG 6, 805, etc. See Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 271–2.

Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία ‘of the sea and the harbor’ → 2.34.11

- Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 186–8.
- Ποντία ‘of the sea’: in epigraphy from the 3rd c. BCE onwards (*I.Olbia* 68; *IG* XII,4 1, 302, 319; *I.Erythrai* 68; *I.Histria* I 173). Cf. Ἐκ<α>τάς Ποντίας (*Herzog KFF* 217) and Aphrodite ἐπιποντία (Hsch. s.v.).
- Λιμενία ‘of the harbor’: cf. Aphrodite Ἐπιλιμενία (SEG 11, 18); Hera Ἐπιλιμενία (*IG* XII Suppl. 409), Λιμενία (SEG 11, 226), Ἑλλιμενία (*IG* II² 5148), and ἐν λιμένι (*I.Delos* 1426).

ἐν Κωτίλῳ ‘in Cotilum’ (place near Mount Cotilium, Arcadia) → 8.41.10

- Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 268.

ἐν (τοῖς) Κήποις ‘in the Gardens’ → 1.27.3; 1.19.2

- *IG* I³ 369.80 Ἀφροδί]τες ἐν Κέποις; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 34.16 *Venus quae appellatur* Ἀφροδίτη ἐν κήποις. Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 48–66.

APOLLO

Ἀγυιεύς ‘of the streets’ → 1.31.6; 2.19.8; 8.32.4; 8.53.1, 3 [abs.], 6 [abs.]

- E. *Ph.* 631; *IG* V,1 1441. Epigraphical attestations mainly in Doric cities but also in Athens and Oricum.

Αἰγύπτιος ‘of Egypt’ → 2.27.6

Ἀκρίτας ‘(of) Acritas’ (?) [mountain range and cape in Messenia] → 3.12.8

Ἄκτιος ‘of Actium’ (town in Acarnania) → 8.8.12

- *IG* IX,1² 2, 583; *IG* IX,1² 2, 582; *IG* IX,1² 2, 208, 209. Cf. A.R. 1. 403–4 βωμὸν ἐπάκτιον Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκτίου Ἐμβασιόιό τ’ ἐπώνυμον (‘of the sea-shore’) and Theoc. 5.14 (Pan Ἄκτιος ‘of the sea-shore’).

Ἀμυκλαῖος ‘of Amyklæ’ (town in Laconia) → 3.10.8; 3.18.8; 4.14.2 [all abs.]

- Epigraphic evidence in Laconia (*IG* V,1 863 A–C, 1515c), Epidaurus (*IG* IV²,1 445), and Cyprus (SEG 25, 1071) always with theonym.

Ἀργεώτας ‘of Ἀργεῶς νῆσος’ (?) [Egyptian islet off Canopus] → 4.34.7

Δειραδιώτης ‘of Deiras’ (place in Argos) → 2.24.1, 2

- SEG 38, 320. Not to be confused with the gentilic of the Attic deme Δειράδες.

Δήλιος ‘of Delos’ (island) → 9.40.4

- Widespread epithet of Apollo in literature and epigraphy; cf. Apollo Δηλιεύς (*IG* XII,7 50).

Ἰσμήνιος ‘of Ismenus’ (river in Thebes) → 2.10.5; 4.27.6; 4.32.5; 9.10.2

- Hsch. ι 949; Σ A.R. 1.536–41b; Σ E. *Ph.* 101; Plut. *De e apud Delph.* 385b.

Κλάριος ‘of Claros’ (sanctuary on the coast of Ionia; *or* ‘of the lots’?) → 2.2.8

Μαλεάτης ‘of Malea’ (?) (after cape Μαλέα in Laconia? *or* after Malos, the first to build the altar [Isyll., *Coll. Alex.*, 132–1333, 27–28]? *or* a different god altogether?) → 2.27.7; 3.12.8

- Common in Epidaurus, near to which the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas is located, but also attested in Laconia and Thera. Zeus is Μαλειᾱῖος ‘of the Cape Malea’ (St.Byz.).

Ὀγκαιάτης ‘of Onceium’ (village in Arcadia) → 8.25.11

Ὅριος ‘of the borders’ → 2.35.2

- Cf. Zeus Ὅριος (Pl. *Lg.* 842e; D. 7.39; *IG* II² 1358; *SEG* 21, 541; *IG* XII,4 279; *I.Eleusis* 300 Διὸς Ὀρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀρίας), Hera Ὀρία (*MDAI(A)* 67 [1942] 76,132).

Παρράσιος ‘of Parrhasia’ (region/city in south Arcadia) → 8.38.2; 8.38.8

Πλατανίστιος ‘of the plane-tree (grove)’ → 2.34.6

Πτώξ ‘of Ptoion’ (mountain in Boeotia) → 4.32.5, 9.23.6

- Common in Boeotia, mainly in Acraephea, but also attested elsewhere (*I.Thespies* 223; *CID* 4, 76).

Πυθαεύς ‘of Pytho’ (cf. Πύθιος) → 2.35.2; 2.36.5; 3.10.8; 3.11.9; but see 2.35.2: Pythaeus as son of Apollo.

- Common epithet at Lindos (Rhodes) from the 3rd c. BCE onwards; also spelled Πυθαieiύς. Cf. Apollo Πυθαῖος (*Fouilles de Delphes* III 4:372). Already in Thucydides (5.53.1).

Πύθιος ‘of Pytho’ (region in which lay the city of Delphi) → 1.19.1; 1.42.5; 2.31.6; 5.15.4; 8.15.5; 8.38.8; 8.54.5

- Ubiquitous epithet of Apollo in literature and epigraphy (Pi. *O.* 14.11, etc.), referring to his prestigious sanctuary.

Σπηλαίτης ‘of the cave’ → 10.32.5

ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ‘in Amyklæ’ → 3.16.2

ἐν Δελφοῖς ‘in Delphi’ → 6.3.8: cf. Apollo Δελφικός (Pl. *Leg.* 686a; *Orph.H.* 34.4) and Δελφός (Nonn. *D.* 19.323, 40.401).

ἐν Διδύμοις ‘at Didymi’ (sanctuary near Miletus) → 2.10.5

- Didyma 19; *IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* 1714. Cf. Apollo Διδυμεύς, Apollo (and Zeus) Διδυμαῖος.

ARTEMIS

Ἀγοραία ‘of the market’ → 5.15.4

- *IG* IV²,1 405, *SEG* 20.304 (Ἀγορία). Cf. Themis Ἀγοραία (*SEG* 27, 183), Athena Ἀγοραία (*SEG* 27.184), Aphrodite Ἀγοραία (*I.Histria* III 49).

Αἰτωλή ‘of Aetolia’ (region) → 10.38.12

- Str. 5.1.9; cf. Ares Αἰτωλός (Call. fr. 621 Pfeiffer).

Ἀλφειαία ‘of Alpheius’ (river in Elis and Arcadia) → 6.22.8

- Cf. Σ Pi. N. 1.3; Str. 8.3.12. See Covini 2014.

Ἀμαρυνσία ‘of Amarynthus’ (town in Euboea) → 1.31.4

- Attested in Attica from the 5th c. BCE onwards (*IG* I³ 426), cf. *IG* I² 865, A; in Euboea from the 4th c. BCE (*IG* XII, 9 191). Strabo: Artemis Ἀμαρυνθία (10.1.10); Hsch. α 3469; Σ Ar. Av. 872a.

Βραυρωνία ‘of Brauron’ (city in Attica) → 1.23.7; 8.46.3

- Common in Attica from the early 4th c. BCE onwards (*IG* II² 1388).

Δερεάτις ‘of Dereion’ (town in Laconia [St.Byz. calls it Δέρα (s.v.), from which the Ethnic names Δεραῖος and Δυνερεάτης derive]) → 3.20.7

- Hsch. κ 379.

Ἐφεσία ‘of Ephesus’ (city on the coast of Ionia) → 2.2.6; 4.31.7; 5.6.5; 5.12.4; 5.19.2; 6.3.16; 7.2.6–7; 7.5.4 [abs.]; 8.13.1; 8.23.1; 8.30.6; 10.26.6; 10.38.6

- Attested since the 6th c. BCE (*SEG* 36, 721). Fairly common in Ephesus.

Ἰσσωρία ‘of Issorion’ (mountain in Laconia) → 3.14.2; 3.25.4

- Hsch. and St.Byz. s.v.

Καρυαῖτις ‘of Caryae’ (town in Laconia) → 3.10.7

- Cf. Hsch. s.v. Καρυαῖτις • ἐορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἱερόν; see Wentzel 1889, 23–4.

Κνακαλησία ‘of Cnacalus’ (mountain in Arcadia) → 8.23.3

Κονδυλεᾶτις ‘of Condylea’ (place in Arcadia, near Caphyae) → 8.23.6

- Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.38.3 (Κονδυλίτις); see Wentzel 1889, 4–6.

Κορυφαία ‘of the peak’ (or ‘of Mount Coryphon’) → 2.28.2

Λιμναία ‘of Limnae’ (village on the frontiers of Messenia and Laconia) or ‘of the lake’ → 2.7.6; 3.14.2

Λιμνάτις ‘of the lake’ → 3.23.10; 4.4.2; 4.31.3; 7.20.7–9; 8.53.11

- *I.Apollonia* 16; *IG* V,1 1431, 1458; also attested without the theonym (*IG* V,1 1497, 1375, 1376). Most attestations from Messenia and Laconia. Cf. Minon, *IED* 41 *ἱερὸν Ἀρτάμιτος Λιμνάτιος*.

Λυκοᾶτις ‘of Lykoa’ (town in Arcadia) → 8.36.7

Μουνιχία ‘(of) Munychia’ (hill in Piraeus) → 1.1.4

- Attested in Attica from the 4th c. BCE onwards (*SEG* 19, 219; *IG* II³,1 445); cf. τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι [ἐ]ν Μ[ο]νιχίαι (*IG* II² 1029) and Asclepius Μουνίχιος (*IG* II² 4529). See Viscardi 2010.

Μυσία ‘(of) Mysia’ (?) [place in Argolis, cf. Paus. 2.18.3] → 3.20.9

- Or ‘of the mouse’? See Krappe 1944. Cf. Demeter Μυσία (Paus. 2.18.3; 7.27.9): after Mysios, a man who entertained Demeter?

Περσική ‘of Persia’ (or ethnonymic ‘of the Persians’?) → 7.6.6

- *TAM* V,2 1244, 1245; *SEG* 31, 998.

Προπυλαία ‘before the gate’ → 1.38.6

- Epithet of various deities (Hermes, Hecate, Apollo, Heracles); cf. Hermes Προπύλαιος (Paus. 1.22.8). Hecate: *Tit.Camirenses* 116b, 110; Hsch. π 3644; cf. Hecate Ἐπιπυργιδία ‘on the tower’ (Paus. 2.30.2).

Σκιᾶτις ‘of Scias’ (settlement in Arcadia) → 8.35.5

Στυμφαλία ‘of Stymphalus’ (town in Arcadia) → 8.22.7, 8

- St.Byz. s.v. Στύμφαλος.

Ταυρική ‘of Tauris’ (place in the Crimean Peninsula) → 1.23.7; 1.33.1; 3.16.8

- Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3.42.3.

Φεραία ‘of Pherae’ (city in Thessaly) → 2.10.7; 2.23.5

- Hsch. φ 293; Σ Lyc. 1180. Cf. Ennodia Φεραία (*SEG* 48,662).

ASCLEPIUS

Αἰγύπτιος ‘of Egypt’ → 2.27.6

Αὐλώνιος ‘of Aulon’ (town in Messenia) → 4.36.7

- Cf. Dionysus Αὐλωνεύς (*IG* II² 5078, 4745): ‘of Aulon’? ‘of the glen’?

Γορτύνιος ‘of Gortyn’ (which Gortyn? Cretan or Arcadian Γόρτυνα?) → 2.11.8

Καούσιος ‘of Caus’ (settlement in Arcadia) → 8.25.1

ATHENA

Ἀγοραία ‘of the market’ → 3.11.9

- *SEG* 27, 184; *SEG* 41, 743. See Artemis Ἀγοραία above.

Ἀλέα ‘(of) Alea’ (??) [after the place Ἀλέα at Tegea (Arcadia)? or originally a different goddess, whose name was later adopted as an epiclesis of Athena? Cf. McNerney 2013, 55–60] → 2.17.7; 3.5.6; 3.7.10; 3.19.7; 8.4.8; 8.5.3; 8.9.6; 8.23.1; 8.45.4; 8.46.4; 8.47.1

- As epiclesis of Athena in Arcadia, cf. *IG* V,2 75; *SEG* 26, 472; *IG* V,2 262; Hdt. 1.66.4; X. *HG* 6.5.27. See Jost 1985, 106–109. For the arguable etymological meaning of Ἀλέα as “(goddess) protection”, cf. Macedo 2016, 76.

Ἀσία ‘of Asia’ (mountain in Laconia) → 3.24.7

Ζωστηρία ‘of Zoster’ (cape on the west coast of Attica) → 9.17.3

- St.Byz. s.v. Ζωστήρ; Hsch. s.v. Ζώστειρα; Σ Lyc. 1279; cf. Wentzel 1889, 14–15.
- *IG* VII 548; *IG* V,1 1116; cf. Apollo Ζωστήρ (*SEG* 42,112).

Ἴππολαΐτις ‘of Hippola’ (town in Laconia) → 3.25.9

Ἴτωνία ‘of Iton’ (town in Thessaly) → 1.13.2; 3.9.13; 9.34.1; 10.1.10

- St.Byz. s.v. Ἴτών; Hsch. s.v. Ἴτωνία. Cf. Lalonde 2019, 16–19 *et passim*.

Κορυφασία ‘of Coryphasium’ (promontory in Messenia) → 4.36.2

Κυδωνία ‘of Cydonia’ (city-state in Crete) → 6.21.6

- Σ Lyc. 936.

Κυπαρισσία ‘of Cyparissos’ (town in Messenia) → 4.36.7

- *SEG* 23.209–10; 43.143–4. Cf. *IG* V,1 977 [Ἀγρ]οτέρως (=Artemis) Κυπαρισσίας ‘of the cypress (?)’ and Athena Κυπαρισσία ‘of the cypress’ (Paus. 3.22.9). Apollo is Κυπαρίσσιος ‘of the cypress (grove)’ in Cos (*IG* XII,4 1. 284).

Λαρισαία ‘of Larisus’ (river in Achaea) → 7.17.5

Λημνία ‘of Lemnos’ (island) → 1.28.2

Πολιάς ‘of the city’ → 1.27.1, 3; 2.30.6; 7.5.9; 8.31.9

- Ubiquitous epithet of Athena in epigraphy and literature from the 5th c. BCE onwards.

Πολιάτις ‘of the city’ → 8.47.5

Πρόναος ‘before the temple’ → 9.10.2

Σκιράς ‘of Scirum’ (?) [after the place Σκίρον near Eleusis? or the ceremonial canopy called σκίρον? or the seer Σκίρος from Dodona?] → 1.1.4; 1.36.4

- *SEG* 21, 527; *IG* II² 1232.

Σουνιάς ‘of Sounion’ (headland in Attica) → 1.1.1

DEMETER

Ἐλευσινία ‘of Eleusis’ (town in Attica) → 3.20.5; 8.15.1; 8.5.2, 3 [abs.]; 8.29.5; 9.4.3

- Cf. *S. Ant.* 1120 Ἐλευσινία Δηώ; attested in Eleusis and elsewhere, e.g., Thasos (*SEG* 29, 766). Artemis and Zeus are also given this epithet according to Hesychius.

Λερναία ‘of Lerna’ (region South of Argos) → 2.36.7

Μυκαλησσία ‘of Mycalessus’ (town in Boeotia) → 9.19.5–6; 9.27.8

Μυσία ‘(of) Mysia’ (?) → 2.18.3, 7.27.9

- Cf. Artemis Μυσία (Paus. 3.20.9) above.

Προσύμνη ‘of Prosymna’ (town in Argolis) → 2.37.1

Στιρίτις ‘of Stiris’ (town in Phocis) → 10.35.10

Χθονία ‘under the earth’ → 3.14.5 [NB: after the woman Chthonia at 2.35.5]

- Epithet also of Artemis, Ge, and Hecate; Hermes is χθόνιος, as is Zeus (see below).

ἐν Ἐλει ‘in the marsh’ → 8.36.6

- Cf. Aphrodite ἐν Ἐλει (Alexis 539 F 1 Jacoby); see Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 65–6.

ἐν Κορυθεῦσι ‘in Corytheis’ (village in Arcadia) → 8.54.5

DIONYSUS

Ἀνθεύς ‘of Antheia’ (city in Achaea) → 7.21.6

Ἀροεύς ‘of Aroe’ (city in Achaea) → 7.21.6

Ἐλευθερεύς ‘of Eleutherae’ (city in north Attica) → 1.20.3; 1.29.2

- Clem. Alex. *Prot.* 4.47; Hsch. ε 2022; *IG* II² 5022, 3687 = *I.Eleusis* 523 (Attica); *IGBulg* I² 324; Σ Ar. *Ach.* 243a.

Λευκανίτης ‘of Leucyanias’ (river) → 6.21.5

Καλυδώνιος ‘of Calydon’ (city in Aetolia) → 7.21.1

Κολωνάτας ‘of the Knoll’ (hillock in Laconia) → 3.13.7

Κρήσιος ‘of Crete’ (island) → 2.23.7, 8 [abs.] (epiclesis after the precinct where Dionysus buried the Cretan princess Ariadne)

– Cf. Zeus Κρηταῖος (St.Byz. s.v. Γάζα).

Μεσατεύς ‘of Mesatis’ (city in Achaea) → 7.21.6

Πολίτης ‘of the city, citizen’ → 8.26.1

EILEITHYIA

Ὀλυμπία ‘of Olympus’ → 6.20.2

HECATE

Ἐπιπυργιδία ‘on the tower’ → 2.30.2; cf. Athena Ἐπιπυργίτις (Hsch. s.v.).

HERA

Ἀκραία ‘of the height’ → 2.24.1

– E. *Med.* 1379; *Hom.Carm.Ep.* 2.4. See Aphrodite Ἀκραία above: *IG* IX,1 698 τᾶς Ἀκρίας (Hera?), without the theonym.

Ἀργεῖα ‘of Argos’ (city in Argolis) → 3.12.8; 4.27.6

– From the 5th c. BCE onwards: *IG* I³ 1386bis; attested in several cities; in Argos: *IG* IV 517.

Βουναία ‘of the hill (βουνός)’ (?) → 2.4.7 (or, according to Pausanias, because of Bunus [Βούνος], son of Hermes)

Λακινία ‘of Lacinium’ (promontory in Magna Graecia) → 6.13.1

– *SEG* 34, 998; *SEG* 40, 832.

Ὀλυμπία ‘of Olympus’ (Mount in Thessaly) → 5.14.8

Σαμία ‘of Samos’ (island) → 5.13.8

– *IG* XII,6 2.571; *TAM* II 406; *FGrH* 541 F2; 536 F3.

HERACLES

Βουραϊκός ‘of Bura’ (river in Achaea [city: Βούρα]) → 7.25.10

Ἰδαῖος ‘of Ida’ (mountain in Crete) → 5.7.9; 5.8.1; 5.13.8; 6.23.3; 8.31.3; 9.19.5

– *RPh* 41 (1967) 65–68; *Ephesos* 843 (Ἡρακλ[ῆς] Εἰδαῖος). Cf. Zeus Ἰδάτης from the 2nd c. BCE onwards (*I.Cret.* IV 174 Ττηνός] τῷ Βιδάταω).

Σπηλαίτης ‘of the cave’ → 10.32.5

HERMES

Ἀγοραῖος ‘of the market’ (1.15.1; 2.9.8; 3.11.11; 7.22.2; 9.17.2)

– From the 4th c. BCE onwards (*IG* XII,8 67); common epithet of Zeus.

Ἀκακήσιος ‘of Acacesium’ (??) [town in Arcadia] → 8.3.2; 8.30.6; 8.36.10

Κυλλήνιος ‘of Cyllene’ (mountain in Arcadia) → 8.17.1–2

– Already in Homer (*Od.* 24.1). Hsch. κ 4515; *Suda* κ 2660; *Et.M.* 361.13; Serv. A. 4.252; *IG* XII,4 2, 1191.

Πρόναος ‘before the temple’ → 9.10.2

Προπύλαιος ‘before the gate’ → 1.22.8

- Attested in Rhodes (*Rhodian Peraia* 59; *Tit. Cam.* 116); cf. Hermes Πυλαῖος (D.L. 8.31) and Artemis Προπυλαία (Paus. 1.38.6). Said also of Apollo and Heracles.

Σπηλαίτης ‘of the cave’ → 10.32.5

ISIS

Αἴγυπτία ‘of Egypt’ → 2.4.6

Πελαγία ‘of the sea’ → 2.4.6

MOTHER

Δινδυμήνη ‘of Dindymon’ (mountain in eastern Phrygia) → 7.19.7; 7.20.3; 8.46.2; 9.25.3

- Hdt. 1.80.1; Str. 10.3.12; 13.4.5; Arr. *An.* 5.6.4; Cat. 63.13; Hor. *C.* 1.16.5; *I.Prusa* 1021; *MAMA* VIII 363; cf. A.R. 1.1125 Mother Δινδυμήνη = Rhea/Cybele.

MUSES

Ἴλισιάδες ‘of Ilisus’ (river in Athens) → 1.19.5

Λιβήθριοι ‘of Libethrion’ (mountain in Boeotia) → 9.34.4

NYMPHS

Ἀνίγριδες ‘of Anigrus’ (river in Elis) → 5.5.11; cf. Larson 2001, 159.

Ἰσμήνιδες ‘of Ismenus’ (river in Thebes) → 1.31.4; cf. Larson 2001, 138.

Κυθαίρωνιδες ‘of Cithaeron’ (mountain between Attica/Boeotia) → 9.3.9

Κωρύκιοι ‘of Corycium’ (cave on the slopes of Parnassus) → 10.32.7

Λιβήθριοι ‘of Libethrion’ (mountain in Boeotia) → 9.34.4; cf. Larson 2001, 138.

PAN

Νόμιος ‘of Nomos’ (??) [mountain in Arcadia; or ‘of shepherds’] → 8.38.11

Σκολείτας ‘(of) Scoleitas’ (hill in Arcadia) → 8.30.6

POSEIDON

Δωματίτης ‘of the house’ → 3.14.7

- *IG* V,1 497 Ποσειδῶνος Δωματεῖτα; *IG* V,1 589, 608; epithet also of Apollo (Σ Pi. N. 5.81); cf. Zeus Ἐπίστιος ‘of the hearth’ (Hdt. 1.44) and Κωματικός ‘of the village’ (*I.Byzantion* 21–3).

Ἑλικώνιος ‘of Helice’ (city in Achaëa) → 7.24.5–6

- *SEG* 36, 761; *Milet* VI,3 1218; *I.Priene* 211, 103, 213, 196, 195; *I.Sinope* 8; *IG* XII,6 2.1229; *I.Histria* I 143.

Ἴσθμιος ‘of the Isthmus’ → 2.9.6

- Pi. *O.* 13.4; *I.Cos Segre* EV 18; *Halikarnassos* 2; *I.Mylasa* 59, 141; *Sinuri* 38, 40; *I.Miletos* 253.

Ὀγχήστιος ‘of Onchestus’ (town in Boeotia) → 9.26.5; 9.37.1

- Cf. *IG IX*,1² 1.170; *Σ Lyc.* 646.

Πελαγαῖος ‘of the sea’ → 7.21.7

- Poseidon Πελάγιος in Attica (*IG II*³,1 416; *IG II*² 410) and Thera (*IG XII*,3 1347); cf. Zeus Θαλάσσιος (Hsch. s.v.).

Ταινάριος ‘of Taenarum’ (cape in Laconia) → 3.12.5

- Cf. *Ar. Ach.* 510 ὁ Ποσειδῶν, οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ θεός; *IG V*,1 1226; *IG V*,1 1227; *I.Delta* I 86 θεῶ Ταιναρέῳ. Artemis is Ταιναρή (Euphorion, fr. 9 Powell).

TYCHE

Ἀκραία ‘of the height’ → 2.7.5

ZEUS

Ἀγοραῖος ‘of the market’ → 3.11.9; 5.15.4; 9.25.4

- From the 4th c. BCE onwards (*SEG* 23, 566); common epithet of Hermes.

Ἀγχέσμιος ‘of Anchesmus’ (hill in Athens) → 1.32.2

Ἀπεσάντιος ‘of Apeasas’ (mountain above Nemea) → 2.15.3

- Cf. Zeus Ἀπέσας (Call. fr. 223 Pfeiffer): noun epithet or null derivation.

Ἐρκεῖος ‘of the front court’ → 4.17.4 [abs.]; 5.14.7; 8.46.2; 10.27.2 [abs.]

- Since *Od.* 22.335; ὁ Ἐρκεῖος [abs.] in Paus. 4.17.4; cf. ἐρκεῖον . . . βωμόν (Pi. *Pae.* 6.114); in inscriptions since the 5th c. BCE (*SEG* 32, 760; *LV* 107); cf. Zeus Μεσσαρκεῖος (*Tit. Cam.* 126).

Ἰθωμάτας ‘of Ithome’ (mountain in Messenia) → 3.26.6; 4.12.7, 8 [abs.]; 4.13.1; 4.19.3; 4.24.7; 4.27.6; 4.33.1, 2 [abs.]

- Cf. Paus. 4.20.4 Δία Ἰθώμην ἔχοντα; Th. 1.103.3 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα; *IG V*,2 419; *IG V*,1 1468; *Suda* ι 244.

Κιθαίρωνιος ‘of Cithaeron’ (mountain between Attica/Boeotia) → 9.2.4

Κορυφαῖος ‘at the top’ = *Jupiter Capitolinus* → 2.4.5

- *TAM V*,3 1540; *IGLS* 3,2 1184; cf. Zeus Ἐπάκριος (*SEG* 21, 541; *IG XII*,6 2.542).

Κροκεάτας ‘of Croceae’ (village in Laconia) → 3.21.4

Λαρισαῖος ‘of Larisa’ (acropolis of Argos) → 2.24.3

Λαφύστιος ‘of Laphystium’ (mountain in Boeotia) → 9.34.5

- Hdt. 7.197; *Σ A.R.* 2.652–4a; Hsch. λ 444. Cf. the god Λαφύστιος (Paus. 1.24.2).

Λυκαῖος ‘of Lycaeon’ (mountain in Arcadia) → 4.22.7; 8.2.1, 3, 6; 8.30.2, 8; 8.38.4, 7; 8.44.6; 8.53.11

- Since Pi. *O.* 9.96, 13.108 [abs.].

Μεσσαπεύς ‘of Messapeae’ (village, or rather region around the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus, in Laconia) → 3.20.3

Νέμειος ‘of Nemea’ (city in Argolis) → 2.15.2, 3; 2.20.3; 2.24.2; 4.27.6

- From the 3rd c. BCE onwards in inscriptions (*I.Cos Segre EV* 18); cf. Zeus Νεμεαῖος (Pi. *N.* 2.4). Zeus Νέμειος already in Thucydides (3.96.1).

Ὀλύμπιος ‘of Olympus’ (Mount in Thessaly) → 1.17.2; 1.18.6, 8; 1.19.1; 2.5.5; 2.27.2; 3.9.2; 3.12.11; 3.14.5; 5.8.2; 5.13.8; 5.14.8; 5.21.8; 5.24.3; 6.19.6; 7.20.3; 8.42.8–9; 10.28.6; cf. 5.12.5 τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Δία; 6.19.10 τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Δί.

– See Schwabl 1972, 342–344.

Παρνήθιος ‘of Parnes’ (mountain in Attica) → 1.32.2

Πολιεύς ‘of the city’ → 1.24.4; 1.28.10

– See Lebreton 2015. Widespread epithet of Zeus related to several cities.

Σκοτίτας ‘(of) Scotitas’ (?) → 3.10.6

Ὑμήττιος ‘of Hymettus’ (mountain in Attica) → 1.32.2

– Hsch. s.v.

Χθόνιος ‘under the earth’ (2.2.8; 5.14.8)

– Cf. Paus. 2.24.4 Zeus Καταχθόνιος ‘beneath the earth’ (Hom. *Il.* 9.457). See Demeter Χθονία above.

ἐν Δωδώνῃ ‘in Dodona’ (oracle in Epirus) → 1.13.3; cf. 1.17.5.

– Cf. Zeus Δωδωναῖος (*Il.* 16.233+; *Lamelles Oraculaires* 89); *SEG* 50.543 Ζεῦ, Δωδώνῃς μεδέων. Zeus Δωδωνεύς in Hsch. s.v.

Appendix B = Topographic epithets

APHRODITE Ἀκραία, Οὐρανία, Ποντία καὶ Λιμένα; **APOLLO** Ἀγυεύς, Ὀριος, Πλατανίστιος, Σπηλαίτης; **ARTEMIS** Ἀγοραία, Λιμναῖτις, *Κορυφαία, Προπυλαία; **ATHENA** Ἀγοραία, Πολιάς, Πολιάτις, Πρόναος; **DEMETER** Χθονία, ἐν Ἑλει; **DIONYSUS** Πολίτης; **HECATE** Ἐπιπυργιδία; **HERA** Ἀκραία, *Βουναία; **HERACLES** Σπηλαίτης; **HERMES** Ἀγοραῖος, Πρόναος, Προπύλαιος, Σπηλαίτης; **ISIS** Πελαγία; **POSEIDON** Δωματίτης, Πελαγαῖος; **TYCHE** Ἀκραία; **ZEUS** Ἀγοραῖος, Ἐρκεῖος, Κορυφαῖος, Πολιεύς, Χθόνιος.

Appendix C = Toponymic epithets

APHRODITE *Ἐρυκίνη, Κνιδία, Κωλιάς, Μιγωνίτις, Ὀλυμπία, Παφία, *ἐν (τοῖς) Κήποις; ἐν Κωτίλῳ; **APOLLO** *Αἰγύπτιος, *Ἀκρίτας, Ἄκτιος, Ἀμυκλαῖος, *Ἀργεώτας, Δειραδιώτης, Δήλιος, Ἴσμήνιος, *Κλάριος, *Μαλεάτης, Ὀγκαιάτης, Παρράσιος, Πτῶος, Πυθαεύς, Πύθιος, ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, ἐν Διδύμοις; **ARTEMIS** Αἰτωλή, Ἀλφειαία, Ἀμαρυσία, Βραυρωνία, Δερεᾶτις, Ἐφεσσία, Ἴσσωρία, Καρυάτις, Κνακαλησία, Κονδυλεᾶτις, *Κορυφαία, *Λιμναία, Λυκοᾶτις, Μουνιχία, *Μυσία, *Περσική, Σκιᾶτις, Στυμφαλία, Ταυρική, Φεραία; **ASCLEPIUS** *Αἰγύπτιος, Αὐλώνιος, Γορτύνιος, Καούσιος; **ATHENA** *Ἀλέα, Ἀσία, Ζωστηρία, Ἴππολαῖτις, Ἴτωνία, Κορυφασία, Κυδωνία, Κυπαρισσία, Λαρισαία, *Λημνία, *Σκιράς, Σουνιάς; **DEMETER** Ἐλευσινία, Λερναία, Μυκαλησσία, *Μυσία, Προσύμνη, Στιρίτις, ἐν Κορυθεῦσι; **DIONYSUS** Ἀνθεύς, Ἀροεύς,

Ἐλευθερεύς, Λευκuanίτης, Καλυδώνιος, *Κρήσιος, Μεσατεύς; **EILEITHYIA** Ὀλυμπία; **HERA** Λακινία, Ὀλυμπία, *Σαμία; **HERACLES** Βουραϊκός, Ἰδαῖος; **HERMES** *Ἀκακήσιος, Κυλλήνιος; **ISIS** Αἰγυπτία; **MOTHER** Δινδυμήνη; **MUSES** Ἰλισιάδες, Λιβήθριαι; **NYMPHS** Ἀνίγριδες, Ἴσμήνιδες, Κυθαιρώνιδες, Κωρύκλαι, Λιβήθριαι; **PAN** *Νόμιος, Σκολείτας; **POSEIDON** Ἐλικώνιος, Ἴσθμιος, Ὀγχήσιος, Ταυνάριος; **SERAPIS** ἐν Κανώβω; **ZEUS** Ἀγχέσιμος, Ἀπεσάντιος, Ἰθωμάτας, Κιθαιρώνιος, Κροκεάτας, Λαρισαῖος, Λαφύστιος, Λυκαῖος, Μεσσαπέυς, Νέμειος, Ὀλύμπιος, Παρνήθιος, *Σκοτίτας, Ὑμήτιος, ἐν Δωδώνη, ἐν Ὀλυμπία.

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