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Robert Parker – Dirk Obbink

## Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» VIII. Three Further Inscriptions Concerning Coan Cults

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Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0

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Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» VIII.  
Three Further Inscriptions Concerning Coan Cults\*

1 Subscription to complete the temple of Apollo at Halasarna

Found in a vineyard near Kardamina in 1901. Opisthographic stele of white marble originally decorated with a kymation; broken at the bottom. Fig. 1 (side A); fig. 2 (side B). Height 54 cms., width 50–52.5, thickness 8. Height of letters 1.1 cms. (side A), 0.9–1.0 (B). Line interval 0.6 cms. (side A), 0.5 (side B). The stone is now in the epigraphic store of the Asklepícion. Mentioned by HERZOG, *Klio* 2, 1902, 320 n. 2. We have used HERZOG's and S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE's squeezes, photographs taken by C. V. CROWTHER, and CROWTHER's report of his autopsy.

A

- Ἐπὶ μονάρχου Φιλώτα, μηνὸς Δαλίου τετράδι,  
Θευγένης Ἐκατοδώρου εἶπε· ἐλέσθαι ἄνδρας  
τέσσαρας ὅπως πορισθέντων χρημάτων  
ἐν τάχει τὰ κατάλοιπα τῶν ἔργων τοῦ ναοῦ  
5 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κατασκευασθῆι, καὶ μὴ καν-  
δυνεύσει τὰ συντετελεσμένα ἔργα τὰς  
ὄροφάς καὶ τοῦ θυρώματος ἐπιγενομένου  
χρόνου πλείονος καταφθαρήμεν, τάν τε συν-  
αντίλαμπιν τὰς κατασ(κ)ευὰς τοῦ ναοῦ  
10 μὴ μόνον ἀ πόλις φαίνηται πεποιημένα, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶι χρη-

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\* We are very grateful to the IG committee of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for the invitation to study this material. PARKER is primarily responsible for texts 1 and 2, and we share responsibility for 3. We thank Dr. C. V. CROWTHER and Professor M. WÖRRLE for perpetual advice and assistance. We are also very grateful to Professor L. MIGEOTTE for commenting on a draft, to Professor G. KOKKOROU-ALEURA for information about the excavation and for access to her *Oi Epigraphés apo tήn aoxaiá Alássaona* (forthcoming as a supplement to *Horos*), to the Ephor Dr. I. PAPACHRISTODOULOU for the grant of a study permit, and for other assistance, to CROWTHER, and to the Coan epimelete Dr. D. BOSNAKIS for generous help to CROWTHER on Cos.

- μάτων καὶ τοὶ δηλόμενοι ἐπαγγείλα{σ}σθαι εἰς  
ταῦτα, συντελεσθέντος τε τοῦ ναοῦ ἐπιφα-  
νέστερον τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν ἐξάγεται, ἀγαθῆ  
15 τύχαι, δεδόχθαι τὸς μὲν νεωποιᾶς τελέσαι τοῖς  
αἰρεθεῖσιν ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων  
δραχμᾶς XX, τῶν δὲ δαμοτᾶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
πολιτᾶν καὶ παροίκων ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὸς δηλο-  
20 μένος ἐς τὰν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ἕκαστον  
μὴ ἐλάσσω δραχμῶν τριάκοντα, ποιούμενοι τὰν  
μὲν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτῶι ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις  
ταῖς γινομέναις ἐν τῶι δάμωι ἄρχοντος Δαλίου  
τοῦ ἐπὶ Φιλώτα, τὰν δὲ καταβολὰν τοῦ ἀργυρίου πο-  
εῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὸς ἀνδρας τὸς αἰρεθέντας ἐν τρισὶ  
25 καταβολαῖς, διδόντες τὰ(ν) μὲμ πρᾶταν μετὰ τὸ  
[τὰ]ν ἐπαγγελίαν γενέσθαι παραχορήμα, τὰν δὲ ἐ-  
[χομ]έναν ἐν ἐξαμήνω[ι] καὶ τὰν ἄλλαν ὡσαύτως·  
[ὄπως] δὲ [κ]αὶ τῶν ἐ[9-10]ένων ὑπάρχη ὑ-  
[πόμναμα-----]

B

- ἐσόκα ταί τε ἐπαγγελίαι πέτωντι καὶ ἐκ τᾶς πόλιός τι  
ψαφισθῆι· συντελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων αἱ τινὰ κα πε-  
ριτῆι ἐκ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν χρήματα ἀποδόντω τοὶ ἄν-  
δρες ἐφ' ὧν κα πέτη ναποῖαι τοῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖι εὔσιν· τοὶ δὲ  
5 ναποῖαι διδόντω εἰς τὰς φυλάς τοῖς ἐπιμηνίοις καθὰ  
καὶ πρότερον ἐδίδουσαν εἰς τὰς δύο ἀμέρας· τὸ δὲ ψάφισ-  
μα τόδε ἀναγραφάντω τοὶ ἄνδρες τοὶ αἰρημένοι ἐ-  
πι τὸ αὐτὸ τῶι πρότερον κυρωθέντι ψαφίσματι ἐπὶ μο-  
νάρχου Φιλώτα. *vacat*

A 17 half spaces are left vacant before and after XX. A 28 τῶν ἐς [ταῦτα ἐπαγγελμέ]νων HERZOG, which is too long; perhaps τῶν ἐ[παγγελαμ]ένων, though this is slightly short. A 29 sup. HERZOG.

### Translation

A When Philotas was *monarchos*, on the fourth of the month Dalios. Proposed by Theugenes, son of Hekatodoros.

Four men shall be elected, in order that, money having been secured, the work that remains on the temple of Apollo may be carried out quickly and the completed work on the roof and the door may not be in danger of being spoilt through further delay; and in order that not only the city may be seen to have been actively involved in construction of the temple, but also the god, from the funds that he has, and individuals willing to make pledges for this

purpose, and the rites in the shrine may be conducted with more magnificence on completion of the temple: with good luck let it be decided that the *neopoiai* shall pay 2000 drachmai to the men elected from the funds of the god, and that individuals from among members of the deme and the other citizens and resident aliens who are willing shall each pledge not less than 30 drachmai for the construction of the temple: they should make the pledge within a year at the meetings which occur in the deme, beginning with the month Dalios in the term of Philotas, and they should make payment of the money to the men elected in three instalments, paying the first straightaway after the making of the pledge, the next within six months and the remaining one in the same way. And in order that there may be a record . . .

B . . . until the sums pledged are paid and a decree is passed by the city. When the works have been completed, if any money remains from the payments, it shall be handed over by the men in whose term they are paid to the *napoiai* who are in office. The *napoiai* shall give this money to the *epimenioi* for the tribes, just as hitherto they used to give for the two days. The men who have been elected shall inscribe this decree in the same place as the decree previously passed when Philotas was *monarchos*.

#### Commentary

(A) is the decision of an unidentified body,<sup>1</sup> passed (when Philotas was *monarchos*), to establish a fund-raising board and to launch a public subscription in order to bring (the temple of Apollo) to completion. (B) is the concluding portion of a second decree, inscribed on the back of the same stone in the same hand, relating to the same project and passed somewhat later; it ends with instructions for its publication (in the same place as the decree previously passed when Philotas was *monarchos*, i.e. (A)). (A) was evidently followed in the lost lower part of the front of the stele by a list of subscribers (unless this stood on a separate stone) and the start of (B). In its surviving part, (B) envisages the problem of what should be done with funds remaining from the subscription once work on the temple has been completed; it is decided that they should be used to meet the costs of (the two days), i.e. the festival Pythaia. When (B) was passed, the arrival of the last subscription payments envisaged in (A) still lay in the future. This should mean that it followed (A) at an interval of not more than two years (see on A 24–25).

As for an absolute date, C. V. CROWTHER has convincingly identified the hand as being the same as that which cut Chiron 28, 1998, 122 no. 13, also from Halasarna, a text which honours a (Herodotus son of Heraclitus) who may be identical with the proposer of HGK 14 (= LSCG 155). HGK 14 is

<sup>1</sup> On its identity see below p. 258.



concerned to secure adequate funds for *ταῖ τε θυσίαι καὶ ἡ πανάγουρις καὶ ταῖ θε[ωροδοξία καὶ τοὶ ἀγ]ῶνες* of Asklepios, which perhaps brings it close to the foundation of the Great Asklepieia in 242 (for celebration in 241); if that criterion fails, we are left with a vague palaeographical «third century» for all three texts.<sup>2</sup> The only other direct allusion to a temple of Apollo, as opposed to a sanctuary, in the relevant cult comes in a recently-discovered honorary decree for Diokles son of Alexandros which is to be placed εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ τὴν παραστάδα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπορευομένων. In the first preliminary mention of it that text was assigned to the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c.,<sup>3</sup> but G. KOKKOROU-ALEURA will locate it rather, on prosopographical grounds, about 200 B.C. It is possible therefore that the temple mentioned in our text is the first built at the site, though the existence of a predecessor cannot be excluded, the cult certainly being ancient.<sup>4</sup>

Public works, especially sacred works, were much the commonest occasion for subscriptions, which, it has been pointed out,<sup>5</sup> should in these cases be seen as symptoms not of financial crisis but of the settled conditions that allow thought of public building. The social dynamics of the institution, with its face-to-face pressure to contribute, have been well analysed by MIGEOTTE in his comprehensive *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*. The text from Halasarna joins the sixteen examples of decrees setting up a subscription fund there collected,<sup>6</sup> and adds some interesting new colours to our picture of the institution. Here as always the launching of the fund is the product of a collective decision, even though the body in question is a sub-group and not the citizen assembly of the whole island. Substantially more common than decrees establishing such funds are lists of those who contributed to them, and even without the traces of an introductory formula in line 28 it would have been all but certain that a list of this type was also inscribed: lists without decrees are found but not decrees without lists, the main motive for publication being to recognise the patriotism of contributors.

Subscriptions, as recently published materials have underlined, were extremely common in hellenistic Cos. Identifiable aims are: (probably) financing of

<sup>2</sup> HERZOG assigned our text on letter form grounds to the second half of the century, though he had assigned what is now Chiron 28, 1998, 121 ff., no. 13 to the first. Great Asklepieia: see K. RIGSBY, *Asyia*, Berkeley 1996, 109 (whose conclusions undermine HERZOG's arguments for a dating of HGK 14 to 300–270: in Chiron 28, 1998, 123 the editors speak of HERZOG's dating as «vielleicht zu früh»).

<sup>3</sup> See C. KANTZIA, *ΑΔ 39 Α*, 1984 (1990), 161. It will be published as KOKKOROU-ALEURA, *Επιγραφές από την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα*, N.E. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See the graffito dedications from the classical period in *ΑΔ 39 Α*, 1984 (1990), 149.

<sup>5</sup> L. MIGEOTTE, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, Geneva – Quebec 1992, 348.

<sup>6</sup> On pp. 286–88. Chiron 28, 1998, 145 no. 24 a 1–7 is another addendum.

the Greater Asklepieia; the construction of the Aphrodision (probably in a deme); public safety in the crisis of 205–1; the library; the completion of the precinct and the associated constructions for Aphrodite; the sanctuary of Demeter.<sup>7</sup> And there survive numerous further lists or fragments of them of contributions for purposes now irrecoverable. Though the longest and most famous of these lists was occasioned by a crisis, it was by no means typical in this regard; and the great age of Coan subscriptions was precisely the great age of Coan prosperity. Scale, goal and organisation of the individual subscriptions differed considerably, but all illustrate a civic involvement not confined to a tiny number of the very rich.

From the find-spot of our text it is clear that the cult of Apollo in question is that located in the ancient deme of Halasarna (modern Kardamina). The importance of this cult in the life of the region was already well known. PH 367 records a decision of the tribes αἶς μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς ἐν Ἀλασσάρῳ to draw up a new register of tribe members entitled to use the shrine (singular, sc. of Apollo), and the long list of names PH 368 is generally acknowledged to be that register.<sup>8</sup> Late in the first century B.C. the decision was taken to record the names of the annual holders of what was surely the priesthood of this cult, and the list eventually extended to more than 130 names.<sup>9</sup> It was in the shrine of Apollo that the deme of Halasarna displayed its honorary decrees, and gold crowns were proclaimed at Apollo's festival the Pythaia; the proclamation was made, in the case known to us, by τοῖς ἱερατευκότας, that is the college of those who had held the annual priesthood.<sup>10</sup> More unusual is the prominence in the affairs of Halasarna of the board of ναποῖαι, who were not only closely involved with the administration of the shrine of Apollo (as in our decree) but also regularly proposed motions, on topics not related to religion, to the deme assembly; they apparently functioned

<sup>7</sup> Chiron 28, 1998, 145 no. 24 a 1–7; PH 387; MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*, nn. 50 and 52; ED 178 (B); ED 14. On the new Coan materials see L. MIGEOTTE, *REA* 100, 1998, 565–78 and id., *CEA* 34, 1998, 103–8; still newer are those published in Chiron 28, 1998, 143–61.

<sup>8</sup> Both texts are re-edited with readings of HERZOG and useful prosopographical notes by G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *ASAA* n. s. 25–26, 1963–64, 182–201, no. xxvi; PH 367 is also available as *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 1023, *LSCG* 173. The detailed relation between the cults of Apollo and of Heracles is not known. A function of ἀρχεῦν παρ' Ἡρακλεῖ is known from two 3<sup>rd</sup> c. texts; honours for good service in this post were displayed beside the temple of Apollo (*AD* 39 A, 1984 (1990), 161 with n. 84; Chiron 28, 1998, 122 no. 13.3).

<sup>9</sup> See R. HERZOG, *Sitzb. Ak. Berlin* 1901, 483 no. 4: the introductory decree is *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 793 = *LSCG* 174 (on the chronology see SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 147 n. 353).

<sup>10</sup> Display: *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 568.21, 569.47, *AD* 39 A, 1984 (1990), 161; SEG 41, 680. 51–52 (where the gods even pay for the stele); proclamation: *AD* 39 A, 1984 (1990), 157 with plate 66a = ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Επιγραφές απο τήν αρχαία Αλάσσαρνα*, NE. 4 (which shares some formulae with *Sitzb. Ak. Berlin* 1901, 478 no. 2.)

as a kind of probouleutic and executive body (see on A 15) of the deme. Very remarkable too and proof of the great local importance of the cult is the place of the priest of Apollo within the religious life of the region: all the offerings, to a wide variety of gods, listed in a recently discovered calendar from Halasarna (of the third c.) are to be made by him.<sup>11</sup> So dominant a position for the priest of a single cult is a feature for which it is hard to find a parallel.

Our decrees were presumably passed by the deme of Halasarna (note δαμόται in A 17, σύνοδοι ἐν τῷ δάμῳι in A 22). But «the tribes» are mentioned in association with the cult in B 5, as in PH 367 and perhaps other texts.<sup>12</sup> The nature of these «tribes» and their relation to the deme will be discussed in the note on B 5.

The cult is known archaeologically, though it is not yet possible to correlate the archaeological and the written evidence very precisely. Inscriptions relating to it were discovered in the ruins of the early Christian basilica of Hagia Theotes, and HERZOG supposed the basilica to have been built on the site of Apollo's shrine. But construction work on a hotel complex at a different site in Kardamina (the Πατέρα-Τσαγκαρούλη plot) in 1981 revealed numerous remains that have in turn proved associable with the cult: pottery, a graffito dedication to Apollo, texts alluding to the priests or the sanctuary, a sizeable hellenistic building that may have been a temple, and a stoa.<sup>13</sup> Very probably the sanctuary was here and the inscriptions built into Hagia Theotes had been transported the short distance thither. Excavations conducted by the University of Athens continue at this important site. The excavator, Dr. G. ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, kindly informs me (letter dated January 10, 1999) that «since 1994 I have been excavating another temple, distylos in antis, which should be dated most probably in the first quarter of the third century B.C. (cf. BCH 120, 1996, 1311–12), but I am not sure that this is the temple of Apollo, as we have indications of the existence of four more buildings in the area».<sup>14</sup> Chronologically the new temple would fit better with that of our inscription, which was in construction in the third century B.C., than would the «hellenistic build-

<sup>11</sup> ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Επιγραφές από την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα*, N.E. 6. Other texts showing the priest of Apollo involved with other cults are PH 369 (LSCG 172), where he sacrifices to Aphrodite, and the many dedications by the priest of Apollo and *hieropoioi* to Hekate Stratia: PH 370, 388; ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Επιγραφές από την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα*, N.E. 8–10.

<sup>12</sup> See n. 30 below. Chiron 28, 1998, 122 no. 13, however, speaks only of πολιτῶν and δ[αμο]τῶν (5, 8) (the vital initial letter is unmistakable on the squeeze in both cases), except perhaps in the lost end of line 4.

<sup>13</sup> For results up to 1993, with full reference to more detailed reports, see G. ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Archaiologia* 9, 1995–96, 313–26; for the new inscriptional evidence see ead., *Επιγραφές από την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα* (C. ΚΑΝΤΖΙΑ, *ΑΔ* 39 A, 1984 (1990), 140–62 was a provisional report).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the introduction to ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Επιγραφές από την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα*.

ing mentioned above, which is now dated stratigraphically to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. But it is evidently too soon to draw any firm conclusions.

A

1 The *μονάρχος* Philotas is new (as is the name itself, on Cos).<sup>15</sup>  
 Μηνὸς Δαλίου τετράδι: The intensification of activity at the shrine leading up to the Pythaia on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of Dalios (see below on B 8) began on this day: PH 367.53–60.

2 Theogenes, son of Hekatodoros is new, though both are common Coan names.

2–15 The formulation of Theogenes' proposal is mildly incoherent: a resolution clause (ἐλέσθαι, 2) is assigned a motive (ὅπως κτλ., 3–14) which then leads, as if it had been a typical ἐπειδή clause, to a further resolution (δεδόχθαι, 15).

6 τὰ συντετελεσμένα ἔργα τᾶς ὀροφᾶς κτλ.: As is well known, public building projects in Greece could often be suspended for long periods. But the formulation here, whereby potential damage to half-finished parts still lies in the future, may suggest that no long delay has yet occurred.

9 συναντίλαμψις is a new word, but the ideal of collective civic involvement that underlies the institution of the subscription is often expressed through forms of the verb (συν)αντιλαμβάνομαι: so the great Coan subscription decree from the time of the Cretan war was passed ὅπως ἐφ' ἐκάστου καιροῦ φαίνονται τοὶ πολῖται συναντιλαμβανόμενοι τᾶς κοινᾶς ἀσφαλείας, while a decree from Crannon requires individuals to ἀντιλαβέσθαι τᾶς πόλλιος from their own resources (PH 10. 3–7; MORETTI, ISE II 99. 17).<sup>16</sup> For further examples see especially J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amymon en Carie, Paris 1983, 135 with n. 24, who speak of «un secours, avec participation très efficace». Συνοπολαμβάνω<sup>17</sup> and συνυπόλανψις (IG V 1. 1146. 21) are similarly used.

10 μὴ μόνον ἅ πόλις: Presumably the *polis* had paid for the works that had been completed hitherto. It was not rare for subscriptions to be realistically deployed, as here, as supplementary rather than principal sources of funding. One was launched on Samos, for instance, early in the third century, in order to «complete» (if a plausible supplement is correct) the restoration of the great temple of Hera (IG XII 6.1.1).<sup>18</sup>

The text adds a new detail to our rather fragmentary knowledge of the relations between the Coan *polis* and its sub-groups. The deme of Halasarna might

<sup>15</sup> Cf. CH. HABICHT, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 319.

<sup>16</sup> Nos. 50 and 34 in MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*.

<sup>17</sup> Ἐπιδιδούς καὶ συνοπολαμβάνων, L. and J. ROBERT, *Claros I*, Paris 1989, p. 14, col. III, 31–32.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*, 351–52 on the subscription as a supplement.

forward its honorary decrees to the whole *demos* of Cos for central proclamation.<sup>19</sup> Here the *polis* has paid for construction of a temple which belonged to certain tribes. The second decree (below) shows the deme waiting on a decision from the city.

10–11 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεός: There appears to be no parallel in ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, Scriptions, for a sacred building project being thus joint funded by a contribution from the god's own reserves and by subscription. But it was common for a fund to be opened with a large donation from a person closely involved with the project: the war fund on Cos was inaugurated with a huge contribution (7,000 drachmai) from the citizen who proposed that it be set up, and the priest of Zeus Trophonios (one Trophonianos, as it happens) heads a list of donations for what must have been works in Trophonios' shrine in Lebadea.<sup>20</sup> From a different perspective it may appear odd that the sacred funds are not called on in the first instance, but only for a supplementary contribution. But it is plausible that only the city, not the temple, had available the substantial sums necessary to initiate temple building.

12 ἐπαγγεῖλα{σ}σθαι: ἐπαγγέλλομαι is the *vox propria* for 'make an undertaking to subscribe' (see e.g. ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, Scriptions, nos. 28.19, 56.7, 61.15); an ἐπαγγελία can be either such a pledge (LSJ s.v. ἐπαγγελία 3) or the payment that fulfils it (ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, Scriptions, 326 n. 92).

15 τὸς νεωποῖας: Boards of νεωποῖαι often acquired broad functions in temple administration and finance,<sup>21</sup> and it is the exception to find them directly involved, as here and at Delphi, with their etymological function of temple-building. Though our text does not reveal it, the board of three νεωποῖαι (as they are usually called, the form in νεω- here being an Ionic intrusion) of Halasarna in fact had a striking and apparently unique role even in the secular sphere, where they regularly propose motions to the deme assembly on matters unconnected with religion. No other officials appear to be attested in the deme.<sup>22</sup> It is at least possible that at Halasarna it was the special effort of building the third century ναός that brought the board into being and caused it to acquire unusual influence. But earlier temples and a much longer prehistory cannot be ruled out. The board is first attested in ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, Επιγραφές ἀπο τὴν ἀρχαία Αλάσαρνα, N.E. 5, if the dating of that text (from letterforms) to the first half of the third century is correct; there they are already

<sup>19</sup> Chiron 28, 1998, 122 no. 13; ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, Επιγραφές ἀπο τὴν ἀρχαία Αλάσαρνα, N.E. 1 and 2; PH 9; Syll<sup>3</sup> 569: cf. RHODES, Decrees, 238.

<sup>20</sup> PH 10. 37; IG VII 3077. 1–3 (= ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, Scriptions, nos. 50 and 30); cf. ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, Scriptions, 289.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. O. SCHULTHESS, RE 16,2, 1935, 2433–39, s.v. Νεωποιοί.

<sup>22</sup> See SEG 30, 1051. 2; SEG 41, 680.2; Syll<sup>3</sup> 569. 2; Chiron 28, 1998, 117 no. 12. 1; ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, Επιγραφές ἀπο τὴν ἀρχαία Αλάσαρνα, N.E. 5; cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, 182–83.

proposing a motion to the assembly of the Halasarnitans. Otherwise the first mentions are in our text and in the contemporary honorary decree Chiron 28, 1998, 122 no. 13.

17–18 τῶν δὲ δαμοτᾶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτᾶν καὶ παροίκων . . . τὸς δηλομέ-  
 νος: Invitations to subscribe were often either addressed, vaguely, to «those who  
 wish» or «those who can», or made explicit, as does ours, that non-citizens were  
 welcome to contribute: thus «those residing in the city» are included in appeals  
 made by Athens and Ioulis, «Greek and Roman residents» in one from Messene,  
 παροικοὶ and ξένου in the call for aid made by Cos in the crisis of 205–1.<sup>23</sup>  
 Non-citizens seem often to have responded to such calls without enthusiasm: 7  
 metics are listed as contributing at Athens, alongside some 120 citizens, only  
 three apparent non-citizens on Cos amid almost 300 natives.<sup>24</sup> But the recently  
 published list of contributions to the Coan cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and  
 Pontia (ED 178 B) presents 12 metic alongside 23 citizen women (neither list is  
 complete, however).

In the appeal of 205–1 the city of Cos also addressed πολίτιδες, νόθοι  
 and ξένοι. The briefer formulation in our text, while not formally excluding  
 contributions from any of these categories, does nothing to encourage them.  
 Three «single sex» contribution lists for religious purposes (men for a shrine of  
 Aphrodite, women for Aphrodite and for Demeter) are found on Cos,<sup>25</sup> and  
 since women were not themselves members of «the tribes who have rights in  
 the shrine» of Apollo and Heracles they were perhaps not expected to con-  
 tribute. Note, however, that metics are here addressed despite the exclusive-  
 ness attested by the listing of entitled participants, who are all citizens, in PH  
 367–68.

20 μὴ ἐλάσσω δραχμῶν τριάκοντα: All the theoretically possible ways of  
 regulating the sum to be donated – fixed sum, fixed minimum, fixed maximum  
 – are attested in different cases, as is also the possibility of leaving the sum  
 unregulated (MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*, 316–19). This was the key variable that  
 would determine the character of a particular instance of this far from uniform  
 institution. A subscription in Tanagra that invited women to contribute not  
 more than 5 drachmai to a temple for Demeter (LSCG 72: MIGEOTTE, *Sou-*  
*scriptions*, no. 28) was a collective gesture of piety rather than a serious fund-  
 raising endeavour. Democratic Athens seems normally to have imposed an  
 upper limit, whereas, as we have seen, the Coan emergency appeal of c. 201 was  
 opened with a huge single donation of 7,000 drachmai (PH 10; MIGEOTTE,  
*Souscriptions*, no. 50). The effective minimum on that occasion was 50 dr.

<sup>23</sup> MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*, nos. 17, 56, 22, 50: cf. *ibid.* 314, 357.

<sup>24</sup> See MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*, 357–63, esp. 358.

<sup>25</sup> PH 387; ED 178 (B); ED 14. There are several further single sex lists for unspeci-  
 fied purposes.

although the assembly did not specify that sum but, uniquely, merely reserved the right to reject offers it deemed inadequate. In another Coan subscription of roughly the same period for an unknown purpose the 42 contributors, all men, paid 23 dr. each (PH 404); <women-only> contributions for Aphrodite Pandamos ranged from 10–30 dr., but for the temple of Demeter from 100–500 dr. (ED 178 (B) and 14).<sup>26</sup> The 30 drachmaí of our text, price at Cos of a full-grown sheep, was a sum that a μέσος πολίτης could afford; but the assembly left open the possibility of receiving much more if a more magnificent benefactor presented himself.

21 ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ: No other attested subscription has quite such a long fuse, though intervals of several months are several times envisaged and the Lindians once resolved to collect promises for a subscription at assemblies to be held 10 months in the future (ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, *Souscriptions*, 320–21).

21–22 ποιούμενοι τὰν ἐπαγγελίαν . . . ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς γινομέναις ἐν τῷ δάμωι: ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, *Souscriptions*, 310–21, has stressed the central role of the assembly (normally of the city, here of the deme) as the place where the decision to launch a subscription was first taken and where subsequently, before the public gaze, individuals came forward – or failed to do so – to make the crucial ἐπαγγελία. Athenian texts in particular illustrate the strong social pressure to contribute that the face-to-face situation could generate (e.g. Plut. Phoc. 9.1–2; Dem. 18.312; Theophr. Char. 22.2–3; cf. ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, *Souscriptions*, 321). In the present case the pressure was extended, intermittently, over a long period. Σύνοδοι must include meetings such as that which passed the present resolve, i.e. presumably meetings of the deme assembly. Of their frequency we know nothing. But the expression is vague, and one may wonder whether occasions such as the festival Pythia are also envisaged; PH 367.52 mentions a σύλλογος directly associated with the cult, perhaps as part of the Herakleia.

22 ἄρχοντος Δαλίου: i.e. from now on, the present motion having been passed in the month of Dalios in the archonship of Philotas. For the formulation cf. forms of expression, common e.g. in leases, such as χρόνος ἄρχει Μεταγετιῶν μὴν (IG I<sup>3</sup> 402.14).

24–25 ἐν τρισὶ καταβολαῖς: Staggered payment of the price of priesthood was often allowed in Cos, but this appears to be the first attestation of such staggered payment of a subscription in Cos or elsewhere. It constitutes a partial exception to ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ's principle, *Souscriptions*, 322, that payment of a subscription was meant to follow swiftly upon pledge, however long the pledge itself might be delayed. A first payment, however, was required on the nail.

Any Halasarnitan who had already delayed a full year before promising would not have completed payment until 2 years from the launching of the

<sup>26</sup> On the sums attested in Coan subscription lists see further the articles of ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ cited in n. 7 above.

subscription. The hope must have been that «easy terms» would encourage generosity, in a matter of no great urgency.

28 ὑπόρχη ὑπόμνημα]: HERZOG's supplement is based on PH 10 a 18–22, ὅπως δὲ ὑπόμνημα ὑπόρχη τῶν ἐς τὰν σωτηρίαν τὰν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συνεπιδόντων ἑαυτούς (followed by the decision to publish the names of subscribers). The motif is a commonplace in subscription decrees (see e.g. nos. 28.27–29; 34.24–27; 75.2–6; 77.21–23 in MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*); ὑπόμνημα too is a cliché in such contexts (see e.g. the index to Syll<sup>3</sup>). If the list of subscribers followed directly here, it cannot have been of any great length, as the start of the second decree B must also have stood on this face of the stone. Possibly the subscribers were separately recorded.

## B

1 ἐπαγγελίαι: Here not «promises» but «sums promised» (see on line A 12 above). Ἐκ τῆς πόλιος: See on line A 10 above. Πέτωντι: LSJ s.v. πίπτω B.V.3 «of revenues, accrue . . . be paid».

2–3 The only other subscription text that considers the possibility of an eventual surplus appears to be a partially restored passage of a Tanagran decree relating to the temple of Demeter and Kore (Syll<sup>3</sup> 1185 [MIGEOTTE, *Souscriptions*, no. 28] 32–38); but several civic and cultic foundations make provision for it (B. LAUM, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike I*, Leipzig 1914, 153).

3–4 τοὶ ἄνδρες ἐφ' ὧν κα πέτη: It now appears that the commissioners appointed by the previous decree were to serve as a replaceable, time-limited board.

4 εὔσιν: For the form cf. F. BECHTEL, *Die griechischen Dialekte II*, Berlin 1923, 562.

5 τὰς φυλάς: «The tribes» are evidently identical with those known from the prescript of PH 367,<sup>27</sup> the decision of αἱ φυλαὶ αἷς μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς ἐν Ἀλασάρνα to re-publish a list of οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Of the list there survive (PH 368) substantial portions of three alphabetic sequences, one much briefer than the others, but no explanatory headings.

What were these tribes? The generally accepted view<sup>28</sup> that they are some or all of the three Dorian tribes cannot be correct in its simple form, because the first alphabetical sequence, say, in PH 368 is much too short to be a list of all the members of the tribe Dymanes. A modification would be necessary where-by it represented «all the Dymanes resident in the deme Halasarnæ or some-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. p. 257 above.

<sup>28</sup> Questioned only, tentatively, by SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 157 n. 26, in a good discussion; still accepted by N. F. JONES, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece*, Philadelphia 1987, 241.



thing of the kind. But that is not what the texts which speak of «the tribes» say; and a residentially defined subsection of a tribe is a hybrid one will not believe in except under strong constraint. Nor is it clear how a shrine strictly confined to certain tribes could also serve as in effect a deme sanctuary of the Halasarnitans; the administrative interweaving of the affairs of «the tribes» and the deme was not yet visible at the time when «the tribes» were identified as Dorian, but must now weigh against the identification. A newly discovered 3<sup>rd</sup> c. decree of the deme in fact speaks of «those demesmen» (not «tribes») «who have rights in the shrine» (οἷς μέτεστι τοῦ ἱεροῦ).<sup>29</sup>

The Coan deme Isthmos seems to have been made up of or at least closely associated with three local tribes, Theadai, Kyniadaï, and Melainadaï, and it is natural to wonder whether our tribes too are local.<sup>30</sup> The claim made by Kallistratos, son of Theudotos, in PH 368 (VI. 38–39) that he «also belonged to the Nisyriadaï» ought to prove that membership in a body known as the Nisyriadaï entitled one to participate in our cult, since Theudotos like other persons in the list who make similar additions is concerned to show that he has a double title to participate. Prima facie then the Nisyriadaï were one of the relevant tribes.

But it is a difficulty that certain persons appear both in PH 368 and also in a list of the Melainadaï of Isthmos or in other documents from that deme. One can (indeed one must, where local tribes exist) belong both to a local and a national tribe; but can one belong to the local tribes of two separate localities? This consideration has been held to support the traditional identification of the tribes of PH 367 as national, not local. But, as we have seen, in its simple form that identification is indefensible; and if it is modified to make «the tribes» in effect «local sub-branches of the Dorian tribes» we are still left with individuals who belong, in effect, to two locally-defined units. The matter is obscure, but it seems simplest in interpreting these relatively short lists to dismiss the Dorian tribes, those large groupings, as an irrelevant complication. Both from PH 368 and from lists relating to the tribes of Isthmos we see that membership of these bodies, though normally transmitted through the father, could also on occasion come from women, typically no doubt from brotherless women whose status was like that of the Attic ἐπίκληρος. On this basis it does

<sup>29</sup> ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Επιγραφές απο την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα*, N.E. 5. 16–17.

<sup>30</sup> For a further Κοan phyle of [-]αμψειδᾶν, unfortunately not associable with a specific deme, see JONES, *Public Organization*, 239. Does the strange name of the Coan deme called ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀντιμαχιδᾶν καὶ Αἰγυλίων καὶ Ἀρχιαδᾶν have a similar origin? Two decrees (PH 44 and 384) issued by individual phylai in honour of persons who had discharged the function of ἀρχεῦειν (in Cos always apparently associated with tribes: see n. 8 above and ASAA 41–42, 1963–64, 161–63 no. 6, also *ibid.* 154) may also derive from local tribes; PH 384, found like 367 at Antimachia, perhaps relates like 367 to the cult at Halasarna.

not seem impossible that an individual with both Isthmian and Halasarnitan forebears could belong to a descent group (or «tribe») in both places. (A consequence would be, if membership in a relevant local tribe was in effect the determinant of deme membership, that an individual could belong to two demes; given that the Coan demes lacked the place within the formal political structure of the whole state that those of Attica had, that is not unthinkable.) But only new evidence will settle the matter finally.

6 εἰς τὰς δύο ἡμέρας: A decree of the second century relating to our cult prescribes that honorary crowns for certain individuals are to be announced «at the Pythia», some on the 17<sup>th</sup>, doubtless of the month Dalios, some on the 18<sup>th</sup> (C. KANTZIA, *AA* 39 A, 1984 [1990], 157; full text forthcoming as ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Επιγραφές από τήν αρχαία Αλάσαρνα*, N.E. 4). These will be the «two days», the centrepiece of a festival that perhaps (PH 367.53–58) extended rather longer. The role of ἐπιμήνιοι, in association with ἀρχεῦντες, in distributing sacrificial portions to the tribes was already known from PH 367.86–90.

## 2 Decree concerning the sanctuary of Apollo at Halasarna

Fragment from the centre of the upper part of a stele of white marble, with cymation. Fig. 3. Height 18 cms., width 18, thickness 6.5. Height of letters 0.7–0.9 cms., line interval 0.3–0.5. Found in 1907 in Liopyra<sup>31</sup> and transferred to the house then owned by Ioannis Hieromnemonos. There is vacant space before the first line. Present location unknown. Unpublished. Edited from HERZOG's squeeze.

[Ἐπὶ μονάρχ]ου Τιμέα, μηνὸς Πετα[γεινίου - - - - -]  
 - - - - - καὶ διέταξεν Καλλισ[ - - - - - μετὰ]  
 [τῶν ἱερατ]ευκότων Ἀπόλλων[ος - - - - -]  
 [- - - - - τοῦ Τι]μώνακτος, Ἄριστω - - - - -  
 5 - - - - - ἸΣ πρότερον ἐπαγγελ - - - - -  
 - - - - - ἸΣ τὸν ναπόαν τῶν Σ - - - - -  
 - - - - - δι ἄλλας οἰκίας δὺ[ο - - - - -]  
 - - - - - ον Τύρωνος Α - - - - -  
 [- - - - - τ]ῆς προσόδο[υ - - - - -]  
 10 - - - - - ΠΑΛΟ - - - - -

The fragment relates again, like no. 1, to the cult of Apollo at Halasarna. The *monarchos* Timeas is otherwise unattested.<sup>32</sup> The hand is broadly comparable to

<sup>31</sup> A name for that part of Kardamina in which the excavation site is located.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. HABICHT, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 320.

that of Syll<sup>3</sup> 1000 and Chiron 30, 2000, 415 no. 1,<sup>33</sup> and thus probably belongs in the period 175–100 B.C. If so, the «pledges» tantalisingly mentioned in 5 will relate to a later appeal than that of no. 1 above. The text records dispositions of some kind made by Kallis- (the serving priest of Apollo?) in concert with «those who have been priest of Apollo». Τοὶ ἱερατευκότες Ἀπόλλωνος in the cult at Halasarna similarly act as a board in ΑΔ 39 A, 1984 (1990), 157 with plate 66a (ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ALEURA, *Επιγραφές από τήν αρχαία Αλάσαρνα*, N.E. 3), where they confer honorary crowns on benefactors.<sup>34</sup> At Cyrene, the new holder of the priesthood of Apollo, which was annual, was required to feast his predecessors (Ptolemy, FGrH 234 F 9 ap. Ath. 549f.), and ROBERT suggested that the board of «priests of Apollo» which often appears in Cyrenaean texts was in fact made up of past incumbents (*Hellenica* 1, 1940, 15). The new Coan texts support that interpretation strongly. Whether such colleges existed elsewhere in the Greek world needs to be investigated. In ΑΔ 39 A, 1984 (1990), 157 with plate 66a the ἱερατευκότες are not named but would presumably have been quite numerous; the two or three persons named in lines 3–4 of the new text are doubtless distinct.

This is the first Coan attestation of the rare name Tyron. It is otherwise known from nearby Karpathos (four examples, but perhaps relating only to two individuals), Kolophon (three examples), and Teos (one example);<sup>35</sup> there is also a Tyron of unknown origin buried in Athens (IG II<sup>2</sup> 12834/5).

### 3 Donation of Teleutias relating to the Asklepieia

HERZOG Inv. M 37a = E 51a. Fragment of a white marble stele found on 16th September 1904 in a wall in the Asklepieion in the northern part of the first level, broken at the top and on the right, and reworked into a building block, with a dedication on behalf of the emperor Caligula (unpublished) inscribed on its left edge. The original inscribed face of the stone is pierced by six fixing clamps (fig. 4). Currently mounted on the wall of the courtyard of the Asklepieion epigraphical store. Height 67.5 cms., width 24.5, thickness 9.3. Height of letters 0.8 cms., line interval 0.5–0.7. Unpublished. We have used HERZOG's transcript and squeezes, a photograph taken by C. V. CROWTHER, and CROWTHER's report of his autopsy.

<sup>33</sup> It has the «full circle» omega and high, curved upsilon of these texts; the former but not the latter characteristic is found also in ΑΔ 39 A, 1984 (1990), plate 66a.

<sup>34</sup> Note too ED 42, a list of dedications made by τοῖδε τῶν ἱερατεύοντων (so SEGREG: ? ἱερατευ[χότων] . . . τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι.

<sup>35</sup> The Kolophonian and Tean examples, kindly supplied to me by E. MATTHEWS from the LGPN data base, are AJPh 56, 1935, pp. 359ff. I, 278 and 624; I. Priene 57.21; I. Iasos 608.6, 12.

- [------'Ασκλαπιῶι καὶ Ὑγιείαι καὶ]  
 Ἴπιόνοι πο ----- διακο-  
 ταις ἐν ἐκατέρῳι τῶι -----  
 σίας πενήκοντα[ ----- τὸ προγεγραμμέ-  
 νον τοῦ δ[ι]α[φόρου] πλ[ῆθος] ----- Ἀσκλαπιῶι καὶ Ὑγιείαι καὶ Ἴ-  
 5 πιόνοι ἱερε[ῖον] βοικόν[ -----  
 καὶ τῶν πα[ροικ]εύντων[ ----- ]  
 τοῖς βουλευταῖς κα[ῖ ----- ]  
 ποθόδων διατέτακ[ται ----- ]-  
 τω ἐν τῶι λόγῳ· *vac.* ἐν [δὲ ----- τῶι Ἀσκλα-  
 10 πιῶι διαγραφ[αφ]όντω [ ----- δρα]-  
 χμὰς δισ[χιλί]ας· ὁ δ[ὲ ----- βοῦν]  
 κάλλιστον [πο]μπευέ[τω ----- ]-  
 ἐν γέγραπ[τα]ι· ἐπιγραφέσθω ----- ]-  
 τίδων ἀφ' ὧν χρημάτω[ν ὠνήθη ----- ]  
 15 αὐτῶι καὶ ἄλλας δραχ[μὰς ----- ]  
 τὸν ἐν τῶι πενταετη[ρίδι ----- ]-  
 .ε τοῦ προσδιαγραφ[ομένου ----- ]  
 ὑκῶν ἱερείων καὶ Π -----  
 20 ἱερείῳι τῶι τριακάδι τ[οῦ μηνός ----- ποι]-  
 ησάσθω τῶν ἱερῶν το -----  
 καθότι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἀττ[αλείοις ----- τοῖς]  
 νέοις ἀποδιδόντω ὅμο -----  
 ῳμένοι χ[ρόν]οι καὶ ταλ -----  
 [τ]οῖ τραπε[ζῖ]ται καὶ ἐρ -----  
 25 σεν αὐτὸν [ὁ δ]ᾶμος καὶ[ ----- δραχμῶν]  
 δεκαπέντ[ε, κ]ατὰ δὲ πε[ ----- δραχμῶν]  
 τριάκοντα ἀπομισθοῦ[σθων ----- τοῖς]  
 δὲ χρήμασιν τοῖς ἀνιε[ρωμένοις ----- μὴ κα]-  
 ταχρησθαι μηδένα μηδ[ ----- τέχναι]  
 30 μηδὲ παρευρέσει μηδε[μῖα ----- τὰ δὲ ἐπιτί]-  
 μια καὶ (τ)αι ἐ[παρ]αὶ καὶ τὰ λ -----  
 τῶν χρημά[τ]ων τῶν τοῦ Α -----  
 νον δι(α)μένηι τοῖς πολίτα[ις ----- ]  
 αγομένας τὰς παναγούρι[ος ----- καὶ μηδεῖς]  
 35 κίνδυνος καταλαμβάνη[ι ----- αἰ]  
 δὲ κά τι τοιοῦτον συμβῆ[ι ----- ἐν τῶι ἐφεστα]-  
 κότι χρόνῳ, ὑπάρχεν ταμ -----  
 μένα περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσιος [ ----- ἐξέσ]-  
 τω καὶ αὐτῶι Τελευτία ἀ[ναγράψαι ἐς στάλαν τοῦ ψαφίσματος ἀντίγραφον,  
 καὶ ἀναθέ-

40 μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀσκλη[απιῶ] ----- αἱ δὲ]  
 τι ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τῷδε τῷ[ι ψαφίσματι, ----- ἐκ τῶν]  
 νόμων, περ[ι]χαντι κατ' αὐτ[ὸ τοῦτο τοὶ νόμοι.]

*vacat*

Supplements not otherwise indicated are by HERZOG. 3–4 [τὸ προγεγραμμέ]νον OBBINK – PARKER. 4 δ[ι]α[φόρου] HERZOG; πλ[ηθος] OBBINK – PARKER. 6 πα[ροικ]εῦντων ἐκάστωι . . . τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσι και] HERZOG. 7 κα[ι] τοῖς νικῶσι ὅσον και ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν] HERZOG. 9–10 ἐν [δὲ τῇ πενταετηρίδι τῷ Ἀσκλη]πιῶι HERZOG. 10–11 διαγραφ[όν]τω [ἔς τὰς θυσίας Ἀλεξανδρείας δρα]χμᾶς HERZOG. 11 ὁ δ[ὲ] ἱερεὺς? --- ἄγων βοῦν] HERZOG. 12–13 fort. [καθὼς θύ]εν: [καθάπερ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ πομπεῦ]εν HERZOG. 13–14 fort. τῶν πολιτῶν και πολι]τίδων: [ἐπι τῶν ἐπιγρα]τίδων (Kopfbedeckung) hesitatingly HERZOG. 14–15 [διαγραφόν]τω δέ] αὐτῷ HERZOG. 16–17 [ἐνε]χε HERZOG. 17 προσ- διαγραφ[ομένου διαφόρου] HERZOG. 17–18 [ὑπὲρ τῶν] ὑγκῶν HERZOG. 20 τό[κων] hesitatingly HERZOG. 21–22 Ἀτ[αλείς και τοῖς Πτολεμαί]οις HERZOG. 22 ὁμο[ίως δὲ και] hesitatingly HERZOG. 24 ἐρ[γολάβοι] hesitatingly HERZOG. 24–25 [ἐκύρω]σεν HERZOG. 25 [ὁ δᾶ]μος, και HERZOG. 25–26 και [κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δραχμᾶν] δεκαπέντε HERZOG. 26–27 πε[νταετηρίδα δραχμᾶν] τριάκοντα HERZOG. 27 HERZOG punctuated after τριάκοντα. 28 or ἀνιε[ρωθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Τελευτία] HERZOG. 29 μηδ[αμῶς] hesitatingly HERZOG. 31 (τ)αἱ OBBINK – PARKER: HERZOG doubted the reading αἱ on account of its not being Doric. 31–32 τὰ λ[οιπὰ ἔ]στω ὡς ἐπ[ὶ] | τῶν HERZOG. 32–33 τοῦ Ἀ[σ]- κλαπιῶ, ἴνα και]νον HERZOG. 33 ΔΙΑΜΕΝΗ on stone. 34 ἀγομένης HERZOG. 35 καταλαμβάνη[ι αὐτάν] HERZOG. 37 τὰ μ[ισθώματα] hesitatingly HERZOG. 37–38 [τὰ γε- γραμ]μένα HERZOG. 38 after ἀναθέσις: [ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς] hesitatingly HERZOG. 38–39 [ἔξέ]στω OBBINK – PARKER: [ἀποδο]τω HERZOG. 39–40 ἀ[ναγράφαι ἐς στάλαν τοῦ ψαφίσματος ἀντίγραφον, και ἀναθέ]μεν e.g. OBBINK – PARKER: ἀ[ντίγραφον ἀνα- θέ]μεν HERZOG.

### Commentary

As HERZOG saw, the text regulates the control of a fund established by one Teleutias to finance sacrifices to the gods of the Asklepieion; note the references to «dedication» in 28 and 38,<sup>36</sup> and for the donor «Teleutias himself» in 39. Inscriptions establishing such foundations are collected and studied by B. LAUM, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike I*, Leipzig 1914, 153; what we have is part of the decree of the assembly (cf. ὁ δᾶμος, 25) which accepted and regulated Teleutias' gift (cf. LAUM, I 218). Themes and expressions characteristic of such foundation texts are διάφορον (4), the «capital» of the foundation (LAUM, I 147);<sup>37</sup> concern that the donor be identified on the festival occasion (13–14);<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Cf. for the verbal expression LAUM, I 120.

<sup>37</sup> For the restoration [(κατὰ) τὸ προγεγραμμέ]νον τοῦ δ[ι]α[φόρου] πλ[ηθος] in lines 3–4 cf. I. Lampsakos 9.10–11 (LAUM, II no. 66.10–11) τὸ π[ρογεγραμμένον] πλῆθος τοῦ διαφόρου (2nd c. B.C.).

<sup>38</sup> Festivals were often named after founders and stress laid on the use of the name during the rites: LAUM, I 43, cf. 133. The sacrifices established on Cos by Pythocles for

sanctions and curses against misuse of the funds (28–32; LAUM, I 186–87, 204–6).

The lettering is of the second century, somewhat untidy and inconsistent, with some letters slightly higher or lower than others; it exhibits strong serifs throughout, alpha with straight cross bar, pi with projecting horizontal, broad sigma with parallel top and bottom strokes, full size theta, omicron, with omega sometimes smaller, sometimes full size. The hand has been identified by C. V. CROWTHER as that which inscribed Chiron 29, 1999, 293 no. 9, to be dated on the basis of the recurrence of the judge Τίμαρχος τοῦ Τιμίδα (lines 1–2) in *ibid.* no. 8 (a–b6, d7), a text whose mentioning of σύνεδροι rather than the Chalkidian βουλή (see Chiron 29, 1999, 290 with n. 87) indicates a date after 168/67 B.C. K. HÖGHAMMAR has argued that the various texts<sup>39</sup> which refer to a Teleutias son of Theodoros relate to the same prominent Coan individual of the second half of the second century.<sup>40</sup> That our Teleutias is the same man is possible, but, particularly in the absence of a patronymic, very far from proven.

A minimum line length can with great probability be established from the formula in 39–40. HERZOG proposed to restore ἀντίγραφον ἀναθέ||μεν. But parallels show that the ἀντίγραφον is never the object of ἀνατιθέναι, i.e. the copy itself is never said to be erected in the formulae (though it is dubiously so restored in TAM III, 1.5 and by HERZOG himself in HGK 8 face A, 1.17–18). Rather the ἀντίγραφον is always said to be copied (ἀναγράφειν) onto a stele or kion, and it is this which is then stipulated to be erected (ἀνατιθέναι) in the relevant place: e.g. G. COUSIN – G. DIEHL, BCH 14, 1890, 97–99, no. 4.12 (Halicarnassus) τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσμ[α]τος ἐν τρισὶν στήλαις ἀναγράψαι καὶ ἀναστῆσαι αὐτάς ἐν τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις τόποις; I. Erythrai 122.53 τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῷ ψηφίσματος ἀναγραφῆ ἔς στάλλαν καὶ ἀνατεθῆ ὡς ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ. Thus we should expect here (τὸ ἀντίγραφον (τοῦδε / τούτου) τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀναγράψαι ἔς στάλλαν (λιθίναν) καὶ ἀναθέμεν ἐν κτλ.

When the text begins, the ritual activities that are to be financed with the money from the foundation are being specified (1–23). Details are largely obscure. There is talk of a procession (12) and of sacrifices of several types of victim. Beneficiaries/participants also include metics (6), councillors (7), perhaps townspeople (cf. 13–14 with app. crit.), and the young (22), who are to receive something (as at the Attaleia), a festival already known to have been celebrated in the Coan gymnasium (LSCG 165 A 8 of c. 150 B.C.; cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 132–33). The vast majority of sacrificial foundations

Zeus Soter were known as the Pythocleæ (PH 34 with 43 B 11: SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 111 n. 146).

<sup>39</sup> E.g. ED 2.7.

<sup>40</sup> MDAI(A) 111, 1996, 341–42, 350.

were intended to support a single festival,<sup>41</sup> though possibly one extending over more than one day, and the presumption must be that this was also true of Teleutias'. Line 16 mentions the *penteteris*, which must be the penteteric Great Asklepieia established in 242. Financing of the great festival's lavish display had always caused some difficulty,<sup>42</sup> and perhaps Teleutias was seeking to put the Great Asklepieia on a sounder basis, while also extending it. In LSCG 159.6, of the 3rd c., 1500 drachmai are set aside for the sacrifices at the festival, while our text mentions 2000 (11). But it is not impossible that the allusion to the *penteteris* in line 16 was incidental (as at the *penteteris*), and that what Teleutias established was, as more commonly with foundations, a new festival.

If we suppose a return of 5%, the endowment must have been of at least 10,000 drachmai to yield 2000 dr. every four years. If the festival was annual rather than penteteric, the sum required would have been four times as large. Even on the former and more probable view, this was not a trivial sum for a private individual to donate, though that given by another Coan Pythokles to found a festival of Zeus Soter must have been substantially larger (ten talents, on PATON's guess).<sup>43</sup>

The section 24–27 mentions bankers and (perhaps) leasing. It may have treated the ways in which the capital was to be invested (for the role of bankers in relation to such foundations see LAUM, *op. cit.* [p. 268] I 151 and II no. 129b.25–57). Ἀπομισθῶ (27) may be a hint that the capital was, as often, in land. There follow: sanctions and curses against misuse of the funds (28–32); a passage apparently envisaging possible difficulties threatening the operation of the foundation in the future (33–38); a provision allowing Teleutias to set up a stele inscribed with a copy (38–40, probably of this decree) and in conclusion a formula, known from two further Coan texts (Chiron 28, 1998, 110 no. 7. 10–12 and the unpublished Inv. M 54.31–33), specifying what is to be done if the present decree conflicts with existing laws. The force of the formula is obscured by uncertainty about the meaning of περι(ε)ίχαντι. Morphologically it should come from περιίχω (see LSJ s.v. ἵχω, and E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* I, 1939, 768), a verb which in its one attested occurrence (see LSJ) seems to have undergone semantic assimilation to περιήχω, used of time 'coming round'. No attested usage of περιήχω, however, fits our context. The HALLOFS and HABICHT argued, when publishing one example of the formula (Chiron 28, 1998, 111), that a Greek state must always have given laws precedence over decrees; the force of our formula must, therefore, have

<sup>41</sup> See e.g. LAUM, II nos. 21, 27–29, 43, 45, 50, 53–54, 57–58, 65, 117, 129b and the Coan Pythokleia (previous note): contrast 42 and 66 (twice yearly), 210 (monthly).

<sup>42</sup> See Chiron 28, 1998, no. 24; LSCG 155 and 159; SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 358.

<sup>43</sup> PH p. 63, on PH no. 34.

been different from that found in four texts of Magnesia on the Maeander: λελυῶσθαι δὲ καὶ εἴ τι ψήφισμα ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καθ' ὃ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον (e.g. I. Magnesia 92a, 13–14). But one might expect κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο to have the same function in the Coan texts as in those from Magnesia, that of circumscribing the area within which an existing regulation is declared invalid; an affirmation of the laws does not logically need limitation, but a suspension does. The rigorous differentiation between procedures applicable to laws and to decrees which Athens sought to apply in the fourth century was not demonstrably the norm elsewhere.<sup>44</sup> It is not inconceivable that the Coan texts do grant new decrees priority over existing laws on the specific points on which they are in conflict.

*New College*  
*Oxford OX1 3BN*  
*England*

*Christ Church*  
*Oxford OX1 1DP*  
*England*

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<sup>44</sup> See P.J. RHODES – D.M. LEWIS, *The Decrees of the Greek States*, Oxford 1997, 498–99.



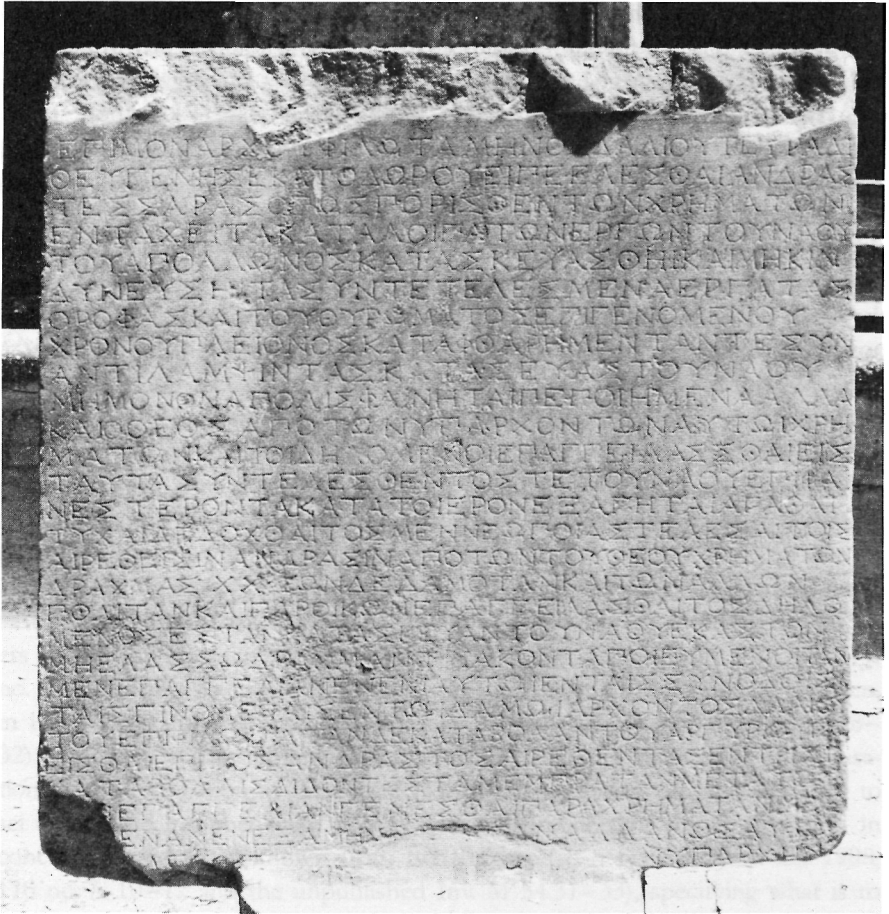


Fig. 1: no. 1 A: Subscription to complete the temple of Apollo at Halasarna.



Fig. 2: no. 1 B: Subscription to complete the temple of Apollo at Halasarna



*Fig. 3: no. 2: Decree concerning the sanctuary of Apollo at Halasarna*



Fig. 4: no. 3: Donation of Telementias relating to the Asklepieia

