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ROBERT PARKER – DIRK OBBINK

Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» VI.
Sales of Priesthoods on Cos I*

1 Priesthood of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia

The text here published (Inv. AS 14)¹ was found in the Asklepieion by HERZOG in 1903 serving «als Grabeinfassung bei der Westseite des Tempels A».² HERZOG alluded to it often, but never published more than lines 16–21 (ARW 10, 1907, 211) and 40–43 (HGK 50–51). The stone is an opisthographic stele of white marble, broken at the bottom, 60 cms. high, 49 wide, 9 thick. The text here presented stood on what was originally the back of the stone. The front, which retains a projecting kymation, was shaved with a coarse claw chisel in the 1st c.

* This is the first inscription out of a series of six concerning the sales of priest-hoods on Cos; nos. 2 to 6 will appear in a sequel in Chiron 31. We have worked on these texts in close association throughout, but primary responsibility for nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6 is PARKER's, for nos. 3 and 4 is OBBINK's. We are both very grateful to the IG committee of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for the invitation to study this material and to Professor M. WÖRRLE for numerous improvements. We are much indebted to Dr C. V. CROWTHER of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford for constant assistance, to Drs. L. and K. HALLOF of IG for access to the Sylloge Inscriptionum Coi Insulae which they have prepared as a basis for the forthcoming IG volume, and to Professor C. HABICHT for use of the provisional table of Coan *monarchoi* which he has drawn up on the basis of texts in the Sylloge. We must also acknowledge our real indebtedness to HERZOG's transcripts, in particular that of the barely legible text no. 1. We also wish to thank K. HÖGHAMMAR, J. MA, A. MEADOWS, R. OSBORNE, P. RHODES and A. SCAFURO for help with specific problems, and Professor KOKKOROU-ALEURA for access to her forthcoming corpus of inscriptions from Halasarna (cited below). To standard abbreviations add ED and EV = the numeration of «public documents» (ED) and «votive inscriptions» (EV) in SEGRE, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (see note 5 below); HGK = R. HERZOG, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Abh. Akad. Berlin 1928, 6; KFF = R. HERZOG, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, Leipzig 1899; KOKKOROU-ALEURA, *Επιγραφές απο την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα* = G. KOKKOROU-ALEURA, *Οι Επιγραφές απο την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα* (forthcoming as a supplement to Horos); LSCG, LSS, LSA = F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques; Lois sacrées, suppl.; Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955–1969; NS = A. MAIURI, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodos e Cos*, Florence 1925; PH = W. R. PATON – E. L. HICKS, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford 1891.

¹ On HERZOG's inventory numbers see Chiron 28, 1998, 88.

² The discovery was first mentioned in AA 1903, 197.

A.D. to receive a dedication by C. Stertinius Xenophon;³ it was perhaps at this time that the stone was brought to the Asklepieion. A few traces of lettering comparable to that of the surviving text remain on this side; evidently the surviving text, which begins in *mediis rebus*, is the conclusion of a single long inscription of which the first part was obliterated to receive Xenophon's dedication. Lines 1–2 are longer than the rest because inscribed on the back of the kymation.

The stone is currently mounted on the wall of the epigraphic store of the Asklepieion, where it was studied by Dr. C. V. CROWTHER in May, 2000.⁴ Our text was initially constituted on the basis of HERZOG's squeeze and his transcripts thereof; doubtful readings have been checked against the stone by CROWTHER and from his photographs and new squeeze.

ἀ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω τᾷ ἱερείᾳ κατὰ τῶν μὴ ἐπιτελεσάντων [τὰ γεγραμμέ]-
 να καθάπερ ἐγ δίκας· ὅπως δὲ μηδεμία ἀντιλογία γίνηται ὁ[ποθενοῦν μη]-
 θεγί ποτι μηδένα περὶ τᾶς ἀξίας τῶν ἱερείων, ἐξέστω τῷ θύ[οντι, αἰ]
 τίς κα δὴληται, ὧν ὅσιον ἔστιν θύεν τᾷ θεῷ καταβαλεῖν τῶν [γερωῶν]
 5 τὸ διατεταγμένον· τοὶ στρατευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς μακροῖς ναυσὶν ἐ[πεί]
 κα καταλύοντι τὸν πλοῦν θυόντω τᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ τᾷ Ποντίας ἐπὶ τ[οῦ]
 προγεγραμμένου βωμοῦ ἱερεῖον τέλειον ἀφ' ἐκάστας σκανᾶς ἀπὸ ὃ
 δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα ἢ καταβαλλόντω τῶν γερωῶν καθ' ἐκάσταν σκα-
 νᾶν τᾷ ἱερείᾳ δραχμᾶς δεκαπέντε καὶ ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν δραχμᾶν·
 10 ἀπαρχέσθων δὲ καὶ τοὶ λοιποὶ πάντες τοὶ θύοντες ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τᾷ[ι]
 Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐπὶ μὲν βοὶ δραχμᾶς δύο ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν μὲν τε-
 λείων δραχμᾶν, τῶν δὲ ἀτελείων τριώβολ(ο)ν, ὄρνι[σι]θος δὲ ὀβολόν,
 χωρὶ τῶν προδιατεταγμένων κατὰ τάνδε τὴν διαγραφάν· ἐξέστω
 δὲ τᾷ ἱερείᾳ καὶ ἀπομίσθωσιν ποιήσασθαι τούτων, ὃ δὲ ἀπομίσθω-
 15 σάμενος ἐχέτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρᾶσσεσθαι καθὰ καὶ τὴν ἱερείαν γέ-
 γραπται· τῶν δὲ κλαικῶν τῶν θησαυρῶν κυριευόντω τοὶ προστάται
 καὶ ἀνοιγόντω μετὰ τᾶς ἱερείας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμ μηνὶ Δα-
 λίῳ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισσον ἔστω τᾶς ἱερείας, τὸ δὲ ἡμισσον ἀναπεμπόν-
 τω ἐπὶ τὴν δαμοσίαν τράπεζαν ἐς τὸν ὑφιστακότα τᾶς θεοῦ λόγον
 20 καὶ λόγον χρηματιζόντω ἐς τὰ δαμόσια γράμματα· τὸ δὲ χρῆμα τοῦ-
 το ὑπαρχέτω ἐς κατασκευάσματα ἃ κα δόξη τᾷ ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ καὶ ἐς ἐπισ-
 κευὰν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· αἱ δὲ κά τις ψαφίζηται ὥστε ἐς ἄλλο τι καταχρη[σ]θῆμεν
 τὰ ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἢ προστάτας προθῆι, ἀποτισάτω τῶν αἰτίων ἕκασ-

³ This dedication was published by HERZOG in AA 1903, 193–94; he strangely failed to mention that it stood on the reverse of the Aphrodite Pandamos stele, the discovery of which he announced in the same report.

⁴ We are very grateful to the epimelete D. BOSNAKIS, through whose good offices CROWTHER was enabled to study both sides of the stone thoroughly.

- 25 τος δραχμὰς χειλίας ἱερὰς τὰς Ἀφροδίτας καὶ ἅ γινώμα ἄκυρος ἔστω
 ἀπαρχέσθων δὲ καὶ τοὶ ἐλευθερούμενοι ἐν οἷ κα ἐνιαυτῷ ἐλευθερω-
 θῶντι σὺν τῷ πρότερον καταβαλλομένῳ δραχμὰς πέντε ποιούμε-
 νοι τὰν καταβολὰν ἐπὶ τὸς ταμίαις· διδόντω δὲ ἕς ἀπαρχὰν καὶ τοὶ
 ἄλεις τοὶ ὀρμόμενοι ἐκ τὰς πόλιος καὶ τοὶ ναύκλαροι τοὶ πλέοντες
 30 περὶ τὰν χώραν καθ' ἕκαστον πλοῖον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δραχμὰς πέντε· αἱ
 δὲ τίς κα μὴ ἐπιτελέσῃ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖδε τῶν διαγραφῶν γεγραμμένων
 ἢ μὴ θύσῃ κατὰ τὰ ποτιτεταγμένα, ἀποτεισάτω τῷ ἱερεῖαι τὰ ἐφ' ἑκάσ-
 τοις γεγραμμένα ἐπιτίμια· ἅ δὲ πρῶξις ἔστω αὐταῖ καθάπερ ἐγ δίκας·
 κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ καὶ αἱ τινὰ κα ἅ ἱερεία μὴ ποιῆ τῶν ποτιτεταγμένων α[ῦ]-
 τῷ κατὰ τὰν διαγραφὰν, ἀποτεισάτω δραχμὰς χειλίας ἱερὰς Ἀφροδ[ί]-
 35 τας, φαινέτω δὲ ὁ χρήζων κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πράσει τὰς ἱερῶ[σῦ]-
 νας θυσάντω τοὶ προστάται τῷ Ἀφροδίται τῷ Πανδάμῳ δάμαλ[ιν ἅ]-
 πὸ δραχμῶν ἑξακοσιῶν, ὦ τὸ δὲ γινόμενον ἀνάλωμα ἕς τε τὰν θυσι-
 αν καὶ τὰν ἀναγραφὰν τὰς διαγραφῶς τοὶ ταμίαι προτελεσάντω καὶ ἀπο-
 λογιζάσθων μετὰ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας· ἅ δὲ πριαμένα τὰν ἱερῶσύναν
 40 [ἱερῶ]σθω ἐπὶ βίου· καταβολὰς δὲ ποιησέται τρεῖς ἄργυροῦ, τὰ μὲν πρῶταν ἐμ μηνί
 Ἀλσειῷ τῷ ἐπὶ μονάρχῳ Χαιρεδάμῳ, τὰν δὲ δευτέραν ἐμ μηνί Βατρο-
 [μ]ίῳ τῷ μετὰ μονάρχῳ Χαιρέδαμον, τὰν δὲ τρίταν ἐμ μηνί Δαλίῳ τῷ ἐ-
 [πι τοῦ] αὐτοῦ μονάρχῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ δᾶμος εὐσεβῶς διακείμενος κατ[ε]σ[κεύ]-
 [ακε ποτὶ] τῷ ἐπὶ θαλάσσαι ἱερῶν καὶ ἄλλα χρηστήρια, καρπευέσθω καὶ ταῦ[τα]
 45 [ἅ ἱερεία· τοὶ δὲ] πρ[ο]λητῶν ἀπομισθωσάντω ἀναγράψαι τάνδε τὰν διαγραφῶν
 [ἕς στάλαν λιθίναν κα]ὶ ἀναθέμεν παρὰ τῷ βωμῷ τὰς Ἀφροδίτας τὰς Π-
 [. . . . ἀπομισθωσάντω δὲ καὶ] τελέσαι τὰν [ἱερ]εῖαν κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα· [τοὶ]
 [δὲ ταμίαι προτελεσάντω τὰ ἀναλ]ύματα ἕς τε τὰν ἀναγραφὰν τὰς διαγραφ[ῶς]
 [τῶσδε καὶ ἕς τὰν τελετὰν τὰς ἱερείας καὶ ἕς τὰν θυσ]ίαν ἐπ[ὶ τῷ] πράσει
 50 [καὶ ἀπολογιζάσθων μετὰ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας.]

Supplements unless otherwise stated are by HERZOG. 2 γίνηται OBBINK–PARKER; γένηται HERZOG. 4 so punctuated by WÖRRLE; comma after θεῶν, no comma after δήληται HERZOG. 12–13 so punctuated by OBBINK–PARKER; full stop after ὀβολόν, no punctuation in 13 HERZOG. 23 αἰτίων OBBINK–PARKER; ἀστῶν HERZOG. 30 ταῖδε τῶ διαγραφῶ OBBINK–PARKER; τῶ διαγραφῶ HERZOG. 35 ἐπὶ δὲ OBBINK–PARKER; ἐπὶ τε HERZOG. 43–44 κατεσκε[ῦ]σε[ε] HERZOG. 44 start: [ἐν τ]ῷ would be too short. 46–47 Π[ο]ν[ο]τίας (HERZOG). 49 HERZOG read τ]ὰν θυσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πράσει: the stone has probably been further damaged since then. 50 HERZOG's transcript concludes <vacat, ut videtur. No unscripted space is visible on the stone now.

Translation

The priestess may exact payment from those who do not perform what is prescribed as if in fulfilment of a legal verdict.

In order that disputes may not arise between any two persons on any grounds about the value of sacrificial victims, any sacrificer who so wishes may pay, in

lieu of perquisites for any of those victims which it is permitted to sacrifice to the goddess, the sum specified.

On completion of the voyage those serving in warships shall sacrifice to Aphrodite Pontia on the altar specified previously one full grown victim costing 30 drachmai for each tent, or pay 15 drachmai in lieu of perquisites to the priestess for each tent, and a drachma into the *thesauros*.

All other persons who sacrifice shall also make an offering into the *thesauros* for Aphrodite: for cattle 2 drachmai, for other victims a drachma for full grown animals, three obols for young animals, for birds one obol, apart from what was ordered before according to this contract.

The priestess shall also be permitted to lease out these dues, and the lessee shall have the same power of exacting payment as was prescribed for the priestess.

The *prostatai* shall be in charge of the keys of the *thesauroi* and open them along with the priestess each year in the month Dalios. Half (of the contents) shall belong to the priestess and half they shall send up to the public bank to the existing account of the goddess and put a record into the public archive. This money shall be available for constructions determined by the assembly and for repair of the sanctuary. If anyone proposes that the money from the *thesauroi* be used for any other purpose, or any *prostatas* puts it to the vote, each of the persons responsible shall pay a thousand drachmai sacred to Aphrodite and the proposal shall be invalid.

Those too who are being freed, in the year in which they are freed, shall make an offering, in addition to what is paid earlier, of five drachmai, making the payment to the treasurers. Fishermen who fish out of the city and ship-owners who sail around the country shall also give as an offering five drachmai annually per ship.

If anyone fails to perform any of the requirements of this document or to sacrifice as has been prescribed, he shall pay to the priestess the penalty specified in each case. She may exact payment as if in fulfilment of a legal verdict. Similarly, if the priestess fails to perform any of the tasks prescribed for her in the contract, she shall pay 1000 drachmai sacred to Aphrodite, and anyone who wishes shall denounce her according to the law.

In connection with the sale of the priesthood the *prostatai* shall sacrifice to Aphrodite Pandamos a heifer worth 600 drachmai. The sum required for the sacrifice and the inscription of this document shall be advanced by the treasurers and accounted for along with the rest of their payments.

The purchaser of the priesthood shall serve as priestess for life.

She shall make three payments of money, the first in the month Alseios when Chairedamos is *monarchos*, the second in the month Batromios in the year after Chairedamos, the third in the month Dalios under the same *monarchos*.

And since the people being piously disposed built further facilities [beside] the shrine next to the sea, [the priestess] may exploit these too.

The *poletai* shall put out to contract the inscription of this document [on a stone stele] and its setting up beside the altar of Aphrodite [Pontia? Pandamos?]. [They shall also contract out] the initiation of the priestess according to customary practice. [The treasurers shall pay the] expenditure for the inscription of this document [and for the initiation of the priestess and for the] sacrifice in connection with the sale and [shall account for it along with the rest of their payments].

Commentary

History of the sale of priesthoods on Cos, and topics of the Coan διαγραφαί for sale of priesthoods.

This text and those published below are new examples of a class already well attested on Cos, the διαγραφή regulating conditions of tenure of a priesthood about to be sold. To the διαγραφαί associable with four specific cults already known, rules for at least six further identifiable cults, and numerous fragments, were added in 1994 when the texts transcribed by M. SEGRE in the 1930s were eventually published.⁵ They make up a remarkable, and barely studied, dossier, to which the texts here published are an important addition. Before looking at the new individual specimens, we need to consider the conventions and characteristics of the genre. And in order to set the genre in its context, we need also to survey what is known of the history of priesthood, and of regulations concerning priesthood, on the island.

SEGRE's material included two separate διαγραφαί, divided by something like 100 years, for the priesthood of Herakles Kallinikos, and also a predecessor perhaps of the late third century to an already known διαγραφή of the first for Dionysos Thylophoros. They reveal that, on the one hand, many stipulations remained constant or virtually so over long periods of time, but that, on the other, the διαγραφή for a priesthood did not profess to be valid in perpetuity; on the contrary, it was a contract of work or job description, re-considered on each occasion when there was a vacancy to be filled, although like most such documents closely based on the text used on the preceding occasion. Another of the new διαγραφαί states early on that «other matters are to be as in the previous διαγραφαί», to which it goes on to make several references.⁶ But it is this explicit incorporation in the current document that assures the continuing validity of the previous rules. The opening clause of a διαγραφή often makes plain that what is being regulated is a particular sale on a particular occasion: let the *poletai* sell the priesthood of Dionysos Thylophoros during the month Karneios, for instance, the text relating to that office begins (ED 216). It is to this custom of successive re-publication of the job description that we owe the abundance of documentation that we now enjoy.⁷

⁵ *Iscrizioni di Cos*, 2 vols., Rome 1993, to be read with the comments of C. HABICHT, ZPE 112, 1996, 83–94, and P. GAUTHIER, Bull. Épig. 1995 no. 448, and the *vade mecum* of A. CHANIOTIS, Kernos 10, 1997, 298–306.

⁶ ED 178a (A) 8, cf. 22, 28.

⁷ Similarly, the διαγραφή for the priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios at Priene is known from three identical copies (IPriene 201–203, partially reproduced as LSA 38), presumably because it was re-inscribed in connection with each sale. This characteristic of the διαγραφαί was already correctly described by SEGRE, Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. 17, 1941, 32.

Διαγραφαί of this type imply the practice of sale of priesthoods. This practice is confined to Asia Minor and the islands of the eastern Aegean, and even there is first attested only around the year 400⁸ (though one must remember that earlier evidence of any kind from these regions about the allocation of priesthoods scarcely exists). On Cos it appears to have emerged alongside an earlier system at some time in, perhaps, the first half of the third century. The earliest surviving διαγραφά for the sale of a Coan priesthood is probably no. 3 below, of c. 275 B.C.; by allowing, as it seems, the money realised by the sale to be put to secular use it provides a suggestive clue to the financial motives that may have underlain the innovation.⁹ A text legislating for priestesses of Demeter (unfortunately only vaguely datable, on grounds of letter forms, to the 4th/3rd c. B.C.) mentions the change explicitly, specifying that worshippers are to retain a certain right (just as was prescribed before the priesthood became open for purchase; the older system is still visible in regulations governing the priesthoods of Zeus Polieus (360s B.C.?) and of Demeter Olympia (240s B.C.?) which specify not that they are to be offered for sale but, apparently, that they are to be filled from particular sub-divisions of the citizen body.¹⁰ Thereafter sale by auction¹¹ was the commonest though not, it seems, the invariable procedure, or not at least in the form of a sale (for life) to be described below; for dedications continue to be made by those who (have been priest, not (are priest), in a given cult, and we occasionally find also a mixed system whereby (lot and (sale) are mentioned in relation to the same priesthood (the lot presumably functioned as a means of making a final selection between candidates all prepared to meet the asking price). In the important tribal cult of Apollo and Heracles at Halasarna the two irregularities of fixed term tenure and a blend of lot and sale appear to have been combined, and that combination may have been the commonest alternative system to sale for life.¹²

⁸ See n. 16 below.

⁹ There is further important evidence from the mid third c. if CROWTHER's re-location of the long Hermes Enagonios text here is accepted (see n. 23 below).

¹⁰ LSCG 175.6–7; 156 A 17; 154 A 34–35. LSCG 175 was put at the end of the 4th c. by HERZOG, but in the view of CROWTHER is too unusual a hand to be dated confidently, and could come well down into the third. For the date of LSCG 156 see n. 13 below. Pasiás Thessalou appears both in LSCG 154 A 4 and in Chiron 28, 1998, 143 sqq. no. 24 A 63, dated by the editors 250–243. The silence of LSCG 154 about the sale of priesthoods does not provide a terminus post quem for the introduction of the practice; it merely shows that the priesthoods treated in that text were not sold.

¹¹ So M. P. J. DILLON, ZPE 124, 1999, 64, noting the use of expressions such as εὔρημα = «sum realised» in these texts (ED 216.9, cf. 178a (A) 9).

¹² For quondam priests see EV 67, 134 (Apollo), 178 (Muses); KFF 217 (Apollo), NS 450 (Rhea); PH 125 (Apollo Dalios, Zeus Polieus, Athena, 12 gods); for quondam priestesses EV 4 (Demeter), 226 (Apollo [Dalios] and Apollo Karneios), 240; for quondam priests of Apollo at Halasarna constituting a kind of college see AD 39, 1984, α 157 with plate 66a (ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, Επιγραφές απο την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα, N. E. 4). Blend of lot and sale: so PATON (PH p. 277), and most subsequent scholars, on LSCG 175; SOKOLOWSKI's view that the text treats two types of cult of Demeter, with sold and sortitive priesthoods respectively, is less attractive. Apollo at Halasarna: LSCG 173.91–94 gives use of lot, AD 39, 1984, α 157 with plate 66a (ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, Επιγραφές απο την αρχαία Αλάσαρνα, N. E. 4) fixed term tenure, and LSCG 172.5–6 gives purchase, if we refer «the purchaser» (masculine) here to the just mentioned priest of Apollo, as seems natural, and not to the priestess of Aphrodite (on this text cf. n. 29 below).

The texts concerning the priesthoods of Zeus Polieus (LSCG 156) and Demeter Olympia (LSCG 154) show some similarities to the familiar later type of *διαγραφή*, but lack that relation to a sale which is a defining characteristic of the latter. We must pause briefly over these precursors. Both treat in detail the rules of purity which, respectively, the priest of Zeus Polieus and the Twelve gods and a series of priestesses of Demeter are required to observe. The Demeter text is explicitly presented as a publication of all the material on this topic contained in earlier (ancestral sacred laws); it includes several rules that relate to the purity of the sanctuaries of Demeter as well as to the condition of her priestesses. The Zeus Polieus text LSCG 156 also prescribes the ritual by which the priest is to be consecrated, and apparently mentions briefly certain exemptions from public obligations which he is to receive. HERZOG believed that the Zeus Polieus rules formed part of a general fourth century codification arranged cult by cult;¹³ the same stone on the reverse treats aspects (though not relating specifically to the priesthood) of the cult of Apollo Dalios, and was supplemented by him to end with regulations applying to priests and priestesses in all public cults. The text in question may well have been inscribed by the same mason who cut an extensive month-by-month sacrificial calendar, itself a product in all probability of codification which may have been made necessary by the synoecism of 366.¹⁴ The somewhat later text concerning priestesses of Demeter contains instructions for the publication of certain further documents in a shrine of Artemis and in the Aphrodision: the corresponding regulations, it is natural to assume, for priestesses of Artemis and Aphrodite (LSCG 154 A 14–17). However all this may be – and we have evidence of some strength for two separate codifications, not for one only – it is evidently plausible that the later *διαγραφαί* of many individual cults had precursors of this type.

Of the topics of the older type of regulation, neither purity rules nor detailed prescriptions for the sacrifice of consecration occur in the later *διαγραφαί*. But the regulations for the priest of Nike specify that he is to keep pure from all those things from which it is prescribed that the other priests should keep pure.¹⁵ It seems to follow that old purity rules in principle retained their force even though not re-iterated on each occasion that a priesthood was re-advertised. And given that the actual practice of the sacrifice of consecration survived, old rules may have remained applicable here too even without repetition. Another topic briefly touched on in the Zeus Polieus regulations, that of exemption from liturgies, was by contrast of too much practical interest to potential purchasers not to be treated explicitly in each new *διαγραφή*.

It may be useful to list the most important *διαγραφαί* from Cos. Numerous similar documents survive from other communities within the priesthood-selling area of the Greek world,¹⁶ but the Coan dossier is now the largest and can for most purposes be

The persistence of other methods of assigning priesthoods alongside sale needs to be investigated more broadly, especially in relation to the new text from Heracleia under Latmos (n. 16 below): I note for instance a use of the lot at Priene in LSA 35.

¹³ HGK, 14. HERZOG ascribed the same origin to LSCG 157 and 176. SOKOLOWSKI'S 3rd c. dates for these texts are probably just a slip.

¹⁴ So S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, Göttingen 1978, 292 n. 18 (but 89 n. 45 is more cautious).

¹⁵ ED 89.12–14 (LSCG 163).

¹⁶ For bibliography see P. DEBORD, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine*, Leiden 1982, 336–37 notes 109–110, adding now M. WÖRLE, *Chiron* 20, 1990, 44–50. The texts (with the exclusion of material from Egypt, and from the high imperial period) are: LSA 1–5, from Chalcedon; 7 (? Cyzicus,

analysed as a self-contained unit. (HABICHT) after a date refers to the provisional date assigned to the relevant *monarchos* in the check-list mentioned in the preliminary note to this article. Failing other indication, the dates are those conjectured on the basis of letter forms by SEGRE, and are offered for broad orientation only.

Priesthood of	Monarchos	Date	Source
(a) Unknown god (? Asklepios)	Peisistratos	c. 275	no. 3 below
(b) Dionysos Thyllophoros, i	Charmidas	c. 225 (or c. 175) ¹⁷	ED 216
(c) Symmachidaï	Charmidas	c. 225 (or c. 175) ¹⁸	no. 2 below
(d) Asklepios, Hygieia and Epione	Ariston I	c. 205/4? (HABICHT) ¹⁹	ED 2
(e) Kyrbanthes		End of 3 rd c. B.C. ²⁰	ED 177
(f) Herakles Kallinikos, i		End of 3 rd c. B.C. ²¹	ED 238
(g) Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia, i	Theudoros I	Shortly after 198 B.C. ²²	ED 178
(h) Hermes Enagonios	Menoitios	c. 180/70 (HABICHT) ²³	ED 145

relating to several cults); 23 and 25 (Erythrae; 25 is a list of the city's priesthood sales, to which add now SEG 37, 921); 34 (Magnesia); 36–38 (Priene: cf. n. 1 above); 40 (Thebes at Mycale); 44, probably 45 and 46, 48, 49, 52 (all Miletus: 44 is a general rule for all bought priesthoods); 56 (Hyllarima: several priesthoods); 63?, 65?, 66 (all Mylasa); 71 (Casossus); 73 (Halicarnassus); LSCG 87 (Tomì); LSCG 120, LSS 77–78 (all Chios: cf. LSCG 119.15); LSS 47 (Andros, which speaks of dease); LSS 71 (Thasos: sale of <ponymy> in an association); ZPE 17, 1975, 106–109 no. 2 (with BE 1976 no. 572: Scëpsis); note too the unsuccessful proposal to sell the priesthood of Athena Latmia at Herakleia under Latmos, SEG 40, 956 II A, and the decision of Miletus (or Myus) to appoint a commission to draft a διαγραφή for the sale of the priesthood of Eumenes II, MDAI(I) 15, 1965, 96. L. ROBERT, BCH 58, 1933, 468 n. 1 = OMS I 456 mentions an ineditum from Samos (and one from Chios). LSA 44 is commonly assigned to c. 400 and taken as the first attestation of the practice.

¹⁷ See below on text no. 2.

¹⁸ See below on text no. 2.

¹⁹ But there is a second *monarchos* Ariston (TCal. 89), dated by HABICHT c. 175–150, and K. HÖGHAMMAR's arguments, MDAI(A) 111, 1996, 348–49, provide grounds for associating ED 2 rather with him.

²⁰ See the prosopographical argument of SEGRE ad loc.

²¹ So SEGRE, perhaps because of the appearance here of Teleutias Theodorou, as in ED 2 (item (d) in our list). But HÖGHAMMAR, MDAI(A) 111, 1996, 348–50, now argues strongly from letter-forms for associating ED 238 with the Teleutias Theodorou apparently active in the 3rd quarter of the second century, on whom see eadem, Sculpture and Society, Uppsala 1993, 96–98. Whether all references in Coan texts to Teleutias Theodorou concern the same man must remain uncertain.

²² Cf. C. HABICHT, ZPE 112, 1996, 88; and cf. K. HÖGHAMMAR, in: I. JENKINS – G. B. WAYWELL (eds.), Sculptors and Sculpture of Caria and the Dodecanese, London 1997, 132 n. 35; DILLON, ZPE 124, 1999, 77.

²³ But CROWTHER in a forthcoming study will identify the cutter with that of Syll.³ 398 (278 B.C.) and WELLES, RC 26–28 (242 B.C.).

Priesthood of	Monarchos	Date	Source
(i) Eumenes		2 nd c. B.C.	ED 182
(j) Adrasteia and Nemesis, i		2 nd c. B.C.	ED 144 (LSCG 160)
(k) Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia, ii		c. 125 B.C.?	no. 1 above
(l) Herakles Kallinikos, ii	Parmeniskos II	Late 2 nd /1 st c. B.C. ²⁴	ED 180
(m) Dionysos Thyllophoros, ii	N. . .	Late 2 nd /1 st c. B.C. ²⁵	LSCG 166
(n) Nike		Late 2 nd /1 st c. B.C. ²⁶	ED 89 (LSCG 163)
(o) Adrasteia and Nemesis, ii		c. 75 B.C. ²⁷	ED 62 (LSCG 161)
(p) Asklepios (and?)		1 st c. B.C.	no. 4 below
(q) Zeus Alseios		1 st c. B.C.	ED 215

The very fragmentary ED 85 is to be displayed in the Antigonion and almost certainly related to the cult of an Antigonos, probably Doston.²⁸ LSCG 172 apparently derives from a cult of Aphrodite (deme-cult?), sacrifices to whom it prescribes (even though several of these are to be performed by a priest of Apollo apparently from the important cult at Halasarna).²⁹ And it has long been suspected that Syll.³ 1000 is part of such a text (for a priest of Poseidon?), though the whole of it is taken up with a colossal development of just one of the topics (16) listed below.³⁰

Among the texts not associable with a particular priesthood the more substantial are ED 3 (references to the Aphrodision and a festival Dipanamia); 25 (sacrifice to Artemis); 32 (intact final resolution formula; reference to a δέκατον τῆς ἱερουσύνας);³¹ 58 (opening of a θησαυρός); 109 (prayer formulae); 236 (cross reference to the rules for Artemis Pergaia); 266 (joint priesthood of Asklepios and a Roman emperor?); LSCG 167 (right of priest to appoint ναυλόγος). A distinct but related text is LSCG 175, which begins 'Let the priestess serve Demeter on the following terms; it was mentioned earlier as attesting the transition to bought priesthoods from an earlier system. Though not itself a διαγραφαί of standard type it treats a standard topic of διαγραφαί, payments owed to the priestesses by certain categories of worshipper.

No two διαγραφαί are identical, but all are largely made up of a combination of some of the following elements (which, however, often appear in an order other than that in which they are here presented). Parallels from sale of priesthood texts from other cities

²⁴ See HABICHT, ZPE 112, 1996, 88.

²⁵ HERZOG, HGK, 42 favours the 1st c.: (after 150) (HABICHT).

²⁶ Dated to the 1st c. by SEGRE, but to the 2nd by the first editor (MAIURI, NS 441) and by SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, 132 n. 265.

²⁷ On Kleonikos Eukarou, named as purchaser in B, see HABICHT, ZPE 112, 1996, 88.

²⁸ Cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, 115.

²⁹ The role of the priest of Apollo is comparable to that of the many officials required to sacrifice to Hermes, and sometimes assigned money to do so, in ED 145. On this text cf. n. 12 above.

³⁰ See the introductory note to Syll.³ 1000.

³¹ Otherwise unattested in Cos, but cf. the ἐπόνιον of Erythrae (LSA 25, *passim*), the ἐπιδέκατον of Priene (LSA 37.36, 38 A 5) and Chalcedon (LSA 4.24–28, cf. 5.28); and see n. 39 below.

are also briefly listed. The reasons for which particular items occur in one *διαγραφά* but not another are often unclear, and we should allow the possibility that in their inscribed form the *διαγραφαί* are excerpts from fuller documents kept among the *δαμόσια γράμματα*.

- 1) Drafting committee: «[When X was *μόναρχος*], the following terms for the priesthood of X were drafted by: either two or three *συγγραφεῖς*, or five *προστάται* and secretary of the *βουλή*.
Only text d of those listed above combines *συγγραφεῖς* with *προστάται*. Otherwise texts of the third and second centuries have *συγγραφεῖς* (b, c, e, f, g, h), of the first *προστάται* (l, m?, q).
- 2) Pre-sale sacrifice and prayers: «Before selling the priesthood, let the *προστάται* sacrifice a victim worth not less than x drachmai (and pray as follows)» (d, k, l, p; ED 109; for allusions to the sacrifice note too topic 17 below).
Such a sacrifice is not mentioned in the non-Coan texts.
- 3) Instruction to sell: «Let the *πωληταί* sell the priesthood (in the month X/on the Yth of the month X)» (b, c, d, l, m?, o (B); PH 30, PH 32/ED 165).³²
- 4) Qualifications: «Let the priest/priestess be healthy and whole (*δλόκλαρος*)». (Almost universal).
Cf. LSA 5. LSA 73 demands that the priestess be a third generation citizen. In Cos, citizen blood was doubtless taken for granted,³³ being expressly required only for a *υφίεργεια* (ED 216 A 19). But it is significant that additional requirements such as that in LSA 5 *δλόκλαρος και ὄι δαμοσιοργίας μέτεστι* (right of holding office) are not found. The possibility of purchasing a priesthood to be held by a third party (LSA 5, 49 A, 52, 73) is not envisaged on Cos.
- 5) Age: «and not younger than X years» (b, over 12, but m, over 10; d, over 14; e, over 20; g, *τελέα*; i, figure lost; l [but not f], over 10; q, over 8; ED 109, over 10).
The minimum age apparently decreases with time. The unusually high minimum required for e, the *Kyrbanthes*, must relate to the special duties (and dangers?)³⁴ associated with that initiatory cult. Such specifications are virtually unknown outside Cos (though see LSA 49 A 6); but unwritten conventions may none the less have existed. It is noticeable, however, that neither on Cos nor elsewhere is any specification about the marital status of any priest or priestess ever found. In that regard, when priesthoods are offered for sale, anyone can, it seems, become a priest.
- 6) Term: «Let the priest/priestess serve for life» (b, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m).
No *διαγραφά* of which the relevant part survives lacks this specification except q (and ? c), where the omission is doubtless accidental. Cf. LSA 1, 2, 37, 38, 40, 73; LSCG 87; LSS 77; and, with fixed-term tenure, LSA 49, 52 (the term in this last case is 50 years).
- 7) Exemptions: «The purchaser of the priesthood shall be exempt from . . .» (a, c, e, f, h, i, l, q; ED 109; PH 32/ED 165).
For details of the exemptions see the notes on nos. 2 and 4 below. Cf. LSA 1, 5, 37, 38, 40, 56, 71; LSCG 120; LSS 77; ZPE 17, 1975, 106–109 no. 2. Such exemptions normally apply to men only,³⁵ but note *ἀτέλεια* for a priestess in LSCG 120. For similar exemptions attached to priesthoods not assigned by sale see LSA 11 and 13.

³² Less revealing are ED 15 (over-supplemented by SEGRE), 237, PH 31, 33. PH 32 may reveal that the selling authority changed from *πωληταί* to *στραταγοί* (but cf. ED 165).

³³ So WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 20, 1990, 47 n. 110.

³⁴ See e.g. H. WANKEL, *ZPE* 34, 1979, 79–80.

³⁵ Cf. R. VAN BREMEN, *The Limits of Participation*, Amsterdam 1996, 25.

- 8) Other privileges: «The priest shall make libations at the choral competitions and have a front seat like the other public priests» (e, h, l, q: a variant in a).
This topic is not found in relation to priestesses. Cf. LSA 1, 5, 37, 38 (and 13); LSCG 87; LSS 71; ZPE 17, 1975, 106–109 no. 2. The specific privilege of dining in the prytaneion is often mentioned (LSA 7 is believed to record a cash payment in lieu).
- 9) Requirements/privileges of dress: «At the competitions, he shall wear a purple/white tunic, an olive-leaf garland with a gold attachment [ἄφραμμα], and gold rings.» (l, n, q).
These rules only appear in the later διαγγραφαί for males. (n) requires the priest to wear the special symbols on all sacred occasion, and to wear white at all times. Cf. LSA 1, 5, 37, 38, 52, 66 (cf. 11, 13); LSCG 87; LSS 71; ZPE 17, 1975, 106–109 no. 2; A. CHANIOTIS, in: M. WÖRRLE – P. ZANKER (eds.), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Munich 1995, 158.
- 10) Duties in regard to sacrifice: «The priest/priestess shall lay the sacred portions on the altar for those who sacrifice.» (b, h).
e, ED 15 cf. ED 3 have been supplemented to contain a requirement that the priest «place the sacred portions on the table». For parallels in a broad sense – the particular character of the cult in question affects the choice of duties – see LSA 2, 23, 34, 36, 37, 38, 48, 49, 73 (both these last rather extensive); LSCG 87.
- 10a) Other duties:
The texts in general are surprisingly silent on this topic, but it appears in p and in the fragmentary ED 236 (1st c. B.C.): the priestess must open the temple at dawn, burn frankincense in the shrine, and light the altar fire. Outside Cos too the theme is rare, though see LSA 5.23–26 (and 13.23–25).
- 11) Payment details for the price of the priesthood and sanctions against non-payment: «The purchaser shall pay the purchase price in X instalments . . .» (b, g, j, k, m, o (B), q (B 21–23); ED 85).
Cf. LSA 4, 5, 37, 48 (over ten years!), 71; LSS 71.
- 12) Consecration of the priest: «Let the city initiate the priest/priestess» (details on the financing of this rite, and the possibility of contracting it out, may follow). (b, m, LSCG 167; allusions to the sacrifice also in e, j, l (33); ED 85?).
For parallels see on line 47 below.
- 13) Sacrificial perquisites to be received by the priest: «Of each animal sacrificed the priest/priestess shall receive the following parts» (b, e, h, k, m, n, o, p; ED 3, 109, 236: cf. LSCG 175).
A sum in money in addition to the payment in kind is sometimes specified; tariffs vary for different animals (in cash and in kind). A few διαγγραφαί require worshippers to make «table offerings» and may give the priest a right to a share in these (n, ED 236). The topic occurs in almost all the non-Coan texts (where differentials between public and private sacrifices, or those of citizens and strangers, are occasionally introduced: LSA 44, 46, 49; LSS 77; LSCG 120).
The role of cash in these rules leads to:
- 14) Management of the temple θησαυρός: «Let the θησαυρός be opened X times a year, and let half the contents go to temple funds and half to the priest/priestess.» (k, n, p, ED 58, cf. g: for variations see the note on lines 16 sqq., below).
Cf. LSA 4, 36, 73.
and to:
- 14a) Expenditure of surplus revenues: «Let money from the sale of the priesthood/ from the *thesauros* be spent on repairing/adorning the shrine [on secular building works, a] as follows/as the assembly shall decide» (d, g, k).

15) Other income and perks: «Let the priestess make collections in the month X» (ED 236, cf. g, LSCG 172); «the priest may exploit the *temenos*» (c, q, cf. k). Cf. LSA 5, 40, 59, 73 (also LSA 11 and 13).

16) Requirements on persons other than the priest or priestess to perform sacrifice in the shrine: «Sacrifice shall be performed by . . . » (g, h, j, k, l, n, o, q; ED 25; LSCG 172).

Such *θυόντω* rules will be discussed below. They are the most varied in content of all; an extreme case is h, where they extend for some 70 lines.

17) Publication, and various expenses: «Let the *διαγραφή* be inscribed on a stone and displayed in [the sanctuary of the relevant cult] and let the cost of the inscription, (of the presale sacrifice), and of the consecration be paid by the *tamiai*/by the purchaser (b, j, k, q; ED 85; LSCG 167)

18) Resolution formula: «Decided by the council and people, proposal of the *προσῆται*: the *διαγραφή* shall be accepted» (ED 32).

The other two *διαγραφαί* of which we have the end (b, q) both lack this formula. But the status of the *διαγραφή* as a draft presented to the assembly for ratification is not in doubt (cf. LSCG 155.8); and (b) in fact concludes with an amendment which was presumably proposed in the assembly.³⁶

19) Purchaser: «The priesthood was purchased by x for x drachmai».

On Cos, this motif occurs only in the late o (B 6–7). It is common elsewhere, the *διαγραφή* apparently being recorded on stone only after the sale has been made: LSA 3, 4, 5, 37, 38, 56; LSCG 87; LSS 71, 78, and cf. LSA 25. Much more could have been said about the political and social context of the sale of priesthoods on Cos³⁷ if it had been the local custom to record the name of the purchaser and the price he or she paid. The one purchaser known to us from a *διαγραφή*, Kleonikos son of Eukarpos, is likely to be identical with a Coan who served as trierarch in the fleet of M. Terentius Varro in 82 B.C.³⁸ The price he paid for the priesthood of Adrasteia and Nemesis, if the figure on the stone has been correctly interpreted, is 19,800 drachmai, doubtless to be understood as 18,000 drachmai + 10% tax; the highest sum realised at a sale outside Cos is 12,002 drachmai (+ 10% tax) for the priesthood of Dionysos Phleas at Priene.³⁹ We also know of an elderly lady in the second century who held the priesthoods of Asklepios, Hygieia and Epione (bought), Apollo Dalios and Lato (annual?), and of king Eumenes (bought).⁴⁰ For what they are worth, these two cases support or at least do not conflict with the view that buying a priesthood was something done by persons of standing in Coan society. That the typical purchaser envisaged was wealthy is clear from topic 7, exemptions from liturgies to which only the prosperous would have been exposed.

Such are the recurrent topic of the *διαγραφαί*.⁴¹ There are also occasional regulations specific to particular cults: the priestess of Dionysos Thyllophoros, for instance, is per-

³⁶ Cf. P. J. RHODES – D. M. LEWIS, *The Decrees of the Greek States*, Oxford 1997, 232.

³⁷ On this question in general see the works cited in n. 16, and a forthcoming study by B. DIGNAS.

³⁸ IG XII 8.260.5–6; cf. HABICHT, ZPE 112, 1996, 88.

³⁹ LSA 37.35–38; cf. DEBORD, *Aspects sociaux et économiques*, 67. HERZOG's interpretation of o (KFF, p. 44) is now supported by the evidence for such a 10% tax at Cos (n. 31 above).

⁴⁰ See HÖGHAMMAR, l.c. (n. 22) 175 no. 65 (SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 133 n. 266).

⁴¹ A fairly common motif absent from Cos is a ban on all attempts to remove the priesthood from the purchaser: LSA 3–5, 38 (cf. 13).

mitted to appoint sub-priestesses (of citizen birth), in association with whom she is to have a legally enforceable monopoly on the right of initiating to Dionysos Thylophoros (b, m; a priest is permitted to appoint a *νακόρος* in LSCG 167).⁴² The summary shows the *διαγραφαί* to be principally concerned with the duties and, especially, the privileges of priest or priestess, but broader issues of the management of the cult also sometimes appear (topic 14a). In a fragmentary portion of (g) it is apparently decided that proceeds from the sale of the priesthood are to be used for repairs to the earthquake-damaged Aphrodision; and a half share of the contents of the *θησαυρός* is set aside as a repairs fund (the other half to go to the priestess). (d) records a decision to make various objects for the shrine of Asklepios in order that the *demos* may display its concern to adorn the shrine in accord with the oracles that have been delivered and the epiphany of the god Exceptionally, in (a), money appears to be put aside for secular use.

As for *θυόντω* rules (topic 16), a main motive for them is doubtless to increase the priest's income by forcing particular classes of person to sacrifice in the shrine. But the long sections which regulate the sacrifices to be offered, from public funds, by various categories of official have also the function of determining the sums of public money to be assigned to particular cults. These sections may be introduced by expressions of a desire such as to 'increase the honour of the gods' or to cause a procession to be performed more splendidly (l, line 27; g, line 15; n, line 25). The long treatment of torch-races in the *διαγραφά* for the priest of Hermes Enagonios includes rules, not confined to financial matters, for a new 'torch-race for boys'. Here and perhaps elsewhere the city's *συγγραφεῖς* have taken the opportunity for a more general updating of existing practices and expansion of the religious culture of the island.⁴³

Θυόντω rules are, as far as we can tell, a Coan speciality, scarcely finding a parallel in texts regulating the sale of priesthoods from other cities before the imperial period.⁴⁴ Two types of rule are contained in them. On the one hand, various categories of office-holder are required to bring offerings, usually paid for from public funds, on specified occasions. The most extensive example is the *διαγραφά* for the priesthood of Hermes Enagonios (h), which lists the sacrifices to Hermes to be made by the *μόναρχος*, the *ἀγωνοθέτας*, the *λαμπάδαρχοι*, the *γυμνασίαρχος*, the *παιδονόμος*, the *στραταγοί* and the *παιδοτριβαί*. On the other hand, various classes of private individual – merchants, newly-married women, newly-freed slaves, various types of contractor – are required to make sacrifices, on specific occasions or at specific intervals (e.g. annually). Both types of rule often appear in the same text. The more remarkable is the second. As was noted above, the first is merely a special form of a standard type of Greek public decision-making, that concerning the sums to be spent on particular gods and cults.⁴⁵

⁴² In general, a comparative study of *διαγραφαί* brings out clearly, through the special rights or obligations of the priests and priestesses, the special character of cults such as those of the Corybantes, Sarapis and Dionysus (LSA 23, 34, 36, 48).

⁴³ Note too the relative abundance of detail in *διαγραφαί* for priesthoods in a new cult: LSA 49 and 73.

⁴⁴ LSA 49 (Miletus, c. 130 B.C.) requires certain office-holders to make sacrifice, but it is only much later that such an obligation is attested for *privati* (LSA 52, again Miletus). ROBERT supposed, however, that one must postulate similar rules in 3rd c. Erythrae to explain the high prices at which certain priesthoods were sold (BCH 58, 1933, 473 = OMS I 461 n. 3).

⁴⁵ Thus it can also be used in other contexts than that of the priesthood *διαγραφά*: ED 82.

The second is a way of increasing sacral revenue, as well as of giving emphasis to Coan religious institutions, by requiring individuals to make offerings willy-nilly. Piety becomes obligatory, and even (in principle) legally enforceable.⁴⁶ If Coan priesthoods really sold for much higher sums than those of other cities (but we have only one late and uncertain instance)⁴⁷ the explanation must in large part lie here.

The classes of person so constrained are the following:

(i) LSCG 172.11 (Halasarna, 3rd c., Aphrodite?): those who have rented the sacred gardens and baths.

(ii) g. a (A) 15–26 (Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia): brides, whether citizen, bastard, or metic; traders and shipowners who sail out of Cos. k (same cult): τοὶ στρατευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς μακραις ναυσίν (5–9); ἀπαρχαί are also due from τοὶ ἐλευθεροῦμενοι, fishermen and shipowners (25–29).

(iii) j. 1–9 (Adrasteia and Nemesis): persons listed by bankers and associated with banks in other ways;⁴⁸ persons being manumitted. o. 7–23 (same cult): as above, and also contractors for sacred or public works.

(iv) No. 6 below (Hermes Enagonios), lines 85ff: ἀπαρχά from τοὶ ἐργωνήσαντες (cf. iii above).

(v) l. 35–37 (Herakles Kallinikos): τοὶ ποτὶ τὸ πολίτευμα ποτιπορευόμενοι.

(vi) n. 1–2 (Nike): those who marry in the shrine.

(vii) A well-known text, Syll.³ 1000 (LSCG 168), requires a long list of categories to «sacrifice and pitch a tent (σκανοπαγεῖσθαι); in the first 16 surviving lines of the inscription the recipient is not specified, but from lines 16–34 Poseidon and Kos and Rhodes are in each case the beneficiaries. Among the 36 classes of person required to sacrifice, collectors of a wide range of taxes and other forms of revenue predominate (27 types), but there are also four or five types associated with warships in different functions, and practitioners of four sea-related professions.⁴⁹

(viii) The fragmentary ED 3 (B) 5 mentions «tax contractors» in what was doubtless a similar context.

(ix) No. 5 below imposes a similar requirement on ἐριοπῶλαι, -]τοπῶλαι, τραπεζίται and τοὶ κοσμε[-.

Can we find analogies and antecedents for such requirements? In many contexts of ancient life, there existed a strong social expectation that an individual would perform sacrifice (or some other ritual act). No girl would approach marriage, the sources often imply, without performing the προτέλεια;⁵⁰ and that is but one easy example out of many. A fourth century regulation from Cyrene hardens such social expectations into a rule, and imposes penalties on the woman who neglects certain rituals before marriage or during pregnancy. A law from Mycale of the same period prescribes the offerings that goatherds and shepherds are to bring to Hermes each year from the young of their herds and flocks; it transforms perhaps an occasional and voluntary practice into one

⁴⁶ See the note below on line 1, ἄ δὲ προῤῥις, of no. 1.

⁴⁷ See n. 39.

⁴⁸ Details uncertain: see R. BOGAERT, Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques, Leiden 1968, 212. The «persons listed» (ἀποδεικνύμενοι) may be clients of banks who have received loans from sacred funds.

⁴⁹ I summarise the convenient digest of W. A. L. VREEKEN, De lege quadam sacra Coorum, Groningen 1953, 5–6.

⁵⁰ See now DILLON, ZPE 124, 1999, 71–74. LSCG 175 attests fees payable on Cos itself in a cult of Demeter by ταῖ τελεῖμεναι and ταῖ ἐπινυμφεύμεναι (but perhaps only by those who chose to visit the shrine in connection with these events).

obligatory and fixed. A Rhodian text of the fifth century requires all those embarking on campaigns from Lindos to pay a sixtieth of their wages, to the soldiers' god Enyalios.⁵¹ The concern here to raise funds to support the cult is clear; but the persons required to pay are ones who might anyway have been expected to honour Enyalios from time to time. At Athens, formal «Let sacrifice be performed by . . .» rules appear to be unknown; but taxes in support of cults exist, and where evidence is available a connection can often be observed between the persons taxed and the divine beneficiary. Men of the sea support seaside cults at Sunion and Phaleron, while Apollo Lykeios probably profits from the cavalrymen who exercise in his gymnasium.⁵²

The new evidence relating to cults of Aphrodite makes it much easier to see the Coan institution as of the same type, an extension and formalization for revenue-raising purposes of conventional religious practices. Whereas in the long-known case of, say, Adrasteia and Nemesis the relation between goddesses and compulsory worshippers was, at best, unclear, new brides, traders, fishermen, and shipowners are among the traditional clientèle of Aphrodite, whom we now find them required to honour. It must now also seem significant that all the groups of persons who are forced by Syll.³ 1000 to make sacrifice to the other god of the sea, Poseidon, have some connection with boats or fish or the sea. Very appropriate too is the requirement that new young citizens honour Herakles Kallinikos. Doubtless not all the *θυόντω* rules can be explained without residue on these principles. As the system extended, its logic may have become blurred. But we need not now see it as wholly isolated from more familiar cult practices.

The joint cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia, and the relation of the new text to the earlier διαγραφή (ED 178) for this cult.

In the first published reference to our text HERZOG spoke of it as a «sacrificial regulation for Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia». Later it became for him the *διαγραφή* «for the priestess of Aphrodite Pontia».⁵³ A new *διαγραφή* for a priestess of Aphrodite, in which again both titles appear, was among the texts discovered by SEGRE in the 1930s (ED 178).⁵⁴ Fortunately it can be established beyond dispute that we are dealing not with two priesthoods, one of Pandamos and one of Pontia, but with two *διαγραφαί* from different dates relating to a single joint cult. The decisive evidence is that of our text. In line 36 it is specified that the chief magistrates of the state are to sacrifice, in connection with the sale of the priesthood, to Aphrodite Pandamos. Formally then it was her that our priestess served, exclusively or preeminently. But earlier portions of the text establish that the perquisites from sacrifices to Aphrodite Pontia also went to her. So one woman served both cults. The evidence of the *διαγραφή* published by SEGRE sits comfortably with this conclusion: the two titles of the goddess do indeed appear separately once each, but there is also an allusion to «the shrine of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia».

⁵¹ LSS 115 B 1–23; LSA 39; LSS 85.

⁵² IG I³ 8, 130, 138; cf. 133 (the Dioskouroi), and works cited in R. PARKER, *Athenian Religion*, Oxford 1996, 125 n. 15.

⁵³ AA 1903, 197; HGK, 39, 40, 50–51.

⁵⁴ Possibly the fragmentary ED 3 related to the same cult (cf. below on line 44, end).

With this textual evidence that of archaeology fits like the second half of an indenture. The shrine of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia has been identified, surely rightly, with what must have been the most impressive monument of the harbour area of hellenistic Cos.⁵⁵ On a podium of two and a half metres was built a rectangular quadriportico, closed to the outside, with dimensions of about 62 metres by (perhaps) 45. Within was an open space in which stood side by side a pair of identical temples, each of 14.5 by 9.5 metres; approach to them was through finely-wrought twin propylaea jutting out from the north wall of the quadriportico. The principal material of construction was marble. A dedication to Aphrodite was found close by,⁵⁶ to support what was anyway the very high probability that a shrine so positioned in a port belonged to the goddess. The remarkable architectural disposition confirms that she was worshipped here under a double aspect.

The sanctuary was dated to the first half of the second century by the excavators. But the *διαγραφή* published by SEGRE reveals that a «sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia» which contained «banqueting rooms» (*ἱστιάτορ-ια*)⁵⁷ and other «utilities» (*χρηστήρια*) underwent damage from the earthquake of, very probably, 198. These *ἱστιάτορ-ια* and *χρηστήρια* are perhaps to be identified with the «series of rooms» found within two sides of the portico surrounding the excavated sanctuary. If so, the date of construction should be moved back a little to the late third century. On the back of SEGRE's stele a list of financial contributions (to be cited below) attests further work in the precinct at about this time.⁵⁸

The *διαγραφή* published by SEGRE contains items 1 (drafting committee, l. 1–5), 3 (instruction to sell, l. 5–6), 4 (qualifications, l. 6–7), 6 (term, l. 7–8), 11 (payment details, l. 8–15), 16 (requirements to sacrifice, l. 15–31), and 14

⁵⁵ «Il grandioso santuario», as it is called by L. LAURENZI, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte antica*, ii, 796, s.v. *Coo*, with the plan on p. 795: the only publication is the «Relazione preliminare» by L. MORRICONE, *Bollettino d'Arte* 35, 1950, 66–69. See too now M. LIVADIOTTI – G. ROCCO (eds.), *La presenza italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948*, Catania 1996, 112–16, where a forthcoming study by F. SIRANO, in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale*, Atene 14–17 Maggio 1995, is also adduced (*non vidi*).

⁵⁶ G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Una bilingue greco-nabatea a Coo*, *Clara Rhodos* 9, 1938, 137–47 (with note by M. SEGRE, 147–48) = EV 259.

⁵⁷ Cf. the reference to a *ἱστιάτοριον* beside the shrine of Aphrodite in Lechaion, the port of Corinth (Plut. *Sept. Sap.* 146d).

⁵⁸ Whether τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον of LSCG 154 A 17 is ours or (as is perhaps more plausible) a predecessor must remain undecided. For further references see ED 3 B 7, Syll.³ 1000.13. ED 239 is a small fragment of a further decree apparently concerning the «temple of Aphrodite». It is perhaps not impossible that the contributions «for construction of the Aphrodision» listed in PH 387 (from about this period) relate to the central shrine, even though the contributors are all men (those in ED 178 B are all women) and even though it was found at Antimachia.

(*thesaurus* management, b, l. 9–20) from the list of topics given above (at which point it breaks off), and a general prescription, inserted between (6) and (11), that «other matters are to be as in the previous διαγραφαί» (a, l. 8). Between (16) and (14) occurs a special provision for repairs to be made to the shrine in consequence of «the earthquake» (a, l. 31–35). On the back of the stone is inscribed a list of women (divided into citizens, νόθαι and μέτοικοι) who «when Lykaonis daughter of Phanomachos was priestess made pledge for the completion of the precinct (περιβόλος) and the associated constructions for Aphrodite in accord with the decree». The «decree» here mentioned will not be identical with the διαγραφά, and the chronological relation of the texts on the two sides of the stone is not known. Four topics of the SEGRE διαγραφά appear also in ours. Life-tenure of the priesthood is, predictably, prescribed in both texts but payment details differ slightly (topics (6) and (11)). The θυόντω rules (topic (16)) display a broad resemblance but not identity; in particular, brides and magistrates, required to make sacrifice in the SEGRE text (with interesting associated detail), are absent from the new one, which imposes instead a tax on slaves acquiring their freedom (l. 25–27). The θησαυρός rules finally (topic (14)), though in general very similar, diverge in one particular which may allow a chronological deduction: in the new text but not in that of SEGRE, certain monies are to be deposited in the goddess' own account in the «public bank» (l. 18–20). General considerations about the development of «public banks» suggest that the goddess is more likely to have opened an account in the second century than to have closed one: the new text therefore is younger than SEGRE's (which apparently belongs a little after 198).

The content offers no other clues to the text's date, the one named individual, the *monarchos* Chairedamos, being unknown. Nor do orthography and dialect.⁵⁹ We are therefore thrown back on palaeography. HERZOG immediately noted the close resemblance between the script of our text and of Syll.³ 1000, and they can indeed very plausibly be ascribed to the same cutter.⁶⁰ But the date of Syll.³ 1000 is controversial.⁶¹ It has often been put, as by HERZOG, early in the second century, partly because it attests what was evidently a cult of some importance of Poseidon, Cos, and Rhodes. But, on the basis of palaeographical comparisons with dated texts from Priene and Miletus, SHERWIN-WHITE argues for a dating «between the last quarter of the second century B.C. and the first half of the first century B.C.». With the publication of

⁵⁹ Χειλίαις with ει in 24 and 34 is singular, not otherwise appearing in Cos before the Roman period; here it may be an Ionism. Iota added to the end of 3rd person plural imperatives, common in Coan inscriptions of the 1st c., does not appear – but is regular in our text's palaeographic twin Syll.³ 1000.

⁶⁰ AA 1903, 197. There is a good photo of a squeeze of Syll.³ 1000 at the back of VREEKEN, *De lege quadam sacra Coorum*.

⁶¹ For references see SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 230.

SEGRE's *Iscrizioni di Cos* much more material has become available for comparison, and C. V. CROWTHER in a forthcoming study has convincingly identified the same cutter as being responsible also for ED 180, a text probably to be dated in the last quarter of the second century or a little later.⁶² Our text should therefore fall in the same period.

Several *διαγραφαί* for the sale of a priesthood extend onto the reverse of the stele.⁶³ Our text begins with a connecting particle, contains numerous back references to things which have been 'prescribed above' (e.g. 7), and lacks almost all the topics (numbers 1–6 in our list above) which typically appear at the start of a *διαγραφή*. What we have must be the continuation of a text which began on the other side (see p. 415 sq.).

1–5 Sacrificial dues (topic 13).

1–2 This principle is repeated in fuller form in 29–32. The formula ἄ δὲ πρῶξις ἔστω . . καθάπερ ἐγ δίκας is extremely common in loan contracts from Egypt from about 170 B.C., and variants of it occur spasmodically earlier, in a slightly wider range of contexts, both in Egypt and elsewhere.⁶⁴ Originally it was an *Exekutivklausele*, which typically assured creditors a right of immediate action against defaulting debtors and their property without the need to secure a judgement against them in court; the much-discussed question whether it acquired a new meaning in Egypt after 170, where there were no *δικαστήρια*, need not concern here. There are other Coan instances. A deme that buries a dead member may exact the costs from his *κῆν καθάπερ ἐγ δίκας* (LSCG 154 B 31: mid 3rd c.). In the *διαγραφαί*, priests and priestesses too are empowered to uphold their claims in this way. Breaches of *θυόντων* rules (topic 16 above) attract fines thus enforceable in ED 62.15–16 and 178 (a) (A) 24–26. (But the unclear phrasing of ED 178 (a) (A) 15–26 allows the interpretation that the fine applies only to traders who fail to sacrifice, not also to

⁶² See HABICHT, ZPE 112, 1996, 88. Other broadly comparable though not identical hands are those of ED 82,144 and 236. HERZOG himself (notebooks) later assigned our text to the same author as ED 32 (dated II/I c. by SEGRE), which is in fact less similar than some just listed; and SEGRE compared ED 3 to Syll.³ 1000.

⁶³ See ED 2,145, 215, 216 and cf. e.g. LSCG 154.

⁶⁴ [Dem.] 35.12; P. Eleph. 1. 11–12; P. Hal. 1.115ff.; IG XII 7.67 B 46–48, 78–79; 69 A 13–15, B 40–41; 70.2–3 (cf. L. MIGEOTTE, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, Quebec – Paris 1984, nos. 49–50); perhaps IG II² 1241.37; and an important new instance from Colophon (early 3rd c. B.C.?), where redress against persons collecting taxes illegally is permitted *καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης δεδικασμένης ἀδ(ι)κ(ι)ου ἀφαιρέσεως* (R. ÉTIENNE – L. MIGEOTTE, BCH 122, 1998, 144–45 lines 42–45). For later non-Egyptian instances see I. Iasos 245.11, 246.28 (LSA 60 A 11, B 12); M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda*, Munich 1988, 12 line 83 (with 206–207). See A. KRÄNZLEIN, in: *Festschrift Max Kaser*, Munich 1976, 629–34 (with reference to earlier discussions).

brides.) So too may failure to pay sacrificial dues (ED 62.20–23), though ED 216 B 10–11 says only that the sacrifice is invalidated (possibly a penalty occurred in a lost portion of this text). Both kinds of offence are envisaged here.

The norm in sacred laws was to specify a priest's entitlements and not to raise the possibility that he or she might be denied them. Sometimes the only consequence of such a deprivation may have been an ἐνθυμιστόν, a ground for religious unease, in the worshipper's mind (LSA 72.5). But already in Miletus in the early 4th c. we find a penalty and a means of exacting it laid down (LSA 45); and a few other sacred laws speak, somewhat more vaguely, of fines or penalties or legal action in comparable circumstances.⁶⁵ The tough legal language of our document is unusual but not unexampled in a sacral context.

2–5 How could such a measure prevent disputes? The following lines (5–9) are apparently an example of the kind of choice that is being offered: over-abbreviated though the expression is (see on line 8)⁶⁶ the choice is doubtless essentially one between paying the priestess her perquisites in kind or in cash. Two kinds of dispute could perhaps have been defused by the 'cash option':

(a) the priestess claims that a particular victim is of less than the stipulated value, and that she should accordingly receive more than the traditional γέρα.

(b) the worshipper claims that the animal he or she has brought is far above the stipulated minimum value, and the priestess should accordingly receive less than the traditional γέρα.

Since the substitution in cash was to be at the discretion of ὁ θύων and not the priestess, the more relevant case is probably (b). The panhellenic norm was for priest or priestess to receive perquisites in kind,⁶⁷ occasionally supplemented by a small cash payment. The same principal normally applied in Cos, as the διαγραφαί show (topic 13 above). But a Coan decree concerning priestesses of Demeter (LSCG 175) contains the provision (10–12): ἡμεν δὲ καὶ τῶν γερῶν τῶν θυομένων ταῖς χρηζούσαις ἀποδόμεν τοῦ ἐτέλου ἡμιοβέλιον, τοῦ δὲ τελείου [ὀβολόν]. This should doubtless be translated⁶⁸ in lieu of *gera* from animals

⁶⁵ LSS 129.13–16 (Chios, 5th c.: a fine); LSS 115 B 1–23 (Cyrene, 4th c.: additional sacrifice as ζαμία – perhaps unenforceable); LSCG 107 (Ios, 2nd c.: ὑπόδικος ἔστω).

⁶⁶ Literally the choice that is offered in 5–9 is between making a sacrifice to the value of 30 dr. and paying 15 dr. to the priestess. But lines 1–5 show that performance of a sacrifice is envisaged in both cases.

⁶⁷ Instances are innumerable (see most recently B. LE GUEN-POLLET, in: R. ÉTIENNE – M.-TH. LE DINAHET [eds.], *L'Espace sacrificiel*, Paris 1991, 13–23), and exceptions are hard to find. The ἀπόμετρα and ἱερώσυνα of Attic texts are cash supplements, not cash substitutes. LSS 19.35–36 is a single instance, concerning a single sacrifice, of cash substitutes for γέρα. LSS 41.12–15 is formally a case (P. AMANDRY, BCH 63, 1939, 193–95), but it concerns the skin only, which private worshippers were commonly free to remove without payment.

⁶⁸ With DITTENBERGER, HILLER, and SOKOLOWSKI, for whom ταὶ χρηζούσαι are thus worshippers. PATON, ZIEHEN, and P. AMANDRY (BCH 63, 1939, 194) rather suppose that

sacrificed, it shall be permitted to those who wish to pay a half-obol for a young animal and an obol for a full-grown animal, strangely low though these sums are as a substitute for valuable meat and hides. (The same text has earlier allowed worshippers of Demeter to make a single payment of five obols in lieu of all the expenses connected with marriage and initiation.) Disputes over the value of γέρα were always a possibility, and the grounds for these occasional attempts to circumvent them escape us.

The substitution operated in our text (5–9) implies at first sight that a victim worth 30 drachmai would have yielded γέρα worth 15 drachmai. The commonest and perhaps the most valuable γέρα specified in the Coan διαγραφαί are «skin and (one) leg» (e.g. ED 145.12; 89.15). One would not have expected «skin and leg» alone to make up half the value of a victim, given JAMESON'S estimate that an oxhide might be worth only about a sixth of the value of an ox.⁶⁹ But perhaps ὁ θύων would only have opted to substitute a cash payment if his victim was worth much more than the 30 drachmai minimum (cf. note on ἱερεῖον, line 7).

4 ὧν ὄσιόν ἐστιν: for Coan instances of this common form of sacral language see e.g. [ἐν αἴ]ς ἀμέραις ὄσιόν ἐστι θύεν ED 89.3–4; ib. 62 (A) 6; 236.9.

4 καταβαλεῖν τῶν γερῶν: genitive of exchange, with a force that could have been conveyed by the preposition ἀντί: see KÜHNER-GERTH I, 378; SCHWYZER, GG ii, 127–28; and cf. in a similar context LSS 19.35–36 ἱερεῖ . . . σκέλος καὶ δέσματος . . . Δ|+| δραχμάς; also probably LSCG 175.10–11.

4 τὸ διατεταγμένον: It is not clear where this «specification» of the relevant sums occurred. If there is implicit back reference to a previous διαγραφά or clause, what is the current clause adding? On the other hand, the clauses that follow cover one, but only one, relevant case.

5–16 Requirements to sacrifice (topic 16) and more on sacrificial dues (topic 13).

5 τοὶ στρατεύομενοι ἐν ταῖς μακροῖς ναυσίν: «Long ships», in contrast to the rounder merchantmen, are men of war, as emerges for instance from the restrictions on use of them in the supposed terms of the Peace of Callias.⁷⁰ Coan fighting ships are attested in several other texts, even if there is never

licence is here being granted to ται χορήζουσαι among priestesses to sell parts of the victims. But the price is no less problematically low on this view, and a phrase of the form ἀποδόμεν τοῦ τελείου ὄβελόν can surely only be translated as «pay an obol for (or in the case of) a full-grown victim», not «sell a full-grown victim for an obol».

⁶⁹ In C. R. WHITTAKER (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1988, 107–112.

⁷⁰ ISOCR. 4.118, and often: see further C. TORR, *Ancient Ships*, Cambridge 1895, 22 n. 59; J. S. MORRISON – R. T. WILLIAMS, *Greek Oared Ships*, Cambridge 1968, 128.

any sign that they existed in great numbers: SEGRE, Riv. Fil. n.s. 11, 1933, 365 (ED 49); Syll.³ 567; Livy 37.11.12–13; ib. 22.2; IG XII 8.260.⁷¹ Though all these texts except the last relate to the period from c. 205–190 and to some extent reflect emergency conditions – the first records the construction ad hoc of «aphracts» «for defence of the shrines and city and territory» – the «oar-polishers» and «ship-beachers» also required to sacrifice in Syll.³ 1000 point, it has been observed, to a permanent naval establishment.⁷²

Dedications or decrees by οἱ (σ)στρατευσάμενοι on a warship are not uncommon in the hellenistic period. A Rhodian example from the period of the Mithridatic war provides a full list of τοὶ συστρατευσάμενοι in a particular warship, about 50 in number, divided up according to their various functions.⁷³ It emerges unambiguously that from τοὶ συστρατευσάμενοι were excluded those who numerically constituted easily the largest part of the crew, namely the oarsmen. A different term for «ship's company minus the oarsmen» was ὑπηρεσία,⁷⁴ and the στρατεύομενοι ἐν ταῖς μακροαῖς ναυσὶν of our inscription are evidently identical with the ὑπηρεταὶ τῶν μακρῶν ναῶν who are required to sacrifice to Poseidon and Kos and Rhodes in Syll.³ 1000. 31–32.⁷⁵

7 ἀφ' ἐκάστας σκανῆς: Pollux (1.89) in a discussion of the parts of a ship records ἐκεῖ που [at the stern] καὶ σκηνὴ ὀνομάζεται τὸ πηγνύμενον στρατηγῷ ἢ τριηράρχῳ, and papyri reveal the use of what could apparently be removable σκηναί on merchant vessels («state cabin» in LSJ s.v. σκηνὴ III. 2 is too grand): thus P. Cair. Zen. 1.59054, a list of items required εἰς τὸν κέρκουρον, mentions a σκηνὴ . . . πεντακλινικὴ (cf. PSI 5.533.1, P. Hibeh 38.7). But on warships such σκηναί are not attested in text or depiction in pre-Roman times: in the hellenistic period «the new floating platforms [i.e. giant warships] . . . never voluntarily spent a night on the water».⁷⁶ The reference must rather be to tent-sharing on land. The bond of συσκηναί is discussed by M. LAUNEY, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, Paris 1951, ii, 1002–4. IG XII 2.640 from Tenedos is a dedication made by Εὐνομος καὶ οἱ σύνσκαυοὶ Διοσκούροις; the priest by whom the text is dated is a Rhodian, and these were doubtless

⁷¹ Cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, 119–21; 131–32; 208–10.

⁷² So SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, 210. Note too the regular exemption from trierarchy in *diagraphai* for priesthoods, though this does not prove that triremes were equipped every year.

⁷³ SEGRE, Dedicata votiva dell'equipaggio di una nave rodia, Clara Rhodos 8, 1936, 227–44, where numerous comparable texts are mentioned.

⁷⁴ See J. S. MORRISON, JHS 104, 1984, 48–59; idem (with J. F. COATES), Greek and Roman Oared Warships, Oxford 1996, 349.

⁷⁵ The new LSJ has acknowledged the sense ὑπηρετέω = «serve as a member of a ὑπηρεσία» but not yet the corresponding use of ὑπηρετής, clear both in Syll.³ 1000 and in MORETTI, ISE 29.14.

⁷⁶ L. CASSON, Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World, Baltimore² 1995, 103; cf. 116, 147, 179–81.

Rhodian sailors. From Rhodes too are known four societies of *σύσκανοι*, of which two identify themselves explicitly as *σύσκανοι στρατευόμενοι* vel. sim. (IG XII, 1.101; Lindos II 292; 392b 16–17; AD 24, 1969, β 461). The *σκηνή* appears as a unit of organisation as well as of sociability in Arrian Anab. 4.21.10, where rations are distributed *κατὰ σκηνήν*, and particularly in SEG 1,378 from Samos, an honorary decree (c. 100 B.C.) issued by soldiers and dated by reference to a number of *σκηναρχοῦντες*. Our text appears to confirm that the *σκηνή* could be a recognised administrative sub-division of a hellenistic army.

7 *ἱερεῖον*: *ἱερεῖον* without further specification is typically a sheep, as STENDEL⁷⁷ established by citation of LSCG 88, a sacrificial tariff from Olbia which lists as possible victims *βοῦς*, *ἱερεῖον*, *αἶξ*. In other Coan laws sheep cost: 30 or 40 drachmai (Syll.³ 1000); 25+ or 30+ dr. (ED 215 (A) 27, 32); *ἱερεῖα* cost: anything in a range from 25+ to 60+ dr. (ED 145);⁷⁸ 30 dr. (ED 89.2 and no. 4 below); 50 dr. (ED 144.3); c. 55 dr. (Syll.³ 398.31 with 45–46); 100 dr. (ED 180.10–11: but cf. the reservation of 50 dr. *ἐς θυσίαν* in 28–31); 110 dr. (PH 35.4).⁷⁹ Contrast 20 dr. for *αἶξ* and 15 for *ἔριφος* in LSCG 172. For bovines see on line 36 below.

8 *ἢ καταβαλλόντω*: Literally the choice that is offered in 5–9 is between making a sacrifice to the value of 30 dr. and paying 15 dr. to the priestess (in lieu of perquisites). It may seem then that the option of not making a sacrifice at all is being offered, provided that the priestess receives a sum equivalent to the value of the perquisites she would have received had a sacrifice been made. The shrine would not lose by such an exchange, though perhaps the goddess would. We do indeed find an oscillation in the Coan *διαγραφαί* between requirements that a worshipper make a sacrifice and make an offering (*ἀπαρχά*) in cash.⁸⁰ But in lines 1–5 and LSCG 175.10–12 the ‘cash option’ is envisaged merely as an alternative to providing perquisites in kind, not to sacrificing; we should probably suppose the same here, despite the loose phrasing.

9 *ἐς τὸν θησαυρόν*: The *thesauros* mentioned here is already alluded to in the earlier *διαγραφή* (ED 178b (A) 12–19), which speaks of *thesauroi* in the

⁷⁷ Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer, Munich ³1920, 123.

⁷⁸ SEGREG’s transcription of the numerals in this text is flawed by repeated failure to recognize the symbol Γ^Δ (correctly read by HERZOG/HALLOF, and in fact usually clearly visible in the published photograph). In lines 24, 30, 47 and 50 substitute Γ^Δ Δ for ΔΔ, in line 45 Γ^Δ for Δ.

⁷⁹ 300 dr. by supplement in ED 16.2 is very uncertain. Too much of PH 34 (ED 82) is supplemented for the prices contained in it to be usable, even after they have been translated from the ‘Alexandrian drachmas’ (equivalent in weight to Attic) in which they appear to the normal domestic standard of Cos, which was the Rhodian (lighter than the Alexandrian/Attic by a ratio of c. 13:17).

⁸⁰ See on line 28 below, and the variations in the list of ‘requirements to sacrifice’ on p. 428 above.

plural as in line 16 of our text: one for each Aphrodite, we may assume. A *thesauros* in the sense envisaged is a kind of large permanent collecting box.⁸¹ It is a rectangular or cylindrical structure made from two carved stones, one superimposed on the other; the lower may be set in the ground. A slot in the top or side of the upper stone allows coins to be dropped into a central chamber. The coins are protected by the sheer weight of the upper stone or by an attached locking device or by both. All these features are illustrated by a fine recently-published specimen from Athens, of the fifth or early fourth century; it is among the earliest archaeological examples of the form and also provides one of the earliest instances of the word θησαυρός in the relevant sense.⁸² The inscription runs: θησαυρός ἀπαρχῆς ὁ / Ἀφροδίται Οὐρανίαι. / Προτέλεια γάμο
|. Already here as in our text ἀπαρχεσθαι has lost any strong association with the idea of ‘first fruits’ and means simply ‘make a payment to a god’. Here and in a further late 4th c. example from Cyprus,⁸³ as on Cos, the beneficiary is Aphrodite, but she had no exclusive claim on the use of *thesauroi*.⁸⁴ Several others are known from Cos alone. A third century decree records a decision of the assembly to establish a *thesauros*, with four keys, in the precinct of Asklepios, in which the treasurers can deposit certain revenues.⁸⁵ Here the *thesauros* has a rather different function from that of simple offertory box. (But different again, as has recently been argued, is the veritable safe deposit vault under temple B of the Asklepieion which had long been identified with the *thesauros* of the inscription.)⁸⁶ It or another *thesauros* re-appears in the later διαγραφά for the cult of Asklepios (no. 4 below). Further *thesauroi* are mentioned in the διαγραφά for the priesthood of Nike and in one for an unknown cult.⁸⁷

10–13 This clause generalizes the requirement introduced at the end of its predecessor: payments into the *thesauros* are to be made not just in the special circumstances just dealt with, but on the occasion of any sacrifice whatsoever. Each sacrificer has therefore to pay a cash sum, admittedly a small one, in addition to the γέρα or cash equivalent therefore, which go to the priest.

Such cult fees are a little studied and rather obscure subject.⁸⁸ In the earliest non-Attic cases they are associated with initiation or oracular consultation or

⁸¹ See the authoritative study of G. KAMINSKI, *Thesaurus*, JDAI 106, 1991, 63–181; for a new instance D. KNOEPFLER, AK 41, 1998, 101–116.

⁸² See the studies by K. TSAKOS and K. N. KAZAMIAKIS, *Horos* 8/9, 1990–91, 17–44 (SEG 41, 182).

⁸³ BCH 104, 1980, 259–66; ib. 106, 1982, 239–42; KAMINSKI, JDAI 106, 1991, 149–50.

⁸⁴ See the list of deities in KAMINSKI, JDAI 106, 1991, 121–22.

⁸⁵ LSCG 155.

⁸⁶ See KAMINSKI, JDAI 106, 1991, 133–46.

⁸⁷ ED 89.18; ED 58.

⁸⁸ See F. SOKOLOWSKI, *HThR* 47, 1954, 153–64.

incubation; and it is sometimes unclear whether priest or temple is the beneficiary. It was in such contexts that *πελανός*, originally an edible substance offered to the gods, acquired a new sense of ‘fee for oracular consultation’: the worshipper of Asklepios in Herondas (4.90–91) who is told to ‘put a *pelanos* in the snake’s hole’ is in fact being asked to put a coin in a collecting box with a curled snake on its lid.⁸⁹ But subsequently we find, if rather sporadically, worshippers being required to make payments simply on the occasion of bringing a sacrifice: so in Erythrae in the fourth century – not an entirely clear case, since the god concerned is Asklepios – in Olbia (cult unknown) and Halicarnassus (Artemis Pergaia) in the third, on Thasos (Theagenes) in the first, and in several Coan cults in the hellenistic period.⁹⁰ Normally the fee in these cases goes into a *thesauros* and so not directly to the priest.⁹¹ But a good proportion often returned to the functionary in the end (see on 16–19 below).⁹² In Attica, ‘priest’s dues’ (ἱερώσυνα) are already regularly listed in sacrificial calendars of the late 5th and early 4th c.

11–13 For similar differential scales see ED 216 B 2–8; ED 89.18–19; no. 3 below; LSA 73. 29–32; LSS 108. 9–12. Pig, present in ED 216, is predictably absent, as an animal banned in most cults of Aphrodite (Aristoph. Ach. 793, with commentaries ad loc.); but the birds so favoured by the goddess appear.⁹³

12 ἄτελείων: In LSCG 175. 10–12 from Cos we have ἀποδόμεν τοῦ μὲν ἐτέλου ἡμιοβέλιον, τοῦ δὲ τελείου [ὄβολόν], and the same opposition of ἱερείων τελείων and ἐτέλων appears in ED 216 (B) 4–5. *Ἐτελον has been associated with ἔταλον, yearling (?), and vitulus (see the references in ZIEHEN LGS 330 n. 1, and H. FRISK, Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1960, I, s.v. ἔταλον). But ἐτέλων is not compatible with the traces here.

13–16 The provision lacks obvious parallels. See too on καρπευέσθω, 44. Ἀπομίσθωσις is a new word, formed from the common Coan word ἀπομισθῶ, lease out, by analogy with μίσθωσις.

16–24 Management of the *thesauros* (topic 14)

16–20 Periodicity, month of opening, officials involved and division of proceeds are identical in the earlier Aphrodite διαγραφή, ED 178.b (A) 12–19.

⁸⁹ See R. HERZOG, ARW 10, 1907, 205–19, whose splendid interpretation is rightly accepted by I. CUNNINGHAM in his commentary on Herondas (Oxford 1971). On *πελανός* see P. AMANDRY, La mantique apollinienne à Delphes, Paris 1950, 86–103; in brief, KAMINSKI, JDAI 106, 1991, 71–72.

⁹⁰ LSA 24.17–20 (cf. LSA 22); LSCG 88.10–15; LSA 73.29–32; LSS 72.1–3; see too LSA 12; LSS 108. For the Coan instances see the note on lines 11–13.

⁹¹ But in LSA 24 and ED 216 (Dionysos Thylophoros on Cos) the priest is immediate recipient.

⁹² In LSA 73 it is possible that the priestess takes all.

⁹³ On Aphrodite and birds see V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE, L’Aphrodite grecque, Athènes – Liège 1994, 415–17; on sacrificial preferences among gods more generally J. N. BREMMER, in: S. SETTIS (ed.), I Greci I, Turin 1996, 250–53.

16 κλεικῶν: The Asklepieion *thesauros* too was shut by key (LSCG 155.15); on the locking devices used on *thesauroi* see KAMINSKI, l.c. (n. 81) 88, and K. N. ΚΑΖΑΜΙΑΚΙΣ, *Horos* 8/9, 1990–91, 29–44. Annual opening of *thesauroi* as here is frequently attested (LSA 73.32–33; LSCG 65.93; LSS 72.5–9) and was the practice at the Coan Asklepieion in the 1st c. B.C. (no. 4 below); in two other Coan cases we find intervals of six months (ED 58) and two years (ED 89.22–23). In all the Coan instances, the functionaries involved are προστάται along with priest/priestess (but at the Asklepieion they are afforded by one or two further groups of keyholders: see on 3.11–13). Thus the chief secular magistrates of the state, the προστάται, were intimately involved with temple finance.⁹⁴ The same 50/50 division is found in two other Coan instances where the destination of moneys withdrawn from the *thesauros* is revealed (ED 58; 89); in the Asklepios διαγραφά no. 4 below, the priest gets a third only.

19 δαμοσίαν τράπεζαν: «Public banks» are attested from the late third century (a doubtful precedent in late fourth-century Athens once excluded) to the first.⁹⁵ That of Miletus is the first to appear, in a text of c. 230, and the best documented. Structurally they imitate private banks, moneys being divided between individual λόγοι, accounts. But unlike private banks they hold moneys only of public bodies, not individuals. For the vocabulary used in our text see the parallels in LSJ s.v. ὑφίστημι B. IV. 2.b: ὑποστήσασθαι λόγον (transitive) means «open an account», and the account is then an «existing» one (ὑφεστηκώς). Here the accountholder is Aphrodite; elsewhere we find accounts «of the city», «of the treasurers» and (perhaps formally sub-divisions of e.g. a «city» account) special function accounts such as «wall-building» or «Eudemos foundation for the education of freeborn children».⁹⁶ The functions and character of these public banks are not wholly clear, and our text is unique in providing an illustration of a public bank taking over what had previously been a responsibility of a different body: in the earlier διαγραφά for the same cult, the goddess' share of the money taken from the *thesauroi* had gone to the *tamiai*, whereas here it is deposited in her account. We cannot, however, conclude that the role of public banks was to centralize the functions of receiving and disbursing public and sacred monies traditionally discharged by various boards of treasurers; for boards of *tamiai* continued to operate (they appear, for instance, later in our text, l. 38–39) and often collaborated with the banks, with monies passing

⁹⁴ See SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 202.

⁹⁵ See E. ZIEBARTH, *Hellenistische Banken*, *Zeitschrift f. Numismatik* 34, 1924, 36–50, which starts from our text; BOGAERT, l.c. (n. 48) 403–8 (who, however, on p. 211 and elsewhere, unfortunately conflates our text with LSCG 172). In accounting terms, the distinction between Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia is invisible: fines are payable simply to «Aphrodite».

⁹⁶ Milet. 3.147.15–16; 141.52; 145.13–16.

either way between the two.⁹⁷ The single clearest role of the banks is as administrators of funds earmarked for special purposes, and particularly of charitable endowments such as Eudemos' for the education of freeborn children.⁹⁸ The two Aphrodite *διαγραφαί* taken together reveal a long-standing wish to set aside funds *ἐς ἐπισκευὰν τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, and it may well have been for this purpose that the goddess acquired a separate account.

20 *λόγον χρηματιζόντω*: cf. *λό|γον χρημ[ατιζόντω* in a fragmentary unpublished *διαγραφή* and the marriage contracts (*χρηματισθεῖσαι εἰσωμοσίαι*) in ED 178a (A) 18s.⁹⁹

20 *τὰ δαμόσια γράμματα*: *τὰ δημόσια γράμματα* or a variant thereon is one of the commonest expressions for 'public archive': see e.g. the index to IG XII 7 s.v. *γράμμα* and that to Syll.³ s.v. *δημόσιος*, with G. KLAFENBACH, *Bemerkungen zum griechischen Urkundenwesen*, SB Berlin 1960, 6.1–25. In a recently published decree (C. V. CROWTHER, *Chiron* 29, 1999, 284–86 no. 8 e 10), the people of Chalcis urge the Coans to *καταχωρίσαι εἰς τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δημόσια γράμματα* a record of an honorary decree passed by Chalcis. Scope and systematisation of record-keeping doubtless varied from city to city; 'the term «archives» dignifies what were often haphazard mixtures of records on a variety of materials'.¹⁰⁰ For practice on Paros see W. LAMBRINUDAKIS – M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 283–368. In Cos we hear otherwise of *ψαφίσματα* and legal documents being fetched *ἐγ δαμοσίου* (Tit. Cal. 79.33–34; 43–44),¹⁰¹ and of a *χρεοφύλακιον* (ED 121.6), seat of *χρεοφύλακες* who, inter alia, witnessed adoptions (PH 368 VI 36–37; VII 40–41).

20–24 Money from the *θησαυρός* was similarly reserved in the earlier Aphrodite *διαγραφή*, ED 178b (A) 16–20.

22–24 For a similar 'entrenchment clause' in a Coan sacred law see LSCG 150 B 8–12.¹⁰² As usual, sanctions are threatened against anyone who either proposes or puts to the vote a motion which will overturn the preceding decision. But *ψαφίζεται* in the sense of 'propose' is a usage that has escaped the lexicographers and may be a regional peculiarity: it appears also on Cos c. 200 in the

⁹⁷ See, for instance, BOGAERT, l.c. (n. 48) 192 on Delos.

⁹⁸ Cf. BOGAERT, l.c. (n. 48) 262, on the Miletus bank: its principal function was *le placement des capitaux de fondation*.

⁹⁹ For *χρηματίζειν* in the context of composition and registration of legal instruments cf. A. WILHELM, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Vienna 1909, 291s.; M. WÖRRLE, in: J. BORCHARDT (ed.), *Myra*, Berlin 1975, 258–61.

¹⁰⁰ R. THOMAS, *Literacy and orality in ancient Greece*, Cambridge 1992, 143. S. GEORGOUDI has emphasised that it is anachronistic to think in terms of a single 'state archive' in Greek cities (*Manières d'archivage et archives de cités*, in: M. DETIENNE [ed.], *Les savoirs de l'écriture en Grèce ancienne*, Lille 1988, 221–47).

¹⁰¹ Cf. S. L. AGER, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337–90 B.C.*, Berkeley 1996, no. 21.

¹⁰² Cf. RHODES, *Decrees*, 16–17, 238.

honorary decree of Halasarna for Theocles (Syll.³ 569), who caused an exposed place to be fortified in a crisis, ψαφιζόμενος καὶ πορίσας εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα (8; cf. ψαφιζόμενος, 20, which is equivalent to γράφων, 39). There are further hellenistic instances from Mylasa (I. Mylasa 111.9; 114.17) and Bargylia (I. Iasos 613.6); the usage recurs in the imperial period at Mylasa, Stratonicea, Ephesus (very often), Miletus (for all this see L. ROBERT, *Monnaies grecques*, Geneva – Paris 1967, 53–55), Nysa (BCH 9, 1885, p. 127 line 3) and Magnesia (I. Magnesia 167.3).¹⁰³ From epigraphic texts outside this region, I have discovered only a single use of the active in this sense at Lebena in Crete (IC I. XVII.5.8). But there are clear instances in Plutarch (Per. 13.11; 20.2; 34.1), and more may lie undetected in literary texts. It was often found necessary specifically to forbid the diversion of sacred monies to non-sacred uses: see SEG 28, 103. 36–41; LSCG 45. 8–11; 65. 59–61; LSS 90. 119–126.

23 τῶν αἰτίων ἕκαστος: cf. [ἐάν] δὲ μὴ ἐπιτελέσωσιν τὰς θυσίας καὶ [τὸ δ]ε[ῖπνον] ὡς προέγεγραπται ἀποτεισάτω ἕκαστος τῶν αἰτίων τῷ ἀναθέντι τὸ διάφορον δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας (LSA 60. 1–7 [I. Iasos 245]) and the further parallels cited by L. ROBERT, BCH 57, 1933, 511 = OMS 1. 479 (to which can now be added ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ, *Επιγραφές ἀπο τὴν ἀρχαία Αλάσαρνα*, N.E. 5. 10–11); ED 237. 13–14, read by SEGRE as ἀπο[τε]ι[σάτ]ω ἕκαστος τῶν αἰτε- , should evidently be corrected to αἰτί[ων].

25–29 More requirements to sacrifice (topic 16).

25 τοὶ ἐλευθερούμενοι: The second century διαγραφή for the priest of Adrasteia and Nemesis (ED 144) similarly requires those undergoing manumission to make sacrifice in the shrine, and forbids the ταμίαι to grant them δέλοι or to record the ἀπολύτρωσις (so much is clear though precise supplements are uncertain) until the priest confirms that they have done so. In Lycurgan Athens freedmen and women were required to dedicate a φιάλη ἐξελυθηρικὴ, at the high price of 100 drachmai, to Athena; a similar expectation, of a 50 drachma dedication, is attested in the cult of Herakles Kynagidas in Macedonia from the third c. B.C.¹⁰⁴ These are perhaps the only strict parallels for the imposition of a religious requirement upon the manumitted.¹⁰⁵ CALDERINI sup-

¹⁰³ Note too ψηφίζομαι for ἐψηφίζομαι in WÖRRLE, l.c. (n. 64) 8 line 35 with p. 165; CHR. JONES, *Chiron* 29, 1999, 7.

¹⁰⁴ See D. M. LEWIS, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 208–37; ib. 37, 1968, 368–74; M. B. HATZOPoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macedoine*, Athens 1994, 102–5 (SEG 43, 379) and idem – L. GOUNAROPOULOU, *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας. Τεύχος Α΄. Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας*, Athens 1998, nos. 4; 31–33; T. RIZAKIS – I. TOURATSOGLOU, *Ἐπιγραφές Ἄνω Μακεδονίας*, Athens 1985, no. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Note, however, F. BÖMER, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom II*, Mainz 1960, 63, on IG IV I² 353–379. Note too that at Xanthos in Lycia a new cult of Basileus Kaunios and Arkesimas was part financed by a tax of 2 dr. levied on the manumitted: H. METZGER and others, *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, Paris 1979, 32 lines 18–20.

posed the *Adrasteia* and *Nemesis διαγραφή* to attest a form of «sacral manumission», the device whereby a measure of divine protection was sought for the ever precarious freedom of the manumitted by fictive dedication or fictive sale to a god. But such a hypothesis is not needed to explain the involvement of a god,¹⁰⁶ which could arise within what was none the less a civic manumission in various ways: the manumission could be proclaimed at a festival, or recorded in a sanctuary (as happened in neighbouring *Calymnos*),¹⁰⁷ or protected by a sacred fine.¹⁰⁸ Some such practice may have existed on *Cos*, but it is not necessary to assume even this. In *Thessaly*, at *Chaironeia* and elsewhere those undergoing manumission were charged what was in effect a registration fee, in the range of twenty to thirty-five drachmai.¹⁰⁹ The sacrifice to *Adrasteia* and *Nemesis* on *Cos* functioned as such a registration charge, since no attestation of manumission could be issued until it had been performed; and, though this is not stated, payment of our text's fee to *Aphrodite* may have been a further requirement. (It seems easier to assume that all *ἐλευθερούμενοι* were required both to sacrifice to *Adrasteia* and *Nemesis* and to bring payments to *Aphrodite* than that some were associated with the one cult, others with the other.)¹¹⁰ In effect then a registration fee retained elsewhere by the city was on *Cos* distributed to the benefit of a number of cults (more perhaps than the two we know of). On a minimum view *Adrasteia/Nemesis* and *Aphrodite* were involved with the manumissions only as recipients of the associated fee. Perhaps, however, we are dealing again here¹¹¹ with the hardening of a traditional practice into a rule. The association between ex-slaves and *Aphrodite* «of the whole people» could conceivably have had a particular propriety. But about grounds for a special relationship between *Adrasteia/Nemesis* and freedmen one can only guess.

28 τοὶ ἀλειεῖς: Syll.³ 1000 reveals one or two details of fishing on *Cos*: it mentions fishmongers (21), a tax on salted fish (15), and public and private

¹⁰⁶ So, rightly, BÖMER, l.c. 116–17, against A. CALDERINI, *La manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia*, Milan 1908, 106. Sacral manumission is essentially restricted to middle Greece, according to K.-D. ALBRECHT, *Rechtsprobleme in den Freilassungen der Böotier, Phoker, Dorier, Ost- und Westlokerer*, Paderborn 1978, 324; but for (much later) evidence from Macedonia and Phrygia see the works cited by A. CHANIOTIS, *Kernos* 12, 1999, 209, 278–79.

¹⁰⁷ See M. SEGRE, *Tituli Calymnii* (ASAA n.s. vi–vii, 1944–45), 169.

¹⁰⁸ See Bömer, l.c. 112–23.

¹⁰⁹ IG IX 2. 415 etc.; VII 3301–7 etc.; see further H. RÄDLÉ, *Untersuchungen zum griechischen Freilassungswesen*, diss. Munich 1968, 158–61. The Coan texts are rightly put in this context by SEGRE, *Tituli Calymnii*, 173.

¹¹⁰ Similarly, contractors owed obligations both to *Adrasteia* and *Nemesis* and to *Hermes Enagonios* (p. 428 above), and the crews of warships both to *Poseidon* and to *Aphrodite* (note on line 5 above).

¹¹¹ Cf. p. 429.

look outs» (σκοπαί 10, 11, 18), used to watch for large fish, tunny above all.¹¹² Tunny-fishing was boat- and labour-intensive (T. W. GALLANT, *A fisherman's tale*, Ghent 1985, 23). We should also remember «Coan purple», a sea product (SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 242). GALLANT argues that in the ancient Mediterranean one could not live by fishing, which must rather have been a supplementary source of income for farmers. But the literary stereotype of the «poor fisherman», along with texts such as ours,¹¹³ suggests that some persons saw it as their prime activity. Aphrodite has no specific association with fishing: the fishermen's dedications in Anth. Pal. 6 are addressed to other powers.¹¹⁴ But she has a general concern for all users of the sea.

28 τοὶ ναύκλαροι τοὶ πλέοντες περὶ τὰν χώραν: In the earlier Aphrodite *διαγραφά*, τοὶ ἔμποροι καὶ τοὶ ναύκλαροι τοὶ ὀρμώμενοι ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος are required to make sacrifice (not, as here, a cash payment) to the goddess (ED 178 a (A) 23–24). Ναύκληροι were already obliged to make contributions to the cults of gods associated with the sea (the Anakes, Delian Apollo (?), Poseidon (?)) in Athens in the fifth century,¹¹⁵ while a «customs-law» from Caunus in Caria of the 1st c. A.D. grants exemption from levies exacted Ἀφροδείτης ὄνομαι.¹¹⁶

The relation of Aphrodite to sea-traders is already implicit in the prominence of the Aphrodision at Naucratis. To later texts illustrating the relation such as SEG 28, 838 (Halicarnassus), Plut. Qu. Gr. 54, 303c–d (= FGrH 545 F 4) and Anth. Pal. 9.601¹¹⁷ has recently been added the grave monument set up by a Δοῦμος Ἀφροδείτης Ἐπιτευξίδας («of commercial success»?) for a dead man who to judge from the relief was a helmsman (Thessaloniki, 1st c. A.D.).¹¹⁸

In the earlier *διαγραφά*, where the ναύκλαροι are associated, as so often, with ἔμποροι, they are defined as τοὶ ὀρμώμενοι ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος; in this they are rather τοὶ πλέοντες περὶ τὰν χώραν. The former expression is straightforward, the activities of Coan traders being well attested; note in particular Ziaelas of Bithynia's letter to the Coans of 242 B.C., in which he promises to protect those of their «seafaring citizens» who enter his territory.¹¹⁹ The force of the

¹¹² See VREEKEN, *De lege quadam sacra Coorum*, 70–73; and on Coan fishing R. I. CURTIS, *Garum and Salsamenta*, Leiden 1991, 129–30.

¹¹³ Cf. N. PURCELL, *Eating fish*, in: J. WILKINS – D. HARVEY – M. DOBSON (eds.), *Food in Antiquity*, Exeter 1995, 132–49.

¹¹⁴ See the note on Leonidas LII lines 7f. (AP 6.4) in: A. S. F. GOW – D. L. PAGE, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965.

¹¹⁵ See n. 52 above.

¹¹⁶ SEG 14, 639 c 6, 15, e 10: cf. J. VÉLISSAROPOULOS, *Les nauclères grecs*, Geneva – Paris 1980, 223–29.

¹¹⁷ See D. L. PAGE, *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981, pp. 385–86; cf. ib. 51, 317 on Aphrodite the guardian of seafarers.

¹¹⁸ See E. VOUTIRAS, ZPE 90, 1992, 87–96 (SEG 42, 625).

¹¹⁹ RIGSBY, *Asylia*, no. 11 (RC 25; Syll.³ 456); see in general SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 229–45.

latter is much harder to catch. N. PURCELL suggests to me that we should think in terms of short-haul trading, *cabotage*, around the Coan territory, i.e. the island itself with its several landing points and its dependency Calymnos.¹²⁰ The suggestion is attractive, particularly if we allow that the many boatowners who must also have plied the short distance to the mainland could have fallen loosely under the same description. But it is puzzling that, here as not before, a definition should have been chosen that would exempt the longer distance trader.

29–35 Sanctions.

A slightly expanded repetition of the sanction against worshippers in 1–2 is followed by one against the priestess. No other *διαγραφή* for the sale of a priesthood, on Cos or elsewhere, appears to contain such a threat of punishment against the purchaser, except in the event of non-payment of the purchase price. But sacred laws which define a sacrificial tariff occasionally stipulate that a priest who transgresses it is to be fined (LSS 113) or prosecuted (LSCG 107.2–5) or stripped of office (LSA 59.6–7).¹²¹

35–37 The sacrifice ἐπὶ τῷ πρῶσει (topic 2).

For other instructions to perform it see ED 2 (A) 8–10; 85.11; 109.1–8; 180.9–14; LSCG 167.1–3; and for the financing of it ED 85.11; 215 (b) 17–19. It took place a little before the sale of the priesthood (ED 180.9–10).¹²² Expensive victims¹²³ were offered to the deity whom the priest or priestess was to serve by the chief magistrates of the state; the sacrifice was performed *for the health of male and female citizens and of those residing in the city* (ED 180.9–12, cf. 109.1–3), and could be accompanied by the invocation of blessings on good citizens and corresponding curses (ED 109.3–9). How many citizens might attend these preeminently civic occasions is not indicated; there was enough meat available to feed a good number. One might have expected sacrifices to be made both to Aphrodite Pandamos and to Aphrodite Pontia, just as it was to *each of the gods*, i.e. probably to Herakles Kallinikos *by the harbour* and *by the market*, in ED 180.8–10. But on the public occasion the civic aspect of the goddess prevailed.

36 δάμαλιν ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑξακοσιῶν: It is at first sight amazing that a

¹²⁰ On *cabotage* see F. BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris ²1966, I 94–98 (103–8 in the English. tr. by S. REYNOLDS, London 1972); P. HORDEN – N. PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea*, Oxford 2000, 140–42, 565.

¹²¹ Note too LSCG 156 B 29ff., which as very generously restored by HERZOG threatens unchaste priests with deprivation of office. For sanctions against priests for other offences see LSCG 48 A 9–12; 66.7–10.

¹²² Ἐπὶ in ἐπὶ τῷ πρῶσει is relational, not temporal.

¹²³ With the 600 drachmai spent here cf. the 200 of ED 180.9–12 and the 300 of LSCG 167.3.

young cow should cost twenty times as much as a mature sheep (30 dr., line 7 above). For Attica, M. H. JAMESON speaks of «the 1:13 ratio of sheep/goats to cattle, in contrast to the usual 1:5», as evidence of a «distortion of normal price relations» in the exceptional drought conditions of 329/28.¹²⁴ One might wonder whether different animal husbandry practices made bovines so much more expensive vis-à-vis sheep and goats in Cos than in Attica. But even by Coan standards this heifer is exceptionally expensive, a choice victim for a special occasion. Other prices for bovines in Cos are: 50+ dr. for a δάμαλις κριτά (LSCG 151 B 5–6: 4th c.); 400 dr. for a βοῦς χρυσόκερος (Syll.³ 398.24 with 44–45); 500+ and 300+ for a βοῦς (ED 215. 27, 35), in a text where a sheep costs 25+ dr. (32) and a pig 100+ (28–32). Our text's price for a sheep, by contrast, is at the bottom end of the Coan range (see on line 7 above). Why is the heifer so expensive? Husbandry manuals from the 16th and 17th c. recommend that the cow should not «take the bull» before the age of three or even four, and reports from African pastoral societies most commonly present 3¹/₂ or 4 as the typical age for first calving (though 2 or 2¹/₂ are also mentioned occasionally).¹²⁵ An animal kept so long and then slaughtered before calving or milking would represent a considerable waste of «investment capital» and might reasonably have cost no less than a βοῦς. About the potential age of a sacrificial δάμαλις (rather a rare victim outside Cos) we have no evidence other than LSS 96.7–9, which is plausibly supplemented to require an animal more than a year old.¹²⁶ That allows the possibility that the Coans were envisaging, say, a three-year old.

37–39 Publication and expenses (topic 17).

ED 144.14–15 should now be supplemented by analogy with our text, not as in SEGRE.

38 προτελεσάντω: The verb normally indicates the payment of a sum which will be recouped in some way (see e.g. Xen. Vect. 3.9, 10). In other *diagraphai* these expenses are eventually repaid by the purchaser (ED 215 (B) 16–23; 216 (B) 15–18), and that must be the implication here too; similarly

¹²⁴ Sacrifice and animal husbandry in classical Greece, in: C. R. WHITTAKER (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1988, 110. I am most grateful to Professor JAMESON (and his correspondents S. PAYNE and S. DAVIS) for advice on what follows.

¹²⁵ For four see Sir A. FITZHERBERT, *The boke of husbandry*, London 1534, in the edition of W. W. SKEAT (London 1882), 139–40 (this passage was added to FITZHERBERT, who says nothing relevant, in a later edition (1598) by I. R., identified by SKEAT as JAMES ROBERTS); for three L. MASCAL, *The Countryman's Jewel: or, the Government of Cattel*, London 1680, 199–200. *Pastoralists*: G. DAHL – A. HJORT, *Having Herds*, Stockholm 1976, 33–35.

¹²⁶ For δάμαλις as a favoured victim on Cos see ED 25 B 6–12; 82. 25; LSCG 151 B 5–6, 22, 26–27; 159. 9.

apparently with προδιαγράφω in LSCG 167.1–3.

39–40 Term (topic 6).

40–43 Payment details (topic 11).

43–45 Perks (topic 15).

43 εὐσεβῶς διακείμενος: Such praise by a demos of its own piety is a cliché of hellenistic decrees, already abundantly attested, for instance, in responses to the Magnesians' request of 208 for *asyllia* for the shrine of Artemis Leukophryene (K. RIGSBY, *Asyllia*, Berkeley 1996, nos. 96.24; 98.12; 107.25–26; etc.).

44 The χρηστήρια¹²⁷ of our text appear also, associated with ἰστιάτορα, in ED 178 (a) (A) 34,¹²⁸ where they have suffered earthquake damage; they are evidently (cf. the verb κατεσκευάζω) buildings of some kind. If they are dining-rooms or kitchens, the priestess presumably «exploited» them (καρπεύομαι: topic 15 above; cf. no. 2 line 9 below) by charging a fee for their use. Syll.³ 1000. 13 requires sacrifice from ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ὄντων τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου, the purchaser of the right of collecting revenues deriving from the Aphrodision. The fragmentary διαγραφά ED 3 (B) 5–7 apparently treats the same topic, and speaks of payments to «the priestess». Was management of these buildings sometimes contracted out? (It seems less likely that the sacrificial revenues mentioned in 14 as leasable could be indicated by this phrase.)

45–50 Publication and expenses (topic 17).

47 τελέσαι τὰν ἱερείαν: All purchasers of priesthoods on Cos appear to have undergone a rite of consecration (topic 12), but the διαγραφαί usually mention it, as here, only in connection with the administrative issues that it raises. Formally the priest or priestess is initiated by «the city» (ED 216 (A) 15–16/LSCG 166.20), even if performance of the ritual is normally contracted out (*ibid.*, also in our text, and often). For details of how to perform a consecration the Coans perhaps had to turn back to the ritual codes of the 4th and 3rd c. (p. 420 above). LSCG 156 A 17–18 was plausibly supplemented by HERZOG τοῖσ[δε τε]λέξεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τ[οῦ] Ζηνὸς τοῦ Πολιέως καὶ τῶν Θεῶν τῶν Δωδέκα (and cf. [τέλε]στρα, 25–26). The priest was purified with a piglet, and then sacrificed a bovine to Zeus and a sheep to Athena; there follows, apparently, a long account of division of meat at an ensuing banquet. Thus in the old text (incomplete however at the end) consecration seems to have been accomplished primarily by sacrifice. The rules for the priestesses of Demeter seem to have been similar (LSCG 154 A 31–35).¹²⁹ The διαγραφαί too sometimes mention sacrifice, if in a way that might have suggested that it accompanied conse-

¹²⁷ The term has recently been studied with all necessary references by M. C. HELLMANN, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque*, Paris 1992, 436.

¹²⁸ Cf. n. 57 above.

¹²⁹ Consecration by sacrifice also in an obscure context, LSCG 154 B 6.

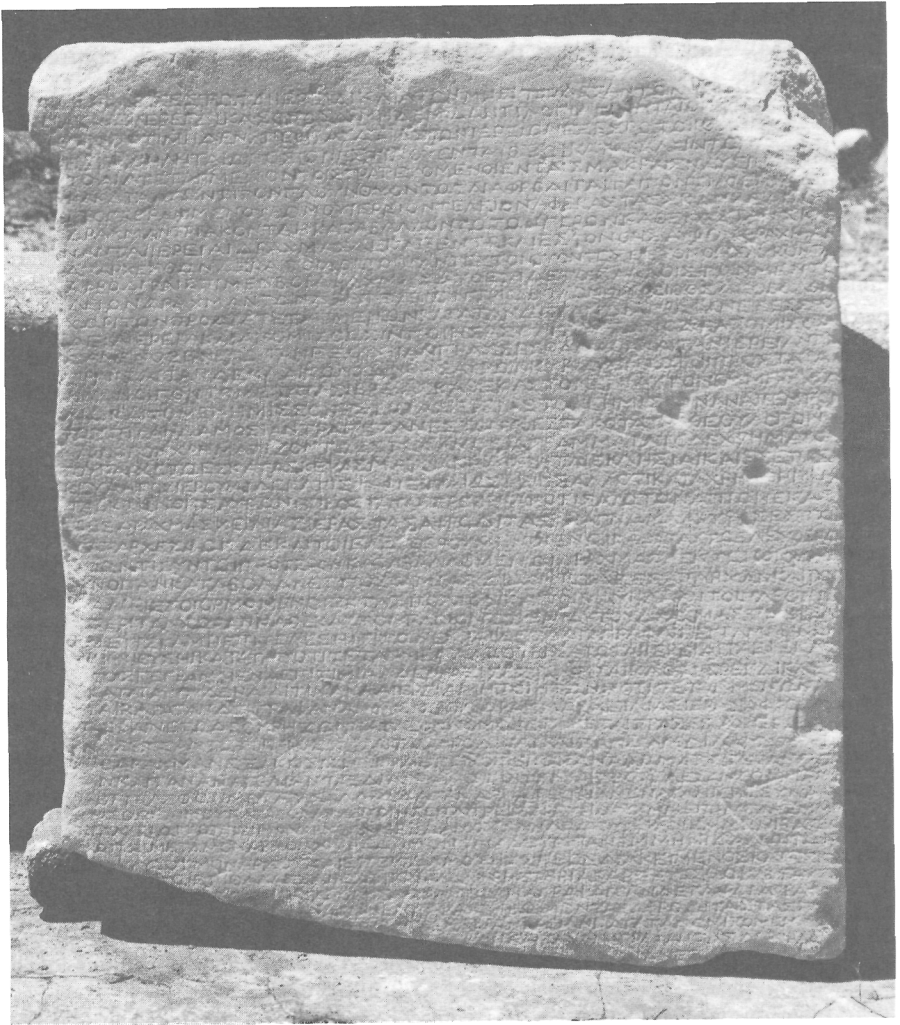
cration but did not constitute it (cf. ED 177. 11 ἱερείου ἐπὶ τῷ τελετῷ, and 180. 32–34). And sacrifice was the ritual that was most commonly contracted out (see JHS 116, 1996, 222), as the consecration came to be. But in the period of the διαγραφαί it seems to have been the θῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ πράσει rather than the τελετῷ that required elaborate victims. If the θῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ πράσει was instituted at the same time as the sale of priesthoods, some features originally associated with the consecration may possibly have been transferred to it. Non Coan evidence for the consecration of priests is sparse.¹³⁰ In Miletus they were initiated to Zeus Telesourgos, i.e. ‘Zeus the initiator’, by what means we do not know, before taking up the service of their own individual gods (LSA 49 A 12; 52 A 13–14). In Chalcedon the *basileus* ἀνατίθησι the aspirant, a process involving expense (LSA 3. 12; 5. 21–23); DITTENBERGER compared the practice of ἐνθρονισμός and suggested that the candidate was ‘put up’ on to a sacred chair, but more probably the verb just means ‘consecrates’ without reference to a specific ritual act.¹³¹ A word read as κα[τεσ]πέισθη apparently means ‘consecrated’ in OGIS 331. 21 (WELLES, RC 65. 16), with reference to a priest of Dionysus in Pergamum. No standard practice is revealed.

48–50 These lines apparently repeat 37–39, with the single addition of a payment provision concerning the priestess’ consecration; the resultant combination is closely paralleled in ED 215 B 16–21.

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¹³⁰ Further unrevealing allusions: LSCG 103 B 16–17, from Minoia on Amorgos (the priestess is to provide her own τέλεστρον); LSA 79. 10 (Pednelissos).

¹³¹ Note on Syll.³ 1011; but see K. LATTE, ZEYΣ ΤΕΛΕΣΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ, *Philologus* 85, 1930, 225–27 = *Kleine Schriften*, 1968, 122–23.



Koan diagraph for the sale of the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandemos and Pontia



Dedication by C. Stertinius Xenophon inscribed on the original front face of the diagraphē for the sale of the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandemos and Pontia

