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Charles V. Chrowther

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

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CHARLES V. CROWTHER

Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» IV.¹
Koan Decrees for Foreign Judges

Two brief notices in the reports of R. HERZOG's excavation of the Koan Asklepieion in 1902–1903 record the discovery of a series of decrees for Koan judges.² With the exception of a new fragment of OGIS 43, a decree of Naxos for Koan judges sent at the request of the Ptolemaic nesiarch Bakchon³ and extracts from the consideration and publication clauses of a decree of Chalkis which established the identity of the sanctuary in which it had been found as the Asklepieion,⁴ these inscriptions have remained unpublished. HERZOG's excavations in the Asklepieion also yielded two substantial fragments of a long text concerned with the settlement by Koan *διαλλακταί* of a stasis on the neighbouring island of Telos at the beginning of the third century BC.⁵ Except

¹ Acknowledgements: the editions of inscriptions presented in this paper rest on foundations created by the greatest modern student of Koan antiquity, RUDOLF HERZOG; corrections of readings and supplements offered in the commentaries are part of a continuing dialogue with HERZOG's immense contribution to the field of Koan epigraphy. For the invitation to study this material, I am grateful to the IG committee of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, in particular to CH. HABICHT and P. HERRMANN. The readiness of the IG committee to share HERZOG's discoveries with scholars in Oxford and to sanction the loan of irreplaceable material from HERZOG's archive has been unstinting. In Oxford, the notebooks and squeezes deposited in the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents by SUSAN SHERWIN-WHITE have been an important resource. In Berlin, KLAUS HALLOF has been a constant source of information and has checked many readings. The publication of the new texts in this paper could scarcely have been contemplated so soon without his work and that of LUISE HALLOF in transcribing texts from HERZOG's Schede. I am profoundly grateful to them. In writing brief commentaries to each text, I have been able to draw on a set of notes on nos. 3, 7, 8 and 9 kindly made available by CH. HABICHT. A list of frequent abbreviations follows at the end of the paper. For a series of corrections and improvements I am indebted to the editors of *Chiron*, to KENT RIGSBY, KERSTIN HÖGHAMMER, and my Oxford colleagues DIRK OBBINK and ROBERT PARKER.

² R. HERZOG, AA 1903, 10; AA 1903, 198; cf. HERZOG, HG 46: «Das Ansehen der koischen Richter im Ausland zeigt sich in vielen auswärtigen Ehrungen koischer Richter.»

³ L. ROBERT, ap. HOLLEAUX, *Études* 3, 33–37.

⁴ P. SCHAZMANN – R. HERZOG, *Kos I: Das Asklepieion*, Berlin 1932, p. XXVIII.

⁵ HERZOG, AA 1903, 196; 1905, 11; cf. HERZOG, HG 45.

for an extract from the civic oath sworn by the Telians,⁶ this document too has remained unpublished. Together these inscriptions form one of the most substantial and concentrated bodies of evidence concerning the use of foreign courts and conciliators by Greek cities in the Hellenistic period.

The present article, which forms a sequel to the publication of three Koan decrees for *δικασταγωγοί* in Chiron 28,⁷ communicates the most substantial of the unpublished inscriptions which can securely be identified as belonging to decrees for Koan judges, alongside revised editions of the five other inscriptions concerning Koan judges which have hitherto been published. The identification of one of the latter texts (no. 4 below) had not previously been recognised. Publication of the Telian Settlement document has been held back for a separate and subsequent article.

The texts of the unpublished inscriptions presented here are based in the first instance on HERZOG's preliminary editions and notebook copies, as transcribed by K. and L. HALLOF. These texts have been verified, in turn, against HERZOG's squeezes and, in the case of nos. 3 and 8, squeezes and notebook copies made by S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE currently held in the epigraphical archive of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford. No photographs of these inscriptions survive among HERZOG's papers in Berlin and the timetable of publication has not made it possible to collate the copies against the stones in the museums on Kos. For this reason, the editions presented here should be regarded as provisional. In a few cases repeated study of the squeezes in Berlin and Oxford has resulted in substantial changes to HERZOG's texts. Re-examination of the original stones and systematic study of the squeeze collection in Berlin can be expected in the future to yield both further improvements in reading and new associations of isolated fragments.⁸ No less important will be the establishment of a secure sequence of Koan lettering styles. In the absence of such a sequence, judgments of dating ranges based on lettering styles can only be approximations and are likely to vary idiosyncratically. The palaeographical discriminations offered in the present paper are no exceptions.

For the re-edition of the Koan dikastic decrees already known (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 11), discussion for the most part has been limited to questions of text and dating; new commentaries have not been added *ab initio*. A more sustained attempt has been made to offer contextualising commentary for the new inscriptions (nos. 3, 6–10), although here too the emphasis has been on establishing usable texts.

⁶ Quoted by HERZOG at *Riv. Fil.* NS 20, 1942, 15.

⁷ AAIG I. Photographs of squeezes of inscriptions 2 and 3, which were not included in the initial publication, are printed here as figs. 1 and 2.

⁸ One such improvement can be signalled immediately: AAIG II no. 10 is almost certainly the lower part of AAIG I no. 2; cf. the composite text presented in the Appendix on pages 308–309 below.

1 Decree for judges and πρόξενοι from Kos. Late 4th century BC. Stele of white marble, broken above and below, although the end of the inscription is preserved, and chipped on either edge; from the 1930 excavations in the Asklepieion. Fig. 3 (CSAD squeeze).

Discovery mentioned by L. LAURENZI, *Historia* 5, 1931, 621 n. 11. Ed. pr. of L. LAURENZI, *Clara Rhodos* 10, 1941, 26–30 (tav. I). A revised edition is due in K. HALLOF's forthcoming Samos fascicule for IG XII 6. – Cf. L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 2, 1946, 30, accepting LAURENZI's identification of Phila as the wife of Poliorketes; id. with J. ROBERT, *Bull. épigr.* 1948, 184; *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 177 n. 4, preferring the wife of Gonatas, on orthographical and palaeographical grounds; followed by SHERWIN-WHITE 109 nn. 38–39; G. REGER, *AJAH* 10.2, 1985 (1993), 167 with nn. 71–73, pp. 176–77. CH. HABICHT, *Gottmenschen-tum und griechische Städte*, Munich 1956 (²1970), 62–64, initially favoured Gonatas; but leaves the identification open in the second edition of 1970, 253 n. 1 and at *AM* 72, 1957, 265, 268 n. 168; as does D. G. J. SHIPLEY, *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.*, Oxford 1987, 187–188. W. TRANSIER, *Samiaka*, Mannheim 1985, 24, 72, 183 n. 112, follows LAURENZI's late 4th century dating. Cf. now PH. GAUTHIER, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II*, Nancy 1989, pp. 62–63 with n. 41, arguing decisively for a late 4th century date (summarised at *SEG* 39, 850). RHODES, *Decrees* 283–84, discusses various details of procedure.

- [καί] ἀναγράψαι αὐτοὺς εὐεργέτας τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σ[αμίων καὶ στε]-
 [φα]νῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσοῖ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι τὸν ἱερ[οκῆ]-
 [ρ]υκα Διονυσίαν τραγωιδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐπ' ὀνόματος ἕκαστον
 4 πατρόθεν, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων στεφανοὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ το-
 [ύς] προξένους τοὺς παραγενομένου[ς] ἐκ Κῶ δικάσαν[τα]ς Σ[α]μίοις
 [τά]ς δίκας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, τῆς δ' ἀναγγελίας ἐπιμεληθῆνα[ι]
 [τὸν] ἀγωνοθέτην μετὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς-
 8 [π]λουν καὶ ἔκπλουν ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδοὶ καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ καὶ ἐ[ν] εἰρήνῃ· δ-
 [ε]δόσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πᾶσιν [οἰ]ς [ῆ] πόλις [τί]θησ[ι]·
 εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἄν [τ]ου δέ[ωνται]
 πρῶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰ βασιλικά, ἐπιμελε[ῖ]σθαι δὲ αὐ[τ]ῶν [κ]αὶ τὰ [ἀρ]-
 12 χεῖα αἰεὶ τὰ ἐνεστηκότα, ἐάν του τυγχάνωσι δεδ[ό]σθαι δ[ε] αὐτοῖς καὶ πολειτεῖ[αν]
 [ε]φ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίαι καὶ ἐπιψηφίσαι τὸν δῆμον ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίας κα[τὰ] τὸν [νό]-
 μον, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις τοὺς πρυτανεύοντας τὸμ μῆνα [τὸν Ἄν]θεσ[τη]-
 16 [ρι]ῶνα προαγαγεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πολειτείας καὶ τῆς προξενίας, ὅπως ὁ δῆμο[ς]
 διαψηφίσῃ καθότι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται· ἐάν δὲ τιν[ε]ς αὐ[τῶν] βού[λω]ντα[ι]
 οἰκεῖν ἐν Σάμῳ, εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἀτέλειαν ὧν ἂν εισά[γ]ωνται, καὶ (ἐάν) ἐξάγε[ι]ν
 βούλωνται τούτων τι, ἀτελεῖ ἐξαγέτωσαν· ταῦτα δ[ε] ὑπ[ἀ]ρχειν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ-
 20 γόνοις· ὅπως δὲ πάντες εἰδῶσ[ι]ν τὰ ἐψηφισμέν[α] Σαμίοις περὶ τῶν
 [δ]ικαστῶν καὶ τῶν προξένων, τὸγ γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράψα[ι]

- [τ]ὸ ψήφισμα τόδε εἰ(ς) στήλας λιθίνας δύο καὶ στήσα[ι μ]ίαμ μὲν εἰς τὸ [ἰ]-
 24 ερον τῆς Ἥρας, τὴν δὲ μίαν, ὅταν αἱ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας τιμα[ῖ]-
 μον εἰς τὸ ἀνάλωμα ὑπερ[ε]τήσαι· ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὴν εἰς Κῶν,
 ὅστις τό τε ψήφισμα ἀποίσει καὶ ἀξιώσει τὸν δῆμον ψηφίσασθαι ὅ-
 28 ται καὶ ἀναγγείλωσι καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμὰς τὰς δεδομένας [τοῖς]
 δικασταῖς καὶ τοῖς προξένοις καθότι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν. *vacat*
 [ἔ]δοξε τῷ δήμῳ. *vacat*. Ἐπήρατος Φιλτέω εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [καθὰ]
 Βάττος καὶ Ἐρομόδικος· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀποστε[ῖλαι τοῖς]
 32 πρυτάνεις καὶ τὸν οἰκονόμον εἰς Κῶ τοῖς προ[ο]ξ[έ]νοις τοῖς]
 [ἀ]γαθοῦσι τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ ἀξιῶν προ[ἡ]σα[ι] αὐτοὺς πάντα]
 [κατ]ὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα. *vacat*

The text is essentially LAURENZI's; collations of the Oxford (CROWTHER) and Berlin (HALLOF) squeezes have yielded additional letter traces in a few places, none of them significant.

25 εἰς Κῶ LAURENZI || 30: LAURENZI's [καθάπερ] is too long. || 33–34 LAURENZI's προ[ἡ]σα[ι] αὐτοὺς | κατ]ὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα is too short. I follow HERZOG in adding πάντα; another possibility would be ἄλλα (HALLOF).

Translation

[. . . and] to inscribe them as benefactors of the people of t[he Samians and to crown them with a gold crown and th[e] hier[oker]yx is to announce the names of each of them with their fathers' names at the tragic contest at the Dionysia, to the effect that «the people of the Samians crowns the judges and th[e] proxenoi who came from Kos having judged [th]e cases correctly and justly for the Samians», and the agonothetes is to take responsibility for the announcement together with the demiourgos; they are to have rights to sailing into and out of (the port) without reprisal and without the need for a treaty both in war and in peace; a position of honour in all the games which the city puts on is also to be given to them; they are to have precedence in access to the council and the people should they require anything immediately after religious matters and matters concerning the kings, and the magistrates in office at all times are to look after them should they happen to need anything; they are also to be proxenoi of the city; citizenship with equal and full rights is to be given to them and the people is to put it to the vote at the assembly for elections in accordance with the law, and the prytaneis who hold the prytany for the month of Anthesterion are to bring (the proposal) forward concerning their citizenship and proxeny, so that the people may vote on it as prescribed in the law; and if any of them wish to live on Samos, they are to have exemption from taxes for whatever they may import and if they wish to export any of these things, they are to be allowed to export them free from taxes. These honours are to belong to them and to their descendants. So that everyone may

know what has been voted by the Samians concerning the judges and proxenoi, the secretary of the council is to inscribe this decree on two marble stelai and to set up one in the sanctuary of Hera, and the other one, when the honours for Queen Phila have been completed, in the precinct voted to Phila; the oikonomos is to see to the expenditure; an ambassador to Kos is to be chosen who will both convey the decree and request the people to vote for it to be inscribed and set up in a sanctuary wherever the people votes and to proclaim the honours given to [the] judges and the proxenoi there just as they are here.

Resolved by the people; Eperatos the son of Philteas spoke: in general [as] Battos and Hermodikos (proposed); but [the] prytaneis and the oikonomos are to send this decree to Kos to the proxenoi [who] brought the courts and to request [them to] act [according] to what has been written.

Commentary

The date and context of this Samian decree for Koan judges and proxenoi, which depend upon the identification of the Queen Phila whose cult is referred to in lines 23–25, have been the subject of some discussion. In his editio princeps, LAURENZI identified Phila as the wife of Demetrios Poliorketes, but ROBERT suggested that Phila II, the wife of Antigonos Gonatas, would provide a better match for the orthography and lettering of the inscription. The divergence between dating ranges of 306–301 (Phila I) and 278–259 (Phila II)⁹ might admit of a palaeographical resolution at its widest, but convincing parallels from datable Koan inscriptions are not easily adduced. The lettering of the inscription is distinctive, with an unusually small omicron and theta and mu and sigma with splayed outer strokes and deeply indented central bars. Individually these features can be paralleled in other Koan inscriptions,¹⁰ but there is no parallel for their combination among the Koan inscriptions I have been able to examine. Similar characteristics are visible on Samos itself, however, in the lettering of an inscription dating to the period shortly after the return of the exiled Samian demos (ca. 320 BC).¹¹ This comparison is not in

⁹ For this dating range, see REGER, cited in the lemma, 167.

¹⁰ HERZOG, HG 17 has a similar small omicron and theta, but omega is full-size and outer bars of sigma and mu are nearly parallel; the Knossian and Gortynian decrees for Hermias of ca. 217 (IC I. 8.7; IV. 168) similarly have small round letters (including omega), but parallel sigma.

¹¹ CH. HABICHT, AM 72, 1957, 173–174 no. 6 with plate 123. S.V. TRACY, Chiron 20, 1990, 63–64 (p. 76, fig. 1) takes this inscription as the archetype for the work of his «Cutter of Samos 247», but the two other texts attributed to the same hand (AM 44, 1919, 5–6 no. 5F and 15–16, no. 6) less obviously share the same characteristics. A date for Samos 247 soon after the return of the demos is secured by the role taken by τοὺς πέντε τοὺς ἡγήμενους in registering the citizenship award to the decree's unidentified honorand; cf. HABICHT's discussion *ibid.*, to which can now be added K. HALLOF, Klio 78, 1996, 337–346.

itself decisive. The lettering styles of the inscriptions even of adjacent poleis show marked divergences in individual features and rates of development throughout the Hellenistic period, and Samos and Kos are no exceptions. The Samian inscription is clearly the work of a different stonecutter from the Samian decree from the Asklepieion.¹² Nevertheless, its lettering does provide a late fourth-century parallel for the most distinctive features of the latter's script. On palaeographical grounds, accordingly, there is no need to look for a mid-third-century date for the Samian decree. The evidence of formulation points in the same direction.

The formulation of the Samian decree shows similarities with other Samian decrees that certainly belong to the late 4th century.¹³ Koans in Antigonid service are among the recipients of *προξενία* from the Samians in the same period,¹⁴ and the name of one of the proposers of the decree for Koan judges, Battos, is also attested in the same role then.¹⁵ As GAUTHIER has emphasised,¹⁶ the Samian decrees of the late 4th century provide a secure context, of close relations with Antigonos and Demetrios, that is lacking for Gonatas' reign.

The balance of the evidence, therefore, favours an earlier date both for the cult of Phila on Samos and for the Koan judges' mission. If so, this would be the earliest surviving decree for a foreign court from Kos, and one of the few such texts to fall within the fourth century.¹⁷ A contemporary context for the Koans' role as a source of judges is suggested by the part taken by Kos in the

¹² Pi and upsilon, for example, are different in the two inscriptions: the right vertical of pi is turned inward in the Asklepieion text; while in Samos 247, upsilon has a long stem with flat branches.

¹³ Cf., e.g., M. SCHEDE, AM 44, 1919, 16–20, no. 7 and Syll³ 333; HABICHT, AM 72, 1957, 268 n. 168, notices that the use of *στῆσαι* in l. 22, the regular formula in late 4c. Samian decrees, rather than *ἀναθεῖναι* which came into use in the third century, favours a date before 280.

¹⁴ TRANSIER, cited in the lemma, 72, citing SCHEDE, AM 44, 1919, 5–6 no. 5F; HABICHT, AM 72, 1957, 21. HABICHT, ZPE 112, 1996, 85, has suggested that Dionysios of Sinope, the honorand of the late fourth-century Koan proxeny decree SEGRE, ED 20, who served a queen plausibly identified by SEGRE as Phila, may be the same man who was honoured on the proposal of Stratokles at Athens in this period (IG II² 560).

¹⁵ AM 44, 1919, 9–10 no. 5L; AM 72, 1957, 201 no. 35; W. G. FORREST, HOROS 5, 1987, 91–93, also proposed by Battos, however, is likely to date somewhat later, perhaps ca. 280. All three decrees are the work of TRACY'S «Cutter of Samos 161», whose career extends over the period ca. 305–270.

¹⁶ GAUTHIER cited in the lemma; cf., e.g., the Samian decree for Straton Drakonos of Kos who helped Samos and Samian ambassadors during his stay at Antigonos' court, AM 72, 1957, 186–88 no. 21; and Syll³ 333, for the Lycian Demarchos Taronos, *νῦν διατρίβων παρὰ τῆ βασιλίσ[σ]η Φίλαι καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς* (8–10).

¹⁷ Other fourth-century decrees for foreign judges: SEG 12, 390, with A. J. HEISSERER, Alexander the Great and the Greeks, Oklahoma 1980, 114–117 (Naxian and Andrian judges to Chios); I. Kyme 1 (OGIS 7), before 306 (Kyme).

Antigonid regulations for the sympoliteia of Teos and Lebedos in ca. 303/2, in which its constitution is cited as a model for the democratic institutions to be introduced in the new sympolity,¹⁸ and by the Koans' arbitration of a frontier dispute between Klazomenai and Teos in the same period.¹⁹

The role played by Samian πρόξενοι on Kos in the sending of the court is of interest; for they seem to have taken the place not only of δικασταγωγοί, but also, to an extent, of the δήμος. Honorific decrees for foreign courts regularly honour both the judges and the demos responsible for sending them.²⁰ Although the first half of the inscription is lacking, the Samian decree appears to acknowledge neither role nor honours for the latter. An amendment transfers the responsibility for ensuring publication of the decree on Kos from an ambassador appointed by the Samian δήμος to the Samian πρόξενοι.

Notable too is the unusual formulation of the citizenship award in lines 13–20, which, as HABICHT (cited in the lemma) noticed, has no parallels among late 4th century Samian decrees. GAUTHIER attributes the elaboration of the procedure envisaged to the relatively large number of honorands which included the Koan proxenoi involved in the transaction as well as the judges themselves.

The plural τὰ δικαστήρια in 32–33 seems to imply that there had been other missions to Samos by Koan δικασταί, but their frequency and context are not specified.

2 Decree for 5 Koan δικασταί καὶ διαλλακταί. Ca. 280 BC.

Two segments of a stele of white marble, the first, A, from the antiquities collection of D.K. PLATONISTES, where it was first seen and copied by PLATONISTES' friend J. SAKELLION; complete on right, broken left, above and below (21 lines preserved); the second, B, formed of five joining fragments (b–f), from R. HERZOG'S excavations in the Koan Asklepieion, complete on the right and partly on the left, broken above and below (39 lines preserved). Frs. b and d were found in the excavation season of 1902 on 13 October and communicated by HERZOG to HOLLEAUX (noticed by P. GRAINDOR, BCH 27, 1903, 398); fr. e is also from the 1902 season; c, found by HERZOG in 1907 and f, by SCHATZMANN in 1922, were subsequently joined. SEGRE, ED 129, p. 91, suggested that B may have belonged to a second copy of the decree inscribed in the Asklepieion, because of an apparent discrepancy between the thickness of the two fragments, but this seems unlikely since all their other details match. A: height: 0.26 m; width: 0.285 m; thickness: 0.065 m. Fig. 4 (CSAD squeeze). B: height: 0.49 m; width: 0.365 m; thickness: 0.09 m. Fig. 5 (CSAD squeeze). Letter height: 0.008–0.01 m (omicron: 0.007); line interval: 0.004–0.005 m.

¹⁸ WELLES, RC 3, 55–65.

¹⁹ AGER, IAGW no. 15 (SEGRE, ED 174).

²⁰ See the discussion in JAC 8, 1993, 70–74.

A. ed. pr. of J. SAKELLION, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1862, 266–8, no. 240 (revised with additional supplements by E. SONNE, De arbitris externis, Göttingen 1888, LXIII, with Excursus I, 92–93); edited independently by A. PANTELIDIS, Πανδώρα 17, 1866, p. 431 (non vidi); revised edition of W. R. PATON and E. L. HICKS in 1891, PH 16; (revised, in turn, by M. HOLLEAUX, BCH 18, 1894, 400–405 [reprinted with further corrections in Études 3, 1942, 27–32]; MICHEL, Recueil 409, based on HOLLEAUX; DITTENBERGER, OGIS 43, following HOLLEAUX with variations in 8, 13, 18–21 [Vol. II, addenda et corrigenda p. 539 corrects the restoration of 15–16]; HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, IG XII 5, p. xvi no. 1310). The re-edition in SEGRE, ED 129, with Suppl. bibliog. p. 261, marks a regression in a number of respects from the reconstruction proposed by HOLLEAUX. – B. ed. pr. of M. HOLLEAUX, Études 3, 33–37, from HERZOG's copy of frs. b and d, with additional commentary by L. ROBERT. – Cf. A. WILHELM, GGA 1898, 321–322 (reviewing MICHEL); R. S. BAGNALL, The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt, Leiden 1976, 149–50; SHERWIN-WHITE 92 with notes 51–52; M. M. AUSTIN, The Hellenistic World, Cambridge 1981, 448, no. 268 (English translation of A); PH. GAUTHIER, Bull. épigr. 1995, 448, pp. 501–502 (correcting the re-edition of A in SEGRE, ED 129).

Frs. c, e and f are published here for the first time from HERZOG's text and a collation of the Oxford and Berlin squeezes. Underlined letters in fr. A indicate readings of SAKELLION, PANTELIDIS and PH that can no longer be verified on stone or squeeze.

- A *indistinct traces of lettering*
- [- - - - - βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ το[...]
 [- ^{ca. 13-15} -] ἡιτήσατο δικαστάς καὶ διαλ[λα]-
 [κτάς το]ὑς διακρινοῦντας περὶ τῶν ἀμφι[σ]-
 4 [βητουμέ]γων συμβολαίων, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν
 [Κώιων ἀπέ]στειλεν ἄνδρας καλοῦς καγαθοῦς,
 [οἱ παραγεν]όμενοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ τε τῶν ἀπο-
 [γεραμμέν]ων ἀμφισβητήσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 8 [τῶν ἐπιτρ]α[πέν]των αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
 [τοῦς μέν πλείστους τῶν διαφερομένων ἀνα-
 [καλεσάμενοι πολλάκις ἐφ' αὐτοῦς διέλυον συμφ[ε]-
 [ρόντως], τοῦς δὲ διέκρινομετὰ πάσης δικα-
 12 [σοῦνης, πλείονος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ χρόνου γινομένω
 [διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κρίσεων καὶ βουλομένων τῶν δι[ι]-
 [καστῶν πάλιν ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ἴδια, ὁ δῆμος
 [ὁ ἡμετερος παρεκάλεσεν αὐτοῦς μετὰ Βάκχονος
 16 [τοῦ νησιάρχου (?) παρ' ἡμῖν παρα]μείναντας καὶ τὰ λοι[ι]-
 [πά τῶν ἐπιτραπέντων αὐτοῖς ἐξαγοντας μέ-
 [χρι τέλους συμπαραγίγνε]σθαι Ναξ[ίο]ις, οἱ δὲ κατ[ι]

- [ἐν τούτοις τῶι δήμῳ χαρίζε]σθαι βουλόμενοι
 20 [πάσαν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν ἐποιήσαντ[ο]
 [ὅπως -----]ΞΙΩΝ...ΡΤ.⁵⁻⁶
- B [- -----]ΥΣΕΙΝΑΙ
b [- ----- ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν συμβολ]αίων οἰκονο-
 [μίαν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτο]λεμαῖον φιλίας ἔ-
 4 [νεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς διατελεῖ] ἔ[χ]ουσα καὶ στεφανῶ-
 [σαι αὐτὴν χρυσῶι στ]εφάνῳ τῶι ἐκ τοῦ νόμου φιλο-
 [τιμίας ἔνεκεν κ]αὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 [τὸν Ναξίων· ἐπ]εὶ δὲ πάντα συντετέλεστοι κατὰ τὰς
 8 [εὐχὰς τὰς πρ]ότερογ γενηθείσας ἀποδοῦναι τὰς
 [χάριτας τοῖς θ]εοῖς ὅταν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ψηφίση-
 [ται καὶ θύσῃ] τῶι Σωτῆρι Πτολεμαίῳ ἱερεῖον τέλει-
 [ον· ἐπαινέσαι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς *v* Ξάνθιππον
 12 [τοῦ δεινός, Καλ?]λιππίδην Φωκίῶνος *v* Φίλιστον Ἀρεταφά-
e [νευς *v* Να]σιώταν Νασιώτα *v* Δείναρχον Τιμαίθου καὶ
 [στεφαν]ῶσα[ι] χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν
 [τῶι ἐκ τ]οῦ νόμου καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον τὸν
 16 *f* γ[ραμμα]τέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ Διονυσίων
c τῶ[ν μεγάλ]ων τραγωιδῶν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ναξίων
 στ[εφαν]οῖ[ι] χρυσῶι στε[φά]νωι τὸν τε δῆμον τὸν Κώι-
 20 κα κα[ὶ] εὐνοίας καὶ δικα[ιο]σύνης, ἀναγγέλλοντας
 πατρ[όθεν] γ ἔκ[α]στον αὐ[τῶ]ν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ προ-
 ξένου[ς] καὶ εὐεργέτας τ[οῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ναξίων καὶ
 αὐτοῦ[ς] καὶ ἐκ]γόνους τοὺς τούτων· ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐ-
 24 [τ]οῖς κα[ὶ] πρὸς] τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρόσσοδον
 [πρ]ώτοις [μετὰ] τὰ ἱερά· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν σύλοις ἀσυ-
 [λία]ν κα[ὶ] ἐμ πολ]λέμῳ εἰρήνην καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς
 [ἀγῶσι]ν οἷ[ς] ὁ δῆμος] τίθησι· ὑπὲρ δὲ πολιτείας ὅπως αὐ-
 28 [τοῖς δοθῆ]μι, προγ]ραψάσθων οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τοὺς
 [νόμους ἐν τοῖς] χρόνοις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων· τοὺς δὲ
 [ταμίας τοὺς π]ερὶ Εὐφάνην καὶ Μνησεάν δοῦναι τοῖς
 [δικασταῖς εἷς] τε τὸν στέφανον καὶ εἰς θυσίαν καὶ
 32 [εἰς ξένια καὶ εἰς ἀπόστολον ἐκάστωι χιλίας δραχμὰς·
 [ὅπως δὲ καὶ μν]ημονεύηται εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
 [ἧ τε τοῦ δήμου] τοῦ Κώων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ναξί-
 [ων εὐνοια καὶ ἡ τ]ῶν δικαστῶν ἀρετὴ καὶ δικαιοσύνη
 36 [πρὸς τὴν πόλιν] τὴν Ναξίων, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς στρα-
 [τηγούς τοὺς π]ερὶ Διόννην καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς
 [βουλῆς ὅπως ἀν]αγραφῆι τότε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην

- [λιθίνην και ἀνατεθῆ]ι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ
 40 [Δηλίου, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν] δόγῳ
 [οἱ ταμίαι(?) - -]

A 1–3 the beginning of the Naxian decree has been variously reconstructed by SONNE, PH, HOLLEAUX, HERZOG and SEGRE; their suggestions are noticed here, with discussion following in the commentary below: [ἐπειδὴ Βάκχων τοῦ δεινός πρεσβευτῆς παρ' ἡμῶν παρεγένετο πρὸς Κώους κελευσθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου και [παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἠ]τήσατο δικαστὰς και ἰδίας και δημοσίας δίκα]ς SONNE; [ἐπειδὴ ὁ δεῖνα ἐλθὼν εἰς Κῶ κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου και τοῦ δήμου - - ἠ]τήσατο PH; [ἐπειδὴ Βάκχων Νικητοῦ ὁ νησιάρχος παρεγένε|το εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Κῶων κατὰ τὰ προσταχ|θέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου και τ[οῦ κοινου] | τῶν Νησιωτῶν και] ἠτήσατο δικαστὰς και διαλ[λα]κτῆρας τοῦς διακρινοῦντας περὶ τῶν ἀμφισ[βητο]μέγων συμβολαίων HOLLEAUX; [ἔδοξε τῆ βουλῆ και τῶ δήμω| ἐπειδὴ ὁ δήμος ὁ Ναξίων ψήφισμα και πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλας πρὸς Κώους οἰ]ξε[ί]ους και φίλους και συμμάχους ὄντας βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου και τοῦ [κοινου] τῶν Νησιωτῶν] ἠτήσατο δικαστὰς HERZOG; [ἐπειδὴ ὁ δήμος ὁ Ναξίων κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου και τοῦ [ναύαρχου (sic) Βάκχωνος ἠ]τήσατο δικαστὰς SEGRE || A 2 [κατεσ]τήσαντο SAKELLION || A 3–4 PH's διαλ[λα]κτῆρας τοῦς is too long, as also is HERZOG's διαλλ[α]κτὰς πέντε τοῦς || A 6 ad init. [οἴτινες και ἀφικ]όμενοι SONNE; [οἱ παραγεν]όμενοι PH, followed by SEGRE; || A 6–7 περὶ τε τῶν ἀπὸ [τῶν συμβόλ]ων ἀμφισβητήσεων SONNE; HOLLEAUX's περὶ τε τῶν ἀπὸ | [τῶν συμβολαί]ων ἀμφισβητήσεων is too long for the lacuna; PH's ἀπο[γε]γραμμένων], adopted by HERZOG, is preferred here also || A 8–9 [τῶν παρ]αγγελλέντων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως [και τοῦ βασι]λέω]ς SONNE, followed, initially, by HOLLEAUX and DITTENBERGER, but HOLLEAUX later adopted PH's restoration, as in the text || A 9–10 τοὺς (μὲν) τῶν διαφορομένων ἀνα[κρινάμ]ενοι SONNE; ἀνα[θῆμ]ενοι SAKELLION; ἀνα[καλοῦ]μενοι PH, followed by HERZOG and SEGRE; HOLLEAUX, followed by MICHEL, initially adopted SONNE's ἀνα[κρινάμ]ενοι, but subsequently accepted WILHELM's ἀνα[καλεσάμ]ενοι], which is preferred here; HOLLEAUX's initial correction of PH's ἐφ' αὐτοὺς το ἐς αὐτοὺς also lapsed under WILHELM's criticism || A 10–11 συμφ[όρω]ς SAKELLION || A 12–13 [ἐπὶ] τῶν κρίσεων SONNE, followed by HOLLEAUX (who also corrected γινομένου το γενομένου), but this is too short for the lacuna, as is DITTENBERGER's τοῦ χρόνου γινομένου[σ] | τοῦ] τῶν κρίσεων || A 13–14 βουλομένων τῶν σ[ταλέντων ἀνδρῶν ἐ]πανελθεῖν SONNE; [αὐθις ἀναστρέφ]αι PH; [αὐθις ἐπιστρέφ]αι HOLLEAUX; the text has HERZOG's [ἀναχωρῆ]σαι || A 14–16 ὁ δήμος [ἐ]παίνει τοὺς δικαστὰς] τοὺς μετὰ Βάκχωνος [ἐλθόντας ἀξίως παρ' ἡμῖν] μείναντας SONNE; ὁ δήμος | [παρακάλεσε τοὺς δικαστὰς] τοὺς μετὰ Βάκχωνος | [- - αὐτοῖ] μείναντας PH; ὁ δήμος [ὁ Ναξίων παρακαλέσ]ας τοὺς μετὰ Βάκχωνος | [συνέπεισε αὐτοὺς ὥστε] μείναντας SEGRE || A 16–18 και τὰ λοιπὰ καλοὺς κάγαθους ὄντας δι[ε]ξα(α)γ[ό]ντας μὲν τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις τὰς εἰς τὰ συμβ[ό]λαι(α) ἀξί[ω]ς (π)ὸ(λ)ε(ω)[ς ἐκατέρω]ς SONNE; και τὰ λοι[π]ὰ ἀμφισβητήσας πάντα συνεχῶς] [ἐ]ξα(α)γόντας SEGRE || A 18 ΟΑΙΝΑΞ.ΣΟΔΕΚ SAKELLION; [συλλαμβάνε]σθαι HERZOG || A 19 [πέιθε]σθαι PH || A 19–21 [και ὅτι διαλλάττε]σθαι βουλόμενοι [τοὺς διαφορομένους πολλὴν σπου]δὴν ἐπ(ο)ύσαντο, [ὅπως τοῦτο ποιῶσιν ὁσίως και ἀξί]ως ἑαυτῶν τε και τῆς ἀποστειλάσης πόλεως SONNE; οἱ δὲ κα[λλοι και ἀγα]θοὶ ἄνδρες χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι | [τῶι ἡμετέρωι δήμωι] MICHEL, rejected as «wenig wahrscheinlich» by WILHELM, who suggested οἱ δὲ κα[ί] ἐν τούτοις συμπεριφέρεσθαι; κα[λλοι και ἀγα]θοὶ ἄνδρες γενέσθαι βουλόμενοι | [περὶ τὸν δήμον ἡμῶν] DITTENBERGER; [τῶι βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι χαρίζε]σθαι βουλόμενοι SEGRE || A 20–21 [πᾶσαν σπου]δὴν ἐποιήσαντο | [ὅπως πάντα ἐξά]γωσιν (vel. διεξαχθῆ) ἀξί[ω]ς ἐκατέρων τῶν | πόλεων και τῆς ἐγχειρηθείσης αὐτοῖς πίστεως κτλ.] HOLLEAUX: [ἐκατέρων] is excluded, however, by

the surviving letter traces; [τὴν πᾶσαν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν ἐποιήσαντ]ο | ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ν]αξίων διατρίβ[οντες | μέχρι τοῦ διεξαγαγεῖν ἅπαντα τὰ συμβόλαια, | δεδόχθαι κτλ.] HERZOG; neither the available space nor the letter traces visible on the Oxford squeezes support this reading and restoration of l.21 || A 21 [Να]ξιο- - - PH || B Restorations are mostly HERZOG's, with modifications by HOLLEAUX and ROBERT. B 1–4 [δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσαι μὲν | τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κώϊων ἐπὶ τῶι πρὸς Ναξί]οις εἶναι [εὐνουν καὶ πρόθυμον εἰς τὴν τῶν συμβ]ολαίων οἰκονο[μίαν, ἄξίως τῆς πρὸς βασιλέα Πτο]λεμαῖον φιλίας | [καὶ συμμαχίας, ἣν διατελεῖ φυλάσ]σουσα HERZOG, correcting his own initial suggestion, cited by ROBERT, [δεδόχθαι· ἐπαινέσαι βασιλέα Πτο]λεμαῖον || B 21: πατρ[ιαστ]ί HERZOG || B 27 [ἡ πόλι]ς HERZOG || B 28 [συγγ]ραψάσθων HERZOG || B 40–41 read and restored by HERZOG; only traces visible on Oxford squeeze.

Translation

[- - in accordance with the instructions of Kin]g Ptolemy and th[e - -] asked for judges and conciliators to judge concerning the dis[put]ed contract cases, and the city of the [Koans] sent good and excellent men [who on their arri]val among us, concerning both the reg[ist]ered disputes and the other [affairs that were entrust]ed to them for settlement by the city, reconciled advan[tageously the ma]jority of the disputants by [invi]ting them repeatedly before them, while they gave verdicts for the others with all just[ice], and as they had spent [much] time [because of the number] of the judgments and the j[udges] wished to [go back] to their homes, [our] people [invited th]em together with Bakchon [the nesiarch (?)] to stay [in the city] and to [assist] the Naxians by carrying to [a conclusion] the re[maining] matters entrusted to the]m, and they wishing to [ob]lige [us in these matters] as well displayed [every ambition and ze]al [so that . . .]

[to praise the city of the Koans for] being [- - - and for the] settle[ment of the contract c]ases [- - - for the sake of its friendship [towards king Pto]lemy [- - -] and to crown [it with a gold c]rown of the value set by the law [because of its] keen[ness] and good will towards the people [of the Naxians]; and, since every-thing has been completed in accordance with the [vows pre]viously made, to give [thanks to the g]ods when the council and the people vote [and to sacri-]fice] to Ptolemy Soter a full-grown victim; [and to praise] also the judges, Xanthippos [the son of - - -, Kal?]lippides the son of Phokion, Philistos the son of Aretapha[nes, Na]siotas the son of Nasiotas, Deinarchos the son of Timaitchos and to [crown] each of them with a gold crown [of the value set] by the law and the s[ecre]tary of the council is to announce the crown in the theatre at the tragic contest of the [gre]at Dionysia, to the effect that «the people of the Naxians cr[own]s with a gold crown both the people of the Koans [and] the judges of the Koans for their virtue and good-will and justice», announcing the names of each of them with their patronymics, and they are to be proxenoi and benefactors of [the] people of the Naxians both [the judges] themselves and the descendants of these men; they are also to have precedence in access [to] the council and the people [after] religious matters;

they are to have ex[emption] from rights of seizure and peace [in] wartime and seats of honour in the [games] which [the people] conducts; concerning citizenship, in order that [it may be granted to them], the generals are to bring [forward] a proposal in accordance with the [laws at the] times specified by the laws; the [treasurers] (in office) with Euphanes and Mneseas are to give to the [judges for] the crown and the sacrifice and [for hospitality and for] their return home a thousand drachmas to each of them; [in order that also the good-will of the people] of the Koans towards the people of the Naxi[ans and the] virtue and the justice of the judges [towards the city] of the Naxians may be commemorated, the gen[erals] (in office) with Dionnes and the secretary of the [council] are to see it [that] this decree is inscribed on a [marble] stele [and set up] in the sanctuary of [Delian] Apollo; [and the money for the inscription] is to be provided [by the treasurers].

Commentary

The text of this inscription has undergone a number of transformations. The initial publications of A by PANTELIDIS and SAKELLION failed to recognise the nature of the document – SAKELLION took it as a (Koan) decree for an arbitration court in a dispute between Kos and another city. PATON correctly identified A as part of a decree of Naxos for judges from Kos sent on the instruction of a King Ptolemy to settle disputed lawsuits on Naxos, but the date and context of the Koan judges' mission were not securely established until HOLLEAUX identified the Bakchon mentioned in line 15 as the Ptolemaic νησίαρχος Βάκχων Νικήτου (Prosopographia Ptolemaica VI, 15038). HOLLEAUX offered a reconstruction of the opening lines of the inscription based on this identification which assigned to Bakchon the role, of requesting and escorting the judges, played in other decrees for foreign courts by ambassadors or dikastagogoι:²¹

[ἐπειδὴ Βάκχων Νικήτου ὁ νησίαρχος παρεγένε]-
 [το εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Κῶων κατὰ τὰ προσταχ]-
 [θέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ τ[οῦ κοινοῦ]
 [τῶν Νησιωτῶν καὶ] ἠτήησατο δικαστὰς καὶ διαλ[λα]-
 [κτῆρας το]ῦς διακρινούοντας περὶ τῶν ἀμφι[σ]-
 [βητουμέ]γων συμβολαίων κτλ.²²

²¹ For the role of dikastagogoι in applying for and escorting foreign courts, see the discussion in AAIG I, 92–94.

²² «Whereas Bakchon the son of Niketas the nesiarch came to the city of the Koans in accordance with the instructions of king Ptolemy and t[he League of the Islanders and] asked for judges and con[ciliators] to give judgment on the dis[put]ed contract cases . . .»

HOLLEAUX's reconstruction has been followed in most subsequent discussions of the inscription,²³ although, as HOLLEAUX himself recognised,²⁴ it had in part been superseded by the discovery of a substantial segment of the resolution clauses of the decree (frs. b, d) during the excavation season of 1902 in the Koan Asklepieion. HERZOG had immediately communicated a copy of the new fragments to HOLLEAUX,²⁵ but their publication had to wait a further 40 years until the appearance of the third volume of ROBERT's edition of HOLLEAUX's collected papers in 1942. In the meantime three further fragments joining the left edge of frs. b and d had been found in the Asklepieion and HERZOG had proceeded to his own reconstruction of the beginning of the Naxian decree and the relationship between the two sections.

The new fragments (c, e, f) from the left edge of B allow the restoration of B 16–17 to be completed (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίων | τῶν μεγάλων τραγωιδῶν) and B 21 to be corrected, but otherwise only confirm supplements already suggested by HERZOG in the text that he sent to HOLLEAUX in 1902.

The second section of the decree records the honours awarded to an unnamed party in the transaction and to the five Koan judges, followed by provisions for the publication of the decree on Naxos. The crowns awarded to the judges were to be accompanied by the proclamation of a text naming the Koan demos alongside its judges (B 17–20). As ROBERT noticed,²⁶ the text of the proclamation implies that the Koan demos had itself been praised and crowned separately in an earlier section of the resolution. The feminine participle ending in B 4, for which the only plausible referent is the Koan πόλις, suggests that it is this section which falls at the beginning of the new fragment. HERZOG, who had at first thought that Ptolemy might be in question here (see apparatus), later reached the same conclusion. With this interpretation, the formulation of the Naxian decree falls into line with the pattern of the most numerous class of decrees for foreign judges, in which crowns are awarded both to the individual judges and to the demos that had agreed to send them.²⁷ On this basis HERZOG proposed a reconstruction of the whole decree which linked A and B closely together, with a lacuna of no more than

²³ AUSTIN, cited in the lemma, whose translation has been adapted here, describes it as «virtually certain». ROBERT, ap. HOLLEAUX, *Études* 3, 32 n. 5, notices the objection of D. COHEN, *De magistratibus Aegyptiis*, Leiden 1912, 81 n. 4, to the restoration of τ[οῦ κοινου τῶν Νησιωτῶν] in 2–3.

²⁴ HOLLEAUX modified his restoration of lines 14–16 in the light of the new fragments.

²⁵ Fr. b was found on 13 October 1902; HERZOG's letter to HOLLEAUX with a copy of the fragments attached, according to ROBERT, was dated 14 October, the following day.

²⁶ HOLLEAUX, *Études* 3, 34–35.

²⁷ JAC 8, 1993, 70–74 collects the evidence for the award of crowns to demos and judges.

three lines separating them. In this reconstruction (detailed in the apparatus), the resolution formula, following directly the completion of the judges' mission, offered honours only to the Naxian demos and court, and the beginning of the decree elided the role played by Bakchon in the transaction:

[ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· ἐπειδὴ ὁ δῆμος]
 [ὁ Ναξίων ψήφισμα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλας]
 a [πρὸς Κόιους οἰ]ξε[ίους καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους]
 [ὄντας βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ [κοινοῦ]
 [τῶν Νησιωτῶν] ἠιτήσατο δικαστὰς κτλ.

The letter traces above line 1 of A read by HERZOG as [οἰ]ξε[ίους] are at best vestigial and in themselves offer no support for the remainder of the reconstruction which offers only an indirect context, in the Koan alliance restored with Ptolemy and the League of Islanders, for Bakchon's appearance at A 15. HOLLEAUX's reconstruction of the opening of the decree, in contrast, offered an incomplete context both for Bakchon's intervention and for the honours awarded to the πόλις of the Koans at the beginning of B. As ROBERT observed, it is clear that more than two or three lines are missing from the beginning of the Naxian decree.²⁸ Some explanation should be expected for the nature of the disputes within the city, and for the steps that the Naxians took to resolve them – including the vows whose fulfilment through sacrifices to the gods and to Ptolemy Soter is provided for at B 7–11. Bakchon's intervention too requires explicit acknowledgment. None of this can be reconstructed in detail with any security.

A further uncertainty concerns the fragment of a formula presented by the first surviving line of A: [βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ το[..... | - -^{ca.} 13-15 -]. The supplement proposed by HOLLEAUX ([κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ το[ῦ κοι]νοῦ τῶν Νησιωτῶν]) fits the lacuna,²⁹ but the League of Islanders is not mentioned explicitly elsewhere in the inscription. If the League did play a role in assisting the Naxians, it is possible that this was acknowledged in the lacuna between A and B, as Bakchon's intervention presumably was also. HERZOG initially suggested an alternative supplement, based on TCal test. XVI, 44ff., [κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα τοῦ βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ το[ῦ]ς νόμους], but this formula is both too short and would belong more appropriately as a qualification of the judges' role in lines 2–4 than in 1–2.

Without new fragments from the beginning of the inscription or new comparanda, these uncertainties are unlikely to be resolved. It has seemed best, accordingly, to leave the opening lines of the Naxian decree unrestored.

²⁸ Ap. HOLLEAUX, *Études* 3, 36.

²⁹ There is no space, however, for καὶ to link ἠιτήσατο with παρεγένετο, which HOLLEAUX also restored.

The restorations for lines 2–20 have been derived, for the most part, from HOLLEAUX's discussion. Occasional variations have been dictated by considerations of spacing. In lines 7–8, ἀπο[[γεγραμμέν]ων ἀμφισβητήσεων fits the lacuna better than HOLLEAUX's ἀπο | [τῶν συμβολαί]ων ἀμφισβητήσεων, but implies a registration of disputed cases that should also find a place in the lost beginning of the decree. The supplements for 14–20 reflect the likely sense, but may not give the precise words, of the original. In lines 15–16, for example, HOLLEAUX's supplement μετὰ Βάκχωνος |[τοῦ νησιάρχου], which has been adopted in the text, would be redundant if Bacchon's role had been more fully defined in the lost introduction to the decree.

The letter traces preserved in the last line of A (21) (ΞΙΩΝ...ΡΤ) are open to a range of interpretations.³⁰ HOLLEAUX restored a variation of a well-attested formula (ἀ)ξιῶ[ς ἐκατέρων τῶν | πόλεων καὶ τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτοῖς πίστεως κτλ.] from PH's reading ΞΙΩ, but this seems excluded by the additional letter traces that can be seen after omega.³¹ Nu (or, possibly, kappa) is a better reading than sigma in the letter space after omega ([Να]ξιῶν?), and the top and loop of rho (or beta) is clear after an interval of a further three letter spaces, preceded by possible traces of a letter with an upper horizontal. At the beginning of the line [σπου]δὴν ἐποιήσαντο was probably completed by a purpose clause introduced by ὅπως, followed, if nu is read after omega, by a reference to the demos of the Naxians. A possible restoration which would fit this context ([ὅπως ἐν ὁμοιοίᾳ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Να]ξιῶν [τὰ] πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολιτεύεται]) is not, however, entirely compatible with the surviving letter traces.

At the beginning of B, a formula expressing praise for the Koans ([ἐπαινέσαι τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κόϊων]) and offering reasons why is required. It is difficult, however, to reconcile the parallel formulations suggested by other decrees for foreign judges with the letters preserved in B 1.³² The spacing between the vertical stroke on the left edge of the stone and the following sigma is too wide for ΙΣ and suggests, instead, a masculine accusative plural followed by the infinitive εἶναι. The supplement proposed by HERZOG, [ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς Ναξί]ο[υ]ς εἶναι | [εὖνουν καὶ πρῶθυμον], is likely to be on the right lines. Since other alternatives

³⁰ SEGRE's comment on these traces in the apparatus to ED 129 can be endorsed: «nell' ultima riga non posso riconoscere le ultime lettere di cui si intravede soltanto la parte superiore.»

³¹ For HERZOG's suggested restoration, which is also incompatible with the letter traces, see the apparatus.

³² Cf., e.g., I. Erythrai 122, 31–33: ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἐρυθραίων ἐπὶ τῆ εὐνοίᾳ ἃ ἔχει πρὸς τὰμ πόλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπόστελλαι δικάσαις κάλοις καὶ ἀγάθοις; TCal test. XVI, 51–53: ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἰασέων [ἀρετᾶς ἐ]νεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἃν ἔχων διατελεῖ περὶ τὸ πλ[ῆ]θος τὸ Κα]λυμνίων.

based on the same pattern are also possible,³³ however, it seems better to leave the lacuna unfilled.

The Naxian decree belongs to a series of third-century inscriptions documenting Ptolemaic interventions to send judges to cities in the Aegean,³⁴ on the present occasion from a city whose relations are otherwise poorly documented with Naxos but are known to have been close with the Ptolemies. A dating range for the Naxian decree is indicated both by the role of Bacchon and by the distinction made between Ptolemy Soter (B 10) and βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος (A 1, B 3), the reigning king Philadelphos. As ROBERT noticed, this contrast implies that the cult of the former was recently posthumous, and places the Naxian decree in the early years of the latter's reign, ca. 280 BC.

The vows undertaken by the Naxians, whose redemption is provided for in B 7–11, indicate the gravity of the situation to which the Koan judges were summoned and which they spared no efforts to alleviate. Their work seems to have been largely concerned with disputed debts (περὶ τῶν ἀμφισ[βητουμένων] συμβολαίων, A 3–4; cf. 6–7; B 2).³⁵ In dealing with disputes, in each case, several attempts were made at conciliation (A 9–11). The use of ἐπιτρέπειν (restored at A 8, cf. A 17) suggests that the primary character of their commission was arbitral rather than judicial. As their designation suggests (δικαστὰς καὶ διαλ[λακτὰς]), the Koan judges were also, and apparently in the first instance, conciliators.

A 12ff. records the prolongation of the judges' residence, at Naxian request, to complete their jurisdiction. Analogous details about extensions of jurisdiction are recorded in two Chian decrees, for a joint Naxian and Andrian court which asked to be relieved of its duties διὰ τὸ χρόν[ον] πολλὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς ἀποδημίας, (SEG 12, 390, 2–5), and for a Ptolemaic judge, Apollorphanes Apollodorou who asked to be released for the same reason (SEG 19, 569, 4–8: φάσκων διὰ τὸ χρόνιωτέραν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποδ[ημίαν] γεγενῆσθαι] σπουδάζειν παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς). The Naxian judges, in contrast, seem to have stayed to the end.

³³ For example: [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κώϊον ἐπὶ τῷ εὖνον καὶ πρόθυμον πρὸς Ναξί[ο]υς εἶναι | [ἄνδρας ἀπεσταλκυῖαν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν συμβ[ολαίων] οἰκονο[μίαν].

³⁴ TCal 17 (Ptolemaic δικαστής on Kalymna, early 3rd century); IG XII 5, 1065 (judges to Karthaia under the supervision of Bakchon and Philokles, ca. 280); SEG 1, 363 (judges from Miletos, Myndos, Halikarnassos sent to Samos on the instructions of Philokles, ca. 280); SEG 19, 569 (Apollorphanes sent to Chios as judge by King Ptolemy [Philadelphos?]); OGIS 44 (judges from Ioulis sent to Thera on the instructions of the nauarch Patroklos, ca. 266–263).

³⁵ Cf. SEG 1, 363, 3, 5–6: διαφερομένων τῶμ πολιτῶν τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τῶν μετεώρων συμβολαίων.

3 Decree of Thasos for three judges from Kos.

HERZOG inv. M 21 = WAs Ri I.³⁶ Lower part of a stele of white marble discovered on 26 November 1902 in the Asklepion «sub scalarum radicibus». The central section of the text is almost worn away. Fig. 6 (CSAD squeeze). Height: 0.35 m; width: 0.39 m; thickness: 0.05 m. Letter height: 0.008–0.01 m; line interval: 0.006 m. The names of the dikastai in lines 23–24 are cut in slightly larger lettering than the body of the decree: 0.009–0.012 m.

Unpublished. In a brief citation of the Koan judge [Hippok]rates Drakontos, R. HERZOG, *Die Grabschrift des Thessalos von Kos*, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin* 3.4, 1932/33, 54–58, p. 57, suggested a date ca. 270, for which see the discussion below.

As in decree no. 8 below, vacant spaces are left on the stone to serve as punctuation sense dividers, in lines 2, 20, 21, 22, 23. There is a tendency for the lettering to become compressed and smaller at line ends (e.g., 12, 13, 15), and there are some signs of hasty execution. Alpha has straight cross-bar; the right vertical of nu does not quite reach the base line; the outer strokes of sigma and mu diverge slightly; omicron is full size; pi is plain. Text based on HERZOG's transcript and restorations, checked against HERZOG's squeeze and S.M. SHERWIN-WHITE's transcription and squeeze in Oxford.

- [πρόσοδον πρὸς] [τῆμ βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον]
 [πρ]ώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά· *vn* ὅπως δὲ ἀναγορευθ[ῶσιν]
 [οἰ] στέφανοι Διονυσίοις, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς [ἄρ]-
 4 [χ]οντας καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διονύσου· ὅπως δὲ α[ἰ]
 δεδομένοι τιμαὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Κώϊω καὶ *vac*.
 τοῖς δικασταῖς φανεραὶ καὶ Κώϊοις γένωνται [καὶ]
 ἀναγραφῶσιν ἐγ Κῶι εἰς στήλην, ἐλέσθαι ἀνδ[ρα],
 8 ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κῶ τὸ τε ψήφισμα ἀποδώσ[ει]
 [Κ]ώϊοις καὶ ἀξιώσει αὐτοὺς τὴν τε τῶν στεφ[ά]-
 νων ἀναγόρευσιμ ποιήσασθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσ[iv]
 οῖς νόμιμόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὰς τῶν τοιοῦτω[v]
 12 ἀναγορεύσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ τόπον ἀποδείξει τῆ[ς]
 στήλης τῆι ἀναθέσει ὡς ἐπιφανέστατον· ἄσθ[η]να[ι]
 δὲ τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ εἰς ἱερά καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν ἀ-
 ποδέκτην τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀρτύος, καλεσάτωσαν δι[ε]
 16 [α]ὐτοὺς οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυταν[εῖον]
 [ῶ]ς δ' ἄγ καὶ ἀποσταλῶσιν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατ[α],
 [ἐπι]μεληθῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πολεμάρ-
 [χου]ς καὶ τοὺς ἀπολόγους, τὸ δὲ ἀνήλωμα τὸ εἰς *v*
 20 [ταῦ]τα γενόμενον δοῦναι τὸν ἀποδέκτην· *vacat*

³⁶ The system of inventory symbols and numbers used by HERZOG in classifying the inscriptions is elucidated by K. HALLOF, *AAIG* I, 88.

[εἶπα]ν προέδροι· ἢ ἡρέθη Παρμένων Ἡρακλείτου. ἢ
 [δικ]ασταί· ἢ Θεμισταγόρας Ἴππία, Νέων Ναυκλεῦ[ς],
 [Ἴπποκ]ράτης ἢ Δράκωντος.

12 τῆ[ς] in smaller lettering at the end of the line || 13 γ δοθῆνα[ι] in smaller lettering at the end of the line.

Translation

[They are to have pr]iority [in access to the council and the people] after the sacred business; the archons and the priest of Dionysos are to see to it that the crowns are proclaimed at the Dionysia; so that the honours given to the people of the Koans and the judges may be evident to the Koans also and inscribed in Kos on a stele, a man is to be chosen who on his arrival in Kos will deliver the decree to the Koans and request them to make the proclamation of the crowns at the contests at which it is customary for them for the proclamation of such (crowns) to take place and to choose as visible a site as possible for the erection of the stele; the apodektes is to provide the judges with the appropriate sum towards sacrifices and hospitality, and the archons are to invite them to hospitality in the prytaneion; the archons and the polemarchoi and the apolo- goi are to see to it that they are sent back (home) as safely as possible, and the expenditure which is made on this is to be provided by the apodektes.

The proedroi [report]ed: Parmenon the son of Herakleitos was chosen as ambassador. [The jud]ges were: Themistagoras the son of Hippias, Neon the son of Naukles, and [Hippok]rates the son of Drakon.

Commentary

This fragment from the resolution and publication clauses of a decree in honour of three Koan judges was identified by HERZOG as belonging to a decree of Thasos on the basis of the titles of the magistrates to whom responsibility for implementing the provisions of the decree was assigned. Colleges of apolo- goi and a single apodektes are confined to Thasos, where they appear, respec- tively, in judicial roles and as dedicators to Hestia Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios,³⁷ and as a financial official, as in the present decree.³⁸ Polemarchoi and arch- ontes are also well attested,³⁹ as is a priest of Dionysos.⁴⁰ Proedroi would be

³⁷ For the judicial responsibilities of the third-century Thasian college of three apolo- goi, see J. POUILLOUX, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I*, Paris 1954, 394, 401–402; early third-century dedication to Hestia Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios: P. BERNARD – F. SALVIAT, *BCH* 86, 1962, 588–590, no. 10.

³⁸ For the apodektes as the Thasian financial magistrate responsible for civic expen- ditures, see POUILLOUX, *Recherches I*, 404.

³⁹ For the college of five polemarchoi, the principal military magistrates on Thasos, see POUILLOUX, *Recherches I*, 399, 410–411; for the three eponymous archontes, *Recherches I*, 400.

⁴⁰ *IG XII Suppl.* 430, 8 (1st century BC).

new for Thasos, but they are presumably simply the presiding officers of the assembly who communicated the name of the ambassador elected by the assembly to the secretary responsible for drafting the decree.⁴¹ The combination of archontes, polemarchoi, apologoi and apodektes is more than sufficient to secure HERZOG's identification, and with it the conviviality of the reception that the Koan judges would have received after they had finished their work (15–16) – Theophrastus notices the wonderful flavour of the wine served in the Thasian prytaneion (*De odoribus* 51).⁴²

Although the magistrates mentioned in the Koan text are familiar, parallels for its formulation are less readily available among surviving Thasian decrees, no doubt because this is the first Thasian decree for foreign judges to have survived. Decrees of other cities for Thasian judges, in contrast, are relatively numerous. Y. GRANDJEAN in his 1979 study lists eight texts:⁴³

P. BERNARD – F. SALVIAT, BCH 91, 1967, 588 no. 36: a fragment from the conclusion of a late third-century decree of unidentified provenience, but probably for Thasian judges.

L. ROBERT, BCH 50, 1926, 250–259 (OMS 2, 956–965; IG XII Suppl. 361), with CHR. DUNANT – J. POUILLOUX, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos II*, Paris 1958, 15–17, no. 167: two honorific decrees of the first half of the second century relating to the same panel of judges and secretary, identified provisionally by ROBERT and DUNANT-POUILLOUX, on the basis of their probouleumatic formulae, as Samian in origin.

GRANDJEAN, *Thasiaca* 386–391, no. 1 (SEG 29, 769): a fragment from the resolution clauses of a decree of undetermined provenience, dating to the first half of the second century, for two Thasian judges and a secretary.

GRANDJEAN, *Thasiaca* 394–400, no. 3 (SEG 29, 771): fragment from the resolution clauses of a decree of an unidentified Doric city, dating to the middle of the second century, for a judge and secretary from Thasos.

GRANDJEAN, *Thasiaca* 401–406, no. 4 (SEG 29, 772): a late second-century decree of Tralles for a judge and secretary from Thasos, restored and identified by GRANDJEAN from the parallels provided by I. Tralles 24.

I. Smyrna 582 (IG XII 8, 269), one of a group of seven late second-century or early first-century Smyrnaian decrees for foreign judges.⁴⁴

⁴¹ I owe this explanation to CH. HABICHT's notes.

⁴² *De odoribus*, ed. U. EIGLER – G. WÖHRLE, Stuttgart 1993, 51: *καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐν Θάσῳ ὁ ἐν πρυτανείῳ διδόμενος θυμαστός τις ὡς εἶοικε τὴν ἡδονὴν ἠετιμμένος ἐστίν*. For the problematic identification of the Thasian prytaneion, see POUILLOUX's discussion in *Recherches I*, 253–259. I owe both of these references to CH. HABICHT's notes.

⁴³ Y. GRANDJEAN, in: *Thasiaca*, BCH Suppl. V, Paris 1979, 385–406.

⁴⁴ I. Smyrna 578–583, to which can now be added B. CH. PETRAKOS, *Οἱ Ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ* (I. Oropos), Athens 1994, no. 332, which can be securely restored, save for minor variations of formulation, from I. Smyrna 579, 27–42; 581, 40–67; 582, 16–28, as a seventh Smyrnaian decree for foreign judges. For Smyrna, in turn, as a source of judges, see the Koan decree for a dikastagogos sent to Smyrna, AAIG I, no. 1.

GRANDJEAN, *Thasiaca* 391–394, no. 2 (SEG 29, 770): a Milesian decree of the middle of the second century for five judges and a secretary from Thasos.⁴⁵

The Thasian decree for Koan judges from the Asklepieion is likely to ante-date all of the decrees for Thasian judges, with the possible exception of the small fragment published by BERNARD and SALVIAT. The lettering of the inscription has general similarities with the Naxian decree for Koan judges of ca. 280 (no. 2 above), but also with the late third-century homopoliteia decree for Kalymna (TCal test. XII). A closer parallel, however, is provided by PH 14 (SEGRE, ED 134), a fragment of an honorific decree of an unidentified Doric city which may itself belong to a decree for judges (fig. 7: see discussion on page 306 below). PATON dated this inscription to the third or second centuries, but SEGRE placed it in the current of the third century. It belongs, in any case, after 242 because the publication clauses invite the announcement of its honorees' crown at the Koan Dionysia and Great Asklepieia (6–7).⁴⁶ On the basis of these comparisons, the Thasian decree could belong anywhere between the second quarter and the close of the third century.

A closer dating range cannot be established on palaeographical grounds alone, but an indirect congruence emerges with prosopography. If HERZOG's restoration of the name of the third Koan judge at the beginning of line 23 as [Ἰπποκ]ράτης Δράκοντος is correct ([Ἐρμοκ]ράτης, [Νικοκ]ράτης, [Δαμοκ]ράτης and [Ξενοκ]ράτης are other possibilities all attested in varying degrees in the Koan onomasticon), the third of the Koan judges bore a famous name. Hippokrates the son of Drakon, great grandson of the founder of the Hippocratic school, was the personal doctor of Alexander the Great's wife Rhoxane.⁴⁷ The lettering of the Koan inscription, however, will not support a date as early as the lifetime of Rhoxane, and if the name is correctly restored a later generation of the family must be in question. HERZOG, in discussing the stemma of the Hippocratic family,⁴⁸ suggested that the judge sent to Thasos could have been a grandson of Rhoxane's doctor whose selection would then have recalled the memory of his famous ancestor's connection, five generations before, with the island.⁴⁹ The date of ca. 270 BC which HERZOG proposed on this basis is not incompatible with the palaeography of the inscription, but the generic style of its script would also suit a more advanced third-century date and a still later

⁴⁵ A further fragment recovered from the harbour of Thasos in 1978 (Thasos Mus. Inv. A3490; GRANDJEAN 385 n. 1) is reported to belong to the same inscription (ADelt 33, 1978, 290; Archaeological Reports 1985–6, 78).

⁴⁶ For the Great Asklepieia see the discussion of decree no. 8 below.

⁴⁷ H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, Munich 1926, II no. 389.

⁴⁸ R. HERZOG, *Die Grabschrift des Thessalos von Kos*, cited in the lemma p. 267, 265. HERZOG's suggestion is taken up in HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN's 1934 RE entry for Thasos (5 A 2, col. 1320).

⁴⁹ Epidemics I 598, 4: ἐν Θάσῳ φθινοπώρου; cf. 614, 8; 638, 8; 690, 12; 704, 7.

generation of the Hippokratic family. A possible indication of such a date is provided by the name of the second Koan judge, Neon the son of Naukles. An individual with the same name appears as a contributor of 100 drachmai in a new subscription list dated by SEGRE to the reign of Eumenes II (SEGRE, ED 199,3).⁵⁰ SEGRE's date in the first half of the second century would require a down-dating of the Thasian decree from HERZOG's suggestion of ca. 270 to the end of the third century if the same individual (and not, for example, a grandfather and grandson) is in question in both texts. The continuing vitality of the Hippokratic family in this period is attested by the career of Hippokrates the son of Thessalos, long attested as a contributor to the wartime epidosis in 201 BC (PH 10a 51–52), who is now known also to have been a public doctor (SEG 27, 514).⁵¹

The name of the other Koan judge, Themistagoras, is new for Kos. The Thasian ambassador chosen to convey the decree to Kos, Parmenon the son of Herakleitos, is also unknown, although the individual components of his name are well attested on Thasos.

The formulation of the Thasian decree offers a novelty and an anacolouthon in lines 13–15: *δοθῆνα[ι] δὲ τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ εἰς ἱερά καὶ ἐπὶ ξενία τὸν ἀποδέκτην τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀρτύος*. The passive infinitive with which the clause begins has become in sense an understood active by the end when the Thasian apodektes becomes its subject. The clause requires a specification of the contribution to be made by the apodektes to the judges' reception. Hesychius' gloss *σύνταξις* for *ἡ ἀρτύς* suggests an interpretation that would match this context: «the amount from the funds assigned (for that purpose)».⁵²

The provision of the Thasian decree for the return of judges *ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα* to Kos, for which responsibility is assigned to the three principal colleges of Thasian magistrates (archontes, polemarchoi and apologoi), is matched by comparable clauses in other decrees for foreign judges. In two Chian decrees, joint responsibility for the safe return home of judges is assigned, as in the Thasian decree, to the polemarchoi (together with the exetastai): *ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἀποσταλῆ [ἐπὶ τριήρους, ἐντέλλε]ται τοὺς πολεμάρχου(ς) καὶ τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς ἐπιμελεθῆναι ἵνα ἀποσταλῆ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσφαλ[έστατα ἐπὶ τριήρους]*.⁵³ An

⁵⁰ For ED 199, cf. now the remarks of L. MIGEOTTE, REA 100, 1998, 576 n. 48.

⁵¹ Hippokrates VII the son of Praxianax (Suda I 569) is also likely to belong to this period; cf. AAIG II, 127–127 no. 14, honours for the doctor Praxianax, with discussion *ibid.*

⁵² In spite of its blindspot for Hellenistic documentary usage, LSJ offers analogies for such a sense: s.v. *σύνταξις* II 3. I owe this interpretation to CH. HABICHT's notes.

⁵³ SEG 19, 529, 19–21 (decree for the Ptolemaic judge Apollophanes the son of Apollodoros); cf. the late fourth-century Chian decree for Naxian and Andrian judges, SEG 12, 390, 35–39: *[δ]ούνα δὲ καὶ εἰς κομίδην ἐκ[άστωι τῶν δι]καστῶν δραχμὰς πενήκον[τα τοὺς] ἐξεταστὰς μετὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἐπιμελεθῆναι δὲ ὅπως ἐπὶ τριήρους κ[ομισθῶσιν οἱ δι]κασταί.*

Eretrian decree for judges from Miletos has a similar clause (Milet I 3, 154, 28–29: *προνοηθῆναι, ὅπως μετ[ὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἀνακομισθῶσιν εἰς] τὴν ἰδία[ν]*).

4 Decree of Mytilene for judges from Kos. Early 2nd century BC.

Fragment of a stele of dark marble, found outside the church of St. John; broken above, below and on the right; 6 lines preserved. Fig. 8. Height: 0.095 m; width: 0.13 m. Letter height: 0.01 m; line interval: 0.005 m (measurements taken from the Berlin squeeze). Worn lettering of the first half of the second century BC. Alpha with curved cross-bar, pi with projecting horizontal; full-size omicron; mu and sigma with parallel outer strokes and deeply indented inner bars.

Ed. pr. of PATON and HICKS, PH 6 (reprinted in SGDI III 1, 3622). Revised in 1900 by HERZOG, on whose transcription I draw for l. 2. The restorations are my own; readings checked by HALLOF from HERZOG's squeeze in Berlin.

- [----- ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν καὶ ἀπέστειλαν]
 [δικάσταις κάλοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, οἳ τε παραγενόμενοι]
 [τὰν προσήκοισαν πρόνοιαν ἐποίησαντο περὶ τῶν δι]-
 [καν κ]α[ἰ ἐφρόν]τισ[αν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν συλλύθωσι τὰ πρὸς ἀλ]-
 [λή]λοις, οἱ δὲ δια[κρινόμενοι τύχωσι τῶν δικαίων, τὰν τε]
 [παρ]επιδαμίαν ἐ[ποίησαντο ἀρμοζόντως· ὅπως οὖν καὶ]
 4 [ὁ δᾶ]μος φάνερο[ς ἦι εὐχαρίστως συνάνταις ἐκάστοισι]
 [καὶ μνά]μαν ποιή[μενος τῶν τε ἐξαποστελλάντων καὶ τῶν]
 [δικάσ]ταν τῶ[ν ἐπιμελέως καὶ δικαίως προστάντων τᾶν]
 [δίκαν καὶ ἀξίως τῶν τε ἀποστελλάντων καὶ τὰς τῶ]
 [δάμω αἰρέσιος, κτλ.]

Restored by CROWTHER from I.Erythrai 122 || 1 ΠΣ PATON; ΤΙΣ HALLOF || 2 ΛΟ-ΥΣΟΙΔΕΔΙΑ PATON; ΛΟΙΣΟΙΔΕΔΙΑ HERZOG || 3 [τᾶν] ἐπιδαμίαν ἐπ[οιεῦντο - -] PATON || 4 [ὁ δᾶ]μος φανερά[ν - -] PATON || 5 [τι]μᾶν ποιη[σ- -] PATON || 5 .ΑΝΤΩ PATON.

Translation

[They made every effort and sent excellent and good judges, who on their arrival showed a fitting concern for the lawsuits and en]sur[ed that some (of the disputants) came to an agreed settlement with one another, while the others met with justice in having their cases judged, and they conducted their res]idence [in a befitting manner; in order therefore that the pe]ople may be seen [to be responding with gratitude to each of them and] to be mindful [of those who sent them and the judg]es who [scrupulously and justly took charge of the lawsuits in a manner worthy both of those who sent them and of the choice of the people, . . .]

Commentary

This fragment of six lines of no more than eleven letters recorded by PATON and later seen also by HERZOG can be reconstructed with security and identified as part of a decree of Mytilene for Koan judges because its formulation matches exactly that of a completely preserved inscription from Erythrai recording a decree of Mytilene for two judges and a secretary sent from Erythrai (I. Erythrai 122) at the beginning of the second century BC. The corresponding lines of the Erythraian text are reproduced below:

- 20 καὶ περὶ τῶ μεταπέμπτω δικαστηρίῳ(ι) ἐμβλέ-
ποντες εἰς τὰν σπούδαν, ἅμ ποιή ὁ δᾶμος, ἐφιλοτιμή-
θησαν καὶ ἀπέστειλλαν δικάσταις κάλοις καὶ ἀγά-
θοις, οἱ τε παραγενόμενοι τὰν προσήκοισαν πρόνοιαν
24 ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τὰν δίκαν καὶ ἐφρόντισαν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν συλ-
λύθωσι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ διακρινόμενοι τύχῳσι
τῶν δικαίων, τὰν τε παρεπιδαμίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἄρμο-
ζόντως· ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δᾶμος φάνερος ἦι εὐχαρίστως
28 συνάνταις ἐκάστοισι καὶ μνᾶν ποιήμενος τῶν τε ἐξαπο-
[σ]τελλάντων καὶ τῶν δικάσταν τῶν ἐπιμελέως καὶ δικα[ί]-
ως προστάντων τὰν δίκαν καὶ ἀξίως τῶν τε ἀποστελλάν-
των καὶ τὰς τῶ δάμῳ αἰρέσιος, ἐπαίνησαι τὸν δᾶμον τὸν
32 Ἐρυθραίων ἐπὶ τᾷ εὐνοίαι ἃ ἔχει πρὸς τὰμ πόλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπό-
στελλαι δικάσταις κάλοις καὶ ἀγάθοις κτλ.

The exact correspondence with the formulation of the Mytilenian exemplar suggests that the mission of the Koan judges belonged to a similar early second-century dating range, and perhaps even to the same context. Formal Koan relations with Mytilene, other than in the present text, are attested only by a fragment of a fourth-century Koan proxeny decree (SEGRE, ED 106).

5 Decree of Erythrai for judges and secretary from Kos. First half 2nd century BC (lettering).

Lower part of a stele of white marble, with fixing tenon, from a Roman bath building on the lower terrace of the Asklepion excavated in 1930. Broken above and on the right edge. Fig. 9 (CSAD squeeze). Height 0.37 (0.44 with tenon); width 0.36; thickness 0.075. Elegant boldly cut lettering of the late third or early second century BC. Letter height 0.009–0.011 (0.011–0.013 in l. 20); line interval 0.005.

Ed. pr. of. L. LAURENZI, *Clara Rhodos* 10, 1941, 31–33 (fig. 2); (H. ENGELMANN – R. MERKELBACH, I. Erythrai 112). – Cf. Bull. épigr. 1948, 184; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 177–178 (correcting l. 15). G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *PdP* 33, 1978, 153, reviewing I. Erythrai, partially corrects LAURENZI's reading of lines 1–2 from the photograph published with the ed. pr. (SEG 28, 698).

- [- - - τὰς δὲ δε]δομένας τιμ[ὰς τῶι τε δήμῳ καὶ]
 τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ τῶι γραμμα[τεῖ κατὰ τόδε τὸ ψή]-
 φισμα ἀναγγεῖλαι ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ το[ρὺς ἀγωνοθέτας]
 4 ὅταν πρώτο(ν) συντελώσῃ τοὺς ἀγῶνα[ς τῶν Διο]-
 νυσιείων καὶ τῶν Σελευκείων· ἀποδ[εῖξαι δὲ καὶ]
 πρεσβευτὴν ὅστις ἀποδοὺς Κώοις [τόδε τὸ ψή]-
 φισμα παρακαλέσει αὐτοὺς ἐπιμέλε[ϊαν ποιήσασ]-
 8 [θ]αὶ ὅπως αἱ δεδομένα τιμαὶ τῶι τε δ[ήμῳ καὶ τοῖς]
 δικασταῖς καὶ τῶι γραμματεῖ ἀναγγέ[λλωνται παρ' αὐ]-
 τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν καὶ ἀναγραφὲν [τόδε τὸ ψή]-
 φισμα εἰς στή(λ)ην ἀνατεθῆῃ οὐ ἂν δό[ξῃ τῶι δή]-
 12 μῳ τῶι Κώων· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ οἱ στρατ[ηγῆσοντες]
 τὴν δευτέραν τετράμηνον ἐπὶ ἱερ[οποιοῦ τοῦ]
 μετὰ Ἑρμόδωρον ἐσομένου ἐν τῶ[ι περὶ τῆς]
 διοικήσεως ψηφίσματι γραψάστωσα[ν ὅθεν]
 16 ἀφοριστήσονται πόροι εἰς στήλην [εἰς ἦν ἀνα]-
 γραφὲν τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖ[ν ἀνατε]-
 θῆῃ οὐ ἂν τῶι δήμῳ δόξῃ· ταῦτα δ' εἶνα[ι εἰς φυλα]-
 κὴν τῆς πόλεως· πρεσβευτῆς ἀπεδε[ίχθη]
 20 Αὐτόνομος Φυ(λ)άρχου.

Readings checked against the Oxford squeeze. || 1 .Οἱ τὰς διδομένας τιμ[ὰς τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Κώων καὶ] LAURENZI; [τὰς δε δε]δομένας τιμ[ὰς τῶι τε δήμῳ καὶ | τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ τῶι γραμμα[τεῖ] PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI || 4 ΠΡΩΤΟΙ lap. || 11 ΣΤΗΑΗΝ lap. || 15 γραψάστωσα[ν] for γραψάσθωσαν; cf. ἀφοριστήσονται in 16 || 15–16 [ὅπως] | ἀφοριστήσονται LAURENZI; corrected to [ὅθεν] from I. Erythraî 114,30, by ROBERT || 16 ποριστήσονται HERZOG, but ἀφοριστήσονται (for ἀφορισθήσονται) is clear on the squeeze and LAURENZI's photograph || 16–17 εἰς στήλην [καὶ ἀνα]γραφὲν HERZOG || 20 ΦΥΑΑΡΧΟΥ lap.

Translation

[. . . the hon]ours giv[en to the people and] the judges and the secretary [in accordance with this dec]ree th[e agonothetai] are to announce in the theatre when they next conduct the games [for the Dio]nysia and the Seleukeia festivals; to app[oint also] an ambassador who deliver[ing] [this dec]ree to the Koans will call on them to see to it that the honours given to the p[eo]ple and the judges and the secretary are announc[ed among] them at the games and t[his dec]ree having been inscribed on a stele is set up wherever it seems [appropriate to the p]eople of the Koans; the strategoi who [will be] in office in the second four-month period under the hiero[poios who] will come after Hermodoros are to write in the decree [concerning the] budget [the source from which] funds will be set aside for the stele [on which] this decree is to be inscribed and set up among [us] wherever it seems appropriate to the people. These provisions are to be [for the secur]ity of the city. As ambassador was chos[en] Autonomos the son of Phylarchos.

Commentary

The formulation of the Erythraian decree corresponds closely to that of two other Erythraian decrees, for a judge from Priene (I. Priene 50; I. Erythrai 111) and for judges from Tenos and other, unspecified, cities (I. Erythrai 113), except for the budgetary clauses in lines 12–16 which are confined to the Koan inscription.⁵⁴ The Koan text seems to be the earliest of the three Erythraian decrees for foreign courts. A palaeographical date early in the second century is suggested by a comparison with an incompletely preserved Athenian decree for Kleom[–] of Kos from the Asklepicion, dated to the end of the third or beginning of the second century BC, which appears to have been inscribed by the same stonemason.⁵⁵ This dating range receives some support from the identity of the Erythraian ambassador named in line 20. Autonomos the son of Phylarchos should be a descendant of the Phylarchos the son of Autonomos who purchased the priesthood of Hera Teleia at Erythrai ca. 260 (I. Erythrai 201 d 22). ENGELMANN and MERKELBACH plausibly suggest a great-grandson rather than a son (I. Erythrai p. 205) – an interval of three generations which would bring the Erythraian decree down into the first half of the second century.

The Erythraian decree is categorised [εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως (18–19), in a formula shared by a group of other Erythraian decrees (I. Erythrai 35, 13–14; 36, 13–14; 111, 39; 114, 32–33) and, analogously, no. 7 below, in connection with which it is discussed more fully.

6 Fragment of a decree for Koan judges. Mid-2nd century BC (lettering).

HERZOG inv. E 33. Fragment of 12 lines of an inscription apparently broken on all sides. The surface is worn and damaged. Found in the excavations of 1904. Fig. 10 (Berlin squeeze). The following measurements have been taken from the squeeze, with the exception of the thickness, which is supplied from HERZOG's annotation on the squeeze itself. Height: 0.179 m; width: 0.198 m; thickness: 0.18 m. Letter height: 0.008 (omicron)–0.011 m; line interval: 0.006 m. Small, occasionally compressed script, perhaps of the mid-second century BC: alpha with straight cross bar and a tendency to tilt backwards; omicron and theta are small and mid-line; the latter has a central dot, rather than bar; pi has projecting top bar and right hasta descending towards the base line.

Unpublished. Transcribed from HERZOG's squeeze in the IG archive in Berlin. Line divisions within restorations are arbitrary.

⁵⁴ Cf. I. Erythrai 114, 29–32 for another reference to the Erythraian budgetary ψήφισμα.

⁵⁵ J. BENEDUM, ZPE 27, 1977, 238, no. 4, with table X (SEG 27, 518). For the date of this inscription (turn of the third and second centuries, rather than BENEDUM's late hellenistic), and the Aphidnaian demotic of its Athenian proposer, Polydikos the son of Stratokles, see CH. HABICHT, Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit, Göttingen 1982, 203 no. 11.

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[- - ἀναγορ]εῦσα[ι τοὺς στεφάνους - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ίοις καθ' ἑ[καστ- - - - - ἀγγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε]
 4 [εἰς στ]άλαν καὶ ἀνθ[έμεν - - - - - εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστα]-
 [τον τ]όπον τᾶς ἀγορᾶς, - - - - -
 [- - κ]αὶ τὰν αἴρε[σι]ν ΤἈΝἈ [- - - - - τοῖς ὑπὸ]
 - - - ἈΤΩΝ παρακαλουμένοις - - - - -
 8 [συ]γενεῖς ὑπάρχοντας τᾶ[ι] π[όλει - - - - -]
 - - - ν αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόν[ων - - - - - ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος στε]-
 [φαν]ο[ῖ] τὸν τε δ[ᾶμο]ν καὶ τὸς δικα[στὰς τὸς Κώϊων - - - - - τὰν διεξ]-
 [αγω]γὰν τ[ῶ]ν [συ]μβολαίων δικ[αίως(?)] - - - - -]
 12 ----- ΜΕΛ -----

Reading and restoration: CROWTHER || 3 traces of lower bar of sigma or epsilon on left edge of squeeze || 6 the second letter of ΤἈΝἈ is very compressed || 7 right stroke and apex of triangular letter before ΤΩΝ || 10 outline of a small omicron on left edge of squeeze || 11 top bar apparently with left vertical at left edge of squeeze; tau is a possible but less compatible reading; on the right edge of the squeeze a vertical inclined slightly to the right, compatible with either kappa or epsilon || 12 traces of a letter compatible with mu, or, less likely, upsilon or nu, followed by the secure upper part of epsilon and a trace compatible with the apex of a triangular letter.

Translation

- - to [ann]oun[ce the crowns at the - - - festival] each [year - - - and to inscribe this decree on a st]ele and [to] set it up [- - - in the most prominent] position in the agora; [- - -] and the choice (?) [- - - complying with (?)] what was requested [by the -]atai (?) [- - -] being related by kinship to the ci[ty (?)] - - -] to them from ancient times [- - that the demos crowns?] the people and the jud[ges of the Koans - - for carrying out the settlement (?)] of the contract cases - - -

Commentary

No transcription of this inscription survives among HERZOG's notebooks and papers in Berlin, save for an annotation in pencil on the squeeze which offers an inventory number (E 33, indicating a find from the campaign of 1904), a provisional identification («Fragment eines Richterdekrets»), together with a measure of the thickness of the stone (18 cm — too thick, perhaps, for a stele) taken on its right edge. HERZOG's preliminary diagnosis corresponds well to the inscription's surviving clauses which record formulations typical of a decree for foreign judges, although their completion and articulation in this case is not immediately clear.

The dialect of the surviving phrases suggests a non-Koan Doric source for the decree, but would also be compatible with other origins. If the restoration ἀνθ[έμεν] in line 4 is correct, a city in the Corinthia, Megarid, or Argolid (the Koans' ancestral home) would be a plausible candidate, but the letters preserved at the beginning of line 7 seem to point to a different identification. ἈΤΩΝ before παρακαλουμένοις should belong to an ethnic: [τοῖς ὑπὸ -]ατῶν

παρακαλουμένοις. At least two possibilities suggest themselves.⁵⁶ The Achaian city of Aigeira on the Corinthian Gulf was among the recipients of Koan theoi in 242, and its favourable response to the request for recognition of the *asylia* of the Asklepion has survived (RIGSBY, *Asylia* no. 18). It is possible that Aigeira could have appealed to Kos at a later date for judges. The Aigeiran response, however, is very brief and makes no mention of the connections of kinship cited in the present text (8–9), although such ties are cited at length in the responses of other cities.⁵⁷ No Tegean response survives among the *asylia* inscriptions in the Asklepion, but Tegea, which was itself a source of foreign judges,⁵⁸ may be a better candidate for the origin of the decree than Aigeira. The remnants of the Koan inscription are compatible with a reduced Arcadian dialect – Tegean public inscriptions of the third and second centuries alternate between the use of koine and dialect forms.⁵⁹ The surviving body of Tegean decrees, however, provides no parallels to verify this hypothesis.⁶⁰

In lines 2–3 a formula for the annual announcement of crowns or honours awarded to the Koan court is required: at its most banal: [ἀναγορ]εὔσα[ι τὸς στεφάνος τοῖς Διονυσίοις καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος(?)]. But the Chalkidian decree no. 8 below shows that other more specific alternatives are also available: ὅπως ἀναγορεύ|ηται παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις | Ἀσκληπείους καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καθ' ἑκάστην πανήγυ|ριν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν. A serif and part of a bottom bar at the right edge of the stone, which might correspond to the base stroke of either epsilon or sigma, hardly help to distinguish among the alternatives.

3–5: A minimal restoration for lines 3–4 (καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀγγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε εἰς σ]τάλαν) gives a line length of at least 48 letters. In lines 4–5, the minimal supplement required by the context for the erection of a stele ([κ]αὶ ἀνθ[έμεν εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τ]ῆρον τ[ᾶ]ς ἀγορᾶς) comes to 37 letters, at least

⁵⁶ Of other possible ethnics that would complete the lacuna, Αἰγινᾶτων, Λουσᾶτων, Ἀπολλωνιατῶν, the third is inappropriate for dialectal reasons. Lousoi has yielded a number of proxeny decrees (IG V 2, 529–538), but little else to suggest a recipient of judges with ancestral ties to Kos; while Aigina was Attalid down to 133.

⁵⁷ RIGSBY, *Asylia* 15, 2 (Messenia); 20, 8 (Megara?); 21, 14 (Demetrias?); 23, 3–4 (Pella); 26, 6–7 (Amphipolis); 27, 6–8 (Philippoï); 46, 4–5, 8–9 (Neapolis); 48, 8–12, 16–23 (Kamarina); 49, 7–10, 19–23 (Gela).

⁵⁸ IG V 2, 21, with revised supplement by L. ROBERT, BCH 50, 1926, 252 n. 2 (OMS 2, 958 n. 2), re-edited now in: G. THÜR – H. TAEUBER, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien* (IPArk), Vienna 1994, 70–71 no. 6. Additional restorations are discussed in the text below.

⁵⁹ An incompatibility, however, should be noticed. Tegean and, indeed, Arcadian decrees in general use (ἀνα)καρῶσαι rather than ἀναγορεῦσαι for the announcement of honours.

⁶⁰ Cf. L. ROBERT's remarks at Coll. Froehner no. 25; the closest parallel is perhaps IG V 2, 16, 7–9 of ca. 218: ἀγγράψαντας τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε τὸς στραταγὸς τὸς περὶ Στρατέαν εἰς στάλαν ἀνθῆναν ἰν τὰν ἀγορᾶν.

ten letters too short. An additional specification is required, either indicating the magistrate responsible for setting up the stele or simply naming the stele itself again: e.g., [κ]αὶ ἀνθ[έμεν τὰν στῆλαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶρον τ[ᾶ]ς ἀγορᾶς.

In line 6 τὰν αἵρε[σι]ν may refer either to the selection of the judges made by the Koans (τὰν αἵρε[σι]ν τᾶν δ[ικαστᾶν]; cf. Milet I 3, 153, 45: περὶ τὰν αἵρεσιν τὰν τοῦ δικαστᾶ) or to their general policy and disposition towards the city which passed the decree (e.g., καὶ τὰν αἵρε[σι]ν τὰν αὐτᾶν ἔχοντας vel. sim.). Either possibility would be compatible with the compliance with requested services which seems to be in question in 6–7: e.g., [τοῖς ὑπο -]ατῶν παρακαλουμένοις [ἐπακολουθοῦντας(?)].⁶¹

The renewal of kinship connexions (line 8: [συ]γενεῖς ὑπάρχοντας), by the second century, had become a regular component of transactions for obtaining foreign judges.⁶² The traditional origin of the Dorians of Kos in the Argolid (Hdt. 1,99) would provide a context for a kinship relationship between the Koans and a city in the Argolid, but a suitable candidate is hard to find. It is unclear whether the same derivation could be extended to license a kinship relationship with an Arcadian (Tegea) or Achaean (Aigeira) community.

In line 9, the clause qualified by ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόν[ων] should be part of a complement to the description of the kinship connexion between the two cities in 8: e.g., [συ]γενεῖς ὑπάρχοντας τᾶ[ι] π[ό]λει καὶ φιλανθρώπων πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων] αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόν[ων] (cf. Milet I 3, 153, 5–8 [Byzantion]: παρὰ Μιλατίους φίλους ἔοντας καὶ εὐνοὺς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ φιλανθρώπων πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ταῖς πόλεσι ποθ' ἑαυτὰς; RIGSBY, *Asyilia* no. 12, 13–14 [letter of Spartokid king to Kos]).

At the beginning of line 10 the remains of an omicron are separated from tau by a space too narrow to be filled by more than iota. The combination of demos and judges in the accusative case which follows suggests that this is a clause specifying the terms of an announcement and invites the supplement [ὁ δᾶμος στεφαν]ο[ῖ] τὸν τε δ[ᾶ]μον καὶ τὸς δικαστὰς]. The clause in line 11 would then provide as an explanation for why the crown was awarded the successful settlement of contract cases (τ[ᾶ]ν [συ]μβολαίων). The outline of gamma and alpha followed by nu at the beginning of the line can be restored to fit this

⁶¹ Cf. Milet I 3, 154, 1–3: νο[μί]οι γτες κατήκον εἶναι ἑαυτοῖς ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις προθύμως (Eretria; cf. SEG 41, 330, 6–8); IG V 2, 437, 9: ἐπακολουθήσας τοῖς παρακαλουμέν[οις] (Megalopolis).

⁶² Full documentation in O. CURTY, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités*, Geneva 1995. 29 of CURTY's 88 case studies are provided by decrees for foreign judges. As a proportion of the whole corpus of inscriptions concerning foreign judges (now in excess of 270), these 29 cases (to which can now be added, in addition to the present text, nos. 7 and 8 below) become more significant (amounting almost to a third) when they are set against the documents in which it is possible to judge how the parties described their relationship.

context as [τὰν διεξαγωγὴ]γάγν,⁶³ constructed either with a participle (e.g., ποιησάμενος) or with an infinitive (ἐπὶ τῷ πεποιῆσθαι vel. sim.).⁶⁴ The connection of the proclamation formula with the preceding clauses, however, remains unclear. The minimum line length of ca. 48 letters required by the restoration of 3–4, would allow room only for a short connecting phrase of ca. 15 letters.

7 Honorific decree for Koan judges sent by an unidentified Ionian city. First half or middle of 2nd century BC (lettering).

Inv. AS 13 = M 18. No further details of the findspot or dimensions and character of the stele are recorded in HERZOG's notebooks. Fig. 11 (Berlin squeeze). The following measurements have been taken from HERZOG's squeeze: height: 0.435; width: 0.43; letter height: 0.010–0.013; line interval: 0.007–0.008. Lettering of the first half or middle of the second century BC: alpha with straight cross bar, pi with projecting horizontal with strong serifs; sigma is broad with parallel or sometimes inward-turned, outer strokes; full-size theta, omicron, omega; delta is noticeably broader and flatter than alpha and lambda, with some overlap of intersecting strokes.

Unpublished. Text based on HERZOG's transcription collated against the Berlin squeeze.

- .. ΙΔΕ [- - - - -]
 [ύ]περ τῆς ΧΩ[- - - - -]
 ΤΑΣ τῷ δήμῳ[ι - - - - - *ca. 12-15* - δεδόσθαι δὲ καὶ]
 4 πολίτειαν [α]ύ[τοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάν]-
 των ἵνα δὲ καὶ [Κῶιοι εἰδήσωσιν τὰς ἐψηφισμέ]-
 νας τιμὰς τῷ [τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀποσταλεῖσι δι]-
 κασταῖς, χε[ιρο]το[νηθέντος τοῦ ψηφίσματος]
 8 τοῦδ[ε] π[ρο]ε[σβευ]τ[ὴν ἐλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολι]-
 τῶν, ὃ δὲ [α]ἰρεθεῖς ἀ[φικόμενος εἰς Κῶ καὶ ἀπο]-
 δοῦς τοῖς [ἄρ]χορσι[ν τὸ ψηφισμα τόδε, ἐπελ]-
 θὼν δὲ καὶ ἐ[πι]τ[ὴν] ἐκ[κλησίαν καὶ ἀνανεωσάμε]-
 12 νος τὰ προὔπαρχοντα ἀ[ύ]τοῖς φίλάνθρωπα παρακα-
 λε[ι]το Κῶίους [σ]υγγενεῖς κα[ὶ] φίλους καὶ εὐνοῦς]

⁶³ Cf. I. Erythrai 114, 6–8: ἔνεκα [το]ῦ διεξαγεσθαι τὰ συμβόλαια τοῖς ιδιώταις ἐπιμελῶς καὶ [τοῖς νόμοις ἀ]ζ[ολούθως; I. Iasos 612, 50–51: [τὴν τῶν ἀμφιλεγόμενων διεξαγωγὴν (Bargyilia); SEG 26, 677, 9–11 (Peparethos). Line 11 could also be read τὰν τ[ῶ]ν [σ]υμβολαίων διεξαγωγάν, but this would fit the letter traces at the beginning of the line less closely.

⁶⁴ For a participial construction, cf., e.g., Milet I 3, 152, 39–40, 43–45; I. Priene 63, 19–20: [ὃ δ]ῆμος ὁ Παριανῶν στεφανοῖ στεφάνω[ι] χρυ[σῶ]ι Πο[σειδῶ]νιον Ἡρώιδου καλῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ συμφερόντως δικάσαντα τὰς δίκας; infinitive construction: I. Mylasa 632, 20–22: [ὃ] δῆμος στεφανοῖ τὸν [δῆμον τὸν Μυλασέων ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποστεῖλαι δικασ]τὴν καὶ γραμματέα ἄν[δρα]ς καλοῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς.

- καὶ συμμάχο[υ]ς ὑπάρχοντα[ς τοῦ δήμου ἀπο]-
 δέξασθαι τὰς τε ἐψηφισμέ[ν]α[ς] τῶι δήμωι τι]-
 16 μὰς καὶ τοῖς δι[ι]καστ[α]ῖς καὶ πο[ι]ήσασθαι ἐπιμέ-
 λειαν, ὅπως ἂν καὶ πα[ρ'] αὐτοῖς γ[ί]νηται ἡ ἀναγ-
 γελία τῶν στει[φ]άνων ἐν τῶ[ι] ἐπιφ[αν]εστάτωι ἀ-
 γῶνι καὶ ὅπως ἀναγροαφῆ τ[ὸ]δ[ε] τὸ ψ[ή]φισμα εἰς]
 20 στήλην λιθίν[η]ν καὶ ἴ[ν]α εἰς τὸν μετὰ [ταῦτα χρό]-
 νον συντηρῆται καὶ ἐπὶ πλ[έ]ον αὐξ[ί]ηται ἢ τε φι-
 λία καὶ εὐνοια ταῖς πόλεσι[ν] πρὸς ἀλλή[λα]ς· τὸ δὲ]
 ψήφισμα τῶδε ἀφήκειν εἰ[ς] φυ[λα]κήν. πρ[ε]σ[β]ευτῆς]
 24 ἠιρέθ[η] *vv* Ἀρίστην[δρο]ς Ἀπολλ[- -].

Minor changes of bracketing and dotting from HERZOG's text are not signalled separately.

2 [ύ]περ τῆς χώρ[α]ς HERZOG || 3 σης τῶι δήμω[ι] HERZOG || 4 πολιτείαν //// καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάν]των HERZOG || 7 χειροτο[ν]ῆσαι κρωθέντος τοῦ ψηφίσματος] HERZOG || 8 πρεσβευτ[ή]ν ἕνα ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἐρυθραίων(?) ἀπάν]των HERZOG || 12 τὰ προὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς φιλόφρονα] HERZOG, which may be too long; HABICHT suggests [τίμα] which is rare in this context and may also be too short || 14–15 [προσ]δέξασθαι HERZOG; ἀποδέξασθαι is a little more common in this context || 23 [ἀν]ήκειν εἰς φυλακὴν πόλε[ω]ς HERZOG; ἀφήκειν confirmed by HALLOF from Berlin squeeze || 24 Ἀρίστηνδρος Ἀπολλ- - - HERZOG; the reading of the ambassador's patronymic does not look altogether secure on the Berlin squeeze.

Translation

Concerning the lan[d (?) - - - - -] to the people [- - -, that] citizenship [be given to] th[em and their descendants and also exemption (?) from] all [taxes;] in order that [the Koans may know] the honours [decreed] to the [people and the ju]dges [who were sent out, after] this [decree has been] passed an ambas- sa[dor is to be chosen from all the citi]zens, and the individual chosen [on his arrival in Kos and having de]livered to the magistrates [this decree, and having] gone [before] the as[s]embly and renew[ed] the previously existing [ties of good- will towards them] is to ca[ll on] the Koans being kinsmen a[nd friends and well-disposed] and allies [of the people, to] accept the [hon]ours decre[ed to the people] and the judges and [to see] to it that [the ann]ouncement of the crowns also ta[kes place among them] at the [most] popular contest and that this d[ecree] is inscribed [on] a stele of marble and that [the friend]ship and good-will of the cities for one an[other] are preserved for future times and incr[eased] to a greater degree; this decree relates to (our) security. [As ambas- sador] was chosen Aristan[dros] the son of Apoll[-].

Commentary

The reading of this inscription presents some difficulties. The Berlin squeeze shows damage, in the form of abrasions, indentations and incisions, to the inscribed surface which is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the purpose-

ful work of the stonemason. Correction of HERZOG's reading, which was made from the stone as well as squeezes, in consequence, is sometimes hazardous. Interpretations of the letter traces apparent on the squeeze differing from HERZOG's are offered here without pretence to certainty.

The inscription preserves the conclusion of an honorific decree of an unidentified city granting citizenship (4) to judges sent from Kos (6–7) and providing for the choice and sending of an ambassador to Kos to deliver a copy of the decree to the Koans (7–9) and invite them to accept, proclaim and inscribe the honours awarded to them and their judges (12–20), and to maintain and strengthen their ties of friendship with the city (20–22). Two concluding clauses assign the decree to a privileged class of public business (22–23) and record the identity of the envoy sent to Kos (24). So much is clear. Details of formulation present uncertainties.

Letter traces on the upper edge of the stone in line 1 showing the bottom of a vertical in position 3 followed by the base line of what HERZOG took to be delta and the lower half of epsilon (ΙΔΕ) would be compatible with an infinitive ending followed by the connective δέ. Other interpretations, however, are also possible.

In line 2, [ύ]πέθ τῆς followed by ΧΩ seems secure. HERZOG recorded a partial rho at the edge of the stone, but this is not apparent on the squeeze. Nevertheless, the supplement [ύ]πέθ τῆς χά[ρας - -] seems to be entailed. This is unexpected. The decree honours judges sent from Kos, but the qualification ύπέθ τῆς χάρας belongs to the language of territorial adjudications. Honorific decrees for δικασταί in interstate arbitrations are rare – open acknowledgment of impartiality by the party whom a verdict favoured may have seemed inappropriate. S.L. AGER's recent collection of testimonia for international arbitration in the Hellenistic period has only a handful of instances.⁶⁵ In the present case, it is possible that a fuller context would offer a different perspective. The phrase occurs amid the honours voted to the judges and might limit a specific award, but it is difficult to find an appropriate parallel for such a qualification. In the current state of the text it seems more likely to be part of an explanation for why the judges were honoured.

At the beginning of line 3 HERZOG read ΣΗΣ. Between the top bar at the beginning of the line and a clear sigma in space 3, a vertical stroke and an intersecting cross bar are visible, the former overlying what may be the eroded outline of a triangular letter. Eta is too wide for the gap, as a comparison with τῆς in line 1 shows. If the mark interpreted by HERZOG as the left vertical of eta is excluded as surface damage, alpha would fit happily instead and, in turn,

⁶⁵ AGER, IAGW no. 40 III B (IG V 1, 1429), Aitolian mediation between Messene and Phigaleia ca. 240 BC; no. 87 (SEG 26, 392), Eleian decree for 13 Corinthian judges, after 191 BC; no. 117.I (FD III 3, 383), Delphian decree for Rhodian judges, ca. 179 BC.

enforce tau in the first letter space, to give an accusative plural ending before τῶι δήμῳι.

In line 4 HERZOG read the kappa of καί on the right edge of the stone and assumed a damaged area of one letter space separating it from πολιτείαν. The letter traces at the end of the line, however, are equally or perhaps more compatible with upsilon – the vertical stroke cannot be traced into the upper part of the line whereas there seem to be traces of both branches of upsilon. Upsilon allows the intrusive abrasion to be filled with the alpha of [α]ϛ[τοῖς]. The continuation of the supplement is guided by ΤΩΝ at the beginning of the following line which invites [ἀτέλειαν πάν]των.⁶⁶

HERZOG's restoration of lines 7–8 is appropriate to the context, but probably inaccurate in detail. The reading τοῦδε[ε] π[ρ]ε[σ]βε[ν]τ[ή]ν in line 8 seems secure, and HERZOG was surely correct to take τοῦδε[ε] as referring to the decree itself and to look for a clause requiring its ratification before the choice of an ambassador was made. Similar clauses are found in honorific decrees from Eretria and Kolophon,⁶⁷ and one of the new inscriptions from the Asklepieion published in AAIG II contains just such a provision.⁶⁸ The form in which HERZOG restored the clause ([κρωθέντος τοῦ ψηφίσματος] τοῦδε), however, exceeds the space available in line 7 (42 letters, instead of 33–40). HERZOG's reading χειροτο[ν]ῆσαι in line 7 may provide the basis for an alternative restoration.⁶⁹ Two third-century decrees of Chios use χειροτονεῖν in ratification clauses in place of κρωθῶν.⁷⁰ It is possible that the Koan text has a variant of this formula using a genitive absolute construction:⁷¹ χε[ι]ροτο[ν]ῆσαι τοῦ ψηφίσματος | τοῦδε. This restoration yields a relatively short line length of 35 letters, but the convergence of word and line ending would account for any shortfall. The formula restored for the selection of the ambassador in line 8 is an approximation and may be a little long. HERZOG's [ἐξ Ἐρυθραίων(?) πάν]των followed his provisional identification of the source of the decree as Erythrai, but the use of an ethnic in this context is perhaps less common.⁷² A speculative alternative restoration along similar lines is noticed at the end of the commentary.

⁶⁶ Grants of ἀτέλεια πάντων are regularly accompanied by further qualifications (e.g., ὅσα εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλὴν γῆς, I. Priene 2, 9; and cf., in general PH. GAUTHIER, Chiron 21, 1991, 49–68); an alternative restoration with [αἱ]τῶν (e.g., καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν), however, would be difficult to reconcile with the available letter spaces.

⁶⁷ Eretria: Milet I 3, 154; Kolophon: I. Priene 57, 12–13.

⁶⁸ AAIG II, no. 22, 2–4 ([ἀπο]δεῖξαι πρεσβε[ν]τήν ἕνα τοῦ μηνός | τοῦ Κ[ρ]ωνιῶνος μετὰ τῆς [κ]ρωθῶσιν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος) with discussion on page 141; to which add now RHODES, Decrees 517–518.

⁶⁹ The Berlin squeeze supports a more conservative reading: ΧΕ...ΤΟ.

⁷⁰ FD III 3, 215, 28: ὅταν τὸδε τὸ ψηφίσμα χειροτονηθῆι; cf. FD III 3, 214, 28.

⁷¹ Cf. perhaps I. Iasos 612, 47, 54–55 (AGER, IAGW 161), from Bargylia.

⁷² FD III 4, 215, 28, cited above, offers an example: ἐλέσθ[αι] δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα θεω[ρο]ῦς τρεῖς ἐκ πάντων Χίων.

In line 9, the diagonal of nu in τῶν appears to have been eroded. The following omicron is a faint outline only. At the end of the line, the bottom of a left diagonal may belong to alpha.

The combination of relationships of kinship, [friendship, good-will], and alliance cited in lines 13–14 suggests a particularly close relationship between the Koans and the city which received their judges. A clue to the identification of this city may be supplied by the decree's concluding formula. In line 23, where HERZOG restored ψήφισμα τῶδε [ἀν]ήκειν εἰς φυλακὴν πόλεως[ος], ἀφήκειν can be read on the Berlin squeeze.⁷³ After φυλακὴν the Berlin squeeze shows a top bar together with traces of two verticals. HERZOG interpreted this as pi, which seems plausible. The letter spacing would be compressed for the projecting horizontal of pi, but πόλεσιν πρὸς in the previous line provides a good parallel. After pi the letter traces on the Berlin squeeze suggest instead of HERZOG's ΟΛΕ a rho followed after one letter space by sigma or epsilon. I offer, hesitantly ε[ι]ς φυλακὴν. πρ[ε]σ[βευτῆς] | ἡρέθη[η].

These details of formulation bear on the identification of the provenience of the decree. Protection clauses of this kind, which appear in the decrees of a number of Aegean and Ionian cities, have recently been studied by GSCHNITZER.⁷⁴ The regular form in which the provision appears is some variant of τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε (or ταῦτα) εἶναι εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως (or τοῦ δήμου).⁷⁵ But there are also more distinctive formulations. Ephesos uses a participial construction (I. Ephesos 8, 26–27: τοῦ πράγματος ἀνήκοντ[ος εἰς] τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας). In two decrees of Chios, the provision is drafted in a form similar to, but not quite the same as, the Koan text:⁷⁶ τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀφήκειν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ δήμου. In a third Chian text, the formulation is the same.⁷⁷ The use of ἀφήκειν εἰς in this formula is unique to Chios in the surviving documentation.

HERZOG identified the decree tentatively as Erythraian from the general similarity of its formulation to the Erythraian decrees for foreign judges I. Erythrai

⁷³ Reading independently conformed from a second squeeze by K. HALLOF.

⁷⁴ F. GSCHNITZER, *Zur Normenhierarchie im öffentlichen Recht der Griechen*, in: *Symposium 1979. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Ágina, 3.–7. September 1979), ed. P. DIMAKIS, Vienna 1983, 141–164; cf. now also RHODES, *Decrees* 522–523.

⁷⁵ I. Erythrai 114, 32–33: ταῦτα δ' εἶναι εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως; cf. *Milet* I 3, 147, A 66–67, B 76 ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως.

⁷⁶ J. VANSEVEREN, *RPh* 63, 1937, 332–333, no. 7: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀφήκειν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ δήμου; *ADelt* 11, 1927–28, par. 25.5 with *IGRR* IV 938 (L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 130–133 no. 4), b 5–6: [τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τ]ῶδε ἀφήκειν εἰς τε τὴν [φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ δήμου]; cf. *FD* III 3, 214, 46–47: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀφήκειν εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῦ δήμου.

⁷⁷ *FD* III 3, 215, 38: [τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδ]ε ἀφήκειν εἰς φυλακὴν.

111, 112 (no. 5 above) and 113.⁷⁸ General similarities of this kind, however, are insufficient to provide a reliable index of identity. The case for an Erythraian identification falls on the specific test of the form of the protection clause. Is the similarity between the protection clause used in the Koan text and the formula current in Hellenistic Chian decrees sufficient, conversely, to secure a Chian identification for the decree? There is little to argue against such an identity, but positive evidence in its favour is also scarce, since Chian honorific decrees from a comparable second-century dating range are in short supply. The Chian parallel for the restoration of the ratification formula in line 7 may provide some support, but without further comparanda the hypothesis must await verification.

Nevertheless a Chian provenience for the decree remains an attractive possibility. The formula for the choice of an ambassador in lines 8–9 could then be restored as specifically as HERZOG had hoped: $\pi[\rho\epsilon]\sigma\beta\epsilon\nu\tau[\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \chi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon\tau\omega\nu (?)$.

8 Decree of Chalkis for two judges from Kos. Ca. 167–150 BC.

HERZOG inv. Was RI II = M 22 (a: M 118 = M 22a = E 62; b: M 22b; c: M 149 = M 22c = E 20; d: M 117 = AS 61 = M 22d; e: M 22e). Figs. 12 (frs. a, b, c); 13 (fr. d); 14 (fr. e).

Five fragments of a stele of white marble found in the Koan Asklepieion: e on October 14, 1902; a and d also in the 1902 campaign; b, c subsequently, in the ruins of the Roman baths on Terrace III. Fr. a provides the upper right corner of the stele, from lines 1–10, with the lower edge of one crown carved in relief within a square frame, as in no. 9 below; there would have been room for two more crowns on the left edge and in the centre of the stele. Frs. b and c join to form the upper left edge of the stele from lines 3–17. A short lacuna separates them from fr. d, which provides a further 9 lines on the left edge of the stele. Fr. e, which is separated from fr. d, in turn, by a second short lacuna, gives the last 21 lines of the decree across the whole width of the stele.

Letter height: 0.009–0.01 m. The lettering of the inscription is distinctive: alpha has broken cross bar, pi an extended top bar with serifs at each end. Sigma is narrow, with outer bars sometimes inclined inward. Omicron, theta and omega are full-size; the finials of omega are short and angled. Omicron and theta are attached almost directly to following letters. Spaces are used consistently for punctuation, to divide clauses.

Lines 42–45 cited at R. HERZOG – P. SCHAZMANN, *Kos I: Asklepieion*, Berlin 1932, xxviii. Extracts from lines 10–15, e 7–9, published, from HERZOG's

⁷⁸ I. Erythrai 111, 36–37 ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\phi\alpha\lbracket[\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma]\ddot{\omicron}\sigma\iota\nu$) provides a parallel for $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\omicron}\lbracket[\iota \acute{\epsilon}\lbracket[\pi\iota\phi\alpha\lbracket[\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lbracket[\gamma\ddot{\omicron}\nu\iota]$

copy, by E. ZIEBARTH, IG XII Suppl. p. 202, 31–53. Cf. J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. épigr. 1940, 111bis, criticising HERZOG's restorations cited in IG XII Suppl.; O. PICARD, Chalcis et la confédération eubéenne, Paris 1979, 300 n. 5. – Unpublished. Text based on HERZOG's transcript and supplements, corrected from HERZOG's and CSAD squeezes.

	[<i>corona</i>]	[<i>corona</i>]	<i>corona</i>	<i>a</i>
	[ἐπειδὴ πεμψάντων ἡμῶν ψή]φισμα καὶ πρεσβευ-			
	[τὴν τὸν παρακαλέσοντα Κώι]ους ἀποστεῖλαι δικά-			
<i>b</i>	[σοντας τὰς δικ[ας δικαστ]ὰς δύο, <i>v</i> ὁ δῆμος ὁ Κώ[ι]-			
4	[ων ὑπάρχ]ων συγγ[ενῆς καὶ φίλ]ος καὶ εὔνους τῆς πό-			
	[λ]εως ἐξαπέστειλ[ε δικαστὰς <i>v</i> Ὀρθαγόρα]ν Ἴππο-			
	[κ]ράτου, <i>v</i> Τίμαρχο[ν Τιμίδα, οἶ] καὶ παραγενόμε-			
	[ν]οι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τήν [τε ἀναστροφ]ὴν πεποιήνται			
8	ὡς καθῆκον ἦν ἀνδ[ράσι καλοῖς] καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀξι-			
	[ως τῆς τε ἰδίας πατ[ρίδος καὶ τῆς ἡ]μετέρας π[όλε]-			
	[ως, <i>v</i> τῶν τε εἰσοδοθε[ισῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς δικῶν πε]-			
	[πειρα]νται τὰς μὲν [- ----- <i>ca.</i> 22 ----- -]			
12	.ΙΝ ἀκόλουθοι γινώ[μενοι ----- <i>ca.</i> 16 -----]			
	.ΙΝ παρακλήσει <i>vac.</i> ----- <i>ca.</i> 15 ----- καθ' ὅσον]			
<i>c</i>	[εἰσὶν δ]ιγνατοὶ ἐν ὁμ[ονοίαι ----- <i>ca.</i> 17 -----]			
	[- <i>ca.</i> 7 - π]ολίτευμα[- ----- <i>ca.</i> 22 ----- -]			
16	[- <i>ca.</i> 8 -]ΝΕΧΩΡΕΥ[- ----- <i>ca.</i> 18–20 ----- ἀπὸ]			
	[παντὸς τοῦ] βελτίστ[ου ----- <i>ca.</i> 20 ----- -]			

lacuna

d [- ----- δε]-
[δόχ]θαι τοῖς [τε συνέδροις καὶ τῶι δήμωι, ἐπαινέσαι]
τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸν Κώι]ων ἐπὶ τε τῇ εὔνοίαι καὶ τῇ ἐ]-
4 ξαποστολῇ [τῶν δικαστῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων ἀμφοτέρων]
[τ]ῶν πόλεων κα[ὶ] στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφά]-
[ν]θ^ω *v* ἐπαινέσαι δὲ [καὶ Ὀρθαγόρα]ν Ἴπποκράτου καὶ
Τίμαρχον Τιμίδα [ἐπὶ τῶι καλῶς καὶ δικαίως διε]-
8 ξαγηγοχέναι τὰς κρ[ίσεις καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον]
[αὐτῶ]ν χρυσῶ στεφάγ[ωι, καλέσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ]
[ξένια εἰς] τὸ πρυτα[νεῖον, ----- -]

lacuna

e [ὑπά]ρχειν δ[ὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρόσοδον πρὸς τοὺς συ]-
νέδρους καὶ τὸν δῆμον π[ρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά καὶ]

- τὰ [Ῥ]ωμαίων· *ν* ἵνα δὲ καὶ Κοῦιοι παρακολουθῶσιν
 4 τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν καλοκᾶ[γα]θ[ίαν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ]
 δήμου φιλόφρονα, τοὺς στρατηγούς σφρα[γισαμέ]-
 νους τότε τὸ ψάφισμα τῆ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι δοῦναι
 τοῖς δικασταῖς· *ν* παρακαλεῖ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Χαλκ[ι]δέ-
 8 ων Κώϊους ἀποδεξαμένους φιλοφρόνως τὰ [παρὰ τῆς]
 πόλεως φιλόφρονα καὶ ψηφισαμένους ἀπόκρισιν [κα]-
 ταχωρίσαι εἰς τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δημοσία γράμματα· προ-
 νοηθῆναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν τιμῶν τῶν γεγονότων
 12 τῆ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς, ὅπως ἀναγορευ-
 ηται παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις
 Ἀσκληπιείοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καθ' ἑκάστην πανηγυ-
 ριν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀγῶσιν· *να*. ἀναγραφῆ δὲ καὶ εἰς
 16 στήλας τότε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἀνατεθῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἢ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς,
 ἢ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, *ν* ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοι-
 ποὶ πάντες παρακολουθοῦντες τὴν εἰς τοὺς
 20 δίκαιους τῶν ἀνδρῶν γινομένην σπουδὴν
 τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποπέλλωσιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δικασ[τάς].

Readings and restorations are HERZOG's unless overwritten in the notes: 1 HERZOG's [ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δήμου πέμπαντος ψή]φισμα is ca. 3 letters too long for the lacuna || 2–3 ἀποστεῖλαι δικα[στὰς καλοὺς κα]ὶ δικ[αίους ἀνδρ]ας δύο HERZOG || 5 [τοὺς ἀνδρ]ας HERZOG || 6 [οἵτινες] καὶ HERZOG || 10 HERZOG's εἰσδοθεῖσῶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον δικῶν] is too long, by ca. 3–4 letters; the alternative offered here, in contrast, may be a little short || 11–14 τὰς μὲν [δικακρίνειν δικαίως τὰς δὲ συλλύ]ειν ἀκόλουθοι γινόμενοι κατὰ πάντα τῆ παρ' ἡμῶν παρακλήσει *να*. [ἵνα εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν Ὁροβιαῖοι | καὶ Ταμ]υναῖοι ἐν ὁμ[ονοίᾳ ἐμμένουσιν - - -] HERZOG || 14–15 [ἐν | τῷ κοινῷ πολιτεύμα]τι HERZOG || 16 [ἀ]νεχώρευ[σαν δὲ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν] HERZOG; the upper part of the right vertical of nu is visible at the beginning of the line || 16–17 [ἀπο | παντὸς τοῦ] βελτίστ[ου ποιοῦσ]του ποιοῦσ[το]ν HERZOG; the perfect participle [πεποιημένοι] would be better. || d 7–8 [ἐ]ξαγαγοχέναι HERZOG || e 1–3 [τὰς δὲ ἐψηφισμένας τιμὰς ἀ]να[γορεύειν Διον]υσίοις τε καὶ Ταμυναῖοις τούς τε συ[νέ]δρους καὶ τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸν τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ τὸν] | Ταμυναίων HERZOG || e 3 HERZOG's [κατακολουθῶσιν εἰδότες] is too long; [παρακολουθῶσιν] is suggested by e 19.

Translation

[Whereas when we sent a de]cree and an ambass[ador to ask the Ko]ans to send [to] jud[ge th]e law[suits] two [jud]ges, the people of the Ko[ans being] kins[men and frien]ds and well-disposed towards the city sent [as judges] Orthagoras the son of Hippokrates and Timarchos [the son of Timidas, who] on their arrival among us conducted [their stay] in a manner that was fitting for [good] and excellent men in a way worthy both of their own fath[er]land and of] our city, and of the [cases] submitted [to them] they have tried to [resolve the majority through conciliation] acting in accordance with our re-

quest [in every respect; and to adjudicate the others so far as they are] able wishing [our] citizen-body [to be] in har[mony - - - they]Jef[t? - - - in the] best possible [way - - - *lacuna* - - - that it] be [resolved] by the [synhedroi and the people, to praise] the people of [the Koans for their good-will and for the] sending [of the judges, men worthy of both] cities and [to crown it with a gold cro]wn; to praise [also Orthagoras the son of Hippokrates and] Timarchos the son of Timidas [for de]ciding the jud[gments well and justly and to crown each of the]m with a gold crown, [and to invite them to hospitality in] the pryta-neion [- - - *lacuna* - - - they are to] have [precedence in access to the sy]nhedroi and the people d[irectly after religious matters and] matters concerning the Ro-mans; in order that the Koans too [may learn] of the excellence of the judges [and the] generosity [shown by] the people, the generals having sea[led] this decree with the public seal are to give it to the judges. The people of the Chalkidians calls on the Koans having accepted gratefully the generosity [of the] city and having voted a reply to register (it) in their public records; and to provide also for the announcement of the honours awarded to the city and the judges in their city at the Dionysia and the Great Asklepieia and Romaia festi-vals each time they are celebrated at the sporting contests and also that this decree be inscribed on (two) stelai and set up in their city, one in the most prominent position in the agora, the other in the sanctuary of Asklepios, so that everyone else as well, learning of the zeal shown (by us) towards just men, may send to us as judges men worthy of the role.

Commentary

The discovery on 14 October 1902 of fr. e of this inscription confirmed the identity of the sanctuary in which HERZOG was excavating as the Asklepieion (fr. e 15–18: ἀναγραφῆ δὲ καὶ εἰς στήλας τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἀνατεθῆ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἢ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῶϊ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ). Consolidation of the text through the subsequent discovery of a further four fragments provided the outlines of an interpretation of the document which HERZOG communicated to E. ZIEBARTH for inclusion in the supplementary volume to IG XII in 1939. In HERZOG’s view, the inscription recorded a decree of Chalkis honouring the Koans and the two judges sent by them for the settlement of an internal conflict involving the territorial subdivisions of Tamynai and Orobiai (ll.13–15: [ἵνα εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν Ὀροβιαῖοι καὶ Ταμυναῖοι ἐν ὁμόνοιαί ἐμμένωσιν - - - ἐν τῷ κοινῶι πολιτεύματι]). The honours awarded to the Koan demos and its judges were to be announced at the Dionysia and Tamyneia festivals, respectively, in Chalkis and Tamynai (ll. 27–30: [τὰς δὲ ἐψηφισμένας τιμὰς ἀνα]γορεύειν Διογ[υσίοις τε καὶ Ταμυνείοις τούς τε συ]γέδροις καὶ τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸν τε Χαλκιδῶων καὶ τὸν] Ταμυναίων).

Orobiai in the north-west of Euboeia lay within the territory of Histiaia in the third and second centuries BC. Tamynai, in contrast, appears to have belonged

to Eretria. For Chalkis to have exerted influence over both would require it to have held a dominant role in the politics of the island. Such a role might be compatible with Chalkis' effective leadership of the Euboian *koinon* in the first half of the second century, but cannot be deduced from the text of the inscription itself. HERZOG's reconstruction was based on difficult readings in line 14 of frs. a–c and line 3 of fr. e which re-examination of the Berlin squeezes has shown to be incorrect.

Line 14 falls across the join between frs. b and c. HERZOG's reading ὙΝΑΙΟΙ ἐν ὀμ[ονοία]ι corresponds closely to the letter traces visible on the squeezes except for the fourth letter, iota, the upper part of which is partially obscured by the break between the fragments. In the lettering of this inscription the interval between iota and a following omicron is narrow, as, for example, in Διονυσίους, Ἀσκληπειούς and Ῥωμαίους in e 13–14. The gap between HERZOG's iota and omicron, in contrast, amounts to half a letter space – exactly the space that would be required by tau. The correction is supported by traces of the left edge of a top bar and yields uncomplicated sense: [δ]υνητοῖ in place of [Ταμ]υνητοῖ.

A comparable change can be made in e 3, where τὰ [Ρ]ωμαίων can be read in place of HERZOG's Ταμυναίων. With these two corrections, the basis for HERZOG's supplements in a–c 13–15 and e 1–3 disappears, and the Koan inscription at once becomes a much simpler, and at the same time less interesting, document. Instead of a decree for Koan judges who had resolved disputes across the island of Euboia mediated by Chalkis, we have a decree of Chalkis for two Koan judges who had settled disputed cases in their city in the same way as more than 250 other foreign courts in 80 cities elsewhere.⁷⁹

HERZOG's restorations for the lacuna between fragments a and b in lines 3 ([καλοὺς κα]ῖ δικ[αίους ἄνδρ]ας), 5 ([τοὺς ἄνδρ]ας), and 6 ([Τιμίδα, οἵτινες]) are too long, as a comparison with the secure restorations of lines 4, 7 and 8 demonstrates (see attached reconstruction, fig. 12). In line 3, HERZOG saw the base of iota on the left edge of fr. b, but the Berlin squeeze shows the end of the lower bar of epsilon or sigma with serif. I have adjusted the supplements accordingly.⁸⁰

The summary of the judges' work in a–c 11–17 raises a number of difficulties of reconstruction. HERZOG's suggested restoration (πεπείρανται τὰς μὲν [διακρίνειν δικαίως τὰς δὲ συλλύ]ειν ἀκόλουθοι γινόμενοι κατὰ πάντα τῆι παρ'

⁷⁹ Figures taken from my forthcoming book on foreign judges. The composition of the Koan court sent to Chalkis is a little unusual; in other cases where a city sent two foreign judges, they were accompanied by a secretary, but apparently not in the present case.

⁸⁰ An alternative to the supplement given in the text for 2–3 might be: δικα[στάς ἐπὶ τὰς δίκ]ας ἄνδρ]ας δύο; but this would scarcely fill the gap between a and b of ca. 8 letters.

ή|μ|ῶν παρακλήσει), cited at IG XII Suppl. p. 202, as J. and L. ROBERT noted,⁸¹ seems to challenge strict sense and logical sequence. The opposition between settlement (διαλύειν, συλλύειν) and judgment (δικάζειν, διακρίνειν) is a regular feature of descriptions of foreign courts' jurisdiction. Here the use of πεπείρανται requires that the first group of cases (τάς μὲν) be the ones that the judges attempted to resolve through consent, and implies also that these cases were the majority;⁸² the judges may have tried to settle cases through conciliation, but they should not have tried to judge them first. Space for a suitable supplement is limited. The lacuna on the right edge of fr. b has room for ca. 20–24 letters. In lines 12–13, the dative παρακλήσει should depend on ἀκόλουθοι, and the whole phrase qualify the settlement clause in line 11. After παρακλήσει, there is a *vacat* of one and a half letter spaces to indicate, as consistently elsewhere in the inscription, a sense break. Since there seems to be no room in 11–13 for a reference to judgment,⁸³ the second phase of the judges' work should follow this break. On this basis, a suitable supplement for 10–12 might be: πε|πείραντα τάς μὲν [πλείστας συμφερόντως διαλύ|ε]ιν.

HERZOG'S completion for 12–13 (ἀκόλουθοι γινόμενοι κατὰ πάντα τῆι παρ' ή|μ|ῶν παρακλήσει) matches the lacuna and letter traces accurately and offers appropriate sense.⁸⁴ I. Magnesia 15a, 24–26 (ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τοῖς ἐπακ[ολουθήσα|σ]ι τῆι [π]αρακλήσει αὐτοῦ ἀποδιδῶι τιμὰς) provides a parallel for ἀκόλουθοι γινόμενοι - - - τῆι παρ' ή|μ|ῶν παρακλήσει, and κατὰ πάντα fills the remainder of the lacuna when a further dative would exceed it.

After the *vacat* following παρακλήσει, the opposition between conciliation and judgment can be completed by [τάς δὲ διακρίνειν (vel. sim.)] which fills the lacuna as far as the comparative clause required by [δ]ύνατοί in 14. A suitable completion for 14–15, linking ἐν ὁμ[ονοίαι] and [π]ολίτευμα would then be supplied by SEG 1, 363,6–7:⁸⁵ βουλόμενος ἐν ὁμοίᾳ τῆι πόλιν εἶναι. A complete and approximate restoration of 10–15 on this basis would be as follows:

τῶν τε εἰσδοθε[ισῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς δικῶν πε]-
πείρανται τάς μὲν [πλείστας συμφερόντως διαλύ]-

⁸¹ Bull. épigr. 1940, 111bis.

⁸² Cf., e.g., OGIS 329, 11–14: τὰ μὲν πλείστα [πει]ρωμένου συλλύειν, τοὺς δὲ μ[ῆ] συλλυομένους ἀναπένπον[τος] ἐπὶ τὰ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως νενομοθετημένα ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶ[ν] βασιλέων κτλ. (Attalid ἐπιστάτης on Aigina).

⁸³ If the letters at the beginning of 12 belong to an infinitive ending, it would be a violation of syllabic division to continue [δικάζ|ε]ιν or [διακρίν|ε]ιν across the line break as a supplement of τάς μὲν [διαλύειν, τάς δε διακρίν|ε]ιν would require.

⁸⁴ The rounded letter trace on the left edge of 12 seems more likely to belong to omega than omicron, since the latter is attached almost directly to following vertical strokes (contrast τῶν in 10 with καθήκον in 8).

⁸⁵ Cf. IG XII 5, 870, 11–12: βουλό|μενοι τὸ πολίτευμα κατ[α]στήσαι εἰς [ό]μ[ό]νοιαν.

- 12 [ε]ιν ἀκόλουθοι γινόμενοι κατὰ πάντα τῆ παρ' ἡ]-
 [μ]ων παρακλήσει *vac.* [τάς δὲ διακρίνειν καθ' ὅσον]
 c [εἰσὶν δι]υγατοὶ ἐν ὁμ[ονοίαι βουλόμενοι εἶναι τὸ ἡ]-
 [μέτερον π]ολίτευμα [- ----- *ca. 22* -----]

In line 16 ΝΕΧΩΡΕΥ belongs to an aorist compound of χωρεῖν. The stone-cutter appears to have substituted a Doric form, as in e 6, where ψάφισμα is cut for ψήφισμα. HERZOG suggested [ἀ]νεχώρου[σαν δὲ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν], and interpreted ΒΕΛΤΙΣΤ in the following line as part of a clause commending the judges' general conduct during their residence. This would be possible, but the context is too incomplete for certainty.

HERZOG joined fragments d and e directly and restored a formula for the proclamation of the crowns awarded to the Koans demos and judges by the synhedroi and demos of Chalkis and Tamynai at the Dionysia and Tamyneia festivals. The reading Τραμυγιάων in line 3 has already been rejected, but the formulation, in any case, is an impossible one. Proclamation clauses assign the task of announcing crowns specifically to a festival magistrate such as the agonothes or hierokeryx rather than to the council – or, in the case of the present decree, synhedroi – and people. The combination of council and people in the accusative case at this point in an honorific decree is usually reserved for grants of priority of access to the honorands. Such must be the case here. In the first line of fr. e, ΠΧΕΙΝΔ can be read for HERZOG'S ΓΟΡΕΥΕΙΝΔΙΩΝ and restored to [ὑπά]ρχειν δ[ὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρόσδοδον πρὸς τοὺς συ]|νέδρους καὶ τὸν δῆμον π[ρῶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά καὶ] | τὰ [Π]ρωμαίων. The addition of τὰ Πρωμαίων to the qualification μετὰ τὰ ἱερά («after the sacred business») is paralleled in three other decrees from Chalkis, two of them passed by the Euboian koinon in the period 191/90–175, the third by Chalkis itself ca. 172, although their versions of the award formula refer to a βουλή rather than σύνεδροι and are somewhat fuller and supplemented by generalising clauses concerning the privileges awarded to proxenoi and euergetai.⁸⁶ The difference in the formulation of the award in the Koan text is sufficiently accounted for by the more general institutional changes at Chalkis that saw the replacement of the βουλή as a deliberative body by the σύνεδροι after 167.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ IG XII 9, 898, 6–8: [καὶ] πρόσδοδον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὅταν βούλωνται πρῶτοις μεθ' ἱερά [καὶ τὰ Πρωμαίων καὶ τὰλλα ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πάντα ὅσαπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένους καὶ εὐεργ[έταις τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν Εὐβοίων γέγραπται; SEG 40, 752, 2–4; cf. IG XII Suppl., 645, 5–7, revised by D. KNOEPFLER, BCH 114, 1990, 486–490 (SEG 40, 754). Cf. KNOEPFLER'S discussion *ibid.* in general and, specifically for the prosodos formula, 477–478, 483–485.

⁸⁷ For this date and on the change in general, see KNOEPFLER'S careful discussion cited above.

The appearance of σύνεδροι in place of a βουλή provides a terminus post quem for dating the inscription. A lower limit is harder to set. HERZOG's reconstruction of the decree, which implied a dominant role for Chalkis in Euboian politics, would have been incompatible with the diminution suffered by the city after 146 BC for taking the wrong side in the Achaian War,⁸⁸ but this criterion no longer applies. A prosopographical argument, however, is supplied by the appearance of one of the two Koan judges, Timarchos the son of Timidas, in a second Euboian decree for Koan judges, passed by Eretria (no. 9 below), since the two other judges in the Eretrian decree, Philophron the son of Parmeniskos and [Aristos (?)] the son of Aristos the son of Damokles,⁸⁹ belong to identifiable Koan families from Halasarna, and can be placed in the generation up to ca. 150.⁹⁰ A similar dating range would be appropriate for the Chalkidian decree.

This dating range is of interest because the Chalkidians invite the Koans to announce the crowns awarded to their people and judges both at the Koan Dionysia and at an hitherto unattested celebration of τὰ μεγάλα Ἀσκληπιεῖα καὶ Ῥωμαῖα (lines 39–42).⁹¹ The festival referred to is clearly the quadrennial celebration of the Great Asklepieia to which the additional epithet Ῥωμαῖα has been attached.⁹² In two surviving victory lists covering the period from the first celebration of the Great Asklepieia in 241 to ca. 170 the festival retains its single designation as τὰ Ἀσκληπιεῖα or τὰ μεγάλα Ἀσκληπιεῖα down to the last entry for the monarchate of Thessalos the son of Thessalos in ca. 170/169.⁹³ The combined celebration of Great Asklepieia and Romaia must, therefore have been instituted between ca. 170 and the passing of the Chalkidian decree between 167 and ca. 150. A likely occasion for its institution within this period would have been to celebrate the Roman victory over Perseus in the Third Macedonian War. Polybios reports that the Koans had initially been divided

⁸⁸ Cf. D. KNOEPFLER, *MH* 48, 1991, 252–280.

⁸⁹ The other Koan judge, Orthagoras the son of Hippokrates, perhaps another member of the Hippokrates family engaged in judicial work, is not otherwise attested.

⁹⁰ See the discussion of no. 9 below.

⁹¹ SEG 23, 212, an honorific notice of the late second or early first century from Messene for Lysikrates the son of Lysidamos for his victory in an unspecified Ἀσκληπιεῖα καὶ Ῥωμαῖα provides a possible earlier attestation, noticed by R. MELLOR, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Göttingen 1975, 46 n. 115. MELLOR's suggestion that the Koan Asklepieia festival is in question in this text now seems very likely to be correct.

⁹² For the joint celebration of Romaia by Greek cities alongside other established festivals, see MELLOR, *op. cit.* 175–180.

⁹³ TH. KLEE, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen*, Leipzig – Berlin 1919, II C, 71–74: ἐφ' ἱερώς Θευδότου τοῦ Θευδότου τ[οῦ Ἀρχιδάμου] καὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Ἐκατοδώρου τοῦ [- - - καὶ μ]νάρχου Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ τ[οῖδε ἐνίκων τὸν] ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖων. Cf. SHERWIN-WHITE 357–358; RIGSBY, *Asyia* 109–110.

over which side to support (30.7.9–10).⁹⁴ One of the Koan honorific decrees published in AAIG II, for the Thessalian doctor of Cn. Octavius Cn. filius, the praetor of the Roman fleet in 168/67, demonstrates how the Koans eventually made the right choice, but a timely recognition of the Roman victory through a renaming of the Great Asklepieia would, no doubt, have removed any subsisting uncertainty over their intentions once the outcome of the war was decided.

If this argument is correct, it should provide a criterion for dating a Kalymnian honorific decree for the Koan public doctor Antipatros the son of Dioskouridas preserved in both a Kalymnian and a Koan copy (TCal test. XXIV and 78), since the Kalymnians request the Koans to announce the crown awarded to Antipatros at the Dionysia and the Great Asklepieia. A Dioskouridas the son of Antipatros is attested as victorious kitharode at the Asklepieia of ca. 174/73 (KLEE, II C, 14). HERZOG assumed that he was the father of the doctor, because the lettering style of the inscription seemed to him to be too late for a date before the victory. The absence of Ῥωμαῖα from the designation of the festival, however, shows that the decree for Antipatros antedates the institution of the joint celebration, and Antipatros should accordingly be the father, rather than the son, of the kitharode.

A second reference to the Great Asklepieia and Romaia can be restored in lines 1–3 of AAIG II, no. 10. Restudy of context and squeezes has shown that this fragment from the publication clauses of an honorific decree provides the conclusion of the Koan decree for an unidentified dikastagogos, AAIG I, no. 2 (fig. 1). In line 1 of no. 10, [με]τὰ τὰς σπονδ[άς] corresponds to lines 40–42 of the fully preserved decree for the dikastagogos Theugenes, AAIG I, no. 1: ἀναγορευσάτω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἱεροκάρυξ [τῶν] στ[έ]φ[α]νον Διονυσίων τῷ πρώτῳ ἀγῶνι με[τὰ τ]ὰς σπονδ[άς]. Line 2 of no. 10, however, continues with a reference to a further announcement ἐν τοῖς γυμνιχ[οῖς ἀγῶσιν] of another festival whose genitive plural ends [-]αίων. Parallels for dual proclamations of crowns in other Koan decrees show that these occurred in years in which the Great Asklepieia was being celebrated, as in the decree for the doctor Antipatros Dioskourida cited above (TCal 78).⁹⁵ This seems to have been the case in no. 10 also,

⁹⁴ Cf. SHERWIN-WHITE 134. The Macedonian king Perseus appears to have owned an estate in the deme of Halasarna (M. SEGRE, RPAA 17, 1941, 37–38: ὄρος χωρίου βασιλέως Περγ(ε)ως). The rider to the διαγραφή for the priesthood of Dionysos Thyllophoros, SEGRE, ED 216 B 19–24, which requires annual payments by the priest towards the refurbishment of the sanctuary of Antigonos, may be connected with pro-Macedonian activity on Kos in this period if the inscription dates a generation later than the epidosis list of 201/200, PH 10, instead of a generation earlier, as SEGRE, followed by SHERWIN-WHITE 115–117, believed.

⁹⁵ Cf. SEGRE, ED 132 (PH 13), 16–18; ED 134 (PH 14), 5–7; TCal test. XIII, 11–13; test. XIV, 9–11; AAIG II, 14, 18–20; 21, 25–27.

except that, at the time when this decree was passed in the middle of the second century,⁹⁶ the Great Asklepia had become a joint festival celebrated with the Romaia, as no. 8 now shows. HERZOG had already restored Ῥωμαίων in line 2 of AAIG II, no. 10. The remaining lacuna of ca. 30 letters between lines 1 and 2 can now be filled with [καὶ τῶν μεγάλων Ἀσκληπειῶν καὶ Ῥωμ]αίων. A composite text of AAIG I, no. 2 and AAIG II, no. 10 is given in the appendix on pages 308–309 below.

9 Decree of Eretria for three judges from Kos. Mid-2nd century BC.

HERZOG Inv. M 10 = AS 12. Found on 22 September 1903 near the east stoa on Terrace III of the Asklepion. Stele of white marble with kymation now broken away. Broken away on the left edge where 8–10 letters have been lost, and below. Three crowns in relief are set in square (0.12 wide, 0.115 high) frames below two lines of heading identifying the honorands by name and patronymic; the individual judges' names are not directly aligned with the crowns. Fig. 15 (Berlin squeeze). Height: 0.51 m; width: 0.35 m; thickness: 0.10 m. Letter height: 0.008 (omicron)–0.015 m (phi); line interval: 0.005 m.

Unpublished. HERZOG's transcription and restorations have been corrected from the Berlin squeeze and the parallels provided by SEG 41, 330.

	[Ἀρίστου(?)] τοῦ Ἀρίστου	Φιλόφρονος τοῦ	Τιμάρχου
	[τοῦ Δαμ]οκλεῦς	Παρμενίσκου	τοῦ Τιμίδα
	<i>corona</i>	<i>corona</i>	<i>corona</i>
	[Ἐρετριέω]ν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ πόλις Κώϊων τῆ		
4	[βουλῆ καὶ] τῶι δήμῳ χαίρειν· τῶν ἐψηφισμέ-		
	[νων ὑφ' ἡμ]ῶν τιμῶν τῶι τε δήμῳ ὑμῶν καὶ		
	[τοῖς ἀποσ]ταλεῖσι δικασταῖς ἀπεστάλλα-		
	[μεν ὑμῖν ἀν]τίγραφον σφραγισάμενοι τῆι δημο-		
8	[σίαι σφραγῖ]δι ἵνα παρακολουθῆτε. ἔρωσθε.		
	<i>vacat</i>		
	[ἐπειδὴ πεμ]ψάντων ἡμῶν ψήφισμα καὶ δικ(α)σ-		
	[ταγωγὸς κ]αὶ πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν δήμον τὸν		
	[Κώϊων Δημή]τριον Εὐκτήμονος Λυσίαν Κλεο-		
12	[. . . . παρακ]αλέσοντας Κώϊους δοῦναι ἡμῖν		
	[δικαστὰς ἄν]δρας τρεῖς οἵτινες παραγενόμε-		
	[νοι εἰς Ἐρετρι]αν διεξάξουσιν καλῶς καὶ δι-		
	[καίως τὰς δίκ]ας καὶ συμφερόντως [Ἐρετριεῦ]-		
16	[σιν καὶ τοῖς ἐνοι]κοῦσιν ἐν τ[ῆι πόλει, - ^{ca.} 7 -]		
	- - - - ^{ca.} 14 - - - - ΤΟΥΕ - - - - ^{ca.} 18 - - - -		

⁹⁶ For the date of no. 10, see the discussion of the dating of no. 2, with which it belongs, and the two other Koan decrees for dikastagōi in AAIG I, 91, 98–99.

3 [Λαρισαίω]ν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ πόλις Κώων HERZOG || 4–5 τῶν ἐψηφισμέ[νων παρ' ἡ]μῖν τιμῶν HERZOG || 9 ΔΙΚΛΣ lap. || 11 a serif on the edge of the squeeze, in the correct position for the top bar of tau, supports HERZOG's restoration [Δημήτ]ριον || 11–12 Κλεο[γίνου] HERZOG || 14 [εἰς Λάρι]σαν HERZOG || 15–17 συμφερόν[τος] [τῆ] τε πόλει | καὶ τοῖς ἀντιδι]κῶσιν ἐν τ[οῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς κρι]νομένοις ἐπι] τοῦ ξ[ενικοῦ δικαστ]ηρίου - - -] HERZOG; [Κῶιοι | φίλοι ὑπάρ]χοντες] τοῦ Ἐ[ρετριέων δήμου τού]ς τε δικασταγ[ο]γούς καὶ πρεσβευτ[ὰς ἀπεδέξ]αντο φιλοφρόνως καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς κτλ.] CROWTHER, *exempli gratia*.

Translation

(Crown of) [Aristos?] the son of Aristos the son of Damokles; (crown of) Philophron the son of Parmeniskos; (crown of) Timarchos the son of Timidas.

The magistrates and the city [of the Eretria]ns to the [council and] the people of the Koans, greetings. We have sent [to you] a copy of the honours decre[ed by us] to your people and [the] judges sent [out (by you)], sealing it with the pub[lic seal], so that you may learn of them. Farewell.

[Whereas] when we sent a decree and dikas[tagogoi] and ambassadors to the people [of the Koans, Demet]rios the son of Euktemon, Lysias the son of Kleo[-], to [call] on the Koans to provide for us [as judges] three men who on their arri[val in Eretria] would settle well and just[ly the law]suits and in the interests of the [Eretrians and those liv]ing in t[he city, the Koans being friends] of the [people of the] E[retrians received the dikastagogoi and ambas]sadors kindly and amicably, etc.].

Commentary

The surviving text of this fragment from the upper part of a stele consists of three sections: the names of three honorands in the genitive case above, but not directly aligned with, three crowns in relief; a short covering letter of six lines addressed to the Koan council and people; followed by the text of the honorific decree itself.

HERZOG identified the city that passed and sent the decree as Larissa on the basis of the ambassadors' names in line 11, which seemed to him compatible with a Thessalian origin,⁹⁷ and the traces of sigma which he believed he could discern on the edge of the stone in line 14, yielding an accusative ending -σαν for the city name. The Berlin squeeze, however, shows no such traces, and the title of the magistrates, οἱ ἄρχοντες, in the address of the covering letter is inappropriate for Larissa, for which one would expect to find ταγοί performing this role. The recent publication of a substantial fragment of a decree of Eretria for judges from Messene (SEG 41, 330), however, offers an alternative and secure identification for the provenience of the Koan text.⁹⁸ I reproduce the

⁹⁷ Εὐκτεῖμων: IG IX 2, 414, 8 and 9 (Pherae); Λυσίας: IG IX 2, 517, 49 and 73 (Larisa); Κλεο[γίνης] (restored by HERZOG in 11–12): IG IX 2, 671 b 1.

⁹⁸ A.P.ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΥ informs me that further fragments from the conclusion of the Messenian text were found in 1991 and 1994, and that he and V.N.ΒΑΡΔΑΝΕ will shortly be publishing a complete and revised edition of the inscription.

opening lines of the Messenian fragment, as restored by PH. GAUTHIER,⁹⁹ which correspond to lines 9–16 of our text:

[- *ca.* 10–15 - - εἶπεν ἐπειδὴ ἀποστειλάντων ἡμῶν]
 [ψήφισμα καὶ δικασταγωγὸν πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίων πόλιν]
 [- *ca.* 10–15 - - αἰτησόμενον καταστῆσαι δικαστὰς δύο]-
 ο καὶ γραμματῆ, οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι εἰς Ἐρετ[ρίαν]
 διεξάξουσιν τὰς δίκας καλῶς καὶ δικαίως Ἐρετ[ρί]-
 4 εῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν. Μεσσήνιοι ὑπάρχοντες[
 φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς ἡμῶν τὸν τε δικασταγωγὸν
 ἀπεδέξαντο φιλοφρόνως καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς κτλ.]

The standardised character of the formulation of Eretrian decrees for foreign courts is demonstrated by the survival of other examples from Miletos (Milet I 3, 154), Sparta (ABSA 29, 1927–28, 62–68, no. 85), and Oropos (I. Oropos 330–331: two copies of the same text). The inscription from the Koan Asklepieion now adds a fifth instance: [Ἐρετριέω]ν and [εἰς Ἐρετρί]αν fit exactly into the lacunae, respectively, in lines 3 and 14.¹⁰⁰

The parallel provided by the Messenian text allows HERZOG'S restoration of the formula in lines 14–16 to be corrected.¹⁰¹ A difficulty, however, arises in accommodating the four surviving letters of line 17. The top bar of the fourth letter visible on the edge of the stone appears to lack a descending stroke. HERZOG accordingly excluded Γ, Τ and Σ and took it as Ξ, restoring ἐν τ[οῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς κρι]νομένοις ἐπι[τοῦ ξ[ενικοῦ δικαστηρίου - -]]. The two other instances of Ξ in the inscription, however, in line 14 (διεξάξουσιν), have a much longer top bar (0.0013–0.0015, rather than the 0.0009 stroke in 17). The apparent absence of a descending stroke so close to the broken edge of the stone may be deceptive and, in any case, is almost impossible to verify. Since HERZOG'S supplement does not fit the context provided by the parallel Eretrian decrees from Messene, Oropos and Miletos, it seems better to look for an interpretation that will do so. The best matches for a letter with a short top bar would be Ε or, less likely, Σ. On the basis of the corresponding section of the new Messenian text,¹⁰² a possible restoration for lines 16–17 might be: [Κῶιοι | φίλοι ὑπάρχοντες] τοῦ Ἐ[ρετριέων δήμου κτλ.]

The names of the ambassadors ([Demet]rios the son of Euktemon and Ly-sias the son of Kleo[-]), which HERZOG identified as possibly Thessalian, find

⁹⁹ REG 106, 1993, 589–592.

¹⁰⁰ For a possible sixth instance, see the discussion of IG V 2, 21 (IPArk 6) in the text below.

¹⁰¹ The correspondence is not quite exact: the qualification ἐν τ[ῆι πόλει] in line 16 of the Koan text is missing from the Messenian text.

¹⁰² SEG 41, 330, 4–6: Μεσσήνιοι ὑπάρχοντες[ς] | φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς ἡμῶν τὸν τε δικασταγωγὸν | ἀπεδέξαντο φιλοφρόνως καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς (SEG 41, 330, 4–6).

an even more appropriate home in the onomasticon of Eretria. Of 34 entries for Euktemon in LGPN volume 1, 14 belong to Eretria. Lysias (8 entries), Demetrios (17 entries) and names based on the Kleo- stem are also well represented. The Eretrian ambassadors, however, do not appear to be attested elsewhere as individuals.

In contrast, the three Koan judges are all either identifiable individuals or belong to already attested Koan families. Timarchos the son of Timidas appears as a judge in no. 8 above, a decree of Eretria's Euboian neighbour Chalkis dating after 167 BC, with which no. 9 should, accordingly, be contemporary. Repeated dikastic missions by individuals are attested in a number of other cases. The Erythraian Diodotos the son of Kleonymos, for example, is attested as a foreign judge on four occasions,¹⁰³ and a substantial dossier of inscriptions from Mylasa records the dikastic career of Theodoros Theodorou, the adopted son of Isidoros, who also served as priest of Isis.¹⁰⁴ Most strikingly, a recently published inscription from Sardis describes the civic career of Heliodoros the son of Diodoros in the following terms: «not only giving proofs of his excellence (of character) among us (his fellow citizens), but also conducting himself in the courts that are sent by the people to other cities ably and honourably in each case, as a result of which he has received crowns and notable honours».¹⁰⁵

Philophon the son of Parmeniskos belongs to an extended Koan family from the deme of Halasarna plotting the inter-relationship of which presents certain difficulties. HERZOG offered a stemma of the family in 1899 which he hoped could stand as secure, at least in its essentials.¹⁰⁶ This reconstruction, however, rested on optimistic assumptions about the possibility of identifying individuals,¹⁰⁷ and has in part been superseded by corrected readings and new publications.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ I. Erythrai 120 (unidentified destination); 121 (Tenedos); 122 (Mytilene); EA 9, 1987, 143 no. 10 (unidentified destination).

¹⁰⁴ I. Mylasa 632–33 (Parion); 634 (Teos); 635 (unidentified destination).

¹⁰⁵ PH. GAUTHIER, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II*, Geneva 1989, 4 B: οὐ μόνον παρ' ἡμῖν ποιούμενος τὰς ἀποδείξεις τῆς αὐτοῦ καλοκάγαθίας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεμπομένοις δικαστηρίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, δυνατῶς καὶ ἐπιεικῶς ἐν ἐκάστοις ἀναστρεφόμενος, δι' ὃ καὶ τέτευχεν στεφάνων καὶ τιμῶν ἐνδόξων.

¹⁰⁶ HERZOG, KFF p. 180.

¹⁰⁷ Two of the names which play a prominent role in HERZOG's reconstruction, Kallistratos and Parmeniskos, are among the commonest of all Koan names with, respectively, 20 and 38 entries in the onomasticon in SHERWIN-WHITE, 472–473 (Kallistratos), 508–510 (Parmeniskos).

¹⁰⁸ The stemma in KFF assumes a reading of Ἡρο[πύθου] in ASA 25–26, 1963, 183–201 no. 26, Face III, 77–78; HERZOG himself corrected this to Ἡρο[κλειτοῦ] in the text published by G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI in ASA 1963. At KFF 220 HERZOG initially read [Αγ]λαόφρων Εὐφιλῆτου, later corrected to [Φ]ιλόφρων Εὐφιλῆτου in SBB

Members of the family appear prominently in a long tribal catalogue of qualified participants in the rites of Apollo and Herakles from the Koan deme of Halasarna dating to the beginning of the second century.¹⁰⁹ The decree introducing the catalogue was proposed by Euphiletos the son of Parmeniskos the son of Philophron.¹¹⁰

The catalogue itself lists two different individuals named Parmeniskos the son of Philophron (Face III, 64–67: Παρμενίσκος Φιλόφρονος ματρός δὲ Ἀγεμονίδος τᾶς Παρμενίσκου; face III, 75–78: Παρμενίσ[κος Φ]ιλόφρονος ματρός [δὲ Κρα]τείας τᾶς Ἡρα[κλειτο]υ). PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, following HERZOG, suggested that these were, respectively, grandson and grandfather, but there is no explicit indication to this effect in the text, nor are the entries directly juxtaposed – a Parmenion the son of Aristainetos and a Polymnastos the son of Nossylos separate them. The two Parmeniskoi may belong to two branches of the same Halasarnitan family or to two entirely separate families. Parmeniskos is a particularly common name on Kos (38 of 61 entries for Parmeniskos in LGPN 1 are Koan), nor is Philophron rare (9 Koan entries out of 38 in LGPN 1). Limited clarification is offered by attestations of two homonymous members of earlier generations of the family in other inscriptions from Halasarna. An unpublished inscription from Halasarna for Diokles the son of Alexandros found in 1985 and dated ca. 250 by CH. KANTZIA mentions a Philophron the son of Euphiletos.¹¹¹ The same name occurs in a list of dedicants, priests and hieropoioi from the sanctuary of Apollo at Halasarna.¹¹² The lettering of this inscription is very close to, and perhaps the work of the same stonemason as, the great epidosis list PH 10 of ca. 201 BC with which, indeed, it has, at least two names in

1901 p. 481, no. 3, but missing from the stemma in KFF. The attestation of a Philophron the son of Euphiletos in a mid-third-century inscription found at Halasarna in 1985 (noticed in the text and n. 111 below) adds a further complexity.

¹⁰⁹ ASA 1963, 183–201, no. 26. The Halasarnitan catalogue shares a number of individuals with the epidosis list of ca. 201, PH 10 (see the entries in SHERWIN-WHITE'S onomasticon for Βότων Θευδόρου, Ἄριστος Θευγένεως, Ἱεροκλῆς Ἀριστάρχου), but equally has others who may be identified as the sons of contributors in PH 10 (Ἀυτοφῶν Φιλίππου at I 52–55 with Φίλιππος Ἀυτοφῶντος at PH 10 b 45; Ἰέρων Στρατίππου at II 21–24 with Στρατίππος Ἰέρωνος at PH 10 c 43; Πολύμναστος Νικομάχου at III 45 with Νικόμαχος Πολυμνάστου at PH 10 c 28).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, A 6–7: Εὐφίλη|τος Παρμενίσκου τοῦ Φιλόφρονος εἶπε. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, following HERZOG, cites AAIG I, no. 2 («*decr. ined. di Halasarna*») specifically in relation to Euphiletos.

¹¹¹ CH. KANTZIA, *ADelt* 39, 1984, A [1990], 161 (SEG 40, 683), cited at AAIG II, 103 by HABICHT and HALLOF who notice its possible connection with no. 4 *ibid.*

¹¹² R. HERZOG, *SBB* 1901, 481 no. 3, 15. The beginning of this list is now published separately as SEGRE, ED 42.

common.¹¹³ If ΚΑΝΤΖΙΑ is correct in dating the unpublished decree for Diokles to the middle of the third century, the Philophron mentioned there may well have been the grandfather of the individual named in the list of dedicants and hieropoioi.¹¹⁴ The latter, in turn, might plausibly be identified as a cousin of the Euphiletos the son of Parmeniskos the son of Philophron who proposed ASA 1963, no. 26 in the early second century.¹¹⁵

It is difficult to locate Philophron the son of Parmeniskos, the Koan judge sent to Eretria, certainly within this ramified context. The Eretrian decree, as has been seen, is contemporary with the decree of Chalkis no. 8 above, which itself postdates 167, since Timarchos the son of Timidas is honoured in both. Philophron could have been the son of either Parmeniskos Philophronos in the Halasarnitan catalogue, but it is equally possible that he might be the grandson of Philophron Euphiletou in the Halasarnitan list of dedicants and hieropoioi of ca. 200. Any of the three identifications would suggest a dating range for Philophron's public career in the middle of the second century, in line with HERZOG's estimate of ca. 150 BC.

A further complication is added by the interesting possibility noticed by HERZOG that the Koan dikastagogs to Alinda honoured at Halasarna in AAIG I, 96–99 no. 3 might have had the same name as the proposer of the Halasarnitan catalogue decree: [Εὐφίλητος] Πα[ρ]μενίσκου τοῦ | Φιλόφρονος], and that Philophron the son of Parmeniskos in our text could then have been his brother. The citation of an identifying papponymic and the close fit with the lacunae available both for this name in line 4 and for the dikastagogs' own name in line 3 make this an inviting suggestion. It cannot, however, be considered as secure. The use of identifying papponymics was not quite as rare as one might expect on Kos – the long epidosis list PH 10 has 11 examples – and there could have been another son of a Parmeniskos who needed to be distinguished from a homonym. The interval between the dating ranges of the Halasarnitan catalogue (early 2nd century) and the decree for the dikastagogs (mid-2nd century), in any case, excludes the identification of proposer and dikastagogs that HERZOG envisaged. A possibility remains open that the dikastagogs could have been a grandson, either of Euphiletos the proposer of the catalogue decree or of Philophron the son of Euphiletos, who may have been the latter's cousin, but the trail, by this point, has almost run cold. Philophron Parmeniskou the judge belonged to a well-known Halasarnitan family, but whether the dikastagogs sent to Alinda belonged to the same family is, for the moment, unclear.

¹¹³ Φιλίππος Κρατίδα and Θράσων Ἀρχιδάμου in SBB 1901, 481, no. 3, 13, 17, also appear at PH 10 b 17 and c 70. For PH 10 see now the commentary of L. ΜΙΓΕΟΤΤΕ, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, Geneva – Quebec 1992, 147–160 no. 50.

¹¹⁴ So ΚΑΝΤΖΙΑ, cited in n. 111.

¹¹⁵ I owe this suggestion to CH. HABICHT.

The name of the other judge sent to Eretria was restored by HERZOG as [Ἄριστος] Ἄριστου [τοῦ Δαμ]οκλεῦς on the basis of PH 387, a list of contributors from Antimachia ca. 200 BC to the Aphrodision, in which both Ἄριστος Δαμοκλεῦς and Ἄριστος Ἄριστου feature. HERZOG appears to have taken the latter for the son of the former, but this is by no means assured. Aristos is a relatively common name on Kos, and an Aristos Aristou also appears in the Halasarnitan tribal list ASA 1963, no. 26, B I 28–29, and again in SEGRE, ED 138, 11 (monarchate of Althaimenes: late third or early second century). The difference in dating ranges between PH 387 and the Eretrian decree (mid-2nd century), moreover, makes it implausible that the Koan judge was the same individual as the Antimachian contributor. HERZOG's assumption that he was a son of Aristos the son of Damokles, in contrast, is very likely to be right since Damokles is an uncommon name on Kos, with only four entries in SHERWIN WHITE'S *Onomasticon*.¹¹⁶ The restoration of his name as [Aristos] fits the available space closely and may well also be right.

The relative abundance of prosopographical data available for Kos in the late third and early second centuries offers possibilities, but also suggests cautions, for making identifications of individuals. Neither Philophron the son of Parmeniskos nor [Aristos?] the son of Aristos can be identified with certainty, although their families probably can. Both can be described as members of politically active families in a broad sense, but it is only their role in the present text as foreign judges chosen to represent their city that secures the same description for them as individuals.

To conclude discussion of this text, a small anomaly and a possible analogy can be noticed. The covering letter sent by the Eretrians refers to the honours awarded to the Koan demos as well as to its judges, but the three crowns inscribed above the text are specifically attached to the individual judges. If the Koan demos was crowned alongside its judges, its crown seems not to have been separately acknowledged in the heading of the decree. The Chalkidian decree, no. 8 above, which also seems to have had three crowns inscribed above its text, in contrast, honours two Koan judges, leaving the third crown to be assigned to the Koan demos.

The Eretrian covering letter itself has a general parallel in two letters written by the federal strategos and synhedrion of the Magnesian koinon and the strategoi and nomophylakes of Demetrias to accompany honorific decrees for judges from Kleitor and Patrai (IG V 2, 367; re-edited as IPArk 19) and a more specific parallel in a fragment of three lines of an inscription from Tegea which L. ROBERT restored as follows (IG V 2, 21 [IPArk 6]):

¹¹⁶ LPGN I has three Koan entries for Damokles. PH 387, 4–7 lists three sons of Damokles: Damokritos and Nikarchos, as well as Aristos.

--έων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ [βουλή Τεγεατῶν τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶ]
 [δήμῳ χ]αίρειν. τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν]
 [ἀποσταλεῖ]σι δικαστ[αῖς ἀπεστάλακαμεν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον,]
 4 [ἵνα εἰδῆτε -----]

Too little of this fragment survives to draw secure parallels, but the regular pattern of formulation of decrees for foreign judges suggests that the covering letter would have cited honours awarded to the Tegean demos as well as to its judges, just as in the Eretrian decree: τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τιμῶν τῶι τε δήμῳ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀποσταλεῖ]σι δικαστ[αῖς]. This change would require a longer supplement in line 1, but the deficit is easily made up by adding the demos to the boule and strategoi in the address: [- -]έων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ [βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τεγεατῶν τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ χ]αίρειν. The restoration of the fragment might then be completed in line with the Eretrian decree as follows:

[- -]έων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ [βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τεγεατῶν τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶι]
 [δήμῳ χ]αίρειν. τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τιμῶν τῶι τε δήμῳ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῖς]
 [ἀποσταλεῖ]σι δικαστ[αῖς ἀπεστάλακαμεν ὑμῖν ἀντίγραφον, σφραγισάμενοι τῆ]
 4 [δημοσίαι σφραγίδι, ἵνα παρακολουθῆτε. ἔρρωσθε.]

The restoration of lines 3–4 has been added *exempli gratia*. To take the further step of restoring [Ἐρετρι]έων in line 1 as the name of the city which sent the letter would be speculative and there are several reasons why the identification would be difficult to accept. FRAENKEL in IG V 2 dated the Tegean inscription to the first century BC on the basis of its lettering, but the boule at Eretria was replaced by the synhedroi after 167.¹¹⁷ The role of the strategoi also appears anomalous. In a series of third-century Eretrian decrees, from the period of Macedonian control, the strategoi play a prominent role alongside the city's principal magistrates, the probouloi, in proposing decrees.¹¹⁸ This role is continued in an Eretrian arbitration between Naxos and Paros of the early second century, in which the probouloi and strategoi have joint responsibility for registering the settlement document in the public archives and sending a sealed copy to the disputants.¹¹⁹ The Eretrian strategoi are not, however, attested acting in this role alone.

¹¹⁷ Cf., e.g., IG XII 9, 234, 236, 237, and see the discussion of KNOEPFLER cited in n. 86 above.

¹¹⁸ IG XII 9, 205, 1; 206, 1; 208, 2; 209, 1; 212, 1; 217, 1; for the magistrates of Eretria, see HOLLEAUX's discussion, *Études* 1, 46–56, stressing the primacy of the probouloi.

¹¹⁹ IG XI 4, 1065 (AGER, IAGW 83), B 26–29: τοὺς δὲ προ[βούλους καὶ τοὺς στρατη]γοὺς τοὺς Ἐρετριέων εἰς τε τὰ δημόσια γράμματα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀναγράψαι τήνδε τὴν σύλλυσ[ιν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὴν ἀπο]στειλ[α]ν σφραγισμένους τῆ δημοσίαι σφραγίδι].

10 Fragmentary decree of unidentified city for judges and secretary from Kos. 2nd century BC.

Kos Inv. E 72 = M 50. Fragment of a marble stele of uncertain provenience, broken on all sides. Fig. 16. Height: 0.165 m; width: 0.20 m; thickness: 0.08 m. Letter height: 0.008–01 m; line interval: 0.005. Irregular lettering of the second century BC: alpha with straight cross-bar, sometimes slanting down from left to right; pi with projecting horizontal; omega underlined by joining finials; the lower bar of kappa is attached to the upper bar rather than the stem.

Unpublished. Transcribed by HALLOF from HERZOG's squeeze in Berlin.

[- - - - -] τοῖς ΚΑΙΤ [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον [- - - - -]
 [στεφαν]ῶσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν [- - - - -]
 4 [στεφά]νωι ἐπὶ τῷ παρε[- - - - -]
 [μετ]ὰ πάσης φιλοτιμία[ς] τὴν τε ἀναγγελίαν τῶν
 [στε]φάνων ποιήσασθ[αι τὸν - - - - -]
 [- - -] ἀγῶνος· ἵνα δὲ καὶ Κῶοι [εἰδήσωσιν τὴν τε]
 8 [καλο]κἀγαθίαν καὶ τὴν [τῶν - - - εὐχαριστίαν,
 [ἐλέσθαι] πρεσβευτήν, ὅσ[τις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κῶ καὶ]
 [ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ] τὴν βουλὴν κ[αὶ τὸν δῆμον - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ν καλοκἀγαθίαν - - - - -
 [- - - - -]ωνα[- - - - -]

Legit et restituit HALLOF || 1 the space between the two vertical letter strokes after alpha is too wide for a second iota.

The remains of formulae preserved in this fragmentary inscription suggest a decree for a foreign court. A close parallel is provided by I. Assos 7, a decree of an unidentified city for two judges and a secretary sent from Assos in the second half of the second century:

ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτο[ῖς]
 [ἐφοδον ἐπὶ τῆ]μ βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρῶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἰε-
 16 ρά· ὑπάρχειν δ' [αὐτ]ο[ῖς] καὶ προξένους τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν· στε-
 φανῶσαι δὲ [καὶ τὸν γο]ραμματέα Μέλαγχρον Μελάνγρου θαλε-
 ρῶι στεφάνωι ἐπὶ τῷ παρασχ[έ]σθαι τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν χρεῖαν μετὰ
 πάσης φιλοτιμίας· τῆς τε ἀναγγ[ε]λίας τῶν στεφάνων τὴν ἐπ[ι]-
 20 [μέλειαν] ποιήσασθαι τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τοῦ μουσικοῦ· ἵνα δὲ κα[ὶ]
 Ἄσσιοι εἰδήσωσιν τὴν τε τῶν ἀνδρ[ῶν] καλοκἀγαθίαν καὶ τὴν
 τοῦ δήμου εὐχαριστίαν, αἰρεθῆναι πρεσβευτὰς οἵτινες ἀφικό-
 24 μενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπελθ[όν]τες ἐπὶ τὴν [β]ουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ-
 μον τὸ τε ψήφισμα ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς κα[ὶ] ἐμφανιοῦσι τῆ[ν]
 τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καλοκἀγαθίαν καὶ τὴν εὖνοιαν [ῆ]ν ἔχομεν
 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν Ἄσσίους καὶ πα-
 ρ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀναγγελίαν τῶν σ[τε]φά-

- 28 ων ὑπὸ τοῦ κατασταθησομένου ἀγωνοθέτου [τ]οῦ
 μουσικοῦ ἀγῶνος·

On the basis of the similarities between the two texts, the Koan inscription can be restored with an average line length of around 40 letters. Line divisions are arbitrary and approximate.

- [ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐ]τοῖς καὶ τ[οῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν(?) ἔφοδον]
 [ἐπὶ τὴν βο]υλὴν καὶ τὸν [δῆμον πρότοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά.]
 [στεφαν]ῶσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν [γραμματέα αὐτῶν θαλερωῖ]
 4 [στεφά]νωι ἐπὶ τῷ παρε[ισχῆσθαι τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν χρεῖαν]
 [μετ]ὰ πάσης φιλοτιμία[ς· τὴν τε ἀναγγελίαν τῶν]
 [στ]εφάνων ποιήσασθ[αι τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τοῦ μουσι]-
 [κοῦ] ἀγῶνος· ἴνα δὲ καὶ Κῶοι [εἰδῶσι τὴν τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν]
 8 [καλο]κἀγαθίαν καὶ τὴν [τοῦ δήμου εὐχαριστίαν, αἴρε]-
 [θῆναι] πρεσβευτήν, ὅσ[τις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κῶ καὶ ἐπ]-
 [ελθὼν ἐπὶ] τὴν βουλὴν κ[αὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐμφανίσει τὴν]
 [τε τῶν ἀνδρῶ]ν καλοκἀγ[αθίαν καὶ τὴν εὖνοιαν ἦν]
 12 [ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν δῆμ]ον α[ὐτῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσει Κῶους]
 [καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀναγγελίαν τῶν στεφάνων κτλ.]

Translation

They [and their descendants] are also [to have precedence in access to the co]uncil and the [people after religious matters; to cro]wn also [their secretary with a foliate cro]wn for under[taking his own duties with] every energy; [the agonothetai of the musical] contest are to make [the announcement of the cro]wns; in order that the Koans too [may learn of the excell]ence [of the men] and the [gratitude of the people], an ambassador [is to be chosen], who [arriving in Kos and going before] the council a[nd the people will make clear the] excell[ence of the men and the good-will which we have for their people] and [call on the Koans to make the announcement of the crowns in their city too . . .].

Commentary

The correspondence between the Assian inscription and the Koan text are individually banal and, in places, incomplete – the formulation of the Koan text is more concise in lines 3–4, 5–6, 10–11 – but cumulatively probably sufficient to suggest a common origin.¹²⁰ What that origin was, however, remains unclear. An Ionian provenience for the decrees would suit the names of the ambassadors in I. Assos 7 (Kleomedes Hegesagorou, Anaxagoras Diony-

¹²⁰ I. Iasos 83, a late third- or early second-century decree of an unidentified city for judges from Iasos, shares many of the same formulations, but the pattern of composition is somewhat different.

siou). The specification of ἀναγγελία of the crowns awarded to the Assian and Koan courts at the μουσικὸς ἀγῶν (I. Assos 8, 20, 28–29; restored in lines 6–7 of no. 10) has a parallel in a decree of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.¹²¹ This criterion is scarcely decisive, however, since other cities also used their μουσικοὶ ἀγῶνες as occasions for announcements, as, for example, both Priene (I. Priene 81, 13–17) and Kaunos are attested to have done (L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 171–88, lines 88–90).

11 Decree for judge and secretary to unidentified city. Second half of the 2nd century BC.

Lower part of a stele of white marble, in the possession of a merchant in Kos town when copied by HERZOG; broken above, right and left edges intact; 25 lines preserved. Fig. 17. Height: 0.47 m; width: 0.48 m; thickness: 0.075 m. Letter height: 0.01–0.015 m; line interval: 0.005 m. Slightly irregular lettering of probably the second half of the second century BC: alpha with broken cross-bar; pi with projecting top bar and right hasta descending halfway towards the base line; omega with broad finials; theta has a central dot; phi and psi are tall; zeta has a diagonal hasta.

W. R. PATON, REG 9, 1896, 415–416, no. 1, from squeezes provided by J. KALESPERIS; re-edited independently by HERZOG, KFF, pp. 125–128 no. 190 (Tafel III. 4). Cf. L. ROBERT, BCH 52, 1928, 443 (OMS 1, 125), commenting on lines 23–25.

- [- ^{ca. 8} - και στεφανῶσαι τὸν γ]ραμματέα Διοφάνου
 [- ^{ca. 10} - τὴν ἐπιδημίαν πεποιημένον εὐτάκτως
 [πᾶσα]ν χρεῖ[α]ν [παρ]ασχόμενον ὃν τρόπον ἐπέβαλλεν.
 4 [τῆ]ς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τῶν στεφάνων ἐπιμεληθῆ-
 [να]ι τοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει στρατηγούς και τὸν
 [ἀ]γωνοθέτην. ἀναγράψαι δὲ και τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο
 [ε]ἰς στήλην λίθου λευκοῦ και ἐνχαράξαι τοὺς
 8 στεφάνους και ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ
 τόπῳ πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου. ἵνα δὲ και Κῶιοι εἰδή-
 σωσιν ἣν ἔχει ὁ δῆμος προαίρεσιν, δεδόχθαι ἀ-
 ποδειξαι πρεσβευτὰς δύο οἵτινες ἀφι-
 12 κόμενοι εἰς Κῶ τό τε ψήφισμα ἀποδώ(σου)-
 σιν και ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν και
 ἐκλησίαν και ἀσπασάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ π-
 λήθους εὐχαριστήσουσιν Κῶιοις ἐπὶ
 16 τῇ ἀποστολῇ τῇ τοῦ δικαστοῦ και παρακαλέ-
 σουσιν αὐτοὺς φίλους ὑπάρχον{τα}τας δια-

¹²¹ Cf. I. Magnesia 97, 85 for τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τοῦ μουσικοῦ.

- τηρεῖν τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εὖνοια-
 ν {αν} ἀναγράψαντας δὲ καὶ εἰς στήλην λίθου
 20 λευκοῦ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ
 ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς πόλεως. ὦ εἰρέ-
 θησαν πρεσβευταὶ Σωκράτης Πολεμο-
 κράτου Δίφιλος Διφίλου. ἀνηνέχθη Ἀλσειοῦ τρια-
 24 κάδι ὕ(π)ὸ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἔχον ἐπίσημον
 ζῳῖδιον γυναικεῖον.

1 Διοφάντου ΡΑΤΟΝ || 12 the lettering at the right edge of the line, where ἀποδώ(σου)σιν is elided, is spread out so that ΔΩ occupy five letter spaces. || 16 τῇ ἀποστολῇ τοῦ δικαστοῦ ΡΑΤΟΝ || 17 ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΤΑΣ lap. || 19 ΑΝΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑΣ lap. || 24 ΥΓΟ lap. || 25 ζῳῖδιον HERZOG, but iota after omega is scarcely visible on the Berlin squeeze.

Translation

[and to crown the s]ecretary of Diophanes(?) [- -] for having conducted his [resi]dence in an orderly fashion fulfilling [eve]ry obligation in the manner that was appropriate. The generals in that year and the agonothetes are to take responsibility for [the] proclamation of the crowns. This decree is to be inscribed on a stele of white marble and the crowns are to be carved onto it in relief and the stele is to be set up in the most prominent position in front of the lawcourt. In order that the Koans may learn of the policy which the people has, that it be resolved to appoint two ambassadors who on their arrival in Kos will both deliver the decree and, going before the council and the assembly and delivering the greetings of our people, will thank the Koans for sending the judge and call on them being friends to maintain their good-will towards our city and inscribing this decree onto a stele of white marble to set it up in the most prominent place in the city. Chosen as ambassadors were Sokrates the son of Polemokrates and Diphilos the son of Diphilos. Delivered on the thirtieth day of Alseios by the ambassadors having as seal a female figure.

Commentary

Line 1 offers the only instance of the name Diophanes in the Koan onomasticon. The formulation in which he appears in line 1 is unusual: [τὸν γ]ραμματεῖα Διοφάνου. Secretaries are sometimes referred to in similar contexts as «the judges' secretary» or «their secretary», but this is the only case in which a secretary is identified as «the secretary of . . . (judge's name)». The lacuna at the beginning of line 2 allows ca. 10 letters for the secretary's own name, probably not enough for a patronymic. We might have expected to find both the judges' name and his patronymic here, the regular pattern in other decrees for foreign courts in which secretaries are cited. The reading Διοφάνου, however, at the end of line 1 is secure.

Alseios, the month in which the decree was registered (l. 23–24), was the last month of the Koan civil calendar (SHERWIN-WHITE 193–94).

In the century since the editiones principes of this inscription, despite the proliferation of discoveries of decrees for foreign courts, no new parallels have come to light to help to identify its origin. The publication of the decree $\pi\acute{o}$ τοῦ δικαστηρίου is distinctive; a similar location is specified for the inscription of a decree at Halikarnassos (OGIS 46). But this criterion is by no means decisive. Further precision might be expected from the description of the δημοσία σφραγίς of the city, appended to the decree by the Koan secretariat, in a note acknowledging receipt of the decree (cf. ROBERT, loc. cit.).¹²² The description is notably vague, however, identifying the image only as female (ἔχον ἐπίσημον ζῳίδιον γυναικεῖον), without naming a goddess. PATON, followed by HERZOG, took this as a sign of indifference, to match the sometimes careless execution of the stoncutting, with its erratic application of syllabic division,¹²³ on the part of the Koan authorities. But this is unjustified. Three of the responses brought back by the Koan theoroi sent out to solicit support for the asyilia of the Asklepieion in 242 are prefaced with similar annotations describing the pattern of their seals in equally general terms (RIGSBY, Asyilia 45 [Corcyra: ἔχον ἐπίσημον γρῦπα]; 46 [Neapolis: ἔχον ἐπίσημον ζῳίδιον ἀνδρεῖον]; 47 [Elea: ἔχον ἐπίσημον ζῳίον γυναικεῖον καθήμενον]).¹²⁴

The orthographical peculiarities of the text (14: ἐκκλησία; 21: εἰρέθησαν; 22: προισβευταί) were attributed by HERZOG to the Doric stoncutter. The retention of iota adscript after omega, but its avoidance after eta, together with the general characteristics of the lettering and the slanting hasta of zeta, point to a date in the second half of the second century for this decree, which may therefore be the latest of the series of Koan decrees for foreign judges.

Discussion

The texts of eleven decrees for Koan judges securely identifiable as such have been presented above. The text of a twelfth decree, in which Koan judges are honoured by Ilion alongside judges from Rhodes, Delos, Paros and another city,¹²⁵ has not been repeated here, in part because the inscription is not from

¹²² Cf. decrees 8 (e 5–7) and 9 (7–8) above, from Chalkis and Eretria, for the sealing of copies of honorific decrees sent to other cities. Both 8 and 9 also provide examples of crowns incised on the stele, together with the text of the honorific decree, as specified at 11, 7–8.

¹²³ Ll. 14–15: πλήθους; ll. 18–19: εὔνοια|ν.

¹²⁴ On city seals in general, see T. ΡΙΓΓΙ, Sigle ed emblemi sui decreti onorari greci, MemLinc 14.5, 1969; ΡΙΓΓΙ's comments on the Koan asyilia texts on p. 343 are modified by J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. épigr. 1971, 64.

¹²⁵ I. Ilion 51 (3rd century BC).

Kos itself, in part also because the Koan judges were not acting alone. A number of fragments of other inscriptions may also have belonged to decrees for Koan judges. A small fragment published recently as SEGRE, ED 104 has three lines of characteristic formulae which might derive from a dikastic decree.¹²⁶ A group of five fragments from the conclusion of honorific decrees of foreign cities dealing with the choice and sending of envoys to Kos to communicate the honours awarded to Koan honorands could also belong to dikastic decrees. SEGRE, ED 134 (PH 14), a fragment of 16 lines from the end of a decree of an unidentified Doric city dating to the later part of the third century, has already been noticed above in connection with decree no. 3, with which it shares a common lettering style. SEGRE, ED 67, is another similar text, probably from the second half of the third century, in which an envoy is chosen to escort the honorands back to Kos and to communicate the honours awarded by the decree to the Koan archontes.¹²⁷ The name of the individual chosen, Artemidoros the son of Thargelios, points to a Carian origin for the decree, but the remaining clauses are not specific enough to suggest a closer identification. SEGRE, ED 267, a fragment of seven lines of no more than seven letters, dating to the later third or early second century, also preserves formulae apparently relating to the choice of ambassadors to be sent to Kos.

A more substantial fragment of a similar pattern, recovered from a rubbish dump at Paradeisi, within range of the city centre, has recently been published by H. SOLIN.¹²⁸ The stele had been recut to furnish a millstone, and its surface, in consequence, was severely eroded. The letters that remain (in lettering of the middle or second half of the second century BC) belong to the conclusion of an honorific decree, recording its publication εἰς τὸ βουλ[ευτήριον] (3), the selection of an envoy to convey a copy of the decree to Kos (4–14), a relationship of φιλία καὶ συγγένεια between the two δῆμοι (6–7), and a request for the prominent publication of the decree at Kos ([εἰς τὸν ἐπιφά]νέσ[τατον] τόπο[ν εἰς στ]ῆλαν vel. sim. to be restored in 13).

Finally, AAIG II no. 22, which may belong to a decree of Kolophon, also falls into the same category of formulation, with 15 lines of provisions for the choice of an ambassador to convey a copy of an honorific decree to Kos and request the announcement of the honours and inscription of the decree there.

The identification of these fragmentary inscription as dikastic on the basis of such formulations is possible, but by no means assured, since at least one other abundant series of Koan texts shares, although to a lesser extent, similar

¹²⁶ SEGRE, ED 104: [ἀ|χ]ο{v} (λ)ούθως (ΟΥΑΟΥΘΩΣ lap.) το[ῖς τε] νό[μοις καὶ τοῖς πα]φίσημασι πᾶσαν σπ[ουδάν - - - - -] | ζ[αἰ ἐπιμ]έλειαν π[οιεῖται - - - - -].

¹²⁷ SEGRE, ED 67 p. 55: «un decreto di una città non identificabile in onore di cittadini di COO, recatisi in essa come ambasciatori, o più probabilmente come giudici.»

¹²⁸ *Tyche* 3, 1988, 191–192, with Tafel 11 (SEG 38, 813).

characteristic: the decrees for Koan public doctors.¹²⁹ A Halikarnassian decree for the doctor Hermias the son of Emmenidas, for example, provides for the appointment of an ambassador to convey the honorific decree to Kos and request the announcement of the crown awarded to Hermias at the Dionysia and Asklepieia in formulations that could equally unspecifically be applied to a decree for a foreign court (SEGRE, ED 132 b 12–22).

Even without these additional fragments, the surviving decrees for Koan judges constitute the second largest body of evidence for the use of judges from a single city during the Hellenistic period. Only Priene has yielded more honorific decrees for its own citizens as judges. The Koan decrees range in date over more than a hundred and fifty years from the late fourth century to the second half of the second century BC. At the beginning of this period, the Koans' role as a source of judges for Samos (no. 1) is complemented by their selection to provide a model democratic constitution for the sympolity of Teos and Lebedos (RC 3–4) and their role in arbitrating a territorial dispute for Klazomenai (AGER, IAGW 21). Shortly afterwards the Koans sent a panel of *διαλλακταί* to the neighbouring island of Telos to resolve a series of disputes which had threatened the unity of the Telian demos.¹³⁰ Substantial fragments of the texts of both the Telian honorific decree for the Koan conciliators and the settlement document itself (*διάλυσις*) were found during HERZOG's excavations in the Asklepieion and will be published in a subsequent instalment of AAIG. Ca. 280 the Koans provided a court of *δικασταί καὶ διαλλακταί* for Naxos on the instructions of Ptolemy II and the nesiarch Bakchon (no. 2 above). Thereafter, the Koans are well represented in the growing volume of evidence for the use of foreign courts which reaches a high point in the first half of the second century. Judges from Kos travelled to Thasos (no. 3), Mytilene (no. 4), Erythrai (no. 5), perhaps Chios (no. 7), Chalkis (no. 8) and Eretria (no. 9), as well as to other unidentified communities (nos. 6, 10, 11), during this period. The range of cities which received judges from Kos is more restricted than the breadth of coverage of the Greek world traversed by Koan *theoroi* as revealed in the *asylia* responses inscribed in the Asklepieion (RIGSBY, *Asylia* nos. 8–52), but this is unsurprising. The cities which participated in the exchange of judges and honorific decrees in the third and second centuries BC represent a relatively homogeneous sector of the Greek world. Most of the cities which asked the Koans for judges also took foreign courts from else-

¹²⁹ To the list in SHERWIN-WHITE 265–271 can be added the new texts published by J. BENEDUM, ZPE 25, 1977, 265–276 (cf. L. ROBERT, RPh 1978, 242–251 [OMS 5, 438–447]); ZPE 27, 1977, 229–240 (SEG 27, 510, 511, 513, 514, 515, 519); SEG 33, 673; SEG 41, 680; SEGRE, ED 132; AAIG II, 11, 14, 15, and perhaps 19.

¹³⁰ HERZOG Inv. M 3 b A 1–5: [ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφ]ερομένων π[οτὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν [Τηλίω]ν, ὅπως ὁμοιοῦντες ἐν δαμοκρατίᾳ π[ολιτεύ]ονται] ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι ὄντες, τυχάραθαι, χ[ατὰ τᾶ]δε διέλ[υσαν τὸν δᾶμον καὶ τοὺς διαφορομένους Τηλί[ων || ποτὶ] τὸν δᾶμον.

where and themselves, in turn, acted as providers of justice for others.¹³¹ The Koans themselves were no exceptions, as the three decrees published in AAIG I for dikastagogoí who brought judges from Smyrna, Alinda and another unidentified source reveal. This was a familiar world of small and medium-sized cities at the centre of which the Koans naturally found their place.

Appendix

Decree for an unidentified dikastagogos.

HERZOG M 13 (AAIG I, no. 2) + Inv. Jak. 1910, 16 (AAIG II, no. 10). The two fragments which were published separately as AAIG I, no. 2 and AAIG II, no. 10, are here published together as a single text. K. HALLOF confirms from the squeezes in Berlin that the two fragments match for lettering, letter height, line interval and in their general dimensions. The slight discrepancy between the recorded thicknesses of a (0.1 m) and b (0.115 m) is likely to be accounted for by the taper of the stele. The restorations for lines 18–23 are drawn directly from AAIG I, no. 1, and are intended to be no more than exemplary. Line divisions within the supplements are somewhat arbitrary. For the restoration of lines 24–27, see the discussion in the text above, pages 292–293.

- a [- - - - - ὑπὲρ ὧν]
 ἀπάντων δια[μεμαρτυρήαντι - -^{ca. 13} -]
 διὰ τὰς δοθείσας αὐτῶι [ἀποκρισίος, παραλα]-
 βῶν τε τὸς ἄνδρας καὶ παραγ[ενόμενος ἐς τὰν]
 4 πόλιν πᾶσαν κακοπαθίαν καὶ ἐπιμ[έλειαν πε]-
 ποίηται ποτικαρτερήσας καὶ τῶι δικαστ[οφυ]-
 λακίαι ἐκτενῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀκολούθως τ[ῶι]
 ὄρκωι ἕως οὗ διεξαχθῆμεν τὰ τε δαμόσια καὶ ἰδ[ι]-
 8 ωτικὰ συμβόλαια, διαφυλάξας ἴσως καὶ δικαίως
 καὶ μισοπον(ή)ρως πᾶσιν τὰν ἐνχειρισθεῖς(α)ν αὐ-
 τῶι πίστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ σύμπαντος δάμου, δαπάνας
 τε ποταναδέδεκται ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἕς τε τὰν παρου-
 12 σίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δαμοτελέσιν δὲ ἐορταῖς ἀπο[ο]-
 στολάς ποιούμενος κατὰ τὸς ἀρμόζοντας ἀεὶ καιρ[ός]
 [ἔ]νεκεν τοῦ κοινῶι συμφέροντος· ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δᾶμ[ος]
 [ε]ὐχαριστῶς ἀπαντῶν φαίνεται τοῖς ἀ[γα]θοῖς τῶν ἀ[ν]-

¹³¹ In addition to the Thasian judges noticed in the text above, Samos provided courts for Eresos (unpublished), Lebedos (L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 11–12, 1960, 210–221), Bargylia (I. Iasos 609) and Sparta (SEG 11, 491); Chalkis for Alabanda (IG XII 9, 905); Eretria for Siphnos (G. DAUX, *Klio* 52, 1970, 67–70); Erythrai for Alabanda, Mytilene, Tenedos, and other unidentified cities (I. Erythrai 116–125).

- 16 [δρῶ]ν, τοί τε ἄλλοι θεωρεῦντες τὰν εὐχαριστίαν [τοῦ]
 [πλήθους πο]λὺ προθυμότερον ἐ[πι]δ[ι]δ[ῶντι] ἑαυτὸς ἐς
 [πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῆ πόλει· ἀγαθῆι τύχαι· δεδόχ]-
 [θαι τῆ ἐκκλησίαι· ἐπαινῆσθαι τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος καί]
- 20 [στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξαπο]-
 [σταλέντα δικασταγωγὸν διαφυλάξαι πᾶσιν ἴσως τὰν]
 [δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ πίστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου, ἀναγορευσάτω]
 [δὲ καὶ ὁ ἱεροκᾶρυξ τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίων τῷ πρά]-
- 24 [τοι ἀγῶνι με]τὰ τὰς σπονδ[ῆς καὶ τῶν μεγάλων Ἀσκλαπι]- *b*
 [εῖων καὶ Ῥωμ]αίων ἐν τοῖς γυμνιζ[οῖς ἀγῶσιν· τὰς δὲ ἀν]-
 [αγγελίας ἐπι]μεληθέντω τοί τε προ[στάται καὶ ὁ ἀγωνο]-
 [θέτας· ἐξέστ]ω δὲ αὐτῷ τ[ὸ]δ[ε] τὸ ψάφι[σμα ἀναγράψαι]
- 28 [ἐστάλαν λι]θίναν καὶ ἀναθέμ[ε]ν ἐ[ν] τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ
 [Ἀσκλαπι]οῦ· *vac.* ἔδοξε τῆ βουλῆι κα[ὶ] τῷ δάμωι, γνώ]-
 [μα προσ]τρατᾶν· χρῆσθαι τῆ Πειθᾶγ[ορος ἐφόδωι· ψᾶ]-
 [φοι στερε]αὶ διδοῦσαι τὸν στέφανον· [- - - - - τε]-
- 32 [τροπαμέ]ναι ΔΠΠ *vacat*

Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents
 University of Oxford
 67 St. Giles
 GB-Oxford OX1 3LU

Wolfson College
 University of Oxford
 Linton Road
 GB-Oxford OX2 6UD

Abbreviations

AAIG I	CH.V.CROWTHER – CH.HABICHT – L. u. K.HALLOF, Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» I. Drei Dekrete aus Kos für <i>δικασταγωγοί</i> , Chiron 28, 1998, 87–100
AAIG II	L. u. K.HALLOF – CH.HABICHT, Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» II. Ehrendekrete aus dem Asklepieion von Kos, Chiron 28, 1998, 101–142
AAIG III	L. u. K.HALLOF – CH.HABICHT, Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» III. Unedierte koische Epidosis-Listen, Chiron 28, 1998, 143–162
AGER, IAGW	S.L.AGER, Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World 337–90 BC, Berkeley 1996
ASA 1963	G.PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, Il damos coo di Isthmos, ASA NS 25–26, 1963–1964 [1965], 147–202
HERZOG, KFF	R.HERZOG, Koische Forschungen und Funde, Leipzig 1899
HERZOG, HG	R.HERZOG, Heilige Gesetze von Kos, AbhAkBerlin 1928, Nr. 6
HOLLEAUX, Études	M.HOLLEAUX, Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques, 6 vols., Paris 1938–68
LGPN	P.M.FRASER – E.MATTHEWS, A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Vol. 1, Oxford 1987
PH	W.R.PATON – E.L.HICKS, The Inscriptions of Cos, Oxford 1891
RHODES, Decrees	P.J.RHODES with D.M.LEWIS, The Decrees of the Greek States, Oxford 1997
RIGSBY, Asyilia	K.J.RIGSBY, Asyilia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic Period, Berkeley 1997
SEGRE, ED	M.SEGRE, Iscrizioni di Cos 1, 1944 (Rome 1993), 11–171: Decreti ed altri documenti
SHERWIN-WHITE	S.M.SHERWIN-WHITE, Ancient Cos, Göttingen 1978
TCal	M.SEGRE, Tituli Calymnii, ASA, NS 6–7, 1944–45 [1952]

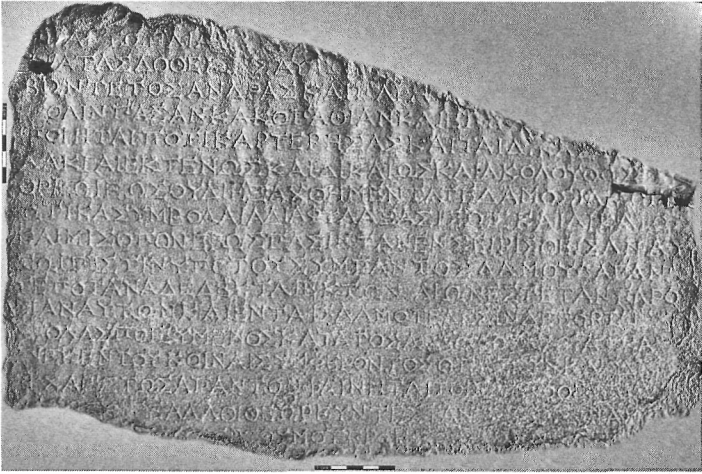


Fig. 1: Honours for a Koan dikastagogs



Fig. 2: Honours for a Koan dikastagogs

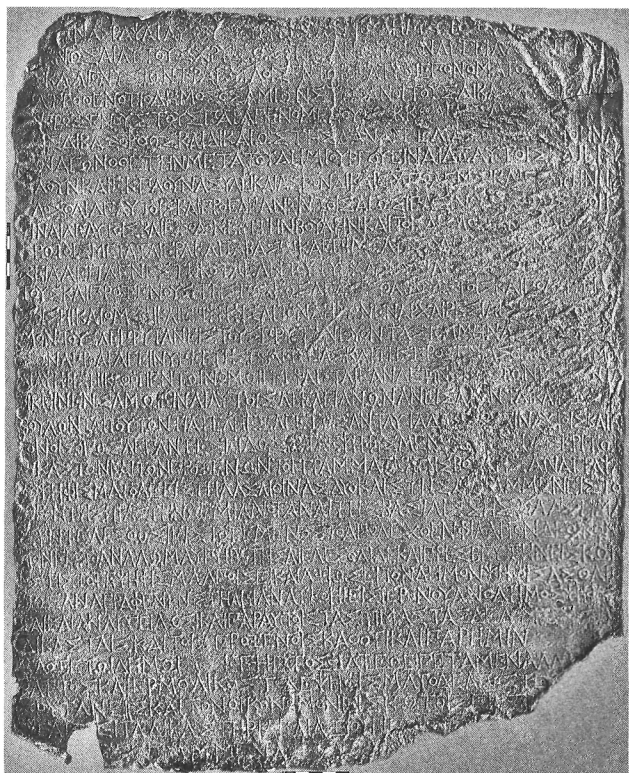


Fig. 3:
Koan judges to Samos

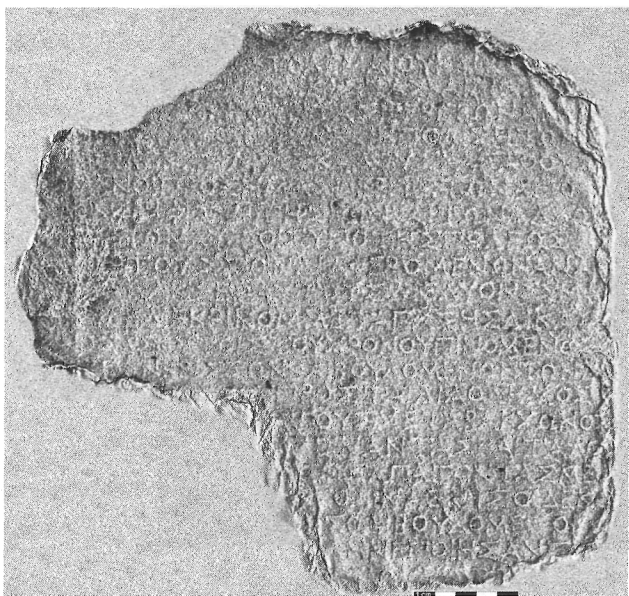


Fig. 4:
Koan judges to Naxos

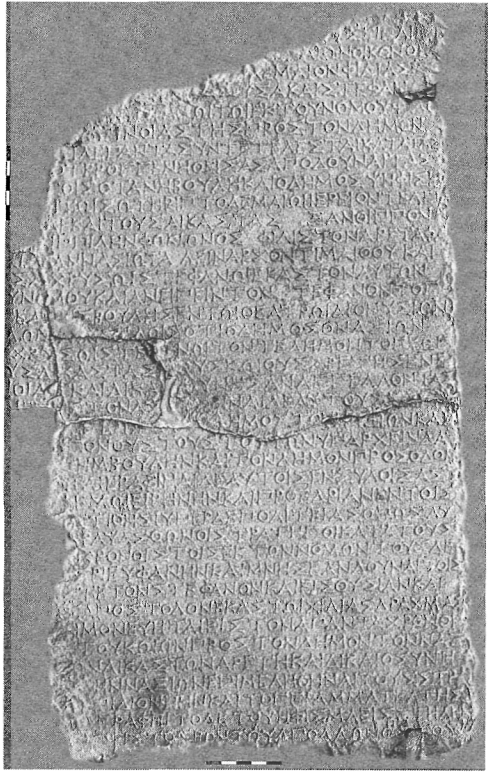


Fig. 5: Koan judges to Naxos

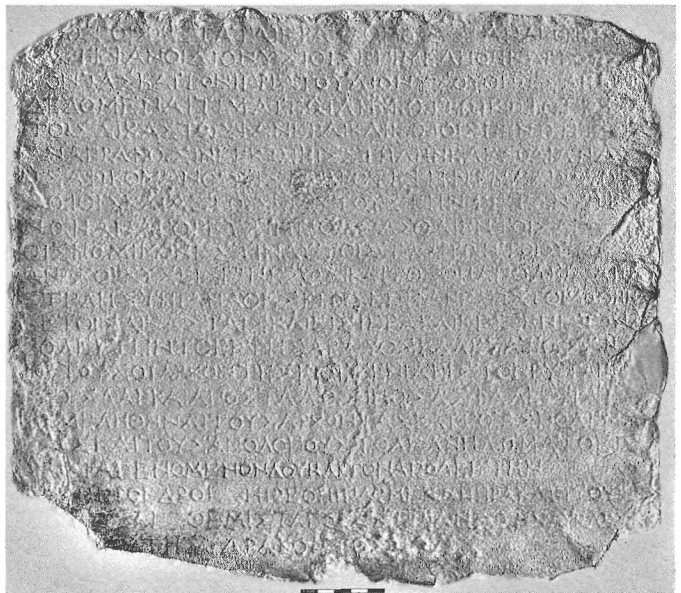


Fig. 6:
Koan judges to Thasos

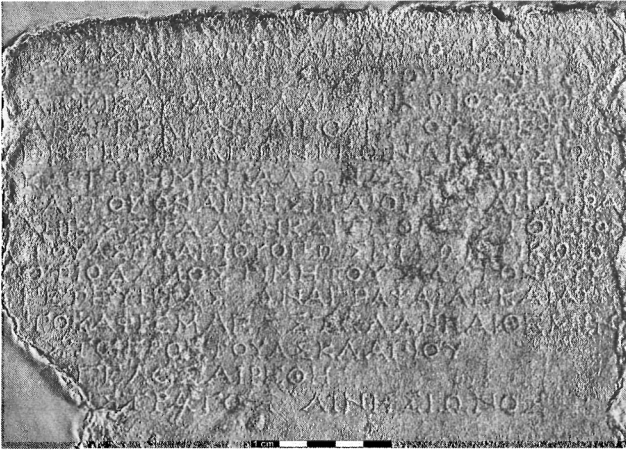


Fig. 7: Decree of an unidentified city for Koan honorands

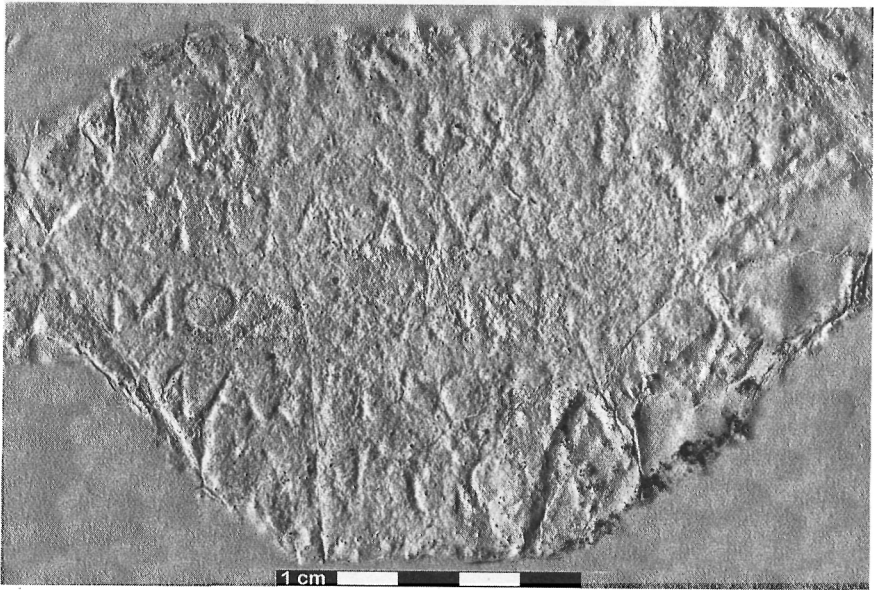


Fig. 8: Mytilenian decree for Koan judges

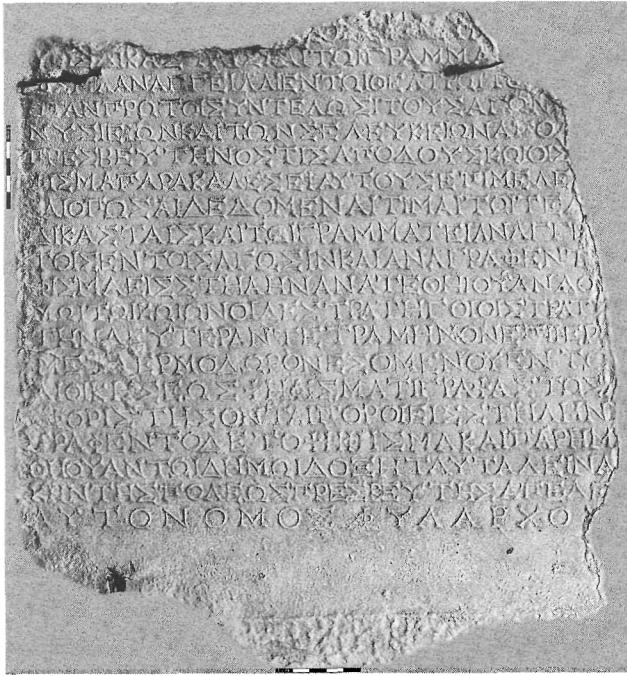


Fig. 9: Koan judges to Erythrai

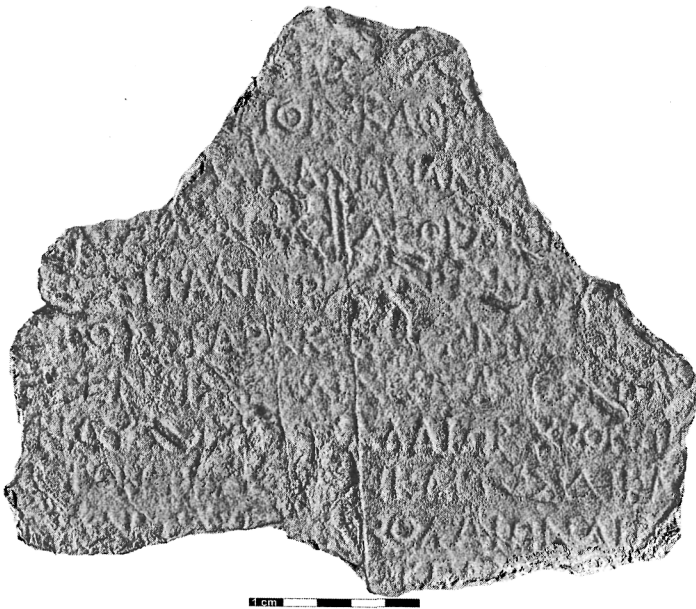


Fig. 10: Koan judges to an unidentified city

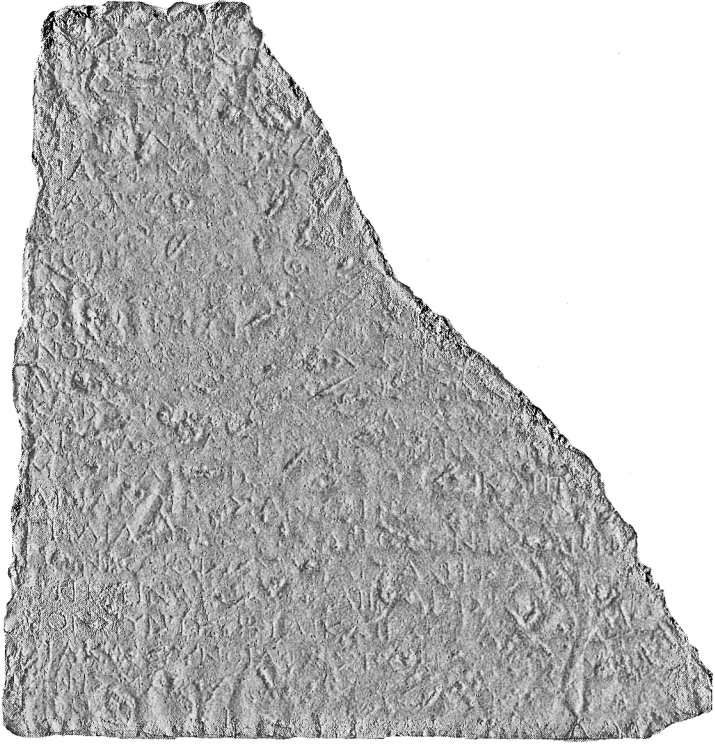


Fig. 11: Koan judges to an unidentified city



Fig. 12: Koan judges to Chalkis



Fig. 13: Koan judges to Chalkis

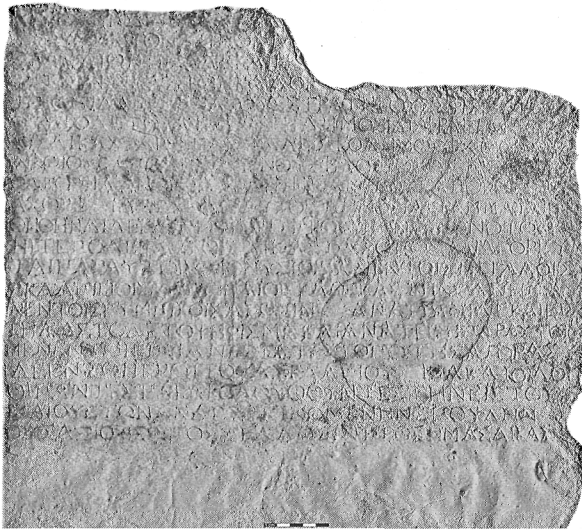


Fig. 14: Koan judges to Chalkis



Fig. 15: Koan judges to Eretria



Fig. 16: Decree of an unidentified city for Koan judges and secretary



Fig. 17: Decree of an unidentified city for a Koan judge and secretary

