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## Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» X. Decrees of Inviolability for Kos

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Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» X.  
Decrees of Inviolability for Kos

Greek states recognized the *asylia* of the Asklepieion on Kos in 242 B.C. Fragments of some fifty decrees survive; the published texts were gathered in RIGSBY, *Asylia*, 1996 (henceforth quoted *Asylia*). A score of fragments remain in R. HERZOG's notes and squeezes preserved in the office of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin.<sup>1</sup> The notes are individual sheets with either drawings or minuscule transcriptions with occasional restorations. G. KLAFFENBACH studied these pages in 1952 (preparing the publication of HERZOG – KLAFFENBACH, *Asylieurkunden aus Kos*, Abh. Akad. Berlin 1952.1) and added some restorations. Most of the unpublished fragments are meager scraps that preserve recognizable bits of the formulary of *asylia* decrees. Those presented here in advance of publication in IG XII 4 are texts whose authors can be plausibly identified or which exhibit something more than the usual formulas.

1 Ionian city

Found in the Italian excavations of the Asklepieion; no description is preserved, only a drawing with supplements of HERZOG and a full transcription of KLAFFENBACH. From the squeeze, height 0,22 m., width 0,33. Letters 0,008; interspace 0,005; right margin apparently preserved. Squeeze in Berlin.

[----- ἀποδέχ]εσθαι τήν τε θ[υ]σίαν καὶ τήν ἐκε]-  
[χειρίαν καθάπερ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν] οἱ θεοροί· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐγ Κ[ῶ]ι  
[τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἄσυλον καθὼς ἀξιού]σιν· ἵνα δὲ ἀρχιθέωρος τε καὶ θεωρο[ί]

- 4 [ἀποστέλλωνται κατὰ πᾶσαν πεν]ταετηρίδα ὅταν [τ]ήν ἐπαγγελί[α]ν Ἀσ-  
[κληπειῶν ποιῶνται Κῶιοι, τοὺς τιμ]ουχοῦντας ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ[ι] ἄν] παρα-  
[γένωνται οἱ θεοροὶ εἰσαγαγεῖν] περὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως τ[οῦ] τε ἀρχιθε[ω]ρ[ου]  
[καὶ τῶν θεωρῶν συναχθείσης ὑπὸ τ]ῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκκλησ[ια]ς· τὸν δὲ δῆμο[ν]
- 8 [ἔλέεσθαι ἀρχιθέωρον καὶ θεωρο]ὺς δύο· τοὺς δὲ αἰρεθέντας ἀπο[δ]ημήσαγ-  
[τας εἰς Κῶν τὰ ἱερά ποιῆσαι τῷ] Ἀσκληπιῷ καθότι νόμιμόν ἐστι· τὸ δὲ δο-  
[θησόμενον ἐφόδιον εἰς τὴν ἀπο]στολήν τοῦ τε ἀρχιθεώρου κα[ί] τῶν θεωρῶν

<sup>1</sup> In our work examining stones on Kos in the year 2000 we had the valuable assistance of the authorities of the Ephoria, for which we warmly thank Dr. D. BOSNAKIS.

- [----- τ]οῖς ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τρίτ[ο]υ  
 12 [μετὰ τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ----- εἰς]αγαγεῖν δὲ περὶ τούτων τοὺς τιμου-  
 [χοῦντας καὶ τελέσθαι τὸν ταμίαν (?)] τὸν ἐνεστηκότα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν χρη-  
 [μάτων -----]οις παρὰ [Κ]ώϊων τοὺς κληρονό-  
 [μοις ----- ἐκέχειρον (?)] τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου δραχμὰς εἴ[κ]οσι κα-  
 16 [λέσαι δὲ τοὺς θεωροὺς καὶ ἐπὶ δειπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον.] ἔδοξεν [τ]ῶι δῆ-  
 [μοι εἰς λεύκωμα ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα. *vacat?* ]

In lines 1–8 we follow the substance of HERZOG's restorations but assume a somewhat shorter line. || 1–2 θ[υ]σίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας | καὶ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν (κτλ.) HERZOG || 4 [ἀποστέλλονται ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν κατὰ πεν]ταετηρίδα (οἱ καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν πεν]ταετηρίδα) KLAFFENBACH || 4 fin. we expect τῶν Ἀ. || 5 ποιῶνται παρ' ἡμῶν Κώϊοι HERZOG || 5–6 παρα[μείνωσι παρ' ἡμῶν οἱ θεωροὶ αὐτῶν εἰσαγαγεῖν] HERZOG, παρα[γένονται] KLAFFENBACH || 7 HERZOG, but ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν || 8 end ἀπο[τ]μη[σ]αι HERZOG || 10 -- ἀργύριον-- HERZOG || 11 ψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀποτίθεσθαι αὐτ[ο]ῖς HERZOG; perhaps [παραδοθῆναι τοῖς τιμούχοις? τ]οῖς || 12 HERZOG || 13 τιμου[χο]ύντας KLAFFENBACH; τελέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸν ταμίαν] HERZOG || 14 perhaps δοῦναι δὲ τοῖς παραγενομένοις θεωρ[ο]ῖς οἱ τοῖς νῦν παροῦσι θεωρ[ο]ῖς as at Asyria no. 94.31 || 15 δοῦναι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς vel sim. || 16 κα[λέ]σαι δὲ τοὺς θεωροὺς --- HERZOG || 16–17 restored from (e.g.) Milet I 3, 141.

### Translation

... to accept the sacrifice and truce as the theoroi proclaim; and the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos is to be inviolable as they ask. So that a chief-theoros and theoroi may be sent at each quadrennium when the Koans make the proclamation of the Asklepieia, those serving as timouchoi at the time when the theoroi come are to introduce concerning the appointment of the chief-theoros and the theoroi at an assembly convened by the generals; the people are to elect a chief-theoros and two theoroi; those elected will travel to Kos and perform the sacrifices to Asklepios as is traditional; the money to be given for the travel of the chief-theoros and theoroi ... in the year of the god as stephanephoros for the third time after ... Those serving as timouchoi are to introduce concerning these things; the treasurer(?) in office is to pay out from the sacred funds. To the theoroi who have come from the Koans the heirs(?) ... are to give the lawful honorarium, 20 drachmas; and the theoroi are to be invited to dinner in the prytaneion. The people voted to inscribe the decree on a whitened plaque.

### Commentary

HERZOG attributed the decree to Teos, KLAFFENBACH preferred Priene (Asylierkunden p. 27, whence SEG 12, 384); J. BOUSQUET, in a letter to KLAFFENBACH of 2 Feb. 1960, suggested Abdera. These cities had timouchoi; the god as stephanephoros is found at Priene, and at Miletos (and enumerated thus at Miletos, as high as «sixth after» on present evidence), as are sacred moneys

and a lone treasurer (if this is right in line 13). The ending (16) we have restored from decrees of Miletos, which sometimes end with the addendum ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ εἰς λεύκωμα ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα (cf. P. J. RHODES – D. M. LEWIS, *The Decrees of the Greek States*, 1997, 376; 379). But as Professor HERRMANN points out to us, strategoi (line 7) are not actually attested at Hellenistic Miletos in this function, while a third stephanephorate of Apollo would fit between Milet I 3, 123 and 124, and would yield a date before 238/237 B.C. So the authorship of this decree must remain in doubt.

6 and 12: εἰσαγαγεῖν used absolutely: at Knidos, for the same purpose, Asyilia 105.32, [οἱ] νομογράφοι περὶ τούτῳ[ν] εἰσα[γέτωσαν]. Future appointment (ἀπόδειξις) of theoroi is similarly provided by Chios for the Soteria at Delphi (FD III.3 215.29).

8–9: Compare e.g. I. Priene 5.11 αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ τ[ὸν δῆ]μον θεωρο[ύς] δύο τοὺς τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀπ[ο]ἰ[σοντας καὶ τ]ὰ ἱερὰ ποιήσοντας τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι.

9–13: Payment of the city's theoroi sent to the coming Asklepieia (April/May 241) falls in the next civic year. The choice of the god as stephanephoros for that year has already been made, so the civic year probably is now near its end. The Koan theoric missions spanned spring to autumn of 242.<sup>2</sup>

13: For the role of the treasurer in the sacred funds and diplomacy, compare for example Milet I 3, 146A (Staatsvertr. II 539); but the usage was common.

14: We do not understand a reference to «heirs».

15: 20 drachmas for theoroi also in Asyilia no. 83.20, 127.12, 169.4. On the word ἐκέχειρον see P. BOESCH, *Θεωρός*, 1908, 74–75.

## 2 Four Cretan cities

Found in the Italian excavations at the Asklepieion. Marble stele inscribed on both sides, complete only at side A left, height 0,30 m., width 0,27, thickness 0,11. Letters 0,009, interspace 0,006.

Mentioned by M. GUARDUCCI, *I. Cret.* I pp. 100, 269, II p. 20; RFIC n.s. 21, 1943, 66–73; HERZOG – KLAFFENBACH, *Asylieurkunden* p. 29; D. MUSTI, *Ann. Pisa* 32, 1963, 227; *Asyilia* nos. 40–42. Squeezes in Berlin, minuscule transcriptions of HERZOG (1933) with restorations added by KLAFFENBACH.

Side A:

[Ἴστρωνίων οἱ κόσμοι καὶ ἡ πόλις Κοῶων τῆι βωλᾷ καὶ τῶι]  
 δάμῳ χαίρειν· ἀπεστή[λατε παρ' ἡμῆ θεωροὺς Χά]-  
 ριππον, Δίωνα, Πλάτωνα, [οἱ ἐπήγγειλαν τάν τε θυ]-

<sup>2</sup> At Miletus the year changed in spring, and perhaps not early enough in spring to accommodate these facts; at Priene and perhaps Teos the change was in late summer. See C. TRÜMPY, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*, 1997, 92–96.

- σίαν καὶ τὰν πανάγουρ[ιν τὰν γινομένην τῶι Ἄσ]-  
 4 κλαπιῶι καὶ παρεκάλο[υν ἅμὲ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἄσ]-  
 κλαπιοῦ τὸ ἐγ Κῶι ἄσυ[λον δέχεσθαι· ἀγαθῆι τύχαι,  
 δεδόχθαι τῆι πόλει τᾶ[ι Ἰστρονίων δέχεσθαι καθά]  
 παρακαλοῦντι τὰν τε[υ θυσίαν καὶ τὰν πανάγουρ]-  
 8 ριν καὶ τὰν ἐκεχειρίαν, καὶ ἄσυλον ἡμεν τὸ ἱερόν]  
 τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ ὑπὸ τε [Ἰστρονίων καὶ τῶν κατοικόν]-  
 των ἐν Ἰστροῶνι· τὸ δὲ ψ[άφισμα τόδε ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῶι]  
 12 πρυτανείῳ *unn* ἐν τῶ[ι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπωι τοῖς δὲ]  
 θεωροῖς ἐς ἀπαρχάν [δόμην στατήρας δέκα (?). *vacat?*]  
 Φαιστίων οἱ κόσμοι καὶ [ἅ πόλεις Κωίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι]  
 καὶ τῆι πόλει χαίρειν· ἐπ[εῖ Κῶιοι ἀποστείλαντες θεω]-  
 [ροῦς τὰν τε ἀσυλ[ίαν τῶ ἱερωῖ τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῶ καὶ τὰν θυ]-  
 16 [σίαν κα]ὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὄγ | [- - -, ἀξιοῦντι δέχεσθαι - - -]  
 [. . . . .] τ[α]ῦτα δε. [- - - - -]

## Side B:

- [- - - - - ὅπως (?)] τὸ  
 [ἱερόν τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῶ ἄσυλον] ὑπάρχει ὑπὸ τε Φαιστ[ίων]  
 [καὶ τῶν κατοικόντων ἐμ Φαιστῶι, ἀγαθῆι τύχαι, ἡ[μεν]  
 [ἄσυλον τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀσκλαπ]ιῶ τῷ ἐγ Κόοι ὑπὸ τε Φαιστ[ί]-  
 4 [ων καὶ τῶν κατοικόντων ἐ]μ Φαιστῶι· τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα  
 [τόδε ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῶι ἱερωῖ τῷ Ἀπόλλ]λωνος τῷ Πυθίῳ·  
 [δόμην δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς εἰς] ξένια στατήρας δέκα.  
 [ἔδοξεν Ἱεραπυτνίων τοῖς κόσμ]οις καὶ τῶι δάμῳι· ἐπε[ι]-  
 8 [δὴ Κῶιοι φίλοι ὄντες τῷ δάμ]ῳ τῷ Ἱεραπυτνίῳ(ν) θε-  
 [ωροῦς ἀπεστάλκαντι παρ' ἅμὲ Χ]άριππον, Δίωνα, Πλά-  
 [τωνα, οἵτινες ἐπαγγέλλονται] τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὰν  
 [ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ τὰν πανάγουρ]ι γ τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι κα[ὶ]  
 12 [ἀξιοῦντι τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀσκλα]πιῶ *v* τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄσ[υ]-  
 [λον ἡμεν· ἀγαθῆι τύχαι, δε]δόχθαι Ἱεραπυτνί[οις]  
 [ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰν θυσίαν], καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀσκ[λαπιῶ]  
 [ἄσυλον ἡμεν καθὼς ἀξ]ιοῦντι· ἀγγράψαι[ι δὲ τὸ ψά]-  
 16 [φισμα ἐν τῶι ἱερωῖ τῷ Ἀσκ]λαπιῶ· δόμε[ν δὲ ἐς ἀπαρχάν]  
 [στατήρας δέκα (?)] τοῖς θεω[ροῖς. *vacat*  
 [ἔδοξεν 3-4 τοῖς κόσμοις κα]ὶ τῆι πόλει - - -]

A1 ἀπεστή[λατε ποθ' ἅμὲ? Χά]- HERZOG || 2 [θεωροῦς οἵτινες τὰν τε θυ]- HERZOG || 3-4 HERZOG, to which we add ἅμὲ || 6 fin. δόμεν Κώιοις ᾗ] HERZOG || 7 KLAFFENBACH || 9 KLAFFENBACH || 11 τῶ[ι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ - - -] HERZOG.

B2 init., 4 init. HERZOG (but παροι-) || 8 N omitted by the mason || 9 θε|[αροῦς ἀπεστήλατε? - - -] HERZOG || 11 [πανάγουριν τὰν γινομένα]ν KLAFFENBACH || 12 ]πιω corrected by the mason from ]πιου (HERZOG) || 16 or ξένια || 18 [- - - κα]ὶ τῆι πόλει χαίρειν? HERZOG.

*Translation*

The kosmoi and city of the Istronians to the council and people of the Koans, greetings. You sent to us as theoroi Charippos, Dion, Platon, who proclaimed the sacrifice and festival happening for Asklepios and asked us to accept the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos as inviolable: for good fortune, the city of the Istronians votes to accept as they ask the sacrifice and festival and truce, and the sanctuary of Asklepios is to be inviolable by Istronians and those living in Istron; this decree is to be inscribed in the prytaneion in the most visible place; to the theoroi are to be given for sacrifice ten staters (?).

The kosmoi and city of the Phaistians to the magistrates and city of the Koans, greetings. Since the Koans, having sent theoroi, ask us to accept the inviolability of the sanctuary of Asklepios and the sacrifice and the other things which . . . ; . . . that the sanctuary of Asklepios be inviolable by Phaistians and those living in Phaistos: for good fortune, the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos is to be inviolable by Phaistians and those living in Phaistos; this decree is to be inscribed in the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo; to the theoroi are to be given as honorarium ten staters.

The kosmoi and people of the Hierapytnians have voted: inasmuch as the Koans, who are friends to the people of the Hierapytnians, have sent to us as theoroi Charippos, Dion, Platon, who proclaim the sacrifice and festival and truce for Asklepios and ask that their sanctuary of Asklepios be inviolable: for good fortune, the Hierapytnians vote to accept the sacrifice, and the sanctuary of Asklepios is to be inviolable as they ask; the decree is to be inscribed in the sanctuary of Asklepios; to the theoroi are to be given for sacrifice ten staters (?).

*Commentary*

These three theoroi are not again found in the *asylia* archive, and without patronymics we have little hope of identifying them with known Koans; Charippos, however, occurs only here.

A1–12, decree of Istron on the bay of Mirabello. Our only other decree of Istron is the *asylia* grant to Teos forty years later, I. Cret. I, XIV 1 (*Asyilia* 148), which by contrast was to be inscribed in the sanctuary of Athena Polias. Here as at Hierapytna, the choice reflects the honorand.

9: Here and in B1 and 3, we find ὑπό where we expect the familiar ἀπό, inviolable «by» rather than «from» Istronians and dwellers there (cf. *Asyilia* p. 628); but this formula is in fact not found in other Cretan decrees of inviolability, so that this may be the Cretan version.

A13–B6, decree of Phaistos; unusually, the text continues over to the other side of the stele. Not much seems to be lost between the front and back of the stone. The city does not in so many words accept the sacrifice,

though we have restored the request (A 15), which is implied also by τὰ λουπά; but such inconsistencies and silences are common in the *asylia* decrees. The decree of Phaistos *Asylia* no. 55 may be another recognition of inviolability (for Tenos); there too the inscription was to be in the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo.

14–16: The letter of Kydonia to Teos is similarly in the third person, χαίρειν ἐπειδὴ [Γῆ]ιοι . . . (*Asylia* 139). «The other things» as at no. 3.7 below; compare the letter of Ziaelas, *Asylia* 11.5 ἡξιούν τὸ ἱερόν . . . ἀποδέξασθαι ἄσυλον καὶ τὰ λουπά φιλανθρωπεῖν; at Magnesia the Seleucid letters 69.6, 70.6 τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰλλα ἃ ἐνήφισται, Corcyra 94.32 τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα, and Rhodes 104.11 [τὰ]ν τ[ε] θ[υ]σ[ί]αν . . . καὶ τὰλλα φιλανθρώπως ἀποδ[έ]χεται. Apparently line 16 has a relative clause, ὧγ γ[ι] or ὧγ κ[ι], the *mu* assimilated.

B 0–1: Restoration must remain doubtful. At *Asylia* 15.7 (Messene for Kos), παρεκάλων ὅπως τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ τῷ ἐγ Κῶι ἄσυλον ὑπάρχει τὰ ἀπὸ Μεσσανίων καὶ τῶν ἐμ Μεσσάναι κατο(ι)κε[ύ]ντων; but here this would make Phaistos mention the request of *asylia* twice. An alternative is ὅπως οὖν, which however would state the recognition twice.

B 7–17, decree of Hierapytna in southeastern Crete; its decree of inviolability for Teos is extant (*Asylia* 144).

17: The cult of Asklepios is not otherwise attested at Hierapytna, where public acts normally were inscribed in the sanctuary of Athena Polias (I. Cret. III, III 3.C.10, 4.79); in the present instance they like the Istronians chose the site to honor the Koans' god.

B 18: HERZOG took this line to be the beginning of a decree. There is not space for the opening of a letter-decree as he restored; perhaps instead [ἔδοξεν Ἀξιῶν τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ] τὰ[ι πόλει (Axian decrees of inviolability for Teos and probably Tenos: *Asylia* 140, 60). But as M. WÖRRLE points out, little seems lost between A and B, so that there is not much space remaining here for a new decree. There may instead have been a brief rider, ὁ δεῖνος εἶπε]ν· τὰ [μὲν ἄλλα (κτλ.).

### 3 Two unidentified cities

Four fragments, inv. *a* M 88 = AS 65; *b* M 86a = AS 67; *c* M 86b = AS 66; *d* M 86c = S 6. Found in the Asklepieion, *a b c* by HERZOG, *d* by SCHAZMANN in 1922. HERZOG joined *a b c*, KLÄFFENBACH added *d*. No description; letters 0,01 m. high; interspace c. 0,005. Lines 21 and following have been published, as a decree of Iasos, HERZOG – KLÄFFENBACH, *Asylieurkunden* no. 15 (I. Iasos 21; *Asylia* 35). Lines 10 through 25 are written in *rasura*, and these lines are rather more crowded than 1–9.

Mentioned by HERZOG, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Abh. Akad. Berlin 1928, 6, 34. Squeezes in Berlin, transcriptions of *b–d* by HERZOG, of *a–d* by KLÄFFENBACH.

- a [- ----- ἀφεστάλκασι ἀρχι]-  
 [θέωρον Ἰππότην Εὐκρίτου] καὶ θεωροῦ[ς Αἴσχρον Θευδότω, Ἐπικλῆ]  
 [Ἀγορακρίτου, οἵτινες τ]ῆν τε θυσίαν κα[ὶ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐπήγγειλαν]  
 [τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τὸν] ἀγῶνα μουσικὸν κα[ὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἡξίουσαν τὴν]  
 4 [πόλιν ἡμῶν ψηφίσα]σθαι τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἄσυλον ὑπάρχειν]  
 [ἀγαθῆι τύχηι, δε]δόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι κα[ὶ τῶι δήμωι -----]  
 ----- καὶ τῆς πόλεως κα[----- δέχεσθαι --]  
 [. . . . τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ τᾶλλα κα]θάπερ ἀξιοῦσι Κῶιοι ὑπάρχειν δέ]  
 8 [τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ν ἐγ Κῶ[ι ἄσυλον - α. 7 - δοῦναι δὲ τοῖς]  
 [θεωροῖς εἰς ἀπα]ρχὴν τὸν ταμί[αν-----].  
 ----- τᾶ βόλλα καὶ τ[ῶι δάμω -----]  
 [ἐπεὶ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Κῶ]ϊων φίλος ἔων κ[αὶ συγγένης τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς . . . .].-  
 12 [ων ἐκ παλαιῶν χρό]νων ἀφέστα[λκε θεώροις Αἴσχρον Θευδότω, Ἐπί]-  
 [κλῆ Ἀγορακρίτω κ]αὶ ἀρχιθέωρον Ἰ[ππότην Εὐκρίτου, οἱ ἐπαγγέλλοι]-  
 [σι θυσίαν τε καὶ ἀγῶνα τῶ Ἀσκλαπ]ίω καὶ ἀξίοισι τὰν πόλιν ἄμων τὸ]  
 [ἱερόν τῶ Ἀσκλαπίω ἄ]συλον νομίζ[ην-----]  
 16 [- ----- δέ]χεσθαι[ι-----] καὶ ται[------] c  
 [- ---- καθάπερ ἀξί]οισι οἱ [θέωροι-----] | Ε | ..ξ[1-2 τ]οῖς θεώρο[ις ---] b  
 ----- ΟΕΩΣΤΑ [ε]ἰς ἱερα τῶ Ἀσ[κλαπίω -]  
 ----- αὐτοῖς κ[αὶ] κάλλυσιν κ-- 7-- δε-- d  
 20 [- ----- τὸ] δὲ ψάφισμα καὶ τὰν ἐκ[χειρί]αν ε--  
 ----- | ΑΣΟΥ vacat  
 (the decree Asyilia 35.2–11 follows)

4 ---- ψηφίσα]σθαι HERZOG || 7–8 HERZOG, but εἶναι δὲ || 9 ---- εἰς ἀπα]ρχὴν HERZOG || 10 τῆι βουλῆι καὶ can be read in the erasure || 11 init., 12, 13 HERZOG || 17 ---- ἀξί]οισι οἱ [Κῶιοι HERZOG || 18 -- κα]ὶ εἰ[ς] ξέ[νια τ]οῖς θεώρο[ις --- HERZOG || 21 ἐξ] Ἰασοῦ HERZOG; vacat?] Ἰασοῦ KLAFFENBACH.

### Commentary

Lines 1–9: Civic decree in Koine.

3: Otherwise only the two decrees of Sicilian cities (Asyilia 48, 49) and an unpublished small fragment (inv. S 9) specify the categories of the Asklepieia.

7: «Accept the proclamation» as at Asyilia 12.22, 23.10, 26.11, 27.9 (καθάπερ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ θεώρο[οί]), 48.18, 49.18. For «the other things» see on 2 A 16 above.

10: Enough of the erased text can be discerned – τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τ[ῶι δήμωι – to reveal that it was a decree in Koine, evidently longer than the preserved Aeolic one. Perhaps the erased decree had been mistakenly included among those brought back by these theoroi.

Lines 10 ff.: Civic decree in Aeolic. The identity of the Koian theoroi with those of no. 4 below is based upon the name of their leader beginning in *iota* (line 13), and upon their being named in the decree that follows below line 20



here: for the decrees were usually arranged in terms of the theoric missions that obtained them (Asyλία 46.1). For this reason they can be restored with fair probability at lines 2–3. These men went also to Kios (Asyλία 32), so their mission took them north up the Anatolian coast from Kos.

11: Cf. the decree of Tenedos for Chalkedon, Asyλία 64.2: ἐπειδὴ Κα[λχαδόνιοι φίλοι] ἔοντες κ[αί] οἴκειοι καὶ σύμμαχοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνων τ[ῆς πόλιος τῆς Τ]ενεδίων.

19: The care of the theoroi seems to include lodging, κατάλυσις. An example is IG V 2, 357 A 21 for foreign judges, κατάλυσιν δὲ γίν[εσθαι πορευομένων] ἐν τῆς πόλιος καθ' [ὁδὸν] τοῖς δικασ[τα]ί[ς].

20–21: This might be in the sense of (κατα)χωράζει δὲ καὶ τόδε ψάφισμα καὶ τῶν ἐκ[εχειρ]ῶν εἰς τοὺς νόμοις as in Asyλία 48.6, 49.3, 88.47. This decree certainly runs over to the 21st line, so that there is a problem in the interpretation of what follows. HERZOG and KLAFFENBACH took line 21 as a heading, Ἰασσοῦ, author of the following decree. But the letters are too far to the right; the singular toponym, rather than an ethnic, would be the only such heading in the Koan archive; and line 11 suggests that this stele, like no. 2 above and several others in the archive, did not use headings. The letters may be part of the location where the decree is to be inscribed. In any case, we now have no basis for attributing the third (Asyλία 35).

#### 4 Unidentified city

Four fragments: three (*a*, *b*, *d*) found by HERZOG in the Asklepieion; the upper right (*c*), already published, he could not find. Inv. *a* M 85a = AS 60, preserved at left, moulding above; *b* M 85b = AS 64; *d* M 83 = E 93. Letter height 0,01 m., interspace 0,006. In the Berlin notebooks, *a*–*c* transcribed and restored by HERZOG, *a*–*d* by KLAFFENBACH.

*c*: W. R. PATON – E. L. HICKS, I. Cos 20; *a*, *b*, *d* unpublished, lines 9–12 quoted at HERZOG – KLAFFENBACH, *Asylieurkunden*, p. 26; RIGSBY's version at Asyλία no. 36, attempting to incorporate the quoted words with PATON – HICKS 20, should be ignored.

*vacat* 0,02

*b*

*a* ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆ[ι καὶ] τῶι δήμω[ι,----- *c*. 17-----] Ἐπαμείνονος *c*  
 εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ Κῶιοι [φίλοι ὄ]ντες ἐκ παλαι[ῶν χρόνων] θεωροὺς ἀπ(ο)στε[ί]-  
 λαντες πρὸς ἡ[μᾶς Αἰσ]χρον Θεωδότου, Ἐπ[ικλῆ] Ἀγ[ορ]α[κρίτου] καὶ ἄρ[χι]-  
 4 θέωρον Ἰπτότ[η]ν Εὐκρίτ[ου] ἐπαγγέλλουσι τὴν τ[ε] θυσ[ια]γ καὶ τὸν ἀ[γῶ]-  
 να, ὃν συντ[ε]λοῦσι τῶι Ἀ[σκληπιῶ]ι διὰ πεντ[αετη]ρίδος, καὶ ἀ[ξιοῦ]-  
 σι ψηφισά[σθαι] τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄσυλον καθ[ά]-  
 περ κ[ατέθεσαν] τοὺς ὄρους Κῶιοι, τύχη ἀ[γαθῆ], δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι δέ-  
 8 χε[σθαι] τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ ὑγείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῶν πόλε[ω]ν ἀ[μφοτέρω]ν,] *d*  
 [ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ ἄσυλον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ] Ἀσ[κ]ληπιοῦ· τὸν δὲ παραβαί-

[νοντα----- τῆ]ς ἀσυλίας τῶν ἐκ . . . σαι I  
 -----ων ἔνοχον εἶναι το . . . οἱς ἐπ  
 12 [------ εἰς (?) τ]ὸ θεῖον ἀσεβοῦσι· ὅπ[ως δὲ . . . .]  
 -----ν, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τ[ὸ ψήφισμα]  
 [ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερ]ὸν τοῦ Ἀσκ[λη]πιοῦ -----  
 ----- τὰ ψηφίσμ[ατα -----]  
 16 ----- -ναιτο-----  
 -----

1-7 rest. HERZOG as modified by KLAFFENBACH || 2 fin. ΑΠΕΣΤΕ lapis || 7 κ[αθιέρωσαν αὐτὸ Κῶ]ιοι HERZOG || 10 [νοντα τοὺς ὄρους τῆ]ς HERZOG, too short (KLAFFENBACH) || 11 --- ὁμοῦμέν]ων HERZOG || 11 fin. τ[οῖς νόμοις τ]οῖς ἐπ- HERZOG; το[ῖς Κῶ]ιοις? KLAFFENBACH || 12, 13 HERZOG || 15 or κα]τὰ.

Translation

The council and people have voted . . . son of Epameinon proposed: since the Koans, who are friends from ancient times, having sent to us as theoroi Aischros son of Theudotos, Epikles son of Agorakritos, and chief-theoros Hippotes son of Eukritos, proclaim the sacrifice and contest which they are celebrating for Asklepios each quadrennium, and ask that their sanctuary of Asklepios be decreed inviolable as the Koans have established its boundaries: for good fortune, the people vote to accept the sacrifice, for the health and well-being of both cities, and the sanctuary of Asklepios is to be inviolable; whoever violates . . . those who commit sacrilege against the divine. So that . . ., this decree is to be inscribed on a stone stele and placed in the sanctuary of Asklepios . . .

Commentary

These remains do not offer enough to identify the city in question. The same theoroi went also to Kios and almost certainly to the Aeolian city of no. 3. Some city in Bithynia such as Kyzikos or Prusa may be the author.

7: Cf. the royal letter for Kos, Asyilia 10.10: ἄσυλον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν ὡς τοὺς ὄρους τεθείκατε.

8: Such good wishes for the sacrifice are common in the recognitions of inviolability: Asyilia 28.5, 29.5, 102.35, 103.25, 104.25, 111.66, 112.30, 125.a.23, 128.8, 130.16, 131.15.

9-12: Penalty clauses are rare in the *asyilia* decrees; another occurs in the decree of Kios (Asyilia 32), obtained by these same theoroi, who likely used the same decree and speech of request at all their cities. In 10 HERZOG thought of violation of boundaries; he restored the same in Heilige Gesetze von Kos no. 13, [- - - αἰ δὲ τίς κα παραβαίνει τὸς ὄρος τῆς ἀσυλίας, ἔνοχος ἔστω τῷ] τε δίκαι [καὶ τῷ ἐπαρῶι ὡς ἱερόσυλος; on which see Asyilia p. 112 n. 19. More likely in our view would be a sentiment on the order of παραβαί[νοντα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου περὶ τῆ]ς ἀσυλίας. But what follows is

baffling. At 10 end HERZOG envisaged a place name to go with his ὁμο-  
μέν]ων in 11.

12–13: E.g., so that the decision may be manifest or may endure εἰς τὸν  
ἅπαντα χρόνον]. Few decrees for the inviolability of the Asklepieion provided  
for inscribing; evidently the Koan ambassadors did not normally request it in  
their speech.

14–15: This may be payment for the inscription; one thinks of the formula  
at Athens ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δήμῳι, and at  
Tenos (IG XII 5, 802, partly restored); or at Miletos ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφί-  
σματα ἐξηρημένων (Milet I 3, 146A; I. Didyma 480.25).

### 5 Kerkyra (?), Leukas

In the depository of the Castro. Fragment of white marble, complete at left and  
bottom and back, height 0,18 m., width 0,14, thickness 0,095. Letters 0,007,  
interspace 0,007; back uninscribed. Collation, squeezes. The text will be IG IX  
1<sup>2</sup>, 1474.

-----  
 EI/-----  
 ωρος-----  
 Λευ [καδίων ἔχον ἐπίσημον(?)-----]  
 βασιλευόντος Ἀλ[εξάνδρου, ἔτους-----, μηνός----- ἔ]-  
 5 κται ἐφ' ἰκάδι ἀγαθῶι [τύχαι-----]  
 μιν Πεισανδρο[----- τάν]  
 ἐκεχειρίαν τοῦ [Ἀσκλαπιῶ-----]  
 ὡν τάν τε ἐκεχ[ειρίαν καὶ-----, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ βασι]-  
 λεὺς Ἀλέξανδ[ρος προαιρεῖται-----]  
 10 ἐνέστιον καὶ ἐ[νεκέχειρον?-----]  
*vacat*

### Commentary

The stone contains the end of one decree and the beginning of a decree of  
Leukas. This fragment is the lower part of the stele from the Asklepieion pub-  
lished as HERZOG – KLAFFENBACH nos. 6 and 10 (Asyilia nos. 25–27 and 45),  
which contains decrees of three Macedonian cities and Kerkyra. This associa-  
tion is reasonably certain: Line 3 begins fully to the left, implying that more  
than the ethnic was recorded here: therefore a description of the civic seal on  
the papyrus, as for the decrees of Naples (Asyilia no. 46.2), Elea (47.1) and  
Kerkyra (45.1).<sup>3</sup> The stele with the decrees of Naples and Elea begins with a

<sup>3</sup> This evidently was a preference of the theoroi Epidaurios, Philophron and Simias  
who visited Naples and Elea. KLAFFENBACH (HERZOG – KLAFFENBACH p. 29) thought it  
a likely assumption that these men went to Kerkyra as well.

sort of heading: ψαφίσματα ἃ ἐκόμισαν θεωροὶ . . . But that stele is opisthographic, unlike the new fragment, which therefore cannot belong to it: this fragment therefore should be seen as the lost bottom of the un-opisthographic stele that contains the decrees of Macedonian cities and Kerkyra. Comparison of the squeezes of these decrees and the new fragment shows lettering of the same shape and size. Also, a marginal note of HERZOG on these decrees reveals that he already knew of this fragment; but no copy of it has been found among his notes.

It is likely therefore that we have here the end of the decree of Kerkyra whose beginning is preserved at the bottom of the published fragment. The Macedonian decrees on this stone have a line-length of about 60 letters; the texts on our new piece should be consistent with this length.

As it happens, this stele contains the only date in the Koan archive: Koan theoroi were at Amphipolis in Gorpaios of the 41st year of Antigonos Gonatas, roughly August of 242 (*Asyilia* no. 26.2). Simply geography guarantees that Kerkyra and Leukas were visited by one team of theoroi; their names are lost on both fragments, but they probably were not the same men whom we see making the voyage from Messene to Macedonia. However, there is no reason to separate off these two decrees as earlier or later than the others on the stele; and RIGSBY argued (*Asyilia* pp. 107–109) that all the recognitions in the archive are of the same date, spring to autumn of 242 B.C.

The decree of Leukas therefore shows Alexander II of Epiros ruling the island in 242 B.C. The chronology of this reign has presented serious difficulties.<sup>4</sup> He became king in 272 on the death of his father Pyrrhos; Alexander's death has been placed as early as c. 260 (J. G. DROYSEN), or 255 (K. J. BELOCH), or c. 240 (G. CORRADI, M. HOLLEAUX et al.). The crux is a passage of Justin 28, 1, 1–4): after Alexander's death his widow Olympias ruled; because the Aitolians wanted to deprive her of the part of Akarnania that Alexander had won in war, she sought support from king Demetrius of Macedonia, who repudiated his Seleucid wife and sent her back to her brother king Antiochus of Syria, marrying instead a daughter of Alexander. This has been viewed as an impossibility: Antiochus II died in 246 and Demetrius II became king in 239. Most scholars have followed CORRADI in preferring a date c. 240 for the death of Alexander and rejecting the reference to Antiochus as an error. CABANES, however, citing a testimony that Demetrius was in some sense a co-ruler before the death of his father Antigonos Gonatas in 239,<sup>5</sup> offered a number of

<sup>4</sup> These are most fully discussed by P. CABANES, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine*, 1976, 39–74, where earlier literature is surveyed.

<sup>5</sup> The inscription is to be read now in M. B. HATZOPOULOS, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings II*, 1996, 108 no. 93 or L. GOUNARPOULOU – M. B. HATZOPOULOS, *Ἐπιγραφές κάτω Μακεδονίας I. Ἐπιγραφές Βεοτίας*, 1998, no. 45 (SEG 12, 314; MORRETTI, ISE 109; etc.), a private monument dated by the 27<sup>th</sup> year of king Demetrius:

arguments for dating Alexander's death between 252–250 (when according to CABANES he gained western Akarnania) and 246 (when Antiochus died).<sup>6</sup> HAMMOND has written, «there is no independent evidence for the date of the death of Alexander of Epirus» (313). The new fragment changes this. The decree of Leukas establishes that Alexander was still king in 242, supporting those who have rejected Justin's reference to Antiochus.

At some date in his reign, Alexander and the Aitolians partitioned Akarnania between them, dissolving the Akarnanian League, with the Aitolians taking the east and Alexander the west.<sup>7</sup> And we have a separate testimony to his forcible conquest of Leukas (Frontin. Strat. 3, 4, 5). Perhaps that conquest preceded and helped prepare the way for the division of Akarnania; but how much time, if any, separated the one success from the other is beyond guessing. Alexander's rule over Leukas is visibly the situation in our decree of 242. The date of the partitioning is controversial; the dominant approach has been to find some moment of «weakness» in Macedonia, of which Epiros and Aitolia could take advantage. This rather atmospheric criterion has led to suggestions ranging from the 260's to 243: during the Chremonidean War (H. SWOBODA, BELOCH), rebellion at Korinth after 253 (KLaffenBACH, CABANES) or in 249 (G. N. CROSS), or its loss to Aratus in 243 (WALBANK). All of these are consistent with the new decree, which thus does not contribute to a solution: it merely shows that western Akarnania, or at least Leukas, was under Alexander's control by 242.

1–2: This might be [- - καλέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸς θε]ωρὸς [ἐπὶ ξένια, vel sim., or [- - οἶδε ἐπήγγειλαν· - - - (? ἀρχι)θε]ωρὸς - - - .

4: The Koan theoroi were at Kerkyra in the month Panamos (Asyilia no. 45.2, μῆς Πάναμος),<sup>8</sup> so perhaps this month name should be restored here for Leukas as well. But nothing is on record for us concerning the calendar of Leukas. It is noteworthy that the Akarnanian League's decree of inviolability for Magnesia in 208 B.C. was passed in Panamos, and on the same day of the month as this decree of Leukas (Asyilia 81.7, μηνὸς Πα[νάμου] ἐκ[τα] ἐπ' εἰκάδι).

Demetrius II (ob. 229); R. M. ERRINGTON, *Ancient Macedonia II*, 1977, 115–122 (cf. SEG 27, 260); Demetrios Poliorketes.

<sup>6</sup> Against this see now O. DANY, *Akarnanien im Hellenismus*, 1999, 100–104. Other scholars who have maintained the date of c. 240: e.g., F. W. WALBANK, *CAH<sup>2</sup> VII*, 1984, 446; N. G. L. HAMMOND, *History of Macedonia III*, 1988, 312–313. L.-M. GÜNTHER, *Der neue Pauly I*, 1996, Alexandros 10, 475–476, follows CABANES. R. M. ERRINGTON, *History of Macedonia*, 1990, 174, has Alexander die c. 239 but Stratonike sent back to Syria before 246, thus saving a chronology by contradicting the story.

<sup>7</sup> The crucial passage is Polyb. 2, 45, 1; all the testimonia are gathered by H. H. SCHMITT, *Staatsverträge III* no. 485; for literature see T. CORSTEN, *Vom Stamm zum Bund*, 1999, 87, 142, and DANY, 71, 87.

<sup>8</sup> At the mother-city Korinth this was probably a month of late spring; see TRÜMPY (n. 2) 159–163.

5–6: The first letters of 6 point most naturally to restoring a pair of magistrates: e.g. a civic *πρυτανεύοντος*] or royal *ἐπιστάτου*] μὲν Πεισάνδρο[υ, followed by another official. We know from Frontinus that Alexander took Leukas by force, not by treaty; perhaps therefore a royal governor such as an epistates is more likely, contrasted then with a civic magistrate. Compare the decree of Antigonid Amphipolis, whose beginning pairs an epistates and a priest (Asyilia no. 26.2–3, *ἐπιστάτου Ξενίου τοῦ Ὀργέως, ἐφ' ἱερέως Λυσιμάχου*). But if we restore two magistrates here, there is little space remaining for the substance of the decree, which must move very quickly from the proclamation of the truce mentioned in 7 to its acceptance in 8. An alternative for the beginning of 6 would be that this is the end of a Doric infinitive, with Peisandros as its Koan object or Leukadian subject.

7: The phrase «truce of Asklepios» occurs once in the archive, in the decree of Sparta (Asyilia 14.3, *τὰν ἐκεχηρίαν τὰν τῷ Αἰγλαπιῶ*); it is an abbreviation of the proper «truce of the contest of Asklepios».

8–9: Restored from the decrees of Amphipolis and Philippi, which invoke in these words the desire of Antigonos Gonatas (Asyilia 26.14, 27.14).

9 end: e.g. --- δόμεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς] or the like.

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