

## MISSING PLACES

## I. DEMETRIUS OF ERYTHRAE

Concerning the grammarian Demetrius of Erythrae, who flourished in the first half of the first century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius says that he obtained citizenship also in a second city: πολιτογραφηθεὶς ἐν τῇ Μνῶ (5.84). So the text usually stood from the *editio princeps* at Basel in 1533 through the 1925 Loeb. And indeed already a century before the Greek was printed, Ambr. Traversari (†1439) translated Diogenes into Latin; his translation, first published in 1475 and repeatedly thereafter, was “civis adscriptus in Mno.”<sup>2</sup>

A city named “Mnos” has admittedly a certain charm; but the place and the word are not elsewhere on record. In the 1964 OCT edition, H. S. Long emended to πολιτογραφηθεὶς ἐν Λήμνῳ.<sup>3</sup> The island has the merit of being real, and not so very distant from Erythrae, 100 miles’ sail. Lemnos, however, was given over to Athens in 167 B.C. and did not become a state again until the Severan period. We should have to postulate that Demetrius arrived at Lemnos and was given citizenship during some brief period of revived independence that is otherwise unattested.

These difficulties presented by Mnos and Lemnos are unnecessary, for another place is nearer to hand in terms of both palaeography and historical geography: read πολιτογραφηθεὶς ἐν Τήμνῳ. An Erythraean visiting Temnos had only to cross the gulf of Smyrna behind Erythrae and then walk some twenty miles inland into the Hermus valley. In fact, the several inscriptions that concern Temnos give repeated testimony to just such relations with its neighbors in the Hellenistic period: Temnian citizenship granted to individuals from Sardes and Elaea, isopolity with Pergamum and with Teos, thanks from Smyrna for rescuing some Smyrnaean captives, a conflict with Clazomenae.<sup>4</sup> The received text thus presents no difficulty, quite the contrary: nothing is more natural than an Erythraean granted citizenship in Temnos.

Inspecting early editions of Diogenes that are available to me, I find that in fact Henri Estienne (Geneva, 1570) printed ἐν Τήμνῳ (but with it Traversari’s translation “in Mno,” unmodified in this and subsequent printings). In the English translation of Diogenes and other philosophical lore organized by Richard Bentley (London, 1696), an anonymous translator rendered “registered among the Citizens of Temna” (380); so too the French translation by J. G. Chauffepié (†1786), “reçu citoyen de Temnos” (p. 214 of the 1841 printing); ἐν Τήμνῳ also in the 1833 Leipzig edition from Tauchnitz, which was long reprinted.<sup>5</sup> This list is certainly not complete, but these seem to be the minority voice; Cobet’s monumental Didot edition of 1850, by

1. The *Suda* s.v. Τυραννίων situates Demetrius as a rival of Tyrannio in the age of Mithridates and Pompey.

2. The Aldobrandini translation of the mid-sixteenth century (Rome, 1594) gives “qui in Mnon est adscriptus” (p. 134).

3. Perhaps as a result, L. Zgusta’s monumental *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg, 1984) does not include a “Mnos.” The currency of ἐν Λήμνῳ is fostered by the TLG data base of Greek authors, which used the OCT text.

4. Peter Herrmann, “Die Stadt Temnos und ihre auswärtigen Beziehungen in hellenistischer Zeit,” *IstMitt* 29 (1979): 239–71.

5. Huebner in his edition (Leipzig, 1828–31) cited Estienne’s ἐν Τήμνῳ in his apparatus but printed ἐν τῇ Μνῶ.

failing to notice Estienne's reading here, appears to have been influential in confirming the majority and ἐν τῇ Μνῆ.<sup>6</sup>

I may repeat Peter Herrmann's words (240) stressing Temnos' connections "with more important places in its vicinity, both in the interior and the coast to the north, and even more south to the gulf of Smyrna and across it to the cities of the Erythraean peninsula." It is well to restore Demetrius's second citizenship to this context.

## II. ST. PAUL AND APOLLO

In the apocryphal *Acts of Paul*, in the part that survives only in Coptic translation, Paul sets out from Myra in Lycia, heading eastward. At Perge in Pamphylia some Christians choose to accompany him on his trip; the group proceeds, and there is a scene in open country, obscure because of damage to the papyrus, in which they encounter a demon's table (τραπεζα) and an idol—apparently a rural altar. Then comes a gap in the text, after which we find Paul and his followers in Sidon: there he confronts and defeats the worship of the city's patron god Apollo. Then comes another gap, after which the Christians are in Tyre.<sup>7</sup>

In Sidon the focus of Paul's story is the temple of Apollo: after Paul's initial public sermon, the Christians are imprisoned in the temple itself; the next day, in response to Paul's prayer, the building collapses; when the temple authorities and city **στρατηγοί** see this they admit the greatness of the new god and then proclaim to the city: "The god of the Sidonians, Apollo, is fallen, and half his temple."<sup>8</sup> The populace gathers before the rubble, and on their demand the Christians are transferred to the theater, presumably for a mass assembly and hearing. After this comes the next break in the text, and then Tyre.

Something is wrong here. Schmidt remarked complacently that Apollo is "the Phoenician Melkart."<sup>9</sup> That equation would be surprising; when Greeks asked themselves what their name for Melkart was, they said Heracles. So certainly at Tyre, where Melkart/Heracles was indeed the patron divinity of the city.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the cult of Apollo is not even attested at Sidon, let alone as the patron divinity. To the contrary, the chief cult there is richly documented: Sidon gave first honor to Astarte. In a Phoenician inscription of the fifth century B.C. the Sidonian king Ashmunazer displays his devotion to her (*ANET* 3 662), as do other royals, some of whom are also found serving as her priests.<sup>11</sup> In the temple of Ashmun outside the

6. But Cobet evidently was troubled by the text, which he translated "civitate donatus in Mno (Romana?)." The Didot firm's complaint about Cobet's detachment from the project is at pp. i–iii (he failed to supply his promised account of the manuscript evidence; they print instead his earlier letters in which he claims to have examined various manuscripts). Work on the text since 1850 is surveyed by A. Biedl, *Zur Textgeschichte des Laertios Diogenes*, S&T 184 (1955), 7–41.

7. C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1905): pp. 35–39 of the papyrus. Survey and bibliography at W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*<sup>5</sup> 2 (Tübingen, 1989), 193–214.

8. For the topos of half of a building collapsing, cf. *Act. Iohan.* 42 and *Act. Barnab.* cited below, p. 257, n. 25. For imprisonment in a temple, *Jos. Vit.* 419.

9. *Ἰσχυρὸς Παύλου*, *Acta Pauli* (Glückstadt/Hamburg, 1936), 114.

10. The equation is explicit in M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Iscrizioni fenicie* (Rome, 1967), 16, no. 1 (Malta, second century B.C.), and in Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 1.10.27; cf. Preisendanz, "Melkart," *RE Suppl.* 6 (1935): 293–97. For the cult of Apollo at Tyre see J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *BMBeyr* 19 (1977): 1–3.

11. Cf. M. Sznycer, in *DietMyth* 2 (1981): 242; on various cults at Sidon, H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes," *Syria* 36 (1969): 48–56.

city a visitor from Cyprus in the fifth or fourth century erected a monumental dedication phrased simply "to the goddess."<sup>12</sup> From the late second century B.C. to the time of Hadrian, one of the favorite images on coins struck at Sidon is Astarte standing on a ship's prow and holding a crown, labeled "the goddess of Sidon," Σιδωνος θεᾶς.<sup>13</sup> The author of the Oxyrhynchus hymn to Isis, surveying the world, equates his goddess with Astarte at Sidon (*P.Oxy.* 1380.116), and her primacy there is obvious to Achilles Tatius (1.1.2) and Lucian (*Dea syr.* 3–4: Heracles at Tyre, Astarte at Sidon). How then can Paul have a confrontation with Apollo the patron of Sidon?<sup>14</sup>

Sheer ignorance on the part of the story-teller may be sufficient explanation. But the account is graphic and detailed, so that one seeks other possibilities.

The cult of Ashmun was of substantial importance at Sidon, though secondary to Astarte.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps our author equated that healing god with Greek Apollo. But the equation regularly offered for Ashmun was Asclepius, not Apollo.<sup>16</sup> And the Sidonians' great temple to Ashmun, well explored, was at Bostan el-Sheik on the Awali River, nearly two miles north of the city,<sup>17</sup> not in town like Paul's temple of Apollo. On Cyprus Apollo is found equated with Phoenician Reshef; but Reshef too is not securely on record at Sidon,<sup>18</sup> and again certainly was not the tutelary god. I suggest therefore a different solution.

In order to travel from Perge to Tyre, one need not (if at sea) put in at Sidon, though it is on the way; but one absolutely had to pass through a city that was famous for its cult of Apollo: Side on the coast of Pamphylia.<sup>19</sup> Apollo was the legendary founder of Side. He is often shown on the coins of that city and was widely patronized; at Side he was honored with panhellenic games, and with a festival that marked his protection of seafarers.<sup>20</sup> We should in any case presume that the Christians, unless they walked to Phoenicia, were understood as taking ship at Side, which was the best and busiest harbor in eastern Pamphylia.<sup>21</sup> After the scene in question, the passage on to Tyre was reconstructed by Schmidt to be by sea: "they placed Paul [on a ship?] and went with him" (39.21–22). This would represent a luxurious mode if from Sidon, the normal one if from Side. I suggest that this in fact is what we are seeing in the *Acts of Paul*, that the conflict with Apollo was set not in Sidon but in Side.

12. O. Masson, "Pèlerins chrypriotes en Phénicie (Sarepta et Sidon)," *Semitica* 32 (1982): 45–49 (*I.chypr.syll.* no. 343).

13. The earliest example is of 133/32 B.C. (*BMC Phoenicia* 181; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie* no. 1174; J. Rouvier, "Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie, Sidon," *JournIntArchNum* 5 [1902]: no. 1262), the latest at the end of the Greek coinage in A.D. 117/18 (Rouvier no. 1475; Roman colonial types follow).

14. The matter is not explicated by the later and fuller *Life of Thecla*, which omits this episode because Thecla was not now with Paul; *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle*, ed. G. Dagron (Brussels, 1978).

15. F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon* (New York, 1907), 127.

16. So expressly of Ashmun at Sarepta eight miles south of Sidon: L. W. Daly, *ZPE* 40 (1980): 223–25, with Masson, 45–46 (dedication, fourth century B.C.), and Strabo 16.2.22; also in Guzzo Amadasi, 91, no. 9 (Sardinia). See generally W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), esp. 211–13, 232; on Sarepta, J. B. Pritchard, *Discovering Sarepta* (Princeton, 1978).

17. For the excavations see M. Dunand, "Le Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon. Essai de Chronologie," *BMBeyr* 26 (1975): 7–25, with references, and bibliography in N. Jidejian, *Sidon through the Ages* (Beirut, 1971), 274–75.

18. See Beer, *RE* 1A (1914): 620; Eiselen, *Sidon*, 136, 144–45. The equation is explicit at e.g., *CIS* 1 89 (*I.chypr.syll.* no. 220; cf. J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique," *Syria* 47 [1970]: 370).

19. Testimonia now in J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum* 1 I.K. 43 (1993).

20. Nollé, *Side*, 40, 84–88.

21. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 (Paris, 1948), 69–76.

This can only be a suggestion. The Coptic preserves the word “Sidon” unambiguously at 38.19 and 39.23; if there is error, it must be intellectual rather than textual. That is, the Egyptian translator, whenever he lived, unfamiliar with the toponym he found in the Greek text, mistook it for a similar name that he knew very well from both the Old and the New Testaments (not least from Acts of the Apostles). Again, “when [Paul had left Myra and decided to go] to Si[don], there was much grief among the brethren who were in [Pisidi]a<sup>22</sup> and Pamphylia . . . so that some in Perge followed along with Paul” (35.10–16): this would suggest that Paul’s destination is not in Pamphylia, thus Sidon rather than Side. But perhaps the assumption was that one went to Side in order to take ship out of Pamphylia.

It is believed that the famous temple was one of the two discovered on the seaward point of the peninsula that the city occupies.<sup>23</sup> Side’s theater is 500 yards away in the center of town, and the two areas are connected by the city’s one monumental colonnaded street; movement between the two areas was the most public walk in town. If my suggestion about the scene in the *Acts* is correct, it supports the archeologists’ location of the temple of Apollo to the degree of showing that it was indeed in the city proper rather than out on its territory; it supports also the common belief that the author of the *Acts* lived in and knew Asia Minor.

### III. ST. BARNABAS AND APOLLO

The apocryphal *Acts of Barnabas* portrays this apostle and his followers traveling through Cyprus. At one stage, the narrator describes how the Christians, shut out of Paphos, approach Curium (ἤλομεν ἐν τῷ Κουρίῳ), that is, from the west:

καὶ εὗρομεν δρόμον τινὰ μιερόν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτελούμενον,<sup>24</sup> ἐνθα γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν πληθὺς γυμνῶν ἐπετέλουν τὸν δρόμον· καὶ πολλὴ ἀπάτη καὶ πλάνη ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ. στραφεῖς δὲ ὁ Βαρνάβας τοῦτῳ ἐπετίμησεν, καὶ ἔπενεν τὸ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν μέρος, ὥστε πολλοὺς τραυματίας γενέσθαι· πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ὄν πλησίον ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἱερᾷ. ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κουρίου, πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων ὄντων ἐκεῖ ὑποβλήθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαριησοῦ ἔστησαν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐκ εἶασαν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κτλ.

We found an accursed foot race being conducted on the road near the city, where a mass of women and men conducted the race in the nude; there was much deceit and sin in that place. Barnabas turned about and rebuked it, and the western part collapsed, so that many were injured; many of them in fact died, and the rest fled into the temple of Apollo that is nearby at the [place] called Hiera. When we approached Curium a great crowd of Jews who were there, suborned by Bar-Jesus, stood outside the city and would not let us enter . . .<sup>25</sup>

22. So Schmidt in the Coptic text, though he preferred “[Cilici]a” in his translation. Myra was of course in Lycia, but this mostly lost sentence seems to have portrayed the return to Pamphylia.

23. A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin, 1963), 77–86, dating both to the second century A.D.; cf. Nollé, *Side*, 8.

24. So the oldest MS: the late ones give ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐπιτελούμενον πλησίον τῆς πόλεως (there is no mountain next to Curium).

25. *Act. Barn.* 19 (Bonnet 2.2 299). A similar scene (20), though without the destruction, is next played out in the neighborhood of Amathus, “where there was a great crowd of pagans in the temple on the mountain, unchaste women and men sacrificing.” In 22, even vaguer πανηγύρεις καὶ σπονδαὶ at the village called Nesoi near Salamis.

This work dates from the mid-fifth century. It is linked to the somewhat later *Acts of Heracleides*, whose author used our text.<sup>26</sup> This later account mentions the episode at Curium, but briefly and in garbled fashion:

And we came to a place Curium; and going in, there were loose-haired girls running and countless multitudes (ἦσαν λυσίκομαι κόραι τρέχουσαι καὶ πλήθη πολλά). The holy father Heracleides took us and led us out of there.<sup>27</sup>

The one descriptive element looks like a cliché of maenadism, borrowed out of books rather than based upon any experience or recalled tradition that was peculiar to Curium; this later text is bookish and derivative, without independent value. By contrast, the earlier author, as was long ago recognized, has a detailed first-hand knowledge of Cyprus.<sup>28</sup>

Here we are told that outside of Curium to the west stood a large temple of Apollo, and beside it toward the city a stadium where races were held. Excavation has in fact revealed a monumental temple-complex one and a half miles to the west of the city; the precinct was a large walled area, into which a crowd might well flee. And near the temple and beside the road that goes on into the city is a stadium.<sup>29</sup> It is transparent that the place on the ground and the place visited by Barnabas are the same; this is in fact our only ancient description. The temple on the ground, first described by Ross in 1845, was identified as that of Apollo Hylates by Cesnola (1874) on the basis of dedicatory inscriptions.<sup>30</sup> The first excavators' plan of the complex has been widely reproduced. It appears however that no student of the *Acts of Barnabas* has considered this site and its remains, and that no student of the site of Apollo Hylates or of the cults of Roman Cyprus has made use of the *Acts of Barnabas*.

Most scholars accept an ancient tradition that the god's epithet derives from a toponym, a village Hyle, "the Wood," where the temple stood.<sup>31</sup> This, as is natural enough, is an attested Greek place-name elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> This tradition about "Hylates" is represented most fully in Tzetzes' scholia to Lycophron. Lycophron invoked in Cyprus "the land of Hylates," Ὑλάτου γῆν.<sup>33</sup> The commentator explains:

26. F. Halkin, "Les Actes de Saint Héraclide de Chypre, disciple de l'apôtre Barnabé," *AnalBoll* 82 (1964): 133–70, 408.

27. 9.2. Halkin, "Actes," p. 152.

28. E. Oberhummer, "Kypros," *RE* 12 (1924), used the text (109), finding it topographically accurate; cf. his *Insel Cypern* (Munich, 1903), 437.

29. Jessen, "Hylates," *RE* 9 (1914): 116; T. B. Mitford, *ANRW* 18.3 (1990), 2183–85. Excavation of the temple was begun in the 1930s and continued in the 1970s; see R. Scranton, *The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion*, *TAPhS* 57.5 (1967), esp. 65. For accounts of the exploration of the site see D. Soren, *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates* (Tucson, 1987), 24–28; S. Sinos, *The Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (Athens, 1990), 26–56.

30. Listed now at Mitford, *I. Kourion*, p. 411.

31. After Cesnola, e.g., Oberhummer, "Kypros," *RE* 99 (Hyle in the roster of Cypriot places but not Hiera), cf. *RE* 11 (1922): 2214; B. Loewe, *Griechische theophore Ortsnamen* (Tübingen, 1936), p. 65, n. 1 (parallels for the form). More general: Sinos, *Temple* 20 ("god of the forests"); O. Masson, in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque* (Paris, 1960), 135. Scranton, *Architecture*, 73, cf. 3, wonders whether the epithet might instead be from ὕλη, "stuff in a state of life," but such an abstraction has no place here (cf. Macrobius, 1.22.3).

32. In Boeotia and Locris: *RE* 9 (1914): 117–19. In the Maeander Valley, not Hylae but Aulæ (Paus. 10.32.6) and Apollo Aulāites: Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schr.* 5.1, 359, n. 3; Robert, *Documents d'Asie mineure* (Paris, 1987), 40–41.

33. *Alex.* 448. A poem of Hadrianic date from the temple site has an altar of "Hylates" alone as in Lycophron: *I. Kourion* no. 104, with W. D. Lebek, "Ein Hymnus auf Antinoos," *ZPE* 12 (1973): 119–20.

‘Υλάτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ὕλη γάρ ἐστι περὶ τὸν Κούριον τόπον τοῦ Κύπρου ἱερὰ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀφ’ ἧς Ὑλατον τὸν θεὸν προσαγορεύουσι.

“Hylates” is Apollo: for there is a wood by the place Curium on Cyprus, sacred to Apollo, from which they call the god Hylates.

Other representatives of this tradition say less. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. “Hyle” gives πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ἣ Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται Ὑλάτης and quotes the phrase of Lycophron. He knew the cult also at Amathous and Erystheia from a line of Dionysius’ *Bassarica*, and at Tembrus; but only under the toponym Hyle does he invoke Lycophron—but without mentioning Curium. So too Eustathius on *Il.* 5.708 (*Il.* 176 van der Valk) in stating (after Hyle in Boeotia and Locris) ἄλλη Κύπρου, ἀφ’ ἧς καὶ Ὑλάτης Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Λυκόφρονι; this likely derives from Stephanus.

As Lycophron does not mention Curium, some independent knowledge of the cult lies behind the geographical detail in Tzetzes; and inscriptions confirm the god’s epithet at the temple outside Curium. But is the etymology correct? The cult is found at various other sites on the island.<sup>34</sup> The etymological deduction is the only evidence of a toponym “Hyle” on Cyprus. Nor is it clear that the most detailed of our sources, Tzetzes, meant Ὑλη rather than ὕλη; on present evidence, the proper name Hyle is a deduction by the inept Stephanus of Byzantium, whose source may have been the same as Tzetzes’. We know that both made extensive use of the Lycophron commentary of the Augustan scholar Theon.<sup>35</sup>

Quite a different etymology is implied elsewhere. Aelian reports that at Curium,<sup>36</sup> when deer take refuge in the temple of Apollo there (there is a very large grove), the dogs bay, but do not dare come near; the deer graze together fearlessly, trusting in the protection of the god (*NA* 11.7):

ἐν Κουριάδι αἱ ἔλαφοι . . . ὅταν καταφύγῳσιν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν τὸ ἐνταυτοῖ τιμήσιον (ἔστι δὲ ἄλσος μέγιστον), ὕλακτοῦσι μὲν κύνες κτλ.

The verb ὕλακτοῦσι, which introduces dogs that then prove irrelevant, seems to reflect a theory about the etymology of “Hylates,” Apollo of the Baying, that owes nothing to and may be unaware of a toponym “Hyle”—even while aware that the god had a grove. It is not surprising that Hylates should have suggested to some an action noun (Aelian’s however should be Ὑλακτιτῆς “barker”);<sup>37</sup> “of the woods” would be ὕλαϊος, and a poet offers Pan the Woodsman, ὕλειώτης (*Anth. Gr.* 6.106.1).

What is suggestive in Aelian is the ignorance of a village named Hyle, whose existence is confined to the rival account of the etymology of Hylates. Some dedicators elsewhere, and not just the two poets, dispense with the name Apollo and address τῷ θεῷ τῷ Ὑλάτῃ;<sup>38</sup> that might suggest that this was not felt as a toponymic adjective. But these considerations can carry little weight. The *Acts of Barnabas*, by contrast, is in my view decisive on the geographical question: Apollo’s

34. Masson, *I.chypr.syll.*, nos. 98–99, 139, 264.

35. C. Wendel, *RE* 5A (1937): 2056.

36. Or the Curias peninsula: κουριδίῳ MS, emended by Schneider to Κουριάδι on the basis of Strabo 14.6.3 (the deer sacred to Apollo at Cape Curias, Κουριάδα ἀκτὴν); but Κουρίῳ seems as likely; or again, Κουριάδι, without ἀκτῆ, may be simply “the territory of Curium,” which would be correct of the temple.

37. Note however that the upsilon is treated as short in the Imperial poem from the site (see n. 33).

38. *I.chypr.syll.*, nos. 84 and 85 from Dhrymoi in the west of the island, no. 250 from Chytroi.

village was called Hierā, not Hyle. This is supported both by the informed character of the narrative and by parallels elsewhere. For a place-name Hierā is a usage that we know very well, wherein the village where an important rural temple stood was called Hierā or Hieracome, sacred village. Thus in Caria, Stratoniceia had in the countryside the Hieracometae of Lagina, with its famous temple of Hecate;<sup>39</sup> the village outside Nysa (where stood the pilgrimage shrine of Pluto and Kore) is called Hierā Acaraca.<sup>40</sup> In Bithynia, Nicomedeia had a civic tribe named Hierā; this may have been the tribe in whose district the temple of the city's tutelary divinity was located.<sup>41</sup> The *Acts* thus portrays a credible ancient situation, more worthy of trust than a scholar's etymology: whatever the force of Apollo's epithet, his place was "Hierā."<sup>42</sup>

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39. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), 555–61; M. Ç. Sahin, *The Political and Religious Structure in the Territory of Stratonikeia* (Ankara, 1976), with J. and L. Robert, "Bull.épigr.," *REG* 92 (1979): no. 466.

40. "Inscriptions de la région du Méandre," *BCH* 14 (1890): 232–33, no. 4.

41. *TAM* 4 258, with J. and L. Robert, "Bull.épigr.," *REG* 87 (1974): 297. Other examples at *La Carie* 2 (Paris, 1954), 294–95. Nothing further is known of the former city Hierā which Pliny reports on Lesbos (*HN* 5.139).

42. I am grateful to Judith Perkins and William H. Willis.