

FROM THE COAST OF IONIA TO MOUNT ATHOS

Decrees from Iasos in the Royal Library in Copenhagen and the archives of the Monastery of Xeropotamou

By the end of the 18th century inscriptions with decrees from the city of Iasos were known to have ended up in Chios, the reason being that such marbles were a favourite ballast for ships.¹ These decrees were initially discovered by the antiquarian Richard Chandler² who, funded by the Society of Dilettanti³ and accompanied by architect Nicholas Revett and painter William Pars, spent the years 1764–1766 travelling in ancient Ionia to look for antiquities. While in Chios (5–18 September 1764),⁴ he found abandoned on the shore near the capital three stones brought in this way from the Asian mainland. These three blocks of marble were, in his opinion, part of a pilaster from the *boulē* at Iasos, and inscribed on them were ten *proxeny* decrees.⁵ Chandler published those decrees, together with the rest of his harvest from the island, in 1774.⁶ This edition served as the foundation for the subsequent editor Augustus Böckh, who published them in the second volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1843),⁷ and the last editor of the *repertorium* of inscriptions from Iasos, Wolfgang Blümel, who included them in the series *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (1985).⁸ Chandler's text was also used by editors of isolated inscriptions

1 For the history of the inscriptions of Iasos see W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, Bonn 1985 (*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 28) [hereafter: *I.Iasos*] Teil I, 1–2, and recently G. Maddoli, Memory and rediscovery, in: F. Berti, R. Fabiani, Z. Kızıltan, M. Nafissi (eds), *Wandering Marbles. Marbles of Iasos at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums*, Istanbul 2010, 154–156.

2 See R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae, pleraeque nondum editae in Asia Minori et Graecia. Praesertim Athenis collectae cum Appendice*, Oxonii 1774 (hereafter: Chandler, *Inscriptiones*) and idem, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece: or an account of a tour made at the expense of the society of Dilettanti*, London 1817 vol. I, 61 and 211.

3 For the Dilettanti see Br. Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England*, The Paul Getty Museum, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 2008, 72–82 (especially for Chandler's mission with Revett and Pars in Ionia). R. Chandler (1738–1810) had, one year previously (1763), published the monumental *Marmora Oxoniensia*, with Greek and Latin inscriptions from different regions that were in collections in Oxford.

4 For Chandler's time in Chios see R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, *op. cit.*, 57–59, 62–63 and 89.

5 See Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, *op. cit.*, 61 and 211.

6 See Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 22–25 nos LIX–LXI. Block LIX was inscribed on three sides with two decrees on the second. Block L contained two decrees. Block LXI was also inscribed on three sides, again with two decrees on the second.

7 See A. Böckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1843, vol. II, 2672–2678.

8 See *I.Iasos* nos 30–33, 38–39, 41, 44–46. The inscriptions corresponding to each block are: **Block A**: Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LIX 1 = CIG 2672 = *I.Iasos* 30; Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LIX 2 ll. 1–4 = CIG 2673 a = *I.Iasos* 44; Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LIX 2 ll. 5–14 = CIG 2673 b = *I.Iasos* 45; LIX 3 = CIG 2674 = *I.Iasos* 41. **Block B**: Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LX ll. 1–5 = CIG 2675 a = *I.Iasos* 31; Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LX ll. 6–14 = CIG 2675 b = *I.Iasos* 32. **Block C**: Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LXI 1 = CIG 2676 = *I.Iasos* 33; Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LXI 2 ll. 1–7 = CIG 2677 a = *I.Iasos* 38; Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LXI 2 ll. 8–13 = CIG 2677 b = *I.Iasos* 39; Chandler, *Inscriptiones* LXI 3 = CIG 2678 = *I.Iasos* 46.

from the three blocks, including Louis Robert,⁹ A. J. Heisserer¹⁰ and most recently Roberta Fabiani.¹¹

However, while the texts of the decrees may have found their due place in the *corpora*, the same is not true of the stones; they endured a long and unanticipated journey, and had their own unfortunate fate, as we shall see. The story begins in the same year that Chandler found them. A few weeks before he came to Chios, and specifically on July 25, a scholarly monk from the Athonite monastery of Xeropotamou named Kaisarios Dapontes came to the island with a fragment of the Holy Cross on a mission to collect money for the construction of the monastery's new church.¹² Dapontes remained in Chios until December 4, when he removed to Samos. He returned to Chios on May 9, 1765, and four months later (September 11) to Mount Athos, as he records in his poetic work *Garden of Graces*.¹³ The details of his travels are also known to us from surviving registers and other archival material in the archives of the Monastery of Xeropotamou: thus, for example, in register number 6, recording his expenditures in Chios (f. 6r), Dapontes notes among other things an outlay of 4 *piastres* for "three marbles with old Greek writing which I sent to the monastery" [4 γρ(όσια): εἰς τρία μάρμαρα μὲ γράμματα ἑλληνικὰ παλαιὰ τὰ ὅποια τὰ ἴσκειλα εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι] (see photo no. 1).¹⁴ Plainly, Dapontes is referring here to the three blocks that Chandler found.

Thirty-six years would go by before we hear anything more of Dapontes' marbles. On April 15, 1801, Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1759–1804) and Philip Hunt (1772–1838) visited the Monastery of Xeropotamou.¹⁵ Carlyle noted in his diary that while they were waiting at the monastery's boatyard for the mules that would take them to the monastery they saw the remains of an ancient Greek inscription. Although they were unable, due to its poor condition, to determine where it came from, they concluded that it had been transported there from a distance. Carlyle's information was confirmed some years later (1819), with considerable extra detail, by Philip Hunt, who noted that in the harbour (i.e. the monastery boatyard) there was a fragment of Parian marble with an inscription containing a decree of the council and assembly of Iasos in Asia Mi-

9 See L. Robert, *Sur les inscriptions de Theangela*, *Ant. Class.* 4 (1935) 167–168 (these are Chandler, *Inscriptiones LX ll.* 6–14 = *CIG* 2675 b = *I.Iasos* 32 and Chandler, *Inscriptiones LXI 1* = *CIG* 2676 = *I.Iasos* 33). See also idem, *Collection Froehner. I Inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936, 75–76, which is essentially a reprise of the preceding article.

10 See A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks*, Norman 1980, 170–173, who republishes the decree Chandler, *Inscriptiones LIX 1* = *CIG* 2672 = *I.Iasos* 30.

11 See R. Fabiani, *Ricongiungimento di pietre erranti dalla parastás πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου di Iasos: Iasos 24 + 30 e Iasos 58 + 44*, in: G. Maddoli, *Epigrafi di Iasos. Nuovi Supplementi I*, *PdP* 62 (2007) 373–384, and *I decreti onorari di Iasos. Cronologia e storia (Vestigia 66)*, München 2015 (hereafter: *Decreti*).

12 For the so-called *zeteia* on which Kaisarios Dapontes was engaged, see M. Πολυβίου, 'Ἡ ζητεία τοῦ Kaisάρου Δαπόντε γιὰ τὴν ἀνοικοδόμησι τοῦ Καθολικοῦ τῆς μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου, *Κληρονομία* 24 (1992) [1994] 1803–203.

13 Γ. Σαββίδης (ed.), *Κήπος Χαρίτων: τούτέστι Βιβλίον περιέχον τὴν περίοδον τοῦ Τιμίου Ξύλου τοῦ ζωποιοῦ Σταυροῦ, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ βασιλικῇ Μονῇ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν τῷ ἀγιωνύμῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθωνος καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα. Συντεθέντα παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου Δαπόντε τοῦ μετονομασθέντος Kaisαρίου*, Athens 1995³, 133 ll. 63–64, 186 ll. 335–337, 195 ll. 1–10 and 427.

14 Π. Γουναρίδης, *Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἱ.Μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων (Ἀθωνικὰ σύμμεικτα 5)*, Athens 1993 codex 6.

15 They had arrived on Mount Athos on March 3, 1801, see *The Library Gazette and Journal of Belles Letters* etc. no. 53 (Saturday 3.1.1818) 51 b. For their journey to Mount Athos see A. Angelou, J. D. Carlyle's *Journal of Mount Athos* (1801), *Ἐρανιστής* 3 (1965) 33–75, here 57–58, and E. Λίτσας, *Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου (Β' ἐκδ.)*, *Τεκμήριον* 10 (2012) 130 n. 26.

nor, voting privileges for some benefactors.¹⁶ This information about one stone raises questions as to the fate of Dapontes' other two marbles, all the more so since the two men were just as interested in the monastery's antiquities as its manuscripts.¹⁷ The most likely explanation, based on what we know of the stones' subsequent history, is that the other two blocks were stored somewhere separately and not in the boatyard.

Until the end of the 19th century the inscriptions from Iasos at the Monastery of Xeropotamou went largely unnoticed by scholars and visitors to Mount Athos; this was the case with Leake,¹⁸ Uspenskij,¹⁹ Kern,²⁰ and Dimitzas.²¹ The one exception was Emmanuel Miller, the man who removed the *Incantadas* from Thessaloniki.²² "Les moines du Mont Athos", he wrote in an article published in the *Revue Archéologique*, "vont chercher sur la côte de l'Asie Mineure des marbres épigraphiques pour leurs constructions. En 1863, pendant que je me trouvais dans le couvent de Xéropotami, j'ai vu entre les mains des maçons quatre beaux marbres épigraphiques provenant d'Iasos, sur la côte de Carie: se sont ceux qui figurent dans le recueil de Boeckh sous les no 2672-2675. Ils font aujourd'hui partie d'une construction de Xéropotami".²³ While this information is inaccurate²⁴ as regards both the origin and the number of the stones, it is nonetheless interesting to learn that he saw masons using the marbles from Iasos in a monastery building.

Miller's information has now been partially confirmed thanks to new archival finds relating to the work of the Danish archaeologist and philologist Karl Frederick Kinch on Mount Athos twenty-two years after Miller's visit there. Kinch (1853-1921) was one of the few archaeologists to work in Ottoman Macedonia in the final decades of the 19th century, and particularly between 1885-1893, when he made five research trips to the region. While his name is associated primarily with the discovery and revealing of the Kinch Tomb at Naoussa and the publication and interpretation of the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki,²⁵ he also visited monasteries on Mount Athos in November 1885, where he copied ancient Greek inscriptions that he found

16 See *Ἐφημερίς Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, 1 February 1819, column 21. Cf. Αθ. Παπάγγελος – Σ. Π. Παλιόμπειης, *Προχριστιανικὲς ἀρχαιότητες στὸν Ἄθω*, in: Σ. Αθανασιάδης – Χρ. Χειλάς (eds), *Ἅγιον Ὄρος καὶ προχριστιανικὴ ἀρχαιότητα*, Thessaloniki 2006, 69 n. 61.

17 This is clear from the fact that they spotted the carved stones in the masonry of the monastery buildings, see Angelou, J. D. Carlyle's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, 58.

18 W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835, vol. 3.

19 P. Uspenskij, *Istoria Afous. I. Afom juzyčeskij*, Kiev 1877.

20 O. Kern, *Inscriptum vom Athos*, *AM* 18 (1893) 64-65.

21 Μ. Δήμιτσας, *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις καὶ ἐν μνημείοις σωζομένοις*, Athens 1896, 633-641.

22 For Em. Miller and his mission for Napoleon III in Macedonia see Απ. Βακαλόπουλος, *Ἐνας Γάλλος Ἐλγιν στη Θεσσαλονίκη: νέες μαρτυρίες για την ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά τον περασμένο αἰώνα*, *Μακεδονικά* 25 (1985-1986) 24-32.

23 See *Inscriptions grecques découvertes à Thasos*, *RA* 37 (1879) 282-290, here 290.

24 G. Cousin – Ch. Diehl, *Inscriptions de Iasos et de Bargylia*, *BCH* 13 (1889) 25 n. 2 also give incorrect information regarding the location of the stones, which they say were in the Monastery of Vatopedi.

25 For Kinch and his work see P. O. Juhel – Π. Μ. Νίγδελις, *Un Danois en Macédoine à la fin du 19e siècle*, Thessaloniki (*Μακεδονικά Επιγραφικά* 1), Thessaloniki 2015, esp. 1-42. The book includes the text of 123 inscriptions, 47 of them previously unpublished, taken from transcriptions and notes in Kinch's papers (Royal Library, Copenhagen).

there. Thus, on November 1, 1885, we find him in the Monastery of Esphigmenou²⁶ and at the end of that month at Koutloumousiou (see below). Among his papers, which are preserved in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, are transcriptions of inscriptions from the monasteries of St Paul, Vatopedi and Great Lavra.²⁷

Kinch's connection with the Monastery of Xeropotamou and the Iasos inscriptions has been demonstrated, as mentioned above, by new archival finds: from a note in his archive we learn that he stayed at the Monastery of Xeropotamou on November 14 and 15 (see photo no. 2). This stay is confirmed by a letter of his found in the Monastery's archives²⁸ and by two sheets of graph paper from his archive.²⁹ The letter and the two sheets of graph paper contain transcriptions, in minuscule and majuscule lettering respectively, of the decrees from Iasos that were written on the blocks that Kaisarios Dapontes bought and transported to the monastery. While at the monastery, Kinch managed to persuade the monks to let him see and copy the inscriptions. On November 25 of the same year he wrote, now from the Monastery of Koutloumousiou, a brief letter of thanks to the fathers of the Monastery of Xeropotamou,³⁰ where he transcribed "the most essential text of the inscriptions being kept in the Holy monastery of Xeropotamou and brought there from the city of Iasos in Caria" (τὸ οὐσιωδέστερον κείμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου ὑπαρχουσῶν ἐπιγραφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰασοῦ πόλεως τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος μετενεχθεισῶν).³¹ The letter contained the texts of six inscriptions in minuscule transcription (see Appendix A and photos nr 4–5). This transcription was based on precise transcriptions produced in majuscule on the two sheets of graph paper (see Appendix B and photos nos 6–7). Together, the transcriptions in the letter and in the sheets of graph paper of the Royal Library in Copenhagen preserve eight of the ten decrees that Chandler transcribed. The transcriptions in the Royal Library are more complete, because they include all the decrees in the letter as well as three additional fragments (a–c) from two of the decrees on Chandler's third block. The decrees from the two other blocks present identical losses (lines 7 ff.), which suggests to us that in 1885, when Kinch saw them, parts of them had been removed and used by the masons as building

26 We already knew that Kinch had visited the monastery, but not precisely when. For his activity at the Monastery of Esphigmenou see Π. Νίγδελις, *Από την Ιστορία της Ακτής της Χαλκιδικής. Με αφορμή δύο επιγραφές των αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων*, *HOROS* 17–21 (2004–2009) 462–467, esp. 462, cf. Νίγδελις, in: Juhel–Νίγδελις, *Un Danois en Macédoine*, *op. cit.*, catalogue of inscriptions no. 70. Taken together, the note "Esfigmenou 1 Nov. 1885" (see photo no. 3) in his archive and his letter to the fathers of the Monastery of Koutloumousiou dated 25 November (see photo nos 4–5) leave no doubt that Kinch spent November of 1885 in monasteries on Mount Athos. Consequently, the reservations expressed by P. Juhel, in: Juhel–Νίγδελις, *Un Danois en Macédoine*, *op. cit.*, 5 as to Kinch's whereabouts in November 1885 must be abandoned.

27 See Νίγδελις, in: Juhel–Νίγδελις, *Un Danois en Macédoine*, *op. cit.*, catalogue nos 63, 99, 109–110. Kinch had also shown an interest in manuscripts from Athonite monasteries, see Νίγδελις, in: Juhel–Νίγδελις, *Un Danois en Macédoine*, *op. cit.*, 29 esp. n. 76, with an excerpt from a letter of his to M. Chrysochoou, a Greek scholar, giving related information.

28 The letter was discovered in 2012 during the cataloguing of documents kept in the monastery's modern (1807–1924) files.

29 The file was found by Pierre Juhel in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

30 The superiors of the monastery in that year were: archimandrites Nathanael and Agathangelos, priors Philotheos, Nikodemos, Akakios and Gennadios, hierodeacon Eulogios and the prior and secretary of the monastery Eugenios. See indicatively Κώδικας Ληψοδοσίας 1883–1901 I. Μονής Ξηροποτάμου, 79–80.

31 He had done the same thing a few days earlier with the fathers of the Monastery of Esphigmenou, to whom he sent a transcription from an important sarcophagus in the monastery storehouse, see Νίγδελις, *Από την Ιστορία της Ακτής της Χαλκιδικής*, *op. cit.*, 462–467, esp. 462.

stone. This tallies with what Miller reported, but we cannot exclude the possibility that some of the textual losses in Kinch's transcriptions, compared to those of Chandler, may be due to the weathering of the stones between 1765 and 1885. The condition of the three marbles, two of which were stated to have been left at the monastery boatyard, confirms Carlyle's information (see above).

Kinch was the last scholar to see the three blocks from Iasos; later visitors to the monastery, for example Smyrnakes,³² Avezou³³ and Edson,³⁴ were unaware of them. Louis Robert, on the other hand, who had published inscriptions from Iasos (including some from Chandler's blocks), was spurred by Miller's account to look for the inscriptions, first alone (in June 1932) and later with the assistance of L. Lemerle (in 1934), but was unsuccessful.³⁵ Our own efforts were equally ineffective. It is quite possible that whatever remained in 1863 was used as building stone in 1888 when the west wing of the monastery, which had been destroyed by fire, was repaired³⁶ (today, ten or so blocks of white marble can be seen in the lintels on the inner side of the first floor) or during other construction work, as often occurred with new building construction on Mount Athos, when material from older buildings was re-used.³⁷ It is also quite possible, however, that they were removed from the monastery in some other way.

In Appendix A below we publish the text of the letter (from the archives of the Monastery of Xeropotamou), and in Appendix B our proposed transcription, in minuscule, of the text of the decrees from Iasos, based on the transcription in the Royal Library in Copenhagen and following the numbering of the inscriptions in the letter. To Appendix B we also add an *apparatus criticus* with all the readings. The paper concludes with a commentary on inscriptions *I.Iasos* 41 (= no. 3 in the letter) and *I.Iasos* 30 (= no. 4 in the letter) based on the new readings made possible by Kinch's transcriptions.

32 See Γ. Σμυρνάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens 1903, 7–16 and 542–552

33 See D. Feissel – M. Sève, La Chalcidique vue par Charles Avezou. Notes de voyages et inscriptions, *BCH* 103 (1979) 277 ff., 316 no. 71, 319 ff. nos 80–82.

34 The inscriptions known to him at that time (1936) from that and other Athonite monasteries are recorded in his Notebooks, which are now kept in the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study and in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Edson's bibliographical update was based on the *schedae* that were given to him by the department of *Inscriptiones Graecae* of the then Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin. Charles Edson visited the monastery on 12 December 1937, looking for an inscription that C. Franke had seen there in 1888 (or 1899), but was unsuccessful. See Π. Νίγδελης, Προετοιμάζοντας το corpus της Μακεδονίας: ένα επιγραφικό ταξίδι του Charles Edson στο Ἅγιο Ὄρος, in: Σ. Αθανασιάδης – Χρ. Χειλάς (eds), *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, *op. cit.*, 133.

35 See L. Robert, Sur les inscriptions de Theangela, *op. cit.*, 165–6 notes 6 and 7 and idem, *Collection Froehner*, *op. cit.*, 74 notes 13 and 14. Cf. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great*, *op. cit.*, 172–173. Nor could Maddoli, Memory and rediscovery, *op. cit.*, 55, discover the fate of these decrees.

36 See Σμυρνάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, *op. cit.*, 545, cf. Προηγ. Ευδόκιμος Ξηροποταμηνός, *Ἡ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει Ἄθω ἱερά, βασιλική, πατριαρχική καὶ σταυροπηγική σεβασμιά μονή τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου (424–1925)*, Thessaloniki 1971², 126.

37 See indicatively μον. Μωϋσής, Ὁ προχριστιανικός Ἄθως εἰς τὴν συνείδησιν τοῦ σύγχρονου μοναχοῦ, in: Σ. Αθανασιάδης – Χρ. Χειλάς (eds), *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, *op. cit.*, 267 and I. Π. Μαμαλάκης, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος (Ἄθως) διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων*, Thessaloniki 1971, 26–29.

APPENDIX A

Modern archive (1807–1924) of the Holy Monastery of Xeropotamou. File 50 ε, sub-file 1, no. 1348 (115) – Kinch’s letter to the fathers of the monastery (figs 4–5).³⁸

Ἐν Κουτλουμουσίῳ 25.11.1885

Σεβασμιώτατοι κύριοι.

Τὸ οὐσιωδέστερον κείμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου ὑπαρχουσῶν ἐπιγραφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰασοῦ πόλεως τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος μετενεχθειῶν ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς:

- 1 ----- (ὁ δεῖνα)
 ἐπεστάτει, Διονυσόδωρος Ἰατροκλέους ἐγραμμάτευεν,
 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἰατροκλέους
 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Εὐπόλεμος Πωτάτου Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
 ἐστὶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἰασέων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν
 εὐθύμως χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐπληρῆσθαι [τε] [α]ὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 [δή]μου καὶ εἶναι Εὐπόλεμον [π]ρόξε[νο]ν κα[ὶ] εὐεργ[έτη]ν τῆς
 [πόλεως τῆ]ς Ἰασέων -----
- 2 -----

 ----- ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς [ἐκ]-
 γόνοις αὐτοῦ, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἄρχοντας αἰεὶ τοὺς [ἐσ]-
 τῶτας· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγραφῆναι εἰς παραστάδα, ἐπ[ι]-
 μεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τὸν νεωποῖην.
 Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἠγύλλου τοῦ Θεοδώρου, μηνὸς [ς]
 Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου, Κοίρανος Μέλ-----
- 3 -----
 Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπολλ[ωνίδου?] μετ’ Ὑδαλλίονα, μηνὸς
 Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
 δήμῳ Εὐκράτης Μένωνος ἐπεστάτει, Ἀριστέας Δημοκλέου[ς] || pag. 1v
 ἐγραμμάτευεν, πρυτανό ... ἐπειδὴ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ
 Λιολ...εος καὶ Ἡλιόδωρος Ἡραίου ...όνιοι ἄνδρες καλοὶ ...

- 4 -----
 -----ργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότο[υ]
 ---- [καλ]οὶ κάγαθοὶ γεγένηνται

38 The letter is written in blue ink with a fine nib on slightly brownish graph paper measuring 258 x 200 mm (written surface 232 x 175 mm on f. 1r and 225 x 170 mm on f. 1v). The hand is squarish, neat, sloping to the right. The number 115 is written in pencil in a modern hand in the upper right-hand corner (from the numbering of the sheets in the file) and below that in [] (also in pencil, but in another hand) the current serial number 1348. It is preserved in file 50 ε, sub-file 1.

περὶ [τὸ] κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰδίᾳ εὖ
πεποιήκασιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς
θαλάσσης διαλεχθέντες -----

5

πρόξενον καὶ πολίτην, μετ[έχειν δὲ πά]ντων, ὧγ καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι
πολίται μετέχουσιν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς
[ἀγ]ῶσιν πᾶσιν καὶ ἀτέλειαν, ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστίν, καὶ εἰςπλοῦν
[καὶ ἐκπλ]οῦν, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ, ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ,
[ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ] τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ
[ψήφισμα τόδε] -----

Πάντα ταῦτα οὖν ψηφίσματα προξενείας καὶ πολιτείας ἐστίν.

Δράττομαι τῆς εὐκαιρίας, ἵνα ἐκφράσω πάλιν τὸν μέγαν μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς σεβασμὸν καὶ τὴν
εὐγνωμοσύνην μου διὰ τὴν ἐμοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθύμῳ παρεσχημένην φιλοξενίαν.

Κ. Φ. Κίγκ

APPENDIX B

Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NSK 3256 III 4o. – File K. F. Kinch.

PAGINA I (= fig. 6)

Upper corner right-hand side (concerns inscription no. 1):

A. h(øjre) S(ide) | Bog(staverne) h(er) let indmejslede | Bogstaver, Linier (under?) | uden
Krumning, krøllet | Lidt krøllet, Kort, Bredde || ΠNM. | Bredde 0,59 ½ Tykkelse 0,10 ¼. | Bog-
st(aver) højde 0,01 | Mellemrummet mell(em) L(inierne) lidt for | stort. || B h(øjre) S(ide)

[A. right side. | Letters here lightly cut. | Letters, (lower?) strokes | unrounded, apices | slightly
curly, narrow. || ΠNM. | Width 0.59 ½ thickness 0.10 ¼. | Letter height 0.01. | Line space rather |
large. || B right side].

Middle right side (concerns inscription no. 2):

B. v(enstre) Side | Laengde 0.63, hvoraf 0.10 til v(enstre) | ubestrev | ne, optagne af en 1 ½ cm
bred | Rand ||

[B. left side | Length 0.63, of which 0.10 on left | cannot be described, (the text) is written in a
broad band 1 ½ cm³⁹].

Lower corner left side (concerns inscription no. 3):

A. Front: mindre Bogst(aver) end B Front | ΠΑ | utydelig | Γ

[A. Front: Smaller letters than the those on B Front | ΠΑ | utydelig | Γ]

³⁹ The last part of the note may concern the new text that emerged from Kinch's transcription and not the
text *I.Iasos* 41.

Lower corner right side (concerns inscription no. 6 fragment A):

Brudstykke, sam(m)e kalsten | L(aengde) 26 + 12. [Fragment, same limestone | L(ength) 26 +12].

1 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 24–25 no. LX vs. 6–14 = CIG 2675 b = *I.Iasos* 32.

ἐπεστάτει, Διονυσόδωρος Ἴατροκλέους ἐγραμμάτευεν·
 ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι, Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἴατροκλέους
 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Εὐπόλεμος Πωτάλου Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός
 4 ἐστὶν περὶ τῆμ πόλιν τὴν Ἰασέων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶμ πολιτῶν
 εὐθύμως χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐπληνῆσθαι [τε α]ὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 [δῆ]μου καὶ εἶναι Εὐπόλεμον [π]ρόξε[νο]ν κα[ὶ] εὐερ[γέτην] τῆς
 [πόλεως τῆ]ς Ἰασέω[ν, δεδόσθαι] δὲ [αὐτῶι καὶ πολι]τείαν [----]

In apographo Kinchiano non exstant vs. 1–2 apographi Chandleriani. V. 3 ΠΩΤΑΛΟΥ lapis secundum Kinch, qui Πωτάτου in epistula nr. 1 transcripsit || v. 4 [ἐ]στὶν CIG et *I.Iasos*. ΤΩΝ Chandler, ΤΩΜ Kinch || v. 5 ***ΘΥΜΩΣ Chandler, [προ]θύμως CIG et *I.Iasos*, F'ΘΥΜΩΣ lapis secundum Kinch, qui εὐθύμως⁴⁰ in epistula nr. 1 legit | ΕΠΗΝΗΣΘΑΙ ***ΥΤΟΝ Chandler, ἐπληνῆσθαι [α]ὐτὸν CIG et *I.Iasos*, ἐπληνῆσθαι [τε α]ὐτὸν Kinch epistula nr. 1 | ΥΠΟΤ** Chandler, ΥΠΟΤΟΥ Kinch || v. 6 *****ΓΕΤΗΝ Chandler, [καὶ εὐερ]γέτην CIG et *I.Iasos*, κα[ὶ] εὐερ[γέτην] Kinch epistula nr. 1 || v. 7 ΙΑΣΕΩ ΤΕΙΑΝ Chandler, [πόλεως τῆ]ς Ἰασέω[ν δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ πολι]τείαν CIG et *I.Iasos*, [πόλεως τῆ]ς Ἰασέων Kinch epistula nr. 1.

2 vs. 1–4 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 22–24 no. LIX 2 vs. 1–4 = CIG 2673 a = *I.Iasos* 44 = Fabiani, Ricongiungimento, *op. cit.* (note 11) 380 = ead., *Decreti* 315 no. 15.

vs 5–6 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 22–24 no. LIX 2 vs. 5–6 = CIG 2673 b = *I.Iasos* 45.

[βου]λῆν καὶ δῆμ[ον] πρώτῳ μετ]ὰ τὰ [ιε]ρά, ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς [ἐκ]-
 γόνοις αὐτοῦ, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀεὶ τοὺς [----]-
 τῶτας τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγραφῆναι εἰς παραστάδα, ἐπ[ι]-
 4 μεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τὸν νεωποῖην.

ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἡγύλλου τοῦ Θεοδώρου, μηνὸς [ς]
 Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἰσταμένου Κοίρανος Μελᾶ-----

Vs. 1–4. V. 1 **ΙΔΗΝΚΑΙΔΗΛ*****ΑΤΑ*ΡΑ Chandler, [βου]λῆν καὶ δῆ[μον] πρώτῳ μετ]ὰ τὰ [ιε]ρά CIG, [βου]λῆν καὶ δῆμ[ον] πρώτῳ μετ]ὰ τὰ [ιε]ρά *I.Iasos* et Fabiani, vestigia litterarum legit, sed non transcripsit Kinch in epistula nr. 2 || v. 1 in fine et v. 2 initio ΤΟΙΣ / **ΓΟΝΟΙΣ lapis secundum Chandler, τοῖς / [ἐγ]γόνους CIG, τοῖς / [ἐκ]γόνους *I.Iasos* et Fabiani, ΤΟΙΣ ** / ΓΟΝΟΙΣ lapis secundum Kinch qui τοῖς [ἐκ]γόνους transcripsit in epistula nr. 2 || v. 2 in fine et v. 3 initio ΤΟΥΣΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣΑΗΤΟΥΣ / ΤΩΤΑΣ Chandler, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀ[εὶ] τοὺς [καθεσ]/τῶτας CIG, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀεὶ τοὺς [καθεσ]/τῶτας *I.Iasos*, τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς [ἐνεσ]/τῶτας Fabiani, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀεὶ τοὺς [ἐσ]/τῶτας Kinch in epistula nr. 2 supplevit || v. 3 in fine ἐπ[ι] suppleverunt omnes edd.

Vs. 5–7. V. 6 in fine ΜΕΛΑΙ lapis secundum Chandler, Μέλα[νος] CIG, Μέλαν[ος] *I.Iasos*, ΜΕΛΛ lapis secundum Kinch, qui Μέλ in epistula nr. 2 transcripsit || In apographo Kinchiano non exstant vs. 7–14 apographi Chandleriani.

3 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 24 no. LIX 3 vs. 1–5 = CIG 2674 = *I.Iasos* 41 = Fabiani, Ricongiungimento, *op. cit.* (note 11) 376 = ead., *Decreti* 312 no. 8.

⁴⁰ The reading εὐθύμως is supported by Kinch's transcription, but the expression εὐθύμως χρείας παρέχεται τιμὴ does not, as far as I know, occur in the inscriptions.

[άν]αγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψή<φ>ι[σµα τόδε τοὺς νεω]ποία[ς εἰς vel ἐν -----]

ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλων[ος τοῦ] μετ' Ὑδαλλίονα μηνὸς
Ἄφροδισιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ· Εὐκράτης Μένωνος ἐπεστάται, Ἀριστέας Δημοκ[λέ]ου[ς]
4 ἔγραμμάτευσεν, πρυτάνε[ων γνώμη]· ἐπειδὴ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ
Διόδωρος καὶ Ἡλιόδωρος Ἡραίου [Σι]δόνιοι ἄνδρες καλοὶ [καὶ]

V. 1 ΑΓΡΑΙΑΙΔΕΤΟΨΗΔΙ ΠΟΙΑ Kinch legit, sed vestigia litterarum non transcripsit in epistula nr. 3. Ceteri edd. ignorant || v. 2 ΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ Chandler, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπολλων[ίου? τοῦ --- μηνὸς] CIG, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλων[ος τοῦ ----] *I.Iasos*, ΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ[--- ca 6 --]ΜΕΤΥΔΑΛΛΙΟΝΑΜΗΝΟΣ lapis secundum Kinch qui Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπολλ[ωνίδου?] μετ' Ὑδαλλίονα in epistula nr. 3 transcripsit || v. 3 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΩΝΟΣΕΚΤΗΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥ Chandler, Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου· [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ] CIG, Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου· [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ] *I.Iasos*, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΩΝΟΣΕΚΤΗΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΕΔΟΞΕΝΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ lapis secundum Kinch qui Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ in epistula nr. 3 legit || v. 4 ΔΗΜΩΙΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ Chandler, δήμῳ, Εὐκράτης [--- ἐπεστάται ----] CIG, δήμῳ· Εὐκράτης [-----] *I.Iasos*, ΔΗΜΩΙΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣΜΕΝΩΝΟΣΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕΙΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣΔΗΜΟΚ.ΟΥ lapis secundum Kinch qui δήμῳ· Εὐκράτης Μένωνος ἐπεστάται, Ἀριστέας Δημοκλέου[ς] in epistula nr. 3 legit || v. 5 ΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΝΠΡΥΤ Chandler, ἔγραμμάτευσεν, πρυτ[άνεων· ἐπειδὴ ---] CIG, ἔγραμμάτευσεν πρυτ[άνεων γνώμη -----] ἐπειδὴ] *I.Iasos*, ΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΝΠΡΥΤΑΝΟΙΤΑ[--- ca 6 --]ΕΠΕΙΔΗΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣΚΑΙ lapis secundum Kinch qui ἔγραμμάτευσεν, πρυτάνο ... ἐπειδὴ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ in epistula nr. 3 legit || v. 6 ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΗΡ Chandler, Διόδωρος καὶ Ἡλιόδωρος Ἡρ[ακλείδου?----] CIG et *I.Iasos*, ΔΙΟΔ.ΕΟΣΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΗΡΑΙΟΥ..ΛΟΝΙΟΙΑΝΔΡΕΣΚΑΛΟΙ lapis secundum Kinch qui Λιολ...εος καὶ Ἡλιόδωρος Ἡραίου ...όνιοι ἄνδρες καλοὶ ... in epistula nr. 3 transcripsit || In apographo Kinchiano non exstant vs. 6–8 apographi Chandleriani. De lectionibus Fabiani vide commentarium (Scholia).

PAGINA II (= fig. 7)

Upper corner right side (concerns inscription no. 4):

B Front | Bredde 0, 53 ½ | H(øjde) 0,13 ½ | Bogstavernes Højde 0,016 | Let svungne Linier med krøl || ler: kraftig indmejslede |

[B Front | width 0.53 ½ | Height 0.13 ½ | Letter height 0.016 | strokes gently curved: deeply cut].

Centre right side (concerns inscription no. 5):

I Xeropotami Arsenal | Palimpsest, aetn (?) Bogst(averne) omtr(ent) | fra sam(m)e tid | B(redde) 0,62, hvoraf 6 t(il) h(øjre) af(haengig af) | Rand || H(øjde) 0,125 | Bogst(averne) H(øjde) 0,01 h(øjre) Side | Fint indm(ejslede) | Bogst(aver)

[Xeropotamou boatyard | Palimpsest (?) Lettering roughly | from the same period | Width 0.62, which depends | on the edge || Letter height 0.01, right side | elegant lettering].

Lower corner left side (concerns inscription no. 7 fragment B):

Arsenale | Front | 0.22+0.075 | Bogst(averne) H(øjde) | 0,012 || Mellemr(um) | mell(em) lin(jer) | 0,010 | punkt Bogst(aver).

[Boatyard | Front | 0.22+0.075 | Letter height | 0.012 | Line space | 0.010 | angular lettering]

Centre lower side (concerns inscription no. 6 fragment C):

Arsenale | v(enstre) Side 0,28+0,05 | Bogst(averne) H(øjde) 0,009 | Mellemr(um) 0,008 | Γ el(ler) Π ||

[Boatyard | Left side 0.28+0.05 | Letter height 0.009 | Line space 0.008 | Γ or Π ||]

4 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 22–23 no. LIX 1 = CIG 2672 = *I.Iasos* 30 = Fabiani, Ricongiungimento, *op. cit.* (note 11) 382–383 = ead., *Decreti* 309–10 no. 1.

ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ [τῶι] δ[ήμωι]
 [ἐπει]δ[ὴ] Γόργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ[ου]
 [υἱ]οὶ κ[αλ]οὶ κάγαθοὶ γεγένηται
 4 [π]ερὶ τ[ὸ] κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως,
 [κ]αὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰδία εὖ
 [π]εποιήκασιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς
 θαλάσσης διαλεχθέντες

V. 1 secundum vestigia apographi Kinchiani supplevi. De lectionibus Fabiani vide commentarium (Scholia). Ceteri editores ignorant || v. 2 ****Δ*****ΡΓΟΣΚΑΙΜΙΝΝΙΩΝΘΕΟΔΟΤ Chandler, [ἐπειδὴ Λυκούργος? καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ CIG, [Ἐπει]δ[ὴ] Γόργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ Heisserer, [ἐπει]δ[ὴ] Γόργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ[ου] *I.Iasos*, ΡΓΟΣΚΑΙΜΙΝΝΙΩΝΘΕΟΔΟΤ^c lapis secundum Kinch, qui γρος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότο[υ] in epistula nr. 4 legit || v. 3 initio [ου υἱ]οὶ κ[αλ]οὶ Heisserer, [υἱ]οὶ κ[αλ]οὶ *I.Iasos*, ..ΟΙΚ..ΟΙ lapis secundum Kinch qui ... [καλ]οὶ in epistula nr. 4 legit || v. 4 initio **ΡΙΤ* Chandler, [πε]ρὶ τ[ὸ] CIG, Heisserer, *I.Iasos*, ~PI~ lapis secundum Kinch qui περὶ [τὸ] in epistula nr. 4 transcripsit || v. 5 initio *I Chandler, [κα]ὶ CIG, Heisserer, *I.Iasos*, AI lapis secundum Kinch qui καὶ in epistula nr. 4 transcripsit || v. 6 ΕΠΟΙΗΚΑΣΙΝ Chandler, ἐποιήκασιν CIG, Heisserer, [π]εποιήκασιν *I.Iasos*, ΕΠΟΙΗΚΑΣΙΝ lapis secundum Kinch qui πεποιήκασιν in epistula nr. 4 transcripsit || In apographo Kinchiano non exstant vs. 7–12 apographi Chandleriani.

5 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 25 no. LXI 2 vs. 1–7 = CIG 2677 a = *I.Iasos* 38.

[τα κ]α[ιρ]ὸν καὶ κοινῆι [περὶ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας εἶναι αὐ]τὸν
 πρόξενον καὶ πολίτην μετ[έχοντα π]άντων, ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 [π]ολῖται μετέχουσιν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς
 4 [ἀγ]ῶσιν πᾶσιν κ[α]ὶ ἀτέλειαν, ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστίν, καὶ εἴσπλουν
 [καὶ ἔκπλ]ουν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ, ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ,
 [ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ] τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ
 [ψήφισμα τὸν νεωποῖην ἐν τῇ παραστάδι] πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχεῖου

V. 1 ΚΑ**ΟΝΚΑΙΚΟΙΝΗΠΕΡΙΠΑ*ΤΑΣΤΟΥΣΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ****ΑΥΤΟΝ Chandler, κα[ιρ]ὸν καὶ κοινῆι περὶ π[ά]ντας τοὺς πολίτας [εἶναι] αὐτὸν CIG, [---- κατὰ πάν] / [τα] κα[ιρ]ὸν καὶ κοινῆι περὶ π[ά]ντας τοὺς πολίτας [εἶναι] αὐτὸν *I.Iasos*, A..ONK/IKYIN! I! ION lapis secundum Kinch, qui verum in epistula nr. 5 non transcripsit || v. 2 ΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΙΠΑΝΤΩΝ Chandler, μετέχοντ<α> πάντων CIG, μετέχοντι πάντων *I.Iasos*, ΜΕΤ ANTON lapis secundum Kinch qui μετ[έχειν δὲ π]άντων in epistula nr. 5 supplevit | ***ΑΛΛΟΙ Chandler, [οἱ ἄ]λλοι CIG et *I.Iasos*, (ΛΛΟΙ lapis secundum Kinch qui [οἱ] ἄλλοι in epistula nr. 5 legit || v. 3 ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ Chandler, πολῖται CIG et *I.Iasos*, ΟΛΙΤΑΙ lapis secundum Kinch || v. 4 *ΓΩΣΙ Chandler, [ἀ]γῶσι CIG et *I.Iasos*, ΩΣΙ lapis secundum Kinch qui [ἀγ]ῶσιν in epistula nr. 5 supplevit || v. 5 *ΑΙΕΚΠΛΟΥΝ Chandler, [κ]αὶ ἔκπλουν CIG et *I.Iasos*, ΟΥΝ lapis secundum Kinch, qui [καὶ ἔκπλ]οῦν in epistula nr. 5 supplevit || v. 6 ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝΔΕΤΑΥΤΑΚΑΙ Chandler, ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ CIG et *I.Iasos* || v. 7 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΝΝΕΩΠΟΙΗΝΝΕΝΤΗΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΔΙΠΡΟΤΟΥΑΡΧΕΙΟΥ Chandler, ψήφισμα τὸν νεωποῖην ἐν τῇ παραστάδι πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχεῖου CIG et *I.Iasos*, in fine ~ΡΟΤΟΥΑΡΧΕ~ lapis secundum Kinch, qui [ψήφισμα τότε -----] in epistula nr. 5 legit.

Fragmenta

6 = frg. A+C = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 26 no. LXI 3 vs. 1–8 = CIG 2678 = *I.Iasos* 46.

A -----ΗΣΕΧΕΙΠΕΡΙΤ-----
 -----ΤΗΝΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΤ-----
 -----ΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΙΠΑΝΤΩΝ-----
 4 -----ΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΙΣΠΛΟΥΝΚΑΙΕΚΚΓ-----
 -----ΥΛΕΙΚΑΙΑΣ _ΓΟΙ-----
 C ΔΕΤΑΥΤΑΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣΑΙ-----
 ΝΕΩΠΟΙΑΣΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΕΝΤΗΙΑΓ

7 = frg. B = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 25 no. LXI 1 = CIG 2676 = *I.Iasos* 33.

 -----ΝΑΛΛΩ
 -----ΙΟΛΛΗΝ vac
 4 -----ΕΛΕΙΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΩ
 -----ΣΘΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝ----
 -----ΝΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ-----

REMARKS

A) Inscription no. 3 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones* 24 no. LIX 3 vs. 5–14 = CIG 2674 = *I.Iasos* 41 = Fabiani, *Ricongiungimento*, *op. cit.* (note 11) 376.

Kinch's transcription is more complete than Chandler's, firstly because it permits the conclusion that this side of the block (Chandler LIX 2) contained another decree of which only the last line is extant: [ἀν]αγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψή<φ>ι[σμα τὸδε τοὺς νεω]ποία[ς εἰς vel ἐν ---?]⁴¹. Other decrees from the city use the same concluding formula, e.g. *I.Iasos* 42 ll. 8–9 τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νεωποίας εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον, *I.Iasos* 46 ll. 7–8 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τοὺς νεωποίας τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾷ and *I.Iasos* 47 ll. 4–5 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας.

Kinch's transcription is also more complete as regards the rest of the text in Chandler's transcription, which is reproduced by Böckh (CIG 2674) and Blümel (*I.Iasos* 41). Recently that text was re-edited by Fabiani in the addendum to G. Maddoli's "Epigrafi di Iasos. Nuovi Supplementi I", *PdP* 62 (2007) 376. The improved re-edition was made possible thanks to a) the discovery of two new *proxeny* decrees that were published by Maddoli (the names of the persons honoured are Ξενίων [-----] ---δεὺς⁴² and Π[α]υσίμαχος Ἱατροκλέους respectively),⁴³ and b) the rediscovery and the publication by D. Bosnakis and K. Hallof of the Iasian *proxeny* decree no. 58 which had been thought lost and was found in Kos (the name of the person honoured is Θεοκλῆς Ἀ[.....] Ἀράδιος).⁴⁴ In the *praescriptum* of the two new decrees the date is given in the same way and the epistates of the prytaneis is the same person: more specifically, both are dated Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ μετ' Εὐθαλλίωνα, μηνὸς Ἀφροδισιῶνος, ἕκτηι ἰσταμένου and the epistates

41 After the letters ΠΟΙΑ there is an approximately 12-letter gap that could reasonably be filled by a place name.

42 See Maddoli, *Epigrafi di Iasos ...*, *op. cit.*, 295–296 no. 18.2 (decreto onorario per Xenion [di Alabanda?]).

43 See Maddoli, *Epigrafi di Iasos ...*, *op. cit.*, 301 no. 19.2 (decreto onorario per Pausimachos figlio di Iatrokles).

44 See D. Bosnakis – K. Hallof, *Alte und neue Inschriften aus Kos I*, *Chiron* 33 (2003) 203–262, here 219–221 no. 10 B.

is Εὐκράτης Μένωνος (the name is either preserved complete or can be safely restored given the same dating). The names Ἐπικράτης Μένωνος should, according to Chr. Habicht (whom Fabiani follows) be restored in line 2 of the decree rediscovered in Kos, in the sense that the reference is to the Iasian [Εὐκ]ράτης Μένωνος who was honoured as *proxenos* and benefactor at Miletos in 265/4 BC.⁴⁵ On the basis of these similarities in the three texts, and having re-edited text no. 58 with emendations,⁴⁶ Fabiani thought that the praescriptum of decree no. 41 of the corpus should also be restored as follows:

ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλων[ος τοῦ μετ' Εὐθαλλίωνα, μηνὸς]
 Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἕκτηι ἰσταμένου [ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι]
 δήμωι Εὐκράτης [Μένωνος ἐπεστάτει, Ἀριστέας Ἱερονίκου]
 4 ἐγραμμάτευσεν, πρυτάνε[ων γνῶμη · ἐπειδὴ -----]

The text she proposes is clearly a step forward compared to the text of the older editions and is confirmed by Kinch's transcription save at two points: a) the name of the magistrate (l. 1), where Kinch reads the otherwise unattested name Ὑδαλλίων,⁴⁷ and b) the name of the secretary of the *boulē*, where the Danish archaeologist completes the patronym of the equally unknown in the prosopography of the city Ἀριστέας Δημοκ[λέ]ου[ς]. These remarks show that Εὐκράτης Μένωνος served as *epistates* of the *prytaneis* for two separate years and that the related completions in lines 1 and 3 must be abandoned.⁴⁸

The proposal for the awarding of *proxeny* privileges comes from the *prytaneis* and Böckh's completion of the relevant line 5 (πρυτ[άνεων γνῶμη]), which is followed by Blümel and Fabiani, is sound since it is supported by parallels.⁴⁹ Kinch's transcription in his letter to the fathers of the Monastery of Xeropotamou, on the other hand, is faulty.

The most interesting new information to emerge from Kinch's transcription is the ethnonym of the honorees. In his commentaries on the inscriptions Blümel had already quite properly noted that the patronym should have been followed by an ethnonym.⁵⁰ Kinch read ... ΔΟΝΙΟΙ and hastily transcribed it in his letter as ...όνιοι ἄνδρες. The surviving letters and the small gap be-

45 See Chr. Habicht apud Bosnakis-Hallof, *op. cit.*, 221 (the editors simply cite the completion in their commentary; they do not adopt it in the text they publish). For the list of *proxenoi* and benefactors see Milet I 3 no. 96 ll. 5–6 [οἶδε] πρόξενοι καὶ εὐεργ[έ]ται / [Εὐκ]ράτης Μένωνος / [Κ]ρατοντίδης Πausανίου / Ἀρτεμίδωρος Σκύλα[κος ...]εις.

46 See Fabiani in Maddoli, *Epigrafi di Iasos ...*, *op. cit.*, 376 and 379–382, where she proposes linking this decree with the fragment *I.Iasos* 44.

47 The name Ἰδάλιον occurs in Theocritus, *Εἶδύλ.* 15 l. 100. Given the care with which Kinch transcribed the inscription it would be risky to suppose that he mistakenly wrote ΥΔΑΛΛΙΟΝΑ for ΔΑΛΛΙΟΝΑ. The name Δαλλίων occurs for example in a votive inscription of 80/79 BC, É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Hermoupolis Magna et de sa nécropole* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude 123) Paris 1999, 5 l. 9 (Δαλλίων Ἀξιάνου).

48 This leads to reservations about the completion of the names of the magistrate and the secretary on the decree deriving from the merger of decrees *I.Iasos* 58 (= Bosnakis-Hallof, *op. cit.*, 219–221 no. 10 B) and *I.Iasos* 44.

49 See indicatively *I.Iasos* 23, 36 and 50. For the *prytaneis* of Iasos see R. Fabiani, *Magistrates and phylai* in late Classical and early Hellenistic Iasos, in R. van Bremen – J.-M. Carbon (eds), *Hellenistic Karia. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia – Oxford, 29 June – 2 July 2006*, Bordeaux 2010, 467–482, here 47–477.

50 *I.Iasos* 41: “In der Lücke muß das Ethnikon gestanden haben”.

fore them, corresponding to just one or two letters, readily support the completion [Σι]δόνιοι.⁵¹ That other persons from Sidon were active in Iasos may be inferred from the fact that another Sidonian, a certain Ἡρακλείδης Ζηνοδότου, was a member of a funerary association of foreigners to Iasos, which existed after 167 BC and probably between 160 and 140 BC.⁵²

Finally, as regards the dating of the decree, the identification of the *epistates* Εὐκράτης Μένωνος with the benefactor and *proxenos* of Miletos in the list of 265/4 BC, taken together with the shape of the letters, and especially the *epsilon* (with its shorter middle stroke), the *kappa* (with the shorter lower oblique stroke) the *nu* (with the left stroke longer than the right), the *pi* (asymmetrical, with the left stroke shorter), the *sigma* (with the horizontal strokes diverging), and the size of the *omicron* and the *omega* (roughly the same height as the other letters),⁵³ make a dating in the first half or even in the second quarter of the 3rd century BC more likely than the end of the 4th.

B) Inscription no. 4 = Chandler, *Inscriptiones 22–23* no. LIX 1 = CIG 2672 = *I.Iasos 30* = Fabiani, *Ricongiungimento*, *op. cit.* (note 11) 382–383.

In the article cited Fabiani showed that the *praescriptum* of the decree *I.Iasos 24* is actually the *praescriptum* of the headless decree *I.Iasos 30*, that is, of inscription no. 4 in Kinch's letter. She herself published the decree as follows:

[Ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]
 μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶ[νος, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου]
 Γόργου τοῦ Θεοδό[του, ἕκτηι ἰσταμένου]
 4 Θεόδοτος Δημητ[ρίου ἐπεστάτει]
 ἀρχόντων γνῶ[μη -----τοῦ]
 Ἄρτεμιδώρου, Δ[-----τοῦ]
 Ἰατροκλέος, Ἀπ[-----τοῦ]
 8 Σανναίου, Παντ[-----τοῦ]
 Ἀριστοκράτεο[ς -----]
 [----- ἐγραμμάτευσε?]
 [ἐπει]δ[ὴ] Γόργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ[ου]
 12 [υἱ]οὶ κ[αλ]οὶ κάγαθοὶ γεγένηται κλπ

Thanks to the traces of letters preserved in Kinch's transcription before line 1 of the decree *I.Iasos 30* it is now clear that the restoration in line 10 of the decree, where Fabiani has [--- ἐγραμμάτευσε?], is not possible and that it should be corrected to read: [ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]. This in turn means that the decree began with the month in which it was voted, i.e. μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶ[νος, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου] / Γόργου τοῦ Θεοδό[του, ἕκτηι ἰσταμένου]. That the

51 The spelling of the ethnonym should not surprise, since it is attested in both literary and inscriptional sources.

52 See *I.Iasos 408* l. 19, with the related discussion on the interpretation and dating of the inscription and most recently F. Delrieux, *Les étrangers dans l'épigraphie iasienne du II^e siècle a.C.*, in A. Bresson – R. Descat (eds), *Les cités d'Asie Mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris 2001, 137–155, here 140 and 154.

53 For the shape of the letters in the inscriptions from Iasos see most recently F. Delrieux, *Les décrets d'Iasos en l'honneur d'étrangers au début de l'époque hellénistique. Notes sur un essai de classement*, *ZPE* 154 (2005) 173–180, here 176–177.

praescriptum of decrees from Iasos could be composed in this way (with some variants) is clear from other decrees from the city, e.g. the decree honouring the Athenians Glaucus and Aristonicus, sons of Theopropus,⁵⁴ or the one honouring Theucles son of Thersias from Meliboea, in Thessaly, both from the end of the 4th or the first half of the 3rd century BC.⁵⁵

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Monk Zacharias Xeropotaminos
Pantelis Nigdelis

Özet

Bilindiği gibi, üzerinde 10 adet *proksenia* (“ağırlama”) *dekreti* yazılı olan ve Karia’daki Iasos kentinin meclis binasına ait olan 3 adet dörtgen sütun parçası önce Khios’a (Sakız) götürülmüşlerdi. Bunları ilk gören ve yayınlayan kişi Richard Chandler (1738–1810) idi. Bu üç blok daha sonra ortadan kaybolduklarından, dekretlerin daha sonraki yayınları hep Chandler’in kopyaları esas alınarak yapıldı. Daha sonra Emmanuel Müller, Revue Archéologique dergisinin 1879 yılında yayınlanan sayısındaki bir makalesinde bu blokları 1863 yılında Athos’daki Kseropotamou Manastırı’nda gördüğünü yazmıştı.

Ama şimdi iki yeni arşiv buluntusu sayesinde bu üç bloğun macerasını yazma ve yazıtları yeniden okuma olanağına kavuşmuş durumdayız: Bunlardan biri, Danimarkalı bir arkeolog ve filolog olan Karl Frederick Kinch (1853–1921) tarafından Osmanlı yönetimindeki Makedonia’da yapılmış bir çalışmadır. Kinch, 1885 yılının 14–15 Kasım tarihlerinde ziyaret ettiği Kseropotamou Manastırı’nda Chandler’in yayınlamış olduğu dekretlerden 8 tanesini görmüş ve bunların transkripsiyonlarını yapmıştı. Onun yakın zamanlarda Kopenhag Kraliyet Kütüphanesi’nde bulunan arşivinde, bu manastırın papazlarına yazdığı bir mektubu ve bu mektuba ekli olarak 7 dekretin hem ve hem de büyük ve küçük harflerle alınmış kopyaları ele geçti.

Bu makalede, söz konusu blokların Khios’dan Athos’a olan yolculuklarının öyküsü ve buna ilişkin yeni bilgiler verilmekte ve bu buluntular iki ayrı Ek (Appendix A ve B) olarak sunulmaktadır: Appendix A’da, Kinch’in Kseropotamou Manastırı’nın arşivindeki mektubu; Appendix B’de ise Iasos kökenli dekretlere ilişkin yazarın transkripsiyon önerileri yer almaktadır. Appendix B’de ayrıca, yazıtların okunuşlarına ilişkin metin kritikleri de yer almaktadır. Makale, Kinch’in mektubundaki 3 no.’lu yazıt (= *I.Iasos*, 41) üzerinde, yine Kinch’in mektubundaki no. 4 olarak verilen ve Sidon’dan gelen bazı göçmenleri onurlandıran *proksenia* yazıtının (*I.Iasos*, 30) yeni okunuşu ışığında yapılmış bazı yorumlarla bitmektedir.

54 *I.Iasos* 42: μηνὸς Ἀδωνιῶνος ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀνδρονικίδου τοῦ Ἰσοδίκου, γραμματέως / δὲ Κλεανδρίδα τοῦ Κλεάνδρου ἔκτιι ἰσταμένου· Φορμίων Μελάνθου ἐπεστάται· / ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Δημεΐας Ἀριστέως εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Γλαῦκος καὶ Ἀριστόνικος Θεοπρόπου Ἀθηναῖοι etc.

55 *I.Iasos* 54: μηνὸς Ἀφροδισιῶνος ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου / Ἀπολλοφάνεως τοῦ Ἀπολλᾶ ἔκτιι ἰσταμένου· / Ξένων Ἀφθονήτου ἐπεστάται, Πανταλέων / Κλεανδρίδα εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Θεουκλῆς Θεροσί[[τ]]ου // Μελιβοιεύς etc.

Τὰ ἁγία χιον ἕξοδα ὁδὸς ἕνομα ἕξοδων
 ἡ νῆα· Ἰουάνδης ἕξοδ.

10: γρ: Ἐν ἁγίοις μετέστη·
 15: γρ: νῆαρον·
 13: γρ: ἕξο ἀνώγειον, ἀνδόνεσ, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια,
 . . . ὁδὸς ἕξοδα δὲ εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον ἢ παρόμοια.
 20: γρ: ἕξο εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια,
 . . . ὁδὸς ἕξοδα εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον.
 7: γρ: ἕξο εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια,
 . . . ἢ ἕξο εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον.
 7: γρ: εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια·
 4: γρ: ἕξο εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια,
 . . . ὁδὸς εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον.
 66: γρ: εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια,
 . . . ἢ ἕξο εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον.
 30: γρ: εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια.
 25: γρ: εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια,
 . . . ἢ ἕξο εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον.
 191: γρ: ἕξο εἰς τὸν ἁγίον ἕξοδον, ἢ ἄλλα παρόμοια.

Fig. 1. Archive of Monastery Xeropotamou

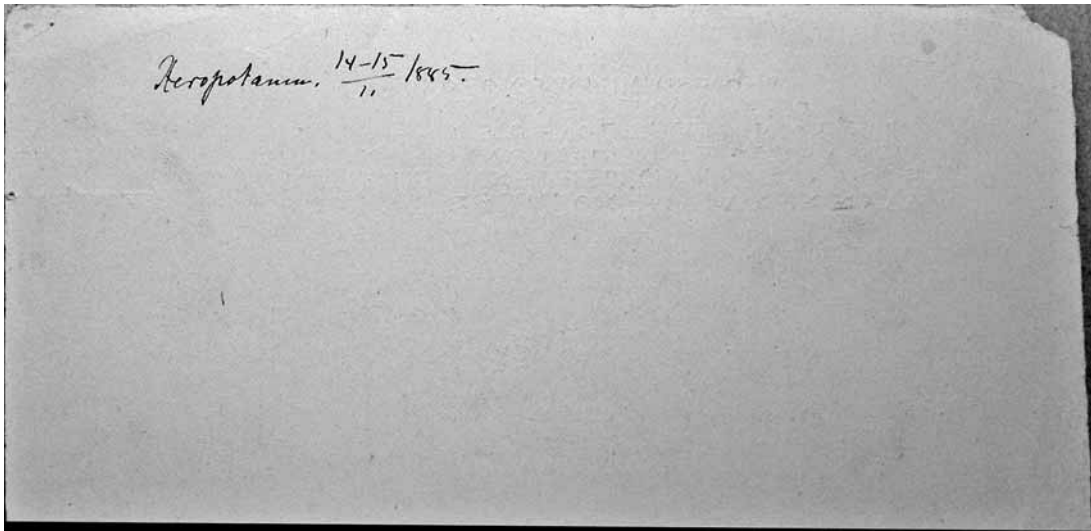


Fig. 2. Royal Library of Copenhagen



Fig. 3. Royal Library of Copenhagen

ξεσημαίνων, δεύτερον... ἕκαστος Ἡράκλειτος καὶ
 Λιολ...τος καὶ Ἡλιοῦκος Ἡραίου...όνιος ἀνδρῶν κάλλος...

4,
 ...ος καὶ Μιντιάρι Ἡσοῦδο[ε]
 ... [καλ]οὶ κάμφοι γεστῆται
 ἡεὶ [τῶ] κοινὸν τῆς ἀόλης
 καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰδέειν
 ἡεὶ ποιημάτων καὶ ὅτι τῆς φικῆς
 θαλάσσης διαλεχθέντες...

5,
 ἡεὶ βίον καὶ πολιτῶν, μετ[έχων δὲ αἰ]νῶν, ὡς καὶ [σε]λλου
 πολιτῶν μετῆχοντων, εἴτε δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἀποιδίον εἴ τῶν
 [κ]ῶντων ἀπὸν καὶ ἰτίων, ὡν ἡ ἀόλης κυρία εἶδεν, καὶ εἰσαλῶν
 [καὶ ἐκ]ῶντων, καὶ ἡ εἰρηγ καὶ ἡ ἀόλης γὰρ ἀβύλα καὶ ἀδυσανδῶν,
 [οὐδέχων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ] τῶν ἐκτόντων αὐτῶν, ἀναμετῶν δὲ τῶ
 [γράφωμα τῶν]...

ἕκαστα περὶ τῶν γραφῶντων ἡεὶ βίον καὶ ἀποιδίον εἶδεν.

Δεδοτῶν τῆς εὐκείνης, ὅνα ἐκφράσω ἡεὶ βίον τῶν φίλων μου
 ἡεὶ βίον ἀφῶντων καὶ τῶν ἐκφράσεων μου διὰ τῶν
 ἡεὶ βίον ἡεὶ βίον ἀφῶντων ἀφῶντων φίλωντων.

K. P. Kym.

Fig. 5. Archive of Monastery Xeropotamou

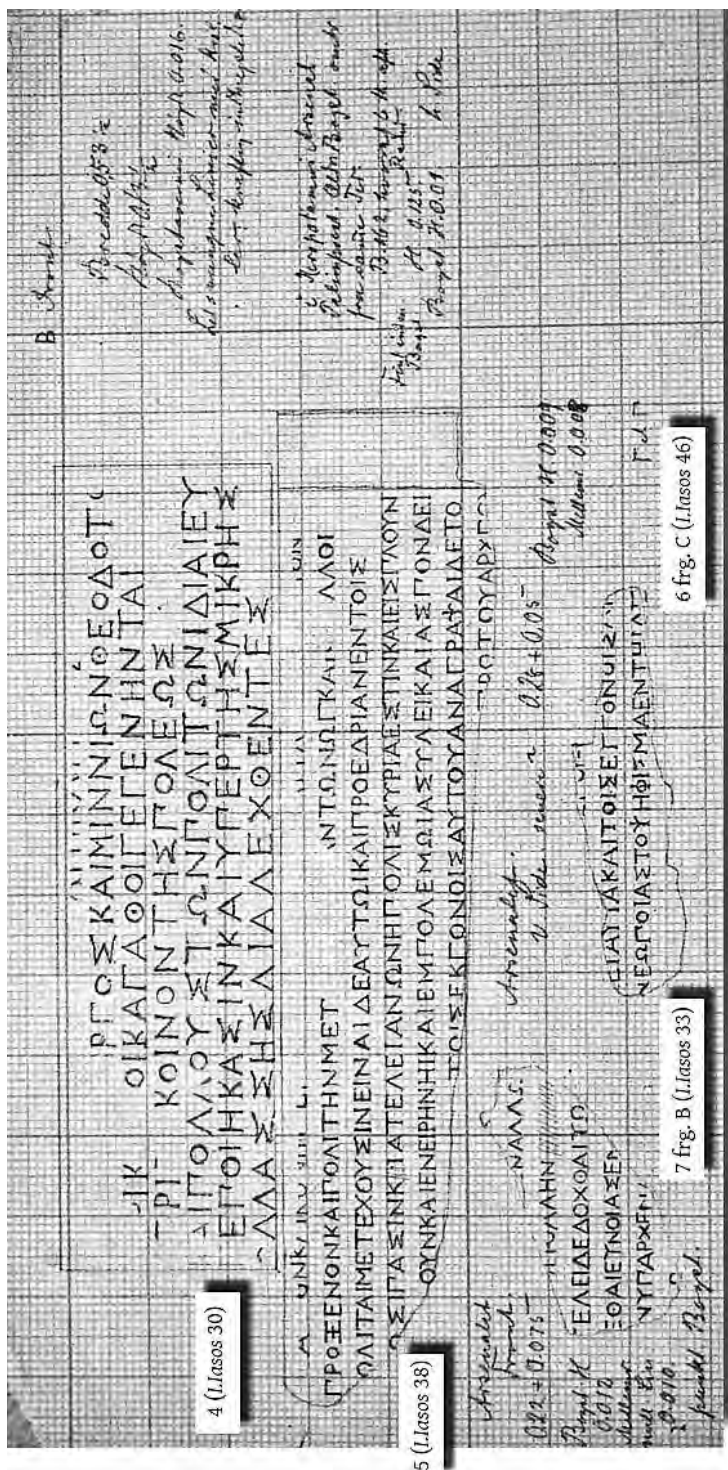


Fig. 7. Royal Library of Copenhagen