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Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» VII.
Sales of Priesthoods on Cos II*

2 Priesthood «of the Symmachidai»

Unpublished (Inv. N 66). Fragment of a stele of white marble, broken at the bottom. Fig. 1. Height 29.5 cms., width 40, thickness 7. Decorated at the top with a cymation. Height of letters 1 to 1.3 cms., line interval 0.8. Copied by HERZOG in 1900, when it was built into the wall of the house in Cos town owned by Giannis Myros. Mentioned in HERZOG, HGK 43, 49. Lines 1–5 were cited by G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, ASAA n.s. 25/26, 1963–64, 173 n. 124. Edited here from HERZOG's transcript and squeeze.

Ἐπὶ μονάρχου Χαομίδα, μ[η]νός Πετ[αγ]ε[ι]-
 τνύου ἐκκαιδεκάται, τάδε συνέ[γ]ρα-
 ψαν περὶ τᾶς ἱερωσύνας τῶν Σ[υ]μμ[α]-
 χιδᾶν τοὶ αἰρεθέντες ἄνδρες Νιχ[ά]ν[ω]ρ
 5 Ἀγησία, Σιμίαις Φαινο[κ]ρίτου· τοὶ πωλ[η]ταὶ
 ἀποδόσ[θ]ων τὰν ἱερωσ[ύ]ν[α]ν· ὁ δὲ πριά-
 μενος ἀ[λ]εϊτούργητος ἔστω πάσας λει-
 τουργίας πλὴν τριηραρχίας [κ]αὶ λαμ-
 παδαρχίας· κ[α]ρπεύετω δὲ καὶ τὸ τέ-
 10 [μενο]ς κ[α]ὶ ἰ. 9 τ]ὸ ἐν τοῖς κ. ---

3 Σ[υ]μμ[α]χιδᾶν: Nothing is visible of the second letter except what may be the foot of a vertical, centrally positioned, and what might be the end of the left branch of Y. The space is too large for I. 5 Φαινο[κ]ρίτου HERZOG, Φανοκρίτου PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, perhaps a mere lapsus. All that is visible is the top of a vertical which could belong either to I or N; but measurement of the space suggests that more than one letter stood between A and O. 10 [τὸ οἶγμα ? τ]ὸ ἐν τοῖς κ[άποισ?] HERZOG.

* For Part I see Chiron 30, 2000, 415–449. We owe especial thanks to Dr. C. V. CROWTHER for undertaking autopsy of nos. 3 and 4, to the Ephor Dr. I. PAPACHRISTODOULOU for the grant of a study permit, and for other assistance, to CROWTHER, and to the Coan epimelete Dr. D. BOSNAKIS for generous help to CROWTHER on Cos.

Translation

The men elected, Nikanor, son of Agesias, Simias, son of Phainokritos drew up the following regulations concerning the priesthood of the Symmachidai.

The *poletai* shall sell the priesthood. The purchaser shall be exempt from all liturgies except trierarchy and lampdarchy. He shall enjoy the proceeds of the temenos and (the building? in the gardens?).

Commentary

We have here items 1, 3, 7 and 15 (cf. Chiron 30, 2000, 424–426) from a διαγραφή for a priesthood. For the date see below on line 1. The main interest and problem of the text lies in the identity of the otherwise unattested Συμμαχίδαί. In other Coan διαγραφαί, as in normal Greek usage, a <priesthood of X> is a priesthood serving the deity X. By this criterion the Symmachidai should be gods or heroes, not a human group. Yet they do not sound much like deities. (Symmachides would be easier – cf. e.g. Leukippides, Hyakinthides, Koronides – but that in Coan would have required the feminine article τῶν). Groups of patronymic name form who receive cult, such as Aiakidai and Herakleidai, are not very common, and no trace survives of a hero Symmachos whose descendants might have been so worshipped. Numerous human groups of patronymic name formation, by contrast, are attested on Cos,¹ and we know of two priesthoods that were attached to such groups in the fourth century: the priesthood of Zeus Polieus to the Hippidiadai, that of Demeter Olympia to the Pollondai.² Symmachos is several times attested on Cos as a personal name. The Symmachidai are presumably a gentilician group of similar type, by whose name, rather than that of the god, a particular cult had for now unrecoverable reasons come to be known. Any special relation that the Symmachidai may once have had with the cult³ must largely have vanished by the date of our text. What is here offered for sale is priesthood in a public cult (since the purchaser receives exemption from civic duties), and any Coan can apparently seek to buy it.

1 ED 216, the first διαγραφή for the priesthood of Dionysos Thylophoros, was passed under the same μόναρχος. ED 216 belongs, on firm prosopographic grounds, about a generation before or after PH 10 and 44, of c. 200 B.C., and contains a successful amendment proposing that a special fund be established so that the shrine of Antigonos may receive maintenance/repair

¹ See HERZOG, HGK 43, where the Symmachidai are included.

² LSCG 156 A 17; 154 A 34–35. Note too the association of the Amphiareidai with a priesthood of Apollo in LSCG 156 B 20–21.

(ἐπισκευά) and all honour. Antigonos is a dead Macedonian king (whose identity does not need to concern us here, since it is restoration and not creation of a shrine that is proposed): a king, because of the cult's civic prominence; dead, because living but not dead kings are described in decrees as <king> so-and-so. Though <the Antigoneion> apparently still stood and may even have had a priest in the second century (ED 85), public Coan policy towards Macedon was consistently hostile from the time of the war against Philip V in 201. Circa 220 may therefore seem a much easier date than c. 180 for the proposal to grant the Macedonian's shrine <all honour>.⁴ But it is the opinion of C. V. CROWTHER that our text and, more emphatically, ED 216 would be palaeographically isolated among Coan decrees of the late third century. <Isolated among Coan decrees> in that formulation is not synonymous with <isolated among Greek inscriptions>, since third century parallels for the main features in question can be adduced from non-Coan decrees and even from Coan texts of shorter scope.⁵ The argument is, therefore, admittedly fragile and provisional. But we know from Polybius that Perseus' attempts to <drum up Greek support> (ἐλληνοκοπεῖν) against Rome in the 170s were backed by a powerful faction on Cos (where we chance to know that the king also owned property),⁶ even if in the end the island chose the Roman side in the Third Macedonian War. An alternative historical context can therefore be found for ED 216 at the date towards which the provisional palaeographical arguments direct it. For supporting prosopographical arguments see the following note.

5 A Simias Phainokritou is on the list of those who are eligible for the *monarchia* in the Coan deme of Isthmos, ASAA n.s. 25–26, 1963–64, 172 no. IX

³ Cf. the cases mentioned by HERZOG, HGK 35.

⁴ On all this see M. SEGRE, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom.* 17, 1941, 21–34, summarized and accepted by S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, Göttingen 1978, 115–16. Both favour seeing <Antigonos> as DosoN, as does now CH. HABICHT, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 320; for doubts see S. LE BOHEC, *Antigone Dôsôn*, Nancy 1993, 356–57. The notion also sometimes canvassed that this Antigonos could be a private citizen is surely excessively sceptical.

⁵ ED 216 has broken-barred alphas, which are paralleled in extended texts of the second half of the third century from e.g. Magnesia (I. Magnesia 17, 18) and in dedications from Cos itself (K. HÖGHAMMAR, *Sculpture and Society*, Uppsala 1993, 92). Our text displays an alpha with a gently curved bar comparable, for instance, to that seen in I. Didyma 492, of 246 B.C.; there are now also several Coan parallels (see the table of letter-forms in *Chiron* 28, 1998, 162 – but, pace the table, no. 24, an *epidosis* text apparently datable to the 240s, does not [CROWTHER] show this form).

⁶ Polyb. 25.3.1, 30.7.9–10; cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 134 (property on Cos); P. S. DEROW in *CAH VIII*², 1989, 301–3; C. V. CROWTHER, *Chiron* 29, 1999, 292 n. 94. CROWTHER argues the case here summarised in the unpublished paper cited below (n. 13); its conclusions are accepted by CH. HABICHT, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 320.

c. 49–50 (c. 180–175⁷ B.C.). A Nikanor son of Agesias appears in three further texts relating to Cos:⁸ PH 114, dedication as hypogymnasiarch (2nd c.?): ED 2 (on which see Chiron 30, 2000, 422 n. 19), where he is a *προστάτας*; Milet. 3, 119b 4–5, where the son of a Coan so named was granted proxeny by Miletus in a text that apparently belongs at the end of the second century. A dating of our text c. 175 would sit very comfortably with the lower of the dates proposed for ED 2, but would still barely allow our Nikanor to be identified with the father of the man honoured by Miletus. There would obviously be no serious difficulty in accepting the c. 220 dating for our text and detecting an earlier member of a family that was to remain prominent.

6–9 For such exemption clauses see topic 7 (Chiron 30, 2000, 424). Of the priest of Hermes Enagonios it is said *ἀτελής ἔστω στρατείας ὑπερορίου, ἵπποτροφίας, τριηραρχίας, χοραγῶν, λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν πασῶν* (ED 145. 6–8). More commonly a priest is exempted, as here, from *all liturgies except trierarchy and lampadarchy* (so in the cult of Herakles Kallinikos, ED 238 and 180; ED 215; unknown cult, ED 109, where a third exception was added) or *all except trierarchy* (Kyrbanthes, ED 177); further exemptions are sometimes added, as in ED 180 (cf. 238) *ἀπολελύσθω δὲ καὶ σιτοφυλακίας καὶ ὑποδοχᾶς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐπιμηνείας πάσας ἐφ' ἃς αἰρεῖται ὁ δᾶμος* and ED 177 (*στρατεία ὑπερόριος and all other liturgies*).

In Priene, the potential priest of Dionysos Phleos was offered a graduated scale of exemptions, some operative if the eventual purchase price exceeded 6,000 drachmai and more if it went over 12,000 (LSA 37. 24–30). By the same principle, no doubt, in Cos the priesthoods that were expected to realize the highest sum brought with them the most substantial exemptions.⁹

A full list cannot be drawn up of *all the other liturgies* from which the Coan priests were granted exemption. The most important were doubtless the two mentioned explicitly in ED 145, hippotrophy and *choragia* (the latter specified also in ED 109. 11). LSCG 156 A 6, a comparable text from the 4th c., apparently mentioned the office of *μόναρχος*.¹⁰ Several further civic offices or functions can be envisaged, such as phylarchy and gymnasiarchy;¹¹ but it is not clear which of these on Cos would have counted as liturgies, which as magistracies. The convergence of magistracy and liturgy in the hellenistic period has

⁷ This date depends on the re-dating of the contemporary PH 367–68 by CH. HABICHT, Chiron 30, 2000, 314–19.

⁸ Cf. K. HÖGHAMMAR, MDAI(A) 111, 1996, 348 n. 50.

⁹ With the total exemption granted the priest of Hermes Enagonios on Cos compare the huge sum realized by the sale of the priesthood of Hermes Agoraios in Erythrai, LSA 25.105.

¹⁰ See SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, 198.

¹¹ See the index to SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, s.v. liturgies (to be read with the reservation on p. 213 n. 249).

been much discussed,¹² and ED 180 (cited above) neatly illustrates the complexity of the issue. On the one hand, it distinguishes clearly between <liturgies> and other functions such as <guarding the corn, providing hospitality to Romans and every ἐπιμνηεῖα to which the people makes election>. On the other, it treats these offices which it distinguishes from liturgies as being, none the less, quasi-obligatory burdens from which exemption may be granted.

3 Priesthood of an unknown god (Asklepios?)

HERZOG Inv. AS 57 = M 71. Three fragments forming a white marble stele; right margin preserved, broken at the top, bottom and left, and inscribed on both sides. Fig. 2 (side A); fig. 3 (side B). Excavated by HERZOG in the Asklepieion in 1903; now in the basement of the archaeological museum in Kos town. Height: 22.5 cms., width 27.5, thickness 9.5. Height of letters: 1 cm., line interval 0.5–0.7. The stones have suffered chipping at the edges since HERZOG's squeezes were made.

Unpublished. Edited here from HERZOG's transcript and squeeze, from photographs taken by C. V. CROWTHER and from CROWTHER's report of his autopsy.

A

 [- -----]ατειαν και [λειτουργιῶν]
 [πλάν τριηραρχίας κ]αὶ λαμπαδαρχίας· κ[αθήσθ]ω
 [δὲ και ἐμ προεδ]ορίαι και σπονδαρχ[εῖτω κα]θῆ
 [και τοι ἄλλοι ἱ]ερεῖς· θυέτω δ[ὲ και ὁ] ἱε[ρε]ύς
 5 [τῶι Διονύσῳ] καθ' ἕκασ[τον ἐ]γιαυτ[ό]ν τοῖς
 [Διονυσίοις ἱερεῖ]ον τέλε[ον] λαμβά[νων] παρὰ
 [τῆς πόλιος δραχ]μᾶς τριάκοντα κα[ὶ εὖ]χέσθω
 [τοῖς ἐμμένουσι τ]ῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς νό[μο]ις [καὶ]
 [τοῖς ποτ' αὐτὸς ὁμο]νοιοῦσι και τοῖς τὰ β---
 10 [- ----- δαμοκ]ρατία εὖ ἤμεν ἀ[ὐτοῖς και]
 [γένει ἐς τὸν ἄει χρό]νον· μισθωσ[άντω δὲ τοῖ πω]-
 [ληται -----]ΙΩΣΗ-----

¹² See A. H. M. JONES, *The Greek City*, Oxford 1940, 167; M. ROSTOVITZ, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941, 620 (on <liturgical magistracies>); P. VEYNE, *Le pain et le cirque*, Paris 1976, 275; for recent bibliography and a good discussion see R. VAN BREMEN, *The Limits of Participation*, Amsterdam 1996, 19–25.

B

 T-----OI-----
 ἐπὶ μονάρχου] ὅς κα γένηται πράτιστος]
 μετὰ Πεισίστρατον· τὸ δὲ [εἰσενιχθὲν]
 ἀργύριον ἀναλισκόντω [τοὶ ταμίαι εἰς]
 5 τε τὰν τιμὰν τοῦ τόπου το[ῦ ἀπολαμβα]-
 νομένου τοῖς ἀρχείοις καὶ εἰς [τὰν ἴδρου]-
 σιν τῶν ἀρχείων· εἰ δέ τί κα περὶ ἡ, ἀναλισ]-
 κόντω ἐς τὸ θέατρον, ἀλλ[ο δὲ μηδὲν ἔργον·]
 τοὶ δὲ λογισταὶ τοὶ ἄρχοντ[ες τὰν θερινὰν]
 10 [ἑξάμ]ηνον ἐπὶ μονάρχου Π[εισιστράτου]
 [ἀπογρα]ψάντω ὀφειλόμεν[ον τὸ ἀργύριον]
 [τὸ πίπτον ἀ]πὸ τῆς ἱερῶ[σύνας τῶι δαμοσί]-
 [ωι εἰς τὰ ἔργα κ]αὶ ἀφ[ελόντω -----]

Supplements not otherwise indicated are by HERZOG. A 1 What precedes must have roughly been of the form (HERZOG) [ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ἱερῶσύναν ἀτελής ἔστω or ἀπολελύσθω]. Thereafter [πασὰν ἀρχὰν καὶ γραμμ]ατεῖαν (or ἱερ[α]τεῖαν) HERZOG; στρ]ατεῖαν OBBINK – PARKER. 2–3 OBBINK – PARKER; τ... [--- ἐν ἔκχει]ρίαι καὶ σπονδαῖς HERZOG. 9–10 τοῖς τὰ βέλτιστα ποιῶσι ἐν δαμοκ]ρατία HERZOG. 12 κα ἀξ]ιώση[ι HERZOG. B 3 or τὸ δ[ὲ πεπτωκός] HERZOG.

Translation

A: [The purchaser of the priesthood should be exempt from . . .] and [public obligations, except for the trierarchy] and superintendence of the lampadedromia, and he is to be seated in the first row and perform the opening libations just like the other priests. Moreover, the priest should sacrifice a full-grown victim [to Dionysus] each year at the [Dionysia], receiving thirty drachmai [from the city], and he should pray that those citizens who [abide by] the laws [and preserve concord among themselves] and [. . . under] the democracy should [themselves flourish and their family for] ever. [The civic board of contractors] should put out on contract . . .

B: . . . in the term of the monarch who comes [first] after Peisistratos. [The treasurers] should expend the money [which has been paid in] for the price of the place set aside for the public offices and for the building of the public offices. If any (money) is left over, they should spend it on the theatre, [but on no other project]. The financial officials (*logistai*) in charge for the six [summer] months in the monarchy of P[ei]sistratos should record] the [money that has become available] from the (sale of) the priesthood as being owed [to the public funds for works, and] they should remove (?) . . .

Commentary

This is an opisthographic text inscribed on both sides in the same hand. C. V. CROWTHER ascribes it to the cutter responsible for Chiron 29, 1999, 257–260 no. 2, of c. 280 B.C.¹³ B 8 probably implies that the theatre of Cos is still under construction, whereas we know that the theatre existed in time to be mentioned by Antigonus of Carystus,¹⁴ whose floruit is put c. 240 B.C. What we have marked as side A begins with two topics familiar from *διαγραφαί* for priesthoods, those that appear in the list (Chiron 30, 2000, 424) as 7 (exemptions) and 8 (other privileges); the latter has an expanded form by which prayers to be made by the priest on a civic occasion are specified. Side B initially discusses the expenditure of a sum of money for purposes of building. But line 12 appears to indicate that the money in question is that deriving from the sale of a priesthood. Probably then what we have is a single *διαγραφά*, the earliest such to survive, the text of which wraps from one side of the stone to the other, as often.¹⁵ The specific information that the text provides about the use to be made of the money realised by the sale of a priesthood gives it a special interest. HERZOG placed the two sides in the opposite order from that adopted here, but topics 7 and 8 usually appear near the beginning of such texts.

The god served by the priest is not named. The find-spot, the Asklepicion, creates a presumption that it was Asklepios and that this is a further *διαγραφά* for the priesthood in the joint cult of Asklepios, Hygieia and Epione known from LSCG 155.18–19 and other texts.¹⁶ There is no difficulty in the idea that, if the supplements in A 5 and 6 are correct, the priest of Asklepios should also have sacrificed to Dionysos at the Dionysia, and the prominent civic role assigned to the priest in 7–10 would well suit the cult of Asklepios on Cos. Dionysos himself was served on Cos, as far as we know, by priestesses, not priests. On the other hand, at least one *διαγραφά* for the priest of a god other than Asklepios has been found in the Asklepicion, though perhaps in secondary use (Chiron 30, 2000, 415–417, no. 1). So the matter cannot be settled with certainty.

A 1–2 A helpful parallel for A 1–4 is ED 145.5–10 ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ἱερατεῖαν ἀτελῆς ἔστω στρατείας ὑπερορίου, ἵπποτροφίας, τριηραρχίας, χορογαῖαν, λαμπαδαρχίας, καὶ τὰν ἄλλαν λειτουργιῶν πασᾶν· σπενδέτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, καὶ

¹³ In a paper ‘The dating of Koan Hellenistic Inscriptions’ presented to the conference on Hellenistic Cos held at Uppsala in May 2000.

¹⁴ Section 161 of *Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή* (= Callimachus fr. 407. XXXIII PFEIFFER), in O. KELLER, *Rerum naturalium scriptores Graeci minores I*, 1877: on the theatre (already mentioned as a place of display for a decree in PH 10 a 25 of c. 200) cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 25.

¹⁵ For other examples see Chiron 30, 2000, 432 n. 63.

¹⁶ Listed in SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 347 n. 488.

ἐμ προεδρία καθήσθω καθὰ καὶ τοὶ ἄλλοι ἱερεῖς. HERZOG reasonably assumed that something like [ὁ πριάμενος τῶν ἱερῶσύνων ἀτελής ἔστω] must have preceded A 1. He restored A 1 as [πασῶν ἀρχῶν (though we could have another liturgy here) καὶ γραμμ]ατειῶν καὶ [λειτουργιῶν]. The τ that he read in γραμμ]ατειῶν gives a perfect fit with the traces on the stone, but γραμματεία is unattested and implausible as a Coan liturgy. Of the possibilities suggested by ED 145 (quoted above), [χορ]αγειῶν can be excluded: it would require the postulate of an unusual spelling, and the broad γ of this script is too large for the space. The plural in [στρ]ατειῶν (cf. στρατείας in ED 7 B 10, 145. 6, 177.7 in similar contexts) would be unexpected, though not unthinkable (cf. φόρων δὲ καὶ στρατειῶν ἀφείσθαι in a citizenship decree from Metropolis in Thessaly, 3rd/2nd c. B.C. [CH. HABICHT, *Klio* 52, 1970, 139 lines 7–8]).

In principle the end of A 1 and start of A 2 could be supplemented as listing further specific liturgies from which the priest is granted exemption. But the καὶ of A 1 would not be well in place in such a continuous list, and there are numerous Coan parallels (see on no. 2.7–9 above) for the restoration proposed here by HERZOG whereby exemption is granted from all liturgies except trierarchy and lampadarchy. For the Coan torch races organised by the λαμπαδόρχης see PH. GAUTHIER, REG 108, 1995, 576–85, and more generally on the organisation of torch-races M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Munich 1988, 220–26.

A 2–4 The kind of restoration that is required here is clear from ED 145. 8–10 (quoted above on A 1–2) and from several further parallels: ED 177.9–10 (Kyrbanthes) [σπενδέτω δ' ἐν τοῖς χορικοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ καθήσθ[ω ἐμ] [προεδρία καθὰ κα]ἰ τοὶ ἄλλοι ἱερεῖς; ED 180.20–21 καθήσθω δὲ καὶ ἐν προεδρία καὶ σπενδέτω ἐν πᾶσι] [τοῖς χορικοῖς ἀγῶσι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων τῶν δαμοδῶν; ED 215 A 11–13 σπενδέτω δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀ[γῶ]νι τῶν Διονυσίων, καὶ ἐν προεδρία καθήσθω μετὰ [τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων. In the other texts the occasion on which the priest is to enjoy these privileges is specified: there is no room for such a specification (such as ἐν τοῖς χορικοῖς ἀγῶσι) to be supplied in ours, which evidently relies on a general social awareness of the appropriate contexts.

Σπονδαρχ[εῖτω: after δ, the squeeze shows apex and feet of alpha, followed by the top of an upright in a narrow letter-space (read by HERZOG as ι), followed by a diagonal which HERZOG read as part of σ. The angle and position, however, are equally compatible with upper left arm of χ, and the preceding letter with ϑ, which seems also to show its (small) bowl. Σπονδαρχέω is not attested on Cos, but see LSA 37.15–19 (διαγραφὴ for the priest of Dionysos Phleas, Priene, II c. B.C.) θύσει δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ Διονύσει τῷ Μελομένει καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἐπιθήσει καὶ σπονδαρχήσει καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς εὔξεται ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Πριηνέων and perhaps SEG 29 1088 15–18 (διαγραφὴ for the priest of Zeus Nemeios at Theangela in Caria) ἔστα[ι δὲ] καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀτε[λής καὶ -]ατείας καὶ σπο[νδαρχήσει? -] τῷ Διον[ύσει]. Herodotus tells us

that *σπονδαρχία* is among the priestly prerogatives of the Spartan kings (6.57). Since *σπονδαρχεῖν* in our text is a privilege shared by Coan priests in general, the meaning cannot be that our priest will personally perform the first libation of all, but rather that he will do so along with the other priests present, i.e. the priests as a group will inaugurate the proceedings with libations.

A 7–11 The nearest parallel from a Coan priesthood *διαγραφά* is ED 109.4–8 *ἐπευχέσθων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θυσίαι τοῖς ἐμμένουσ[ιν ἐν τῷ πολιτείαι --- καὶ ὁ]μονοεῦσι τὰ ποτ' ἀλλ[άλους --- καὶ πολιτεύουσι ἐν δαμο]κρατίαι εὖ ἤμεν καὶ α[ὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις, τοῖς δὲ τάναντία ποιοῦσι κατ]ὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπευχέσθω[ν τάναν]τια γίνεσθαι. There however the prayer is made by civic officials at the time of the priest's installation, whereas here it is made annually by the priest himself.*

A 10–11 Similar phraseology at ED 109.6–7 (quoted above) and no. 4 A. 35, which, though fragmentary, supports *γένει* here.

A 11–12 In the *διαγραφαί* the *πωληταί* are regularly required to put out to contract both the initiation of the priest/priestess (topic 12) and the inscription of the decree (topic 17).

B 3 The monarchos Peisistratos is attested only here (and in l. 10). See CH. HABICHT, *Zur Chronologie der hellenistischen Eponyme von Kos*, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 308.

B 6–8 *ἀρχεῖα* (6–7) are official buildings, offices of magistrates (M. HOLLEAUX, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques III*, Paris 1942, 245–47). The sequence of thought in the whole section is comprehensible only on the view that the money to be spent on buying land for these offices, on building them and (in the event of a surplus) on the theatre is that deriving from the sale of the priesthood (12–13). Surviving Coan *διαγραφαί* for the sale of priesthoods do not normally specify what is to be done with the sums so raised, but two, in fragmentary contexts, mention expenditures on adornment or repair of the shrine which were presumably to be covered in this way (ED 2 and 178). It is very significant that our text, the one closest in time to the introduction of the practice of selling priesthoods, apparently shows the proceeds being deployed for purposes of secular building.

4A Priesthood of Asklepios

HERZOG Inv. (a): M 110 = E 77; (b): M 29 = E 43. Four fragments of a white marble stele, discovered by HERZOG in 1903 when built into a door-frame somewhere in the Asklepieion. Fig. 5 (fr. b); fig. 4 (fr. c). (a) was broken at top, left and bottom, but preserved at right (line 8). (b) is broken into two connecting fragments, and preserves left margin and bottom. Anathyrosis on left side and fixing tenon on bottom right. (c) preserves nearly the full thickness of the stone, but no margins. The present location of (a) is unknown; (b) is mounted on the wall of the courtyard of the Asklepieion epigraphical store; (c) is in the

Asklepieion epigraphical store and has been assigned to this inscription by C. V. CROWTHER on the basis of the hand. Dimensions: (a) unknown; (b) height 64 cms., width 40, thickness 14–14.5; (c) height 13.3 cms., width 7, thickness 14–14.5. Height of letters 0.7 cms.

Of the relationship of fr. c to frs. a and b, CROWTHER writes: «an indication is offered by the line spacing. The interlinear spacing of individual lines throughout the inscription falls consistently in the range 0.35–0.5 cm, but over a run of several lines shows considerable variations. The spacing of the nine lines of fr. c is incompatible with any similar group of lines in fr. a, but matches the spacing of fr. b closely between lines 21–30. The possibility remains open that fr. c belongs to an earlier part of the text, but this correspondence suggests that it may have belonged on the right of fr. b between either lines 21–29 or lines 22–30.»

Unpublished. Lines 11–16 were quoted by E. ZIEBARTH on HERZOG's authority in ZfN 34, 1922, 36–37 (SEG 1, 344); HERZOG quoted 19–23 in HGK 56. We have used HERZOG's transcripts and squeezes of (a) and (b), photographs and squeezes of (b) and (c) prepared by C. V. CROWTHER. Several important changes here and in 4B are owed to CROWTHER's autopsy of the stones. Phrases underlined appear in the parallel text 4B.

- ----- δια ----- a
 [------ ὅπως συγγράφηται -----
 [------ τε]λεύονται -----
 [------ ελε ----- τ]οὶ ταμίαι· ὁ δ[ὲ] πριάμενος]
 5 [------ τὰν διαγραφὰν -----]ιου· ὁ δὲ προγ[εγραμμένος]
 [------ διδόνται δὲ πάντες τοῖ θ]ύοντες γέρη [τῶι ἱερεῖ βοῶς]
 [μὲν ἢ ὁὸς δέρμα καὶ σκέλος, τῶιν δὲ ἄλλωιν σκέ]λος· ἐμβαλλόν[τ]ωι δὲ ἐς τὸν]
 [θ]ησαυρὸν τῶι θεῶι βοῶς μὲν (δραχμᾶς) β, τῶιν δὲ ἱερείωιν τῶιν μὲν τε]λείωιν
 (δραχμᾶν) α, τῶιν δὲ
 [ἀτελείωιν τριώβολον, ἐπὶ δὲ ὄρνιθι ὀβολὸν καθ'] ἐν· τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸ[ν]
 10 [ἐμβαλλομένου ἔστωι τὰ μὲν δύο μέρηι -----] ἅ κα δόξηι τῶι δάμωι, τὸ [δὲ]
 b [τρίτον] μέρο[ς] τοῦ ἱερέωις ----- τὰν δὲ κλαικ]ῶιγ μίαν μὲν
 [ἐχέτ]ωι ὁ ἱερεῦ[ς], τὰν δὲ τοῖ προστάται, τὰν δὲ τοῖ τρα]πε[ς] εἴται τὰς τοῦ θε[οῦ]
 [τραπ]έζας· ἀνο[ιγόν]ται δὲ ἐμ μηνί ?Πεταγειτνύωι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν [καὶ]
 [ἐξ]αιρεύνται τ[ὸ] εὐρεθὲν καὶ ἐν μέρος ἀποδιδόνται τῶι ἱερ]εῖ, τὰ δὲ δύο μέρηι
 15 [φ]ερόνται ἐπὶ τὰ[ν] τράπεζαν ὅπως δοθῆι ἀνάθεμα ἐς τὸ ἱερ]ὸν ἀπὸ τὰν ἀπαρχὰν
 ἅ κα δόξη(ι) τῶι δ[άμωι]· ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ἐπιμελείσθω καὶ ὅπως ἦ] φῶς ἐπὶ τῶιν βομῶιν
 καὶ ἐπιθυμητ[ε]ραι λιβανωτὸς καὶ ἀνοιγύνηται ὁ ναὸς καθ' ἡμέραν] κύριος ὦν
ζαμοῦν τὸν ἀτακτεῦντα μέχρι (δραχμᾶν) τ?· αἱ δὲ κα μείζον]ο[ς] ζαμίας φαίνητ]ε[α]ι
 ἄξιος ἦμεν ἐσαγ[γελλέσθωι] ἐς τὸς ἱεροφύλακας· ἐπιμελείσθωι δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς]
 20 καὶ ὅπως τὸ τέμε[νος] μὴ --- βόσκηται· αἱ δὲ τί κα εὐρεθῆι νεμόμενον, ἐξέστωι]
 καταθῦεν τοῖς θε[οῖς] ----- ποι κατα ----- ὁ]

- εὐρών τι νεμόμε[νον φαίνεται] ποτὶ τὸν ἱερεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
 ἔστωι τῶν θεῶν [- ----- αἰ δέ κα]
 μὴ ἐμφανίσηι ἢ μὴ -----
 25 ἐν τῷ τεμένει δε -----
 ἀπειθεῦντα κατα -----
 κατ' αὐτὰ πρᾶσσον -----
 τοὶ αἰρεύμενοι ἱεροφ[ύλακες -----]
 καὶ τοὶ ὑπερέται ἕκα -----
 30 θεοῦ ποιείσθαι καὶ αὐτ' -----
 τῷ θεῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου [- ----- μὴ ἐξέστωι δὲ μήτε]
 ἄρχοντι μήτε ἰδιώτῃ [μηδενὶ ἐς ἄλλο καταχρήσασθαι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήματα]
 ἢ μετάγεν τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶ[ιν ποθόδους -----]
 αὐτῷ ἔστωι περὶ πάν ὅτι [κα γράψηι ἢ ἐπιψαφίξηι καὶ ἀποτινέτωι (δραχμάς) -]
 35 καὶ ἂ γνώμῃ ἀκυρος ἦτ[ρωι -----]
 γένει καὶ χρήμασιν ἐς [τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πράσει τὰς ἱερωισύνας]
 θυσάντωι τοὶ προστάται -----
 θεοῦ χρημάτων ἀπὸ δρα[χμῶν ---].

vacat

c -----
 ----- αἰ -----
 ----- ρεσια -----
 ----- δων κα -----
 [----- τ]οῦ δάμου[ρ -----]
 ----- τοῖς θεο[ῖς -----]
 ----- ς δὲ ἄλλο -----
 [----- π]ροαιση[-----]
 [----- το]ῦ θεοῦ -----
 ----- α . τ -----

Supplements not otherwise indicated are by HERZOG. 8 τῶν δὲ ἱερείων HALLOF: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱερείων (HERZOG) is too long for the space. 10 [τοῦ θεοῦ ἐς] ἅ HERZOG. 11 ἐχέτω δὲ κλαῖκας τρεῖς· τῶν δὲ κλαί[κων] HERZOG. 20 [καταβόσκηται] HERZOG. 21 τοῖς θε[οῖς] τὸ εὐρεθέν· ὅπως δὲ μηδὲ τοὶ κάποι καταβόσκωνται, ὅ] HERZOG. 33 αὐτῶ[ιν ποθόδους, ἢ ἐνθύμιον τὰς ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβείας] HERZOG. 34 [γράψηι] OBBINK – PARKER: [προθῆ] HERZOG. 35 ἦτ[ρωι. τοῖς δὲ τηροῦσι τὰν διαγραφᾶν εὖ ἡμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ] HERZOG. 37 [βοῦν χρυσόκερων τῷ θεῷ λαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῶν τοῦ] HERZOG. 38 δραχ[μῶν δικτακοσίαν] HERZOG.

Translation

L.6: All those sacrificing [should give] as share [to the priest: the skin and the leg in the case of cattle or sheep, and the] leg [in the case of other victims.] They should deposit [in the cash box] for the god [two drachma] in the case of cattle, and [in the case of sheep] one drachma for full-grown victims, [three

obols for young ones, and an obol] for a bird, per victim. Of the proceeds deposited in the cash box, [two thirds should be the property (?) - - -] as determined by the community; [and the third] part [goes to the priest. - - - - -] the priest should have one [of the keys, the Prostatai another, and] the officers of the bank of the god the third.

They should open [it in the month of ?Petageitnuos] each year and remove [the contents] and give one third to the priest and deposit the other two thirds in [the bank so that there may be donated] as a dedication to the sanctuary from the offerings whatever the people decides.

[The priest should see to it] also that there is fire on the altars and that [incense] is burned and [that the temple is opened every day,] having the authority to penalise anyone behaving in a disorderly way [up to ?300 drachmai. If he appears to be deserving of greater penalty,] let him denounce him [to the hierophylakes.]

[The priest should see to it] that the precinct [is not used as a pasture. If any (animal) is found feeding in it, let it be permitted] to sacrifice it to the gods [- - -] anyone finding any (animal) grazing [should denounce it to the priest for half of it. The remainder] shall be for the gods.

- - - L.31: [It shall not be permitted either] for a magistrate nor any private person whosoever [to spend the sacred funds for any other purpose] nor to divert [the revenues] from them [- - - -] let him have [- - -] concerning everything, whatever [he proposes or puts to the vote and he should pay a penalty of - - drachmai] and his proposal should be invalid; [- - -] for his family and property for [all time.]

[Upon the sale of the priesthood] the Prostatai should sacrifice [- - -] out of the funds of the god to the value of [- - drachmai].

Commentary

HERZOG assigned this inscription to the first century B.C. Restoration is substantially guided by the discovery of a fragmentary inscription on another stone, 4B below, bearing a closely similar text, but with different lineation. Reconstituted line lengths show that they were close enough in format as well as phrasing to aid in reconstructing one another. In the case of 4A, however, the preparer of the text or the stone cutter was at pains to insert *iota mutum* at every conceivable opportunity, perhaps to insinuate an impression of correctness.¹⁷

The provenance of the stone from the Asklepieion does not provide conclusive proof that the god named in lines 8, 12, 30–31 and 38 is Asklepios (see above no. 3). But the references to a *thesauros*, 7 ff., reinforce the probability,

¹⁷ «Der Steinmetz verwirrt sich beständig mit dem Jota mutum» (HERZOG, HGK p. 56).

given that the Asklepieion is known to have contained one. So too does the specific provision for birds as sacrificial victims in 9.¹⁸ Probably this text, like ED 2, relates to the joint cult of Asklepios, Epione and Hygieia¹⁹ (cf. the references to sacrifices to «the gods» in 21 and 23).

6–11 Sacrificial perquisites and fees (topic 13).

7–9 For the payment of a small fee supplementary to the perquisites in kind required in 6–7 see Chiron 30, 2000, 437f. on no. 1. 10–13. HERZOG's supplements give the same distinctions between victims (bovine – full-grown and young sheep – fowl) and the same sliding scale of fees as there.

7–8 [ἐς τὸν | θησαυρόν]: Cf. 9 ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸ[v]. On θησαυροί see Chiron 30, 2000, 436f. on no. 1. 9, where the archaeological evidence from the Asklepieion is mentioned. The original construction of a cash box in the Asklepieion is documented in a decree of the second half of the third century B.C. (HGK 14 = LSCG 155). It was constructed out of moneys from the public treasury at the joint direction of the *προστάται* and the priest of Asklepios and the *ιεροφύλακες* (the last restored with some probability). According to the decree, the purpose of the construction of the cash box was ὅπως οὖν ὑ]παρχόν[τ]ων χρημάτων ἐξ ἐτοίμου ταῖ τε θυσίαι τῶι Ἀσκλη[απιῶι καὶ τῶι Ὑγίαι] καὶ τῶι Ἡπιόναι καὶ ἅ πανάγουρις καὶ ταῖ θε[ωρία] καὶ τοῖ ἀγ[ῶνες] καλῶς καὶ ἐπιφανῶς συντελώντ[αι ἀξίως τοῦ τε Ἀσκληαπιοῦ καὶ τ]ᾶς τοῦ δάμ[ου] προαιρέσιος (LSCG 155 A. 17–21).

10–11 [τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη - - -] ... τὸ [δὲ | τρίτον] μέρ[ος] τοῦ ἱερέως: The priest gets a third of the revenue. The restorations here for a two thirds/one third division are suggested by the fuller account given in the immediate sequel where the yearly opening of the cash box by the priest and the division of its contents are described: one part ([ἐ]ν μέρος) goes to the priest, two parts (τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη) to the bank (?) to be ultimately used for «whatever dedications the people may decide». Other Coan parallels show a 50/50 division: see no. 1. 18–20 with commentary in Chiron 30, 2000, 439 on 16.

11–16 Management of the temple θησαυρός (topic 14).

11–13 On θησαυρός keys see Chiron 30, 2000, 439 on no. 1. 16. According to the third century decree for the building of a θησαυρός in the Asklepieion (HGK 14 = LSCG 155 A. 15–17), it was to have four keys: ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ θησαυρός κλειδικας τέσσαρας: τῶν δὲ κλειδικῶν τὰμ μὲν μίαν τοῖ *προστάται* ἐχόντω, τὰ(v) δὲ ἑτέραν τ[οῖ] *ιεροφύλακες*, τᾶ[v] δὲ τοῖ *ταμίαι*, τῶν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληαπιοῦ, i.e. one for the *προστάται*, one for the *ιεροφύλακες*, one for the *ταμίαι*, and one for the priest of Asklepios. By the first century in the present text the number has been reduced to three, with the *ιεροφύλακες* eliminated from the

¹⁸ See e.g. Pl. Phaed. 118a, Herondas 4. 12 for the «cock to Asklepios».

¹⁹ See n. 16.

picture, and the god's bank officers (τραπεζίται, if the restoration is correct) substituting for the earlier ταμίαι. The phrasing in LSCG 155 A. 15–17 provides a reliable basis for HERZOG's restorations here; spacing makes it clear that there will have been only room for three key-holders.

12 [προστάται]. Here restored, but their role in this text is secured by their appearance in 37 officiating at the pre-sale sacrifice. On the office see SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, 199–204.

[τραπεζί]εῖται τᾶς τοῦ θε[οῦ] | τραπεζίας. Literally «the financial officials of the god's bank». From early times temples had occasionally served, on the one hand, as places of safe deposit for valuables and money, and, on the other, had sometimes lent out the god's funds at interest to cities and (less commonly) individuals (R. BOGAERT, *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques*, Leiden 1968, 302–4, 410–11, and index s.v. banques sacrées). The present text, however, is unique in speaking of a «god's bank»: «cet exemple n'a pas été imité» (BOGAERT 299, cf. 39, who knew of it from the preliminary citation by HERZOG = SEG 1, 344.2–3). Asklepios' bank is not mentioned in the text which prescribes the establishment of a *thesauros* for him, and is doubtless a later introduction. No direct line appears to lead from the money-lending function of certain temples (of declining importance in the Hellenistic period, according to BOGAERT, 280) to this isolated appearance of a «god's bank». We should think rather of the use by some temples in the Hellenistic period, including that of Aphrodite Pandamos on Cos (see Chiron 30, 2000, 439), of «city banks» as a place of deposit for certain of their funds. Whatever functions were served by such «god's accounts» at city banks could also be fulfilled by a designated «god's bank». It is suggested above that one prime function may have been as a place for «special reserve funds» for particular purposes, such as building repairs. And in the present case, if the very plausible supplement ἐπὶ τῶ[ν τραπεζῶν] in 15 is correct, the bank was used to hold money that was to be spent on dedications in the shrine. BOGAERT proposes (39) that the bank served also «to change money for the pilgrims», as well as to «administer the god's funds». The first of these suggestions is unsupported, and imports the perhaps anachronistic assumption that the bank was regularly staffed and open. It is unclear whatever the τραπεζία is to be thought of as located at the Asklepieion, possibly in one of the temples or other buildings, or rather in the town, e.g. in the agora from which bankers customarily operated. See further E. ZIEBARTH, *ZfN* 34, 1922, 36–37 (on vv. 19–23).

16–(?)31 Duties (topic 10a).

Priesthood διαγραφαί contain much less on this subject than might have been predicted: though the themes of this section of our text (good order in the sanctuary) are a commonplace of sacred laws, it appears to be unique in spelling out the responsibility of the priest in this area at such length.

20–22 Sanctions against pasturing. After καθύεν τοῖς θε[οῖς] in 21, HERZOG restored τὸ εὐρεθέν (on the basis of 22 εὐρών τι), followed by ὅπως δὲ

μηδὲ τοὶ κάποι καταβόσκονται on the slim grounds of]βόσκηται· αἱ δὲ τ[- - and - -]ποι κατα[in successive lines in the parallel text no. 4B. (Similarly he restored [κατα]βόσκηται in the preceding line 20.) HERZOG's καταβόσκω, otherwise confined largely to poetry and papyrus documents, finds support in I. Smyrna 736.6 [μηδὲ δένδρα] ἐκκόπτειν μηδὲ καταβόσκειν τὰ καθωσι[ωμένα πλῆθρα- -] τὸν δ' εὐρεθέντα καὶ ἐλεγχθέντα τι το[ιούτων πεποιθῆναι - -] δηναρίων ἑκατὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ζημι[ι - . Κῆποι are mentioned in connection with sanctuaries at e.g. ED 149.70, LSCG 115.2-3, 5, LSA 72.17. Sanctions against pasturing of the sanctuary are common in sacred laws, often combined with penalties: e.g. LSCG 84.13-14 (fine of money, amount missing: cf. Plat. Leg. 764a, 917d), 79. 25-26, 91.11-12, 104 (drachma per day per animal). The extensive collection of instances given by SOKOLOWSKI on LSCG 37 (cf. A. WILHELM, *Αἰγυπτιακά* I, SB Wien, 1946, Bd. 224, 19-21 = Kl. Schr. I 3, 157-59) combines both <cutting> and <pasturing>. The present passage probably deals only with the latter. The original temple of Asklepios was in a grove sacred to Apollo (see HERZOG, HGK, p. 33 on his nos. 11-12 = LSCG 150) and there are sanctions against tree-cutting there elsewhere in the dossier of Coan sacred laws (e.g. LSCG 150 A-B), but there are apparently no sanctions here against the cutting of trees. Elsewhere the seizure of the animal found grazing on temple land is mandated (LSCG 91.11-12), but stipulation of its sacrifice, as prescribed here in 21 if HERZOG's restoration is correct, is not paralleled.

31-33 Sanctions against proposals to misuse the god's funds. For the theme see Chiron 30, 2000, 440f.

33 After ἀπ' αὐτῶ[iv ποθόδους HERZOG supplied a penalty clause [ἢ ἐνθύμιον τᾶς ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβείας], thus combining risk of religious unease with the fine of money which HERZOG also restored in the following line 34. An invalidation clause certainly follows in 35. On clauses enjoining religious unease see e.g. LSS 64.5 (Thasos V-IV B.C., against excessive mourning), LSS 72.5 (Thasos III B.C., against non-payment of fee by sacrificers), with R. PARKER, *Miasma*, Oxford 1983, 252-53. For Coan examples see LSCG 154 A.14 (III B.C.), PH 319.10, ED 112.15; the last of these appears to combine an ἐνθύμιον with a fine of money. The ἐνθύμια are usually concerned with the failure to follow procedures, especially payment, by users of the cults. Our example would be unique in threatening the proposer of an improper motion concerning sacred funds with an ἐνθύμιον.

35-36 [εὖ ἡμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ] | γένει καὶ χρήμασιν ἐς [τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον]. For Coan parallels for this formula see ED 109.6-7 and above no. 3. 10-11. But the application postulated by HERZOG's supplement here is unparalleled and not very plausible.

36-38 Sacrifice ἐπὶ ταῖ πράσει τᾶς ἱερωσύνας (topic 2). For this sacrifice see Chiron 30, 2000, 444; here, as is normal, it is performed by the chief Coan magistrates.

4B Priesthood of Asklepios

HERZOG Inv. (a): M 55 = E 90; (b): M 82 = E 46. Two fragments of white marble, probably deriving from front and back of a single opisthographic stele. Fig. 6 (fr. a); Fig. 7 (fr. b). (a) is broken on all sides and at the back; lines 1–2 and all but the stem of υ in line three have been lost through a fresh break since HERZOG made his transcript. (b) is broken at left and bottom and at the back, but preserves the top (with a blank space of 3 cms.) and right edge. Since (b) begins at the top of a face the stele must have been opisthographic (control is impossible, the backs of both fragments being lost), unless (a) derives from a separate stele. (a) has been transported to the archaeological museum in Kos town; (b) is currently in the epigraphical store of the Asklepieion museum. Dimensions: (a) height 10 cms., width 8.5, thickness 2.3; (b) height 13 cms., width 27, thickness 6. Height of letters 0.7 to 0.8 cms., line interval 0.5.

Unpublished. Letter forms of the late second or early first century B.C. We have used HERZOG's transcripts of (a) and (b) and his squeeze of (b), photographs and squeezes of (a) and (b) prepared by C. V. CROWTHER, and CROWTHER's report of his autopsy of the stones.

	----- ελε -----	a
	----- αν διαγ -----	
	----- ντες τοι θυ -----	
	----- σκέλος ΑΙ -----	
5	[- ----- θ]εῶι βοός -----	
	----- ἐπι δὲ ὄρ[νιθι -----]	
	----- νου ΕΣ -----	
	[- ----- μ]έρος -----	

	----- ν μέρος ἀποδιδόντωι τῶι ἱερεῖ, τὰ	b
	----- ι ἀνάθεμα ἐς τὸ ἱερόν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπα[ρ]-	
	[χῶν -----] καὶ ὅπως ἦ φῶς ἐπὶ τῶν βομῶν	
	[- ----- κύριος ὦν ζαμιούν τὸν ἀπα-	
5	[κτεῦντα -----] ἐν ἐσαγγελλέσθω ἐς	
	[- ----- β]όσκηται αἱ δὲ τ[ι]	
	----- ποικατα -----	
	----- πο -----	

(a) preserves fragments of a text very similar to lines 4–11, and (b) to lines 14–22, of 4A. These correspondences imply that the line lengths must also have been similar. The discrepancy between 4A 7 σκέ]λος· ἐμβαλλό[ντω δὲ κτλ. and 4B a 4 σκέλος ΑΙ --, however, shows that the wording was not identical

throughout. The two texts were inscribed by different hands: sigma, for example, in 4A is written with straight arms, in 4B with curved ones. 4B might be earlier by a generation or so. They are not duplicates, but rather separate διαγραφαί relating to different sales, at slightly different dates, of the same priesthood. Similarly in I. Priene 201–3 what is in effect the same text is inscribed on three separate stones, but details added at start or finish about the purchaser or the circumstances of sale confirm that the texts relate to separate sales (cf. M. SEGRE, in: *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom.* 17, 1941, 32).

5 Priesthood of an unknown god

Fragment of grey marble, broken on all sides, found in 1906 in a field below the Roman theatre (Inv. Jak. 1906 I 9). Fig. 8. Height 16 cms., width 18, thickness 10. Height of letters 0.9 cms., line interval 0.5. Present location unknown: edited from HERZOG's transcript and squeeze.

-----Σ-----
 [------ δρ]αχμᾶν ἐξήκ[οντα-----]
 ----- τοπωλᾶν ὕμ μ[ῆ] ἐλάσσοнос ἀξίαν δραχμᾶν -]
 [------ με]τὰ τῶν ἐριοπωλ[ᾶν -----]
 5 [------ δραχμᾶ]ν ἐξήκοντα· θυ[όντω δὲ και τοι -----]
 [------ μη] ἐλάσσοнос ἀξι -----
 [------ μη] ἐλάσσοнос ἄξιον δραχμᾶν ἐξήκον[τα ----- μη] ἐλάσ-
 [σσοнос ἀξι. . δραχμᾶν ἐξ]ήκοντα και οἶν μη] ἐλά[σσοнос ἀξιον δραχμᾶν -]
 [------ μη] ἐλάσ[σσοнос ἀξιον δραχμᾶ]ν -----]
 10 [------ τοι τραπε]ζῖται και τοι κοσμε -----

For the supplements cf. ED 215 A 24–44. 3 μετὰ τῶν γρυ]τοπωλᾶν HERZOG, from NS 466 (a dedication to Augustus by γρυτοπωλᾶι). But there are many other possibilities. 10 κοσμε[ῦντες appears inescapable, but I have no idea what object to supply to the participle.

This is probably a fragment from the «et sacrifice be performed by» section of a priesthood διαγραφά (topic 16); to judge from letter forms it belongs to the second century B.C. Its interest is in providing a further example (cf. Chiron 30, 2000, 428) of a requirement to sacrifice being imposed on occupational groups: -τοπῶλαι, ἐριοπῶλαι, τραπεζῖται and κοσμε-.

6 Priesthood of Hermes Enagonios

Fig. 9. The published edition of ED 145 is defective (cf. PH. GAUTHIER, *Bull. Épig.* 1995, 448 p. 502): not only are several numerals mis-transcribed (Chiron 30, 2000, 436 n. 78), but two lines are omitted at 74 and traces of a further 8

lines at the end are not transcribed. We publish here a text without commentary of the last 20 lines of the inscription, re-numbered from 74 to include the omitted lines. In addition to the photo published in *Iscrizioni di Cos* we have had access to supplements by HERZOG made from a transcript furnished him by Laurenzi, and to a squeeze.²⁰

- τοὶ στρα-
- 70 ταγοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τοῦ διδομένου αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰς δια-
τοξείας τῶν βαλλόντων τῷ καταπάλται θυόντω τῷ
Ἐρμαῖ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Ἀρταμιτίου καὶ τοῦ Πανάμου καὶ Καρνε[ι]-
ου καὶ Καφισίου, ἐν ἐκάστῳ μηνὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἱερεῖον μὴ
ἐλάσσονος ἄξιον δραχμῶν ΔΔΔΔ· ὅσοι κα νικάσωντι στε-
75 φανίταν ἀγῶνα, θυόντω τῷ Ἐρμαῖ τῷ Ἐναγωνίῳ ἱερεῖον μὴ ἐ-
λάσσονος ἄξιον δραχμῶν ΔΔΔΔ· ἐπεὶ κα τὰν ἀ{να}ναγόρευ-
σμι ποιῶνται τοὶ προστάται τῶν νικάντων τὸς στεφανίτας ἀ-
γῶνας, τὸν στέφανον ἐπιτιθέτω τῷ νικῶντι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλιος
ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἐρμαῖ. ν τοὶ παιδοτρίβιαι τοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλᾶς δοκι-
80 μασθέντες θυόντω τῷ Ἐρμαῖ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Ὑακινθίου τῷ
δευτέρῳ τοὶ πάντες ἱερεῖον μὴ ἐλάσσονος ἄξιο(ν) δρα-
χμῶν ΔΔΔ. τὰ πίπτοντα ἀπὸ μηνὸς Βαδρομίῳ τοῦ ἐπὶ Με-
[ν]οῖτιῳ [τὰ ἐξ] ἀστυνόμων καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀγορανόμων χωρὶ τῶν
[- 8-10 - - κ]αὶ ἐμπορικῶν παραβολίων καὶ ἐπιδεκάτων τῶ[ν
85 [- 10-12 - -]α ἡμεν ἱερά τοῦ Ἐρμαῖ. ν τοὶ ἐργωνήσαντε[ς]
[παρὰ - - 6-8 - -]ητῶν ἢ ἐπιστατῶν ἀπὸ τε {καὶ} τοῦ Βαδρομίῳ]
[τοῦ ἐπὶ Μενοῖτιῳ ἀπαρχέσθων ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ [- c. 5 - -]
[- 13-17 - -]αν τῷ Ἐρμαῖ, καὶ ὧμ μὲν κα τοὶ ταμ[ν]αί
[- 14-18 - -]αι ἔργων, ὑπολογεύντω αὐτοῖ[ς - - c. 6 - -]
90 [- 15-20 - -] ἀπὸ τῆς πράτας δόσιος ΤΘ-----

vacat

84 [νανκλαρικῶν κ]αὶ HERZOG. 84–85 τ[ᾶν ἱερατεῖᾶν πάν]τα HERZOG. 86 {καὶ} PARKER. 87 *supp.* MATZ in place of [τοῦ ἐπὶ μονάρχου Μενοῖτιῳ] (HERZOG), which is too long. Better for space would be 86–87 Βαδρομίῳ τοῦ ἐπὶ Μενοῖτιῳ. 88 τὰν δεκά[τ]αν HERZOG. 89 ἀπάρξων[τ]αι HERZOG. 89–90 ὑπολογεύντω αὐτοῖ[ς τοὶ λογισταῖ] HERZOG.

For 85ff. cf. IG VII 3073.93 ὁ ἐργωνήσας παρὰ τῶν ναοποιῶν. Possible supplements include τῶν πωλ[η]τῶν (MATZ); ἐπιμελ[η]τῶν.

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²⁰ We have been much helped by an Oxford seminar presentation on this text by M. R. MATZ of Corpus Christi College.

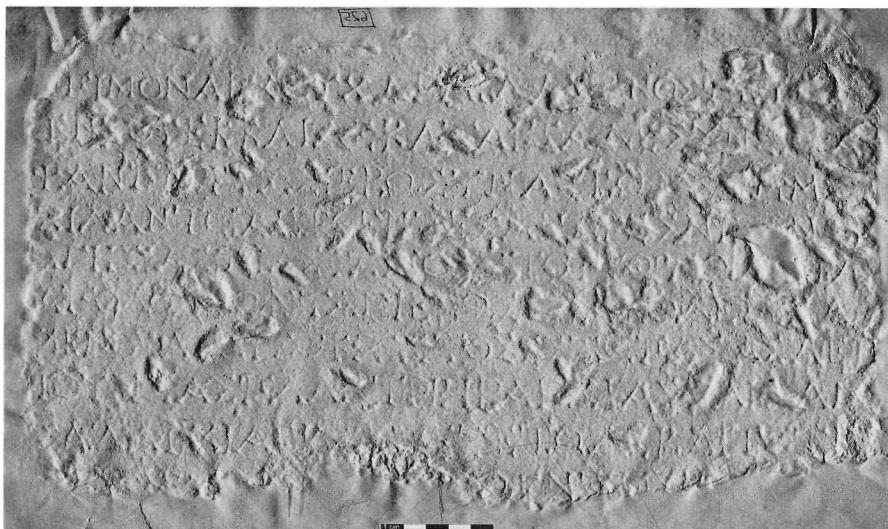


Fig. 1: no. 2. Priesthood (of the *Symmachidai*)

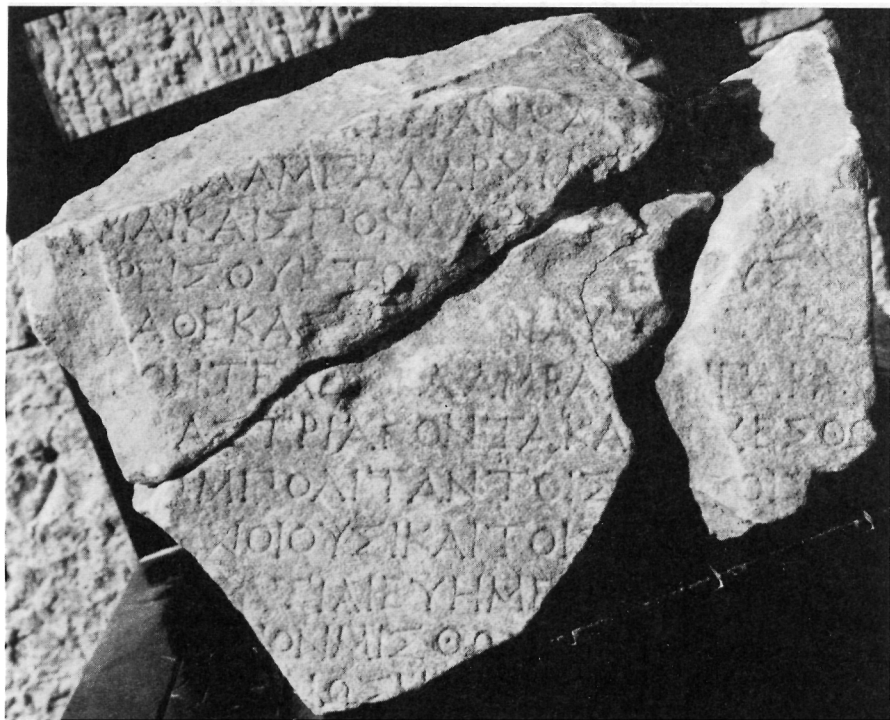


Fig. 2: no. 3 A: Priesthood of an unknown god (*Asklepios?*)



Fig. 3: no. 3 B: Priesthood of an unknown god (Asklepios?)

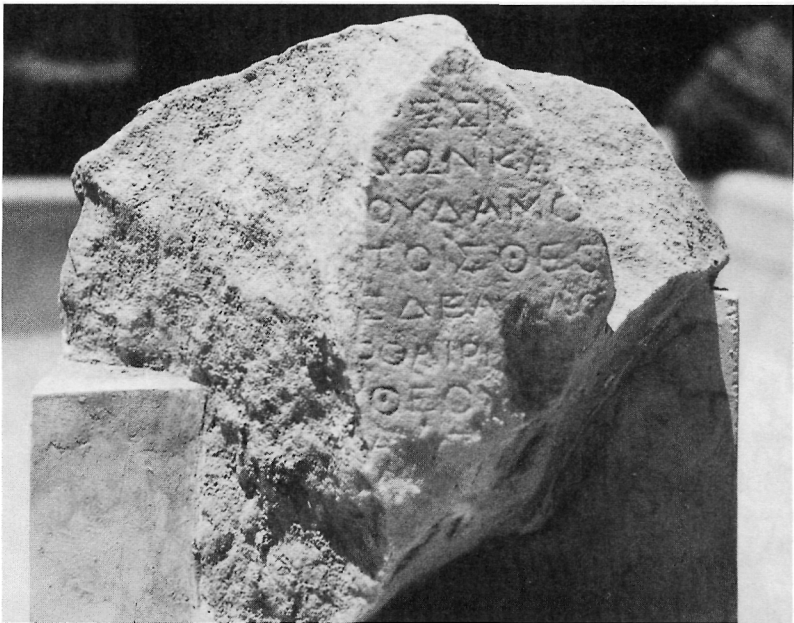


Fig. 4: no. 4 A fr. c: Priesthood of Asklepios



Fig. 5: no. 4 A fr. b: Priesthood of Asklepios



Fig. 6: no. 4 B fr. a: Priesthood of Asklepios

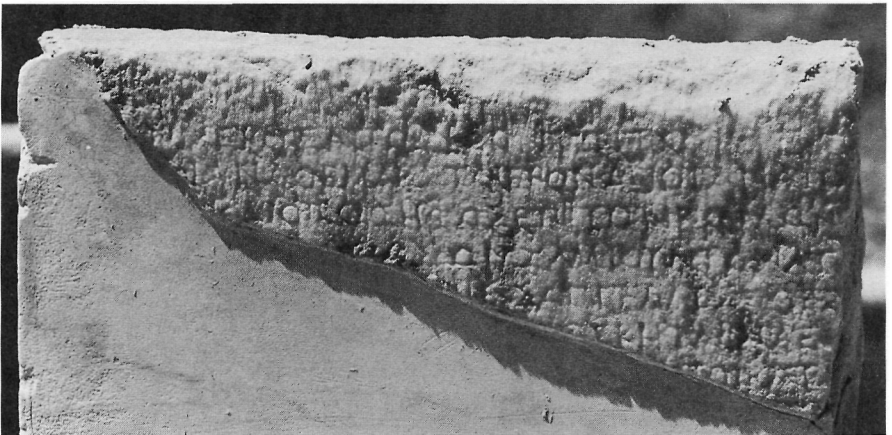


Fig. 7: no. 4 B fr. b: Priesthood of Asklepios

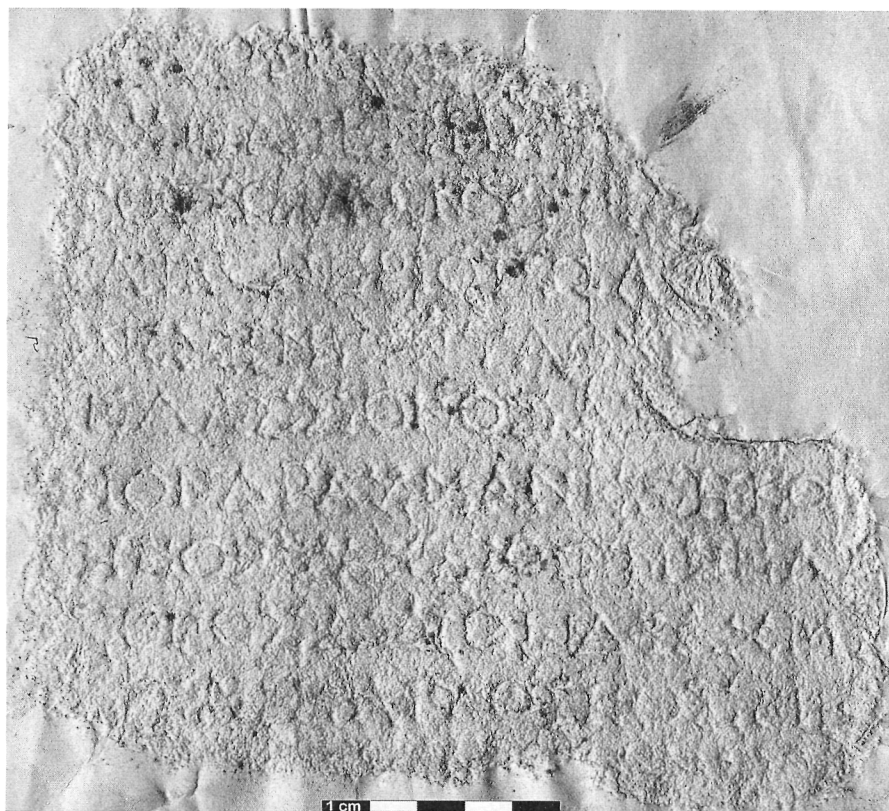


Fig. 8: no. 5: Priesthood of an unknown god

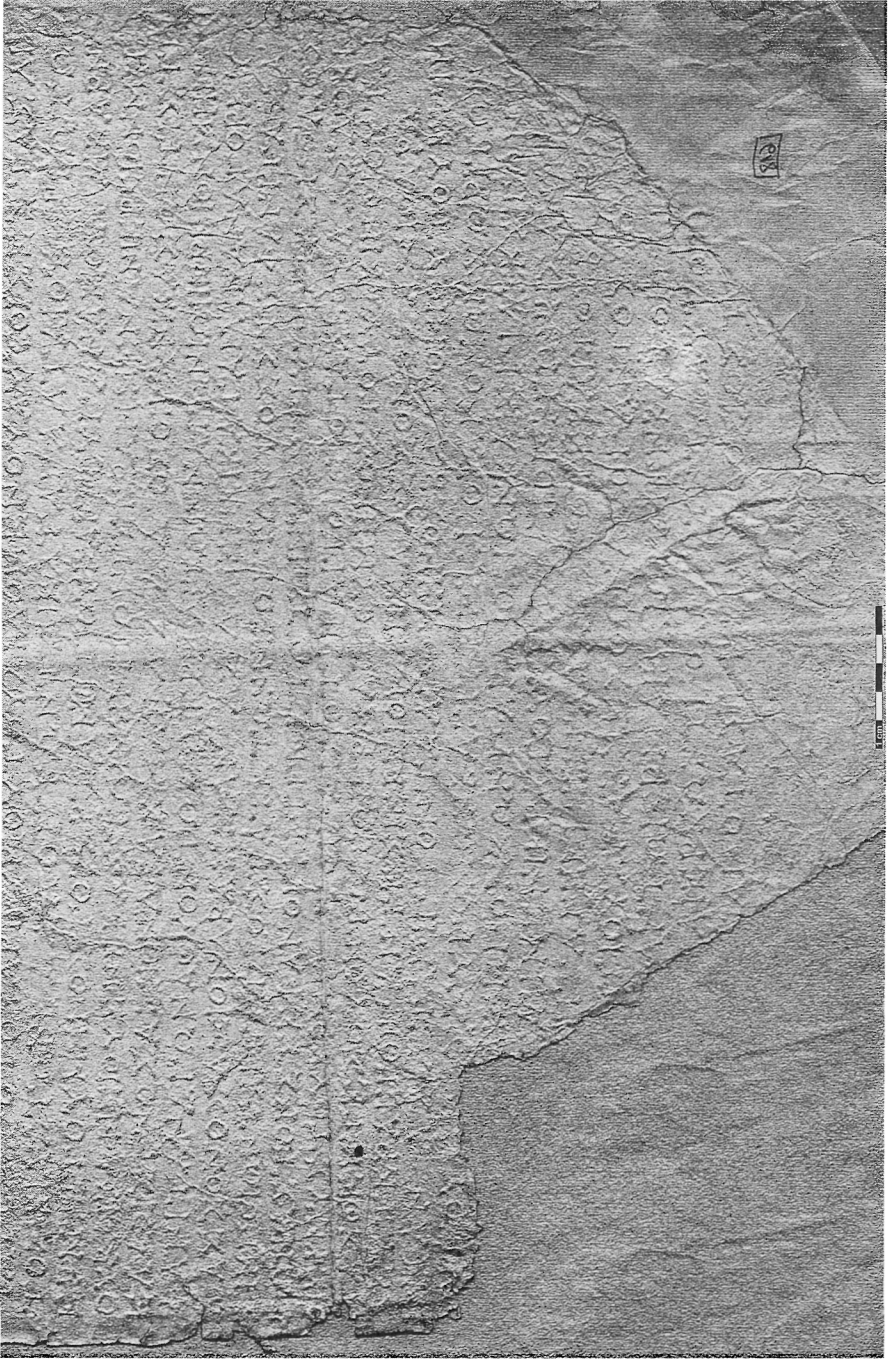


Fig. 9: no. 6: Priesthood of Hermes Enagonios: lines 71–90