

TWO KIMOLIAN DIKAST DECREES FROM GERAISTOS IN EUBOIA¹

(PLATE 57)

THE greater part of an inscribed marble stele, broken at the top, was shown to the authors in the spring of 1963 at the tiny coastal settlement of Porto Kastri (or simply Kastri) in the southernmost extremity of Euboia (Fig. 1). It had been exposed only a few days before our arrival in a shallow pit dug by a local farmer preparing to plant olive trees.² We shall demonstrate that this stone joins a smaller fragment (now lost) found at the same site and reported briefly near the end of last century (Fig. 2).³ The resulting combined text contains two honorary decrees of the island of Kimolos, both concerned with the activity of a foreign judge from Karystos in Euboia, and both written in the Doric dialect of Kimolos.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW STONE (Pl. 57)

MATERIAL. The stele is of a very white, rather coarse-grained marble. All surfaces had been dressed down smoothly except for that at the back, which was left in a very rough state. The inscribed surface, which bears patches of calcareous incrustation, was carefully moistened and cleaned before the photographs in Pl. 57 were taken.

MEASUREMENTS. The stele is broken only at the top; all other margins are preserved. The maximum preserved height (from the bottom to the peak of the frag-

¹ We would like to record here our gratitude to several persons, without whose generous help our work on this inscription could never have been done: to Mr. V. Petrakos of the Greek Archaeological Service, whose cooperation and assistance with this inscription and other Euboian matters were always generously given; to Mr. and Mrs. P. Bournelou of Karystos and Mr. V. Polychroniou, former *γραμματεὺς τῆς κοινότητος* of Platanistos, who kindly helped us in our Euboian travels with a truly Greek hospitality; to Mr. V. Papamastroyannis of Porto Kastri, who brought the stone to our attention; to the late Professor W. P. Wallace of Toronto, who showed a keen interest in this document before his untimely death; to Professor F. W. Householder of Indiana University, who kindly read the article in manuscript and made a number of useful suggestions; and most of all to Professor Eugene Vanderpool of the American School of Classical Studies, the *πρόξενος καὶ ἐδεργέτης* of many generations of American students in Athens. He has given of his time and knowledge at every stage of our work; what this means can only be fully understood by those who know him.

² We were directed to the pit, which lay near the center of the small coastal plain and about 100 m. back from the shore. The stele was later taken by caique to Karystos, where it has been housed in the storeroom of the town hall awaiting the completion of the archaeological museum there.

³ E. Legrand and G. Doublet, "Inscriptions d'Eubee," *B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, pp. 404-405, no. 1 and *I.G.*, XII,9,44. An intensive search for this fragment in 1963 proved to be futile; it has apparently been lost.

mentary portion at the top) is 1.11 m., while the maximum preserved height of the front face is only 0.96 m. The width ranges from 0.457 m. (at the base of the stele) to 0.445 m. (at the lowest line of text) to 0.432 m. (at line 28). Its maximum thick-

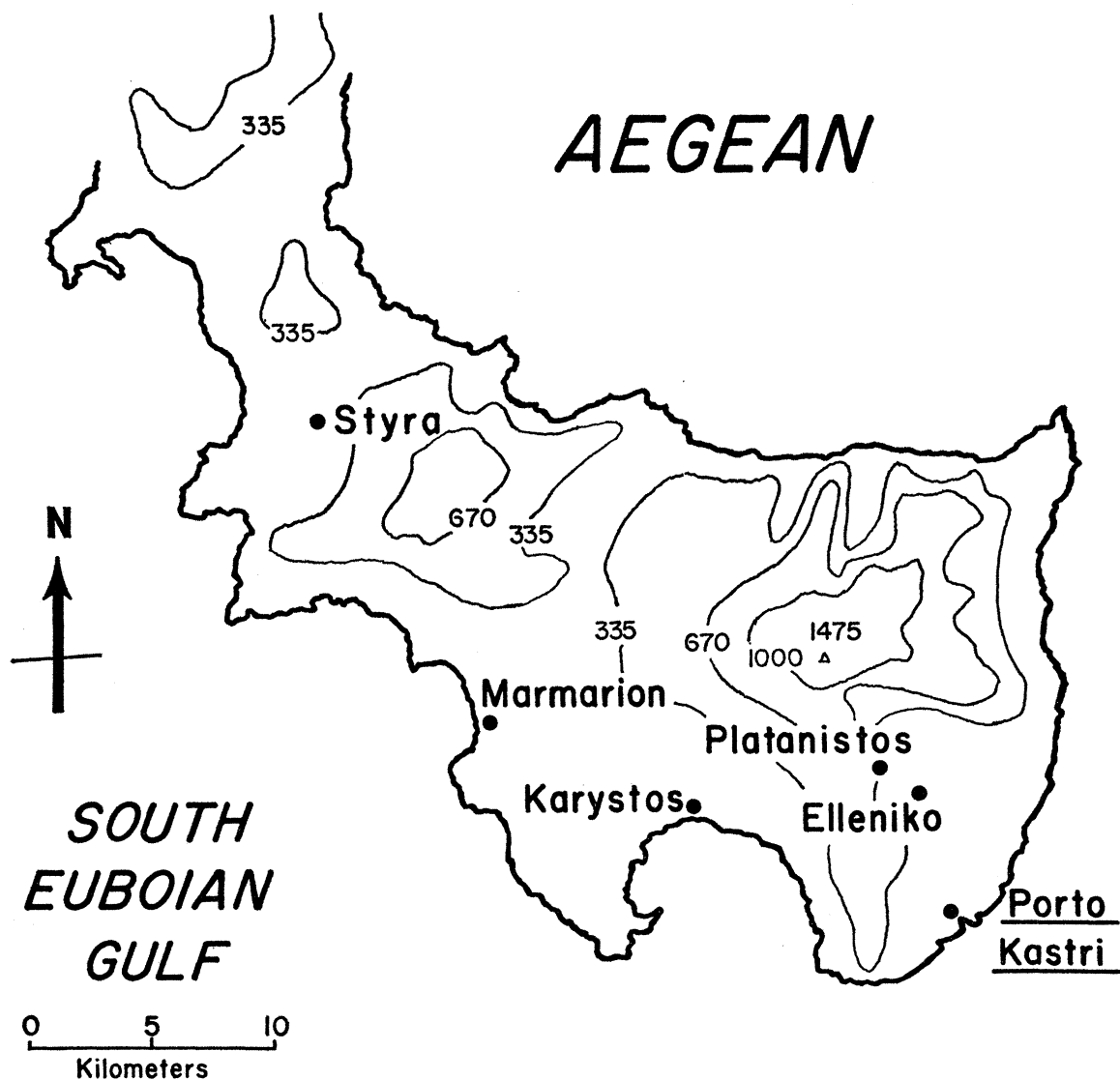


FIG. 1. Map of S. Euboeia

ness at the base is 0.135 m., and it thins to 0.115 m. at line 29. Thus the stele becomes somewhat narrower and thinner at the top. The letters are generally 0.008-0.01 m. high, and there are on the average $43\frac{1}{2}$ letters per line.⁴ The lowest 0.423 m.

⁴The heights of the letters actually vary from 0.005 m. (omikron) to 0.013 m. (phi). The average number of letters per line is that of the best preserved lines (24-51). Iota was given

of the front face was left uninscribed. Part of the tenon has been preserved at the bottom: its full width is 0.29 m.; its maximum preserved thickness is 0.12 m.; and its maximum preserved height is 0.04 m.

LETTERING. The inscription is not *stoichedon*. The letter-forms clearly belong to the third century B.C.: theta and omikron are usually small, the latter sometimes being found high in the line; omega is always small, its lateral bars varying from horizontal to slightly up-turned; the central bar of epsilon is usually shorter than the other two; the vertical strokes of mu are generally quite straight, yet occasionally slope very slightly; the horizontal strokes of the sigma have a slight slope; xi is formed by three separate horizontal strokes; the third stroke of pi varies from quite short to nearly half the length of the principal vertical; phi and psi are slightly taller than the other letters; and the crossbar of alpha is either perfectly horizontal (most often) or sloping (occasionally). The consistent use of serifs or apices is a characteristic feature of this inscription, but the thickening is not exaggerated. Syllabification is the regular method of dividing words at the ends of lines; the break usually follows a vowel or diphthong, except in lines 36, 39 and 44 (?), where it falls between two consonants.

The lettering of this inscription thus suggests a date in the third century B.C.⁵, and this general chronological limit does no violence to the implications of the use of syllabification and the non-stoichedon character of the inscription.⁶ For possible parallels, cf. C. Habicht, "Samische Volksbeschlüsse der hellenistischen Zeit," *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXII, 1957, Beil. 134, no. 59 A (243/242 B.C.); *I.G.*, XII, 7, 241 (Minoa, Amorgos; later third century?) and 386 (Aegiale, Amorgos; later third century?). It is perhaps best not to attempt too great a precision in these matters, especially in view of the lack of a number of good dated inscriptions from the islands at this time.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NEW STONE AND *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44

There can be no doubt that, as an examination of the published text of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44 (Fig. 2) shows, we are dealing with two fragments of the same stele. Both texts were written in the same dialect, a Hellenistic modification of Doric.⁷ Both texts share the names of individuals: the Karystian judge Charianthos whose name was not recognized by the editors of the first fragment (lines 5, 20, 27), the Kimolian

the value of half an ordinary letter. The actual lengths of the preserved lines varied from 39 (line 41) to 50½ (line 50).

⁵ Yet it would not appear to be as late as 221, if one can judge from the rather more monumental letter-forms of the well-known Sellasia dedication from Delos. Cf. M. Holleaux, "Dédicace d'un monument commémoratif de la bataille de Sellasia," *B.C.H.*, XXXI, 1907, pp. 94-104 (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1097). Note especially the wedge-shaped serifs and the broken-barred alpha.

⁶ Cf. S. Dow, "The Purported Decree of Themistocles: Stele and Inscription," *A.J.A.*, LXVI, 1962, pp. 360-361, 364-365.

⁷ For observations on the dialect, see Commentary.

archons headed by Archidamos (lines 12, 42), and the three Kimolian treasurers (lines 17, 46). Both texts also have topographical references in common: the sanctuary of Athena on Kimolos (line 13, 38-39) and the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios at Geraistos (lines 14, 39-40). All of this is further supplemented by the strikingly similar tenor of the contents of the two fragments: the honorary character of the decree(s) and the obvious references to judicial activity (lines 6, 22 ff.). It is for these reasons that we have chosen to restore and to discuss the two fragments as one.

44 *Porto Kastri* in villa rustica, lapis marmoreus inventus in agro vicino ab omnibus partibus fractus. Edd. Legrand-Doulet *Bull. Hell.* XV 1891, 404, 1. Decretum urbis doricæ in honorem iudicium Carystiorum factum.

<p>Σ Α Ε Α Υ Τ Ο Τ Ω Ν /// Ν Δ Ε Ν Ο Δ Α Μ Ο Σ 5 Π Ι Α Ν Θ Ο Ο Σ Ο Ν Τ Ω Τ Α Μ Ε Ν Δ Ι Ε Λ Υ Σ Ε Τ Ο Σ Ρ Ο Λ Ι Τ Α Σ Ε Δ Δ Α Μ Ω Ι Ε Ρ Α Ι Ν Ε Σ Α Ι Τ Ο Ν Α Ι Α Υ Τ Ο Ν Θ Α Λ Λ // Ο // Σ Τ Ε Φ 10 Π Ι Μ Ε Λ Ε Ι Α Σ Α Σ Ε Χ Ω Ν Δ Ι Α Ν Α Ν Α Γ Ρ Α Υ Α Ι Δ Ε Τ Ο Υ Α Φ Ρ Χ Ι Δ Α Μ Ο Ν Δ Α Μ Ο Φ Α Ν Η Τ Ω Ι Ι Ε Ρ Ω Ι Τ Α Σ Α Θ Α Ν Α Ι Α Σ Τ Ο Σ Ε Ι Δ Α Ν Ο Σ Τ Ο Υ Γ Ε Ρ Α Ι Σ 15 Τ Ο Υ Δ Α Μ Ο Υ Δ Α Μ Ο Σ Ι // Τ Ο Δ Ε Α Ν Α Λ Λ Ω Μ Α Η Α Ρ Α Τ Ω Ν Τ Α Μ Ι Α Ν Κ</p>	<p>CA - - εαυτο[υς - -] των [ε]ν Δ[ρήφωι? - - απέστειλ]- εν δ δάμος [δ ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ . .] 5 ΠΙΑΝ Θ' ὄσον τῶ - - τὰ μὲν διέλυ[αν, τὰ δὲ διέκριναν - - -] ε τὸς πολίτας ἐδ[οξε - - δεδῶχθαι τῶι] δάμῳ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν [δάμῳ τῶν ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝ]- [ῶς] αὐτὸν θαλ[λ]ο[ῦ] στεφ[άνωι - - - ἕνεκα καὶ ἐ]- 10 ΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ἅς ἔχων δια[τελεῖ ποτὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον δάμ]- [ον, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ γάφ[ημα τότε τοὺς κόσμοις? τὸν δεῖνα] [. Ἀ]ρχίδαμον Δάμοφάνη [ἐς στάλας δύο καὶ στάλας τὰν μὲν μ]- [αν ἐν] τῶι ἱερῶι τὰς ἄβαναίᾳς [τὰς Ποιιάδος?, τὰν δὲ ἄλλαν ἐν τῶι] [τοῦ Π]οσειδᾶνος τοῦ Γεραϊ[τίου, si quidem concessum erit 15 [... ὑπὸ] τοῦ δάμου δάμοσι[αι - -] - - - τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα ἢ [- - - - μερῖ]- [ζεσθαι π]αρά τῶν ταμιῶν κ[ατὰ τὰν διάταξιν]</p>
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Supplementa pleraque sunt Hilleri.

FIG. 2. Text of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44

It is also apparent that, although both fragments clearly belonged to one stele, we have the remains of at least *two decrees*. This is most obvious from the manner in which line 18 comes to an end, indicating that a second inscription begins with the following line; but it is also suggested by the existence of variations in the contents of the two texts.⁸ Nevertheless, the general similarities in dialect and in the names of the several magistrates clearly indicate that both texts represent decrees of the Kimolians.

TEXT

Restoration of the text of the inscription has been particularly difficult because the fragment from which *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44 was copied has been lost; a physical com-

⁸ Note, for example, the generally more compact nature of the text of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44 (the honors listed are not the same as those in the new fragment) and the different crowns to be awarded in the two decrees (*thallos* in line 9 and golden in line 35).

parison of the two fragments would have made the joining of the two parts of the text both easier and more precise. As it is, we have relied, for our text of lines 1-17, on a combination of determinants: the average length of the lines as shown by the lower part of the stele, where both margins are preserved or certainly restorable; the relation of the earlier lines one to another as indicated by the transcription of Legrand and Doublet; and the parallel expressions in the second decree. Fortunately, the two parts of the text can be placed in a definite relationship to each other, since a sure restoration backwards from line 18 to line 17 supplies the final words of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44. Without this piece of good luck any filling out of the earlier lines would have been much more difficult than it was.

The first preserved letters do not, of course, necessarily belong to the first line of the original text, but we have used them as an initial point for numbering the lines we have. The dashes that appear within square brackets are meant to indicate the approximate number of letters in the missing part of each line. Dotted letters are those for which the traces on the stone are not by themselves conclusive; dotted letters within brackets are those for which some, but uncertain or ambiguous, evidence is to be found on the stone. In lines 1-17 we have departed from the text as given in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44 in only one place (cf. *app. crit.*). Following is the complete text with the restorations that we regard as reasonably certain (other possibilities have been left to the line-by-line commentary).

[-----]σα[-----]
 [-----]εαυτο[-----]
 [-----]των[-]νδ[-----]
 [-----]εν ὁ δάμος [-----]
 5 [-----]Χα]ρίανθος οντω[-----]
 [-----]τὰ μὲν διέλυσ[ε, τὰ δὲ ἔκρινε δικαί]
 [ως καὶ ἀποκατέστασ]ε τὸς πολίτας ἐς [όμόνοιαν· δέδοκ]
 [ται τῷ βουλῷ καὶ τῷ] δάμῳ ἐπαινεῖσαι τὸν [-----]
 [----- καὶ στεφανῶσ]αι αὐτὸν θαλ[λ]ο[ῦ] στεφ[άνῳ] -----]
 10 [-----] ἐ]πιμελείας ἃς ἔχων δια[τελεί ποτὶ]
 [τὸν δάμον τὸν Κιμωλίῳ]ν ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψάφ[ισμα ἐς στά]
 [λαι λιθίνοι τὸς ἄρχοντας Ἄ]ρχίδαμον Δαμοφάνη[ν Ξεναρχίδα]ν
 [----- ἐμ μὲν Κιμώλῳ ἐν] τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθαναίας· τ[ὰν δὲ ἐπὶ]
 [Γεραιστῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Π]οσειδᾶνος τοῦ Γεραισ[τίου ἐν]
 15 [τῷ ἀσύλῳ] -----] τοῦ δάμου δαμόσι[ον] -----]
 [-----]τα[-----] τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα ἧ[μεν ἐς τὰν]
 [ἀνάθεσιν καὶ τὰ]ν ἀναγραφὰν [π]αρὰ τῶν ταμιῶν Κ[τασικλεί]
 [δου Τιμοφίλ]ου Ἀριστίωνος. vacat
 [δέδοκται τ]ῷ βουλῷ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ· Τελέσ[ων] ----- εἶπεν·]

TRANSLATION

This is meant only as a supplement to our commentary on the text; we have tried to keep close to the wording of the inscription, even at the expense of a certain awkwardness in the English (much of which has its equivalent in the Greek). The relative size of the *lacunae* in the text is not shown here. The use of italics stands for uncertainty of one sort or another.

“. . . *himself* . . . the People . . . (whereas) Charianthos . . . settled some (by arbitration) and rendered judgment in others justly and restored the citizens to concord; it is resolved by the Senate and the People to praise publicly the (secretary? cf. lines 8-9 note) . . . and to crown him with a crown of olive . . . (because of his excellence, good will and the) concern which he continues to show toward the Kimolian People; and that the archons Archidamos, Damophanes and Xenarchidas inscribe this decree on a stone stele (and set it up) . . . both in Kimolos, in the sanctuary of Athena, and at Geraistos, in the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios, in *the inviolable area*; (that these things be taken care of by) the People's public *servant* . . . (with Charianthos) and that the expense of the setting up (of the stelai) and of the inscription be defrayed by the treasurers Ktasikleidas, Timophilos and Aristion.

“Resolved by the Senate and of People: *Teleson* . . . (proposed): (whereas) Charianthos, son of Aristagoras, of Karystos, *having come* . . . in accordance with the letter of King Antigonos . . . the People, judging (in accordance with the law) the cases outstanding from of old . . . and as many as they themselves turned over to him (for arbitration) he settled and in others rendered judgment justly, and restored the citizens to concord; it is resolved by the Senate and the People, so that all may know that the Kimolian People know how to render thanks to those who are its benefactors, to praise him publicly; and (it is resolved) that he be Proxenos and Benefactor of the city of Kimolos, both he and his descendants; and that they be given the right of first entrance to the Senate and the People after the sacred business; and that they be granted exemption from the two per-cent harbor-duty for all things whatsoever they import to or export from Kimolos and that they be granted right of ownership of all property in Kimolos on the same terms as the citizens; and that they have seats of honor at all the public assemblies that the city holds; and that he be crowned for the present with a golden crown, *with which* the city is able (to crown him), worth three hundred drachmas (line 35 note); and that they be granted the obtainment from the city of whatever other good it possesses; and (it is resolved) to inscribe this decree on a stone stele, both in Kimolos, in the sanctuary of Athena, where he rendered (*sc.* some of) his judgments and reconciled others, and at Geraistos, in the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios, in *the inviolable area*; and that the archons Archidamos, Damophanes and Xenarchidas take care of the setting up (of a stele) and the inscription (of the decree on it) in Kimolos, and the ambassador chosen by the people—and who is to accompany Charianthos—of the setting up (of a stele)

and the inscription (of the decree on it) at Geraistos; and that the treasurers Ktasi-kleidas, Timophilos and Aristion defray the expense of these things. The ambassador is to request of the Senate and the People of Karystos a place in the sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios, in *the inviolable area*, where it may be set up. (It is further resolved) that the archons Archidamos and his colleagues invite the judge Charianthos to dinner in the prytaneion and that the expense be defrayed by the treasurers Ktasi-kleidas and his colleagues.

COMMENTARY

Line 2. The language of similar decrees suggests that this line probably contained a phrase such as ἀξίως] έαυτο[ύ or ἀξίως] έαυτο[ύ τε και τών πόλεων or τών καθ'] έαυτὸ[ν χρείαν παρέσχετο προθύμως.⁹

Line 4. We offer ἀπέστειλ]εν ὁ δάμος [ὁ τῶν Καρυστίων as a possible restoration here.

Line 5. The unusual name appears unrestored in lines 20 and 27. These are the only known references to this man (or to his father, Aristagoras, who is named in line 20).¹⁰ ONTΩ[may very well represent ὄν τω[.

Line 6. For the formula τὰ μὲν διέλυσ[ε, κτλ., see especially A. Steinwenter, *Die Streitbeendigung durch Urteil, Schiedsspruch und Vergleich nach griechischem Rechte*, Munich, 1925, pp. 144-155. Cf. also lines 23-24. The distinction between διάλυσις and κρίσις is common enough in decrees honoring foreign judges, and clearly refers to the difference between out-of-court settlement or informal arbitration and the binding verdict of a judge. The latter is sometimes described as being "in accordance with the law(s)," which makes the distinction even more clear: κρίσις derives its authority from the law, διάλυσις from the agreement of the disputing parties themselves.

Line 7. ΕΣ [OMONOIAN seems preferable to the French reading, ΕΔ[. The final preserved letter might well have been mistaken for delta if only its lower left corner was legible (cf. line 24).¹¹ We have consistently restored δέδοκται, which seems to be more appropriate to documents of the third century than ἔδοξε.¹²

Lines 8-9. We have already observed that the two decrees inscribed on this stele were issued by the Kimolians (above, p. 187). They do not represent, therefore, the more customary practice of including on the same stele the original honorary

⁹ Cf. L. Robert, "Notes d'épigraphie hellénistique," *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, pp. 166 ff.

¹⁰ Perhaps the name in the tablet from Euboian Styra, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 56, no. 424, should also read Χαρίανθ[ος].

¹¹ For the common formula relative to the restoration of ὁμόνοια, see L. Robert, "Notes d'épigraphie hellénistique," *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, p. 474.

¹² Cf. again line 24 and A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 38.

decree of one state and the official response of the second state.¹³ Our second decree is clearly in honor of Charianthos (lines 25 ff.), but who is being honored in the first is not so clear. Yet his identification may be facilitated by the fact that different crowns are granted in the two decrees: a crown of *thallos* in the first (line 9) and a golden crown in the second (lines 34-36). The latter is certainly the more valuable and, at least by the Hellenistic period, the more common award in honorary decrees.¹⁴ Since there is no apparent reason for the Kimolians to honor Charianthos twice, once with a crown of *thallos* and again with a golden crown, it seems to us more likely that someone else is the subject of the first decree. There seems only one reasonable explanation.

In a number of decrees concerned with international arbitration, secretaries are honored along with the judge(s) whom they accompanied.¹⁵ Although secretary and judge are usually honored in the same decree, we have at least one good example of secretarial honors having been bestowed in a separate decree.¹⁶ Moreover, the secretary was there given a crown of *thallos* while the three judges were awarded crowns of gold.¹⁷ In view of this evidence, it seems best to regard the first (and shorter) of our two decrees as honoring the secretary who accompanied Charianthos to Kimolos.¹⁸ The end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9 may then read: τὸν [γραμματέα δεῖνα, κτλ.

Lines 9-10. The following formula might be expected here: στεφ[άνωι ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ ἐ]πιμελείας, κτλ. (Proper spacing dictates that ἔνεκα have three objects rather than the perhaps more customary two.¹⁹)

¹³ For a discussion of this practice, see L. Robert, "Notes d'épigraphie hellénistique," *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 337-338.

¹⁴ Cf., for example, P. Monceaux, *Les Proxénies grecques*, Paris, 1886, p. 97; W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*³, Munich, 1914, pp. 382-385, and C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven, 1934, p. 363.

¹⁵ E.g., M. N. Tod, *International Arbitration Amongst the Greeks*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 15-16, nos. XVIII-XX, p. 106.

¹⁶ A series of four separate, but related, decrees (all inscribed on the same stele) of the cities of Smyrna and Kaunos: L. Robert, "Décrets de Smyrne pour des juges étrangers," *Hellenica*, VII, 1949, esp. pp. 171-174 (note lines 43-59). A second decree from Smyrna, though poorly preserved, has been restored by Robert as a separate decree in honor of an unnamed secretary: *B.C.H.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 336 ff.

¹⁷ A Hellenistic decree from Iasos also awards a golden crown to the judge and a crown of *thallos* to his secretary: Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Brussels, 1900, no. 468.

¹⁸ We did consider the possibility that the Karystian *damos* was being honored, for such is the case in numerous dikast decrees of the Hellenistic period: e.g. Michel, *op. cit.*, nos. 417 (Kalymnos), 462 (Iasos) and 468 (Iasos); and O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin, 1900, no. 15 (Knidos) and 101 (Larbenä). Lines 8-9 might then have read: ἐπαινεῖσαι τὸν [δᾶμον τὸν Καρυστίων]. There does not seem to be any evidence, however, to indicate that a *demos* was ever honored with a separate decree or that it was ever awarded a crown of lesser value than that of the judge(s).

¹⁹ Yet, for instances in which three objects do appear, cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², nos. 112, line 19 (Amorgos) and 294, line 5 (Delos).

Lines 10-11. The words restored at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 have no parallel in the second decree, but they fit the sense and space exactly. We have hesitated to change ἀναγράφαι to ἀγγράφαι, the form in line 37. The uncontracted spelling may have been a mistake on the part of Legrand and Doublet, but it might equally well have been the stone-cutter's error; cf. line 48, note.

Line 12. We have restored here the same prepositional phrase as appears below; cf. line 38 note. For the names of the archons, cf. lines 42-43.

Lines 13-15. For the restorations, cf. lines 38-45. Attic-Ionic *ἱερόν* has replaced Doric *ἰαρόν* (cf. note on line 48). Cf. lines 38-39 and note for Ἀθαναίας; the discrepancy, if it is genuine, may be due to the Karystian stone-cutter. The civil servant (*δαμόσιος*) in line 15 is very probably the man responsible for the inscribing and the setting up of the stele at Geraistos; cf. lines 43-45. An almost certain restoration in this line is [τῶι ἀσύλωι. ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ] τοῦ δάμον δαμόσι[ον and a possible restoration for the following lacuna is δαμόσι[ον ὃς συμπαρεσσεῖται με]τὰ [Χαριάνθου].

Lines 16-18. We strongly suspect that line 16 should be restored to read [----- με]τὰ [Χαριάνθου] κτλ. There are slight traces of what may be an alpha in line 16, above the phi in line 17; and we also observed on the stone the remains of the lower end of a diagonal stroke following]τα[which could belong to alpha, lambda or chi. The parallel phrase occurs in line 45. The order of words is here slightly different from that in lines 51-52, partly no doubt because of the inclusion here of a specific definition of expenses. Our restoration, which is based upon the preserved portions at the bottom of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44 and at the top of the new fragment, is supported by the fact that the space available in line 17 leaves room for the necessary pi between the letters preserved on the two separate stones, but almost certainly not for anything else. It must be borne in mind that the left-hand margin of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 44 was not preserved. The following, then, is all that remains of the first three lines of the new fragment:

[-----]ΤΑ[-----]
 [-----]ΝΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΑΝ[-----]
 [-----]ΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ *vacat*

For the names of the treasurers, cf. line 46.

Line 19. Following the last preserved letter of the line there is visible the left end of a horizontal stroke level with the middle of the sigma; on the basis of the letter-forms in the rest of the inscription, this must certainly be read as an omega. It is reasonable to assume that the word in question is the name of the Kimolian author of the second decree, Τελέσων (?). Names of this type appear to be especially common in Doric-speaking areas; cf. F. Bechtel and A. Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen* (2nd ed.), Göttingen, 1894, pp. 263-264, and W. Pape and G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch*

der griechischen Eigennamen (3rd ed.), II, Brunswick, 1875, pp. 1503 ff. Practically nothing is known of the prosopography of Kimolos; cf. *I.G.*, XII, 3, 1259-1260.

Line 20. There is room at the beginning of the line for 7 or 8 letters; ἐπειδή must belong here, filling all or most of the space. The first, third and fourth letters of the last word are probable rather than certain; the first could be gamma, pi or rho, or just possibly kappa, the third most probably rho, or, less likely, iota, and the fourth alpha, lambda or chi. The vertical, and part of the horizontal, stroke of the first is preserved, but only the bottoms of a vertical and a diagonal stroke for the latter two. The spacing of the letters supports the presumed rho over iota on the one hand and over pi, gamma, or kappa on the other. The word in question is probably παραγενόμενος.

Line 21. The space at the beginning of this line may have been filled by ἐκ Καρύστ]ου or ἐπὶ Κιμώλ]ου. For the common Hellenistic practice of royal ἐπιστολαί, see Welles, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii-xli *et passim*. The identification of “King Antig[onos]” is discussed below, p. 198.

Lines 22-24. The space at the beginning of line 22 may have been filled at least in part by ὑπό or ὑπέρ, depending to some extent upon how the end of line 20 is read. The traces on the stone seem to fit alpha at the end of the line rather than lambda, though either letter is possible; only the lower part of the left-hand diagonal stroke is sure. The καὶ in line 23 is difficult, since its position before ὄσας makes it almost impossible to take it as adverbial and therefore implies a preceding verb (which could belong to the space at the end of line 22 and the beginning of line 23). At the end of line 23 the lower half of the vertical stroke of the rho is preserved, as well as the lower joint of its semicircular stroke. δικαίως seems a good possibility for the missing word at the end of line 23 and the beginning of line 24. This is the first line of the inscription for which we have a definite ending; the rest of the text can be restored with reasonable certainty in spite of occasional missing letters.

The passage κρίνων . . . ὁμόνοιαν is of central importance for the understanding of our decrees, for it explains why Charianthos was summoned to Kimolos. A large number of Kimolian lawsuits had been allowed to accumulate; and, because the Kimolians themselves were unable to resolve the disputes, they sought the assistance of an impartial foreign judge. Charianthos seems to have tried to settle as many of the lawsuits as possible by arbitration out of court, but at least some had to be adjudged in a more formal or legal manner.²⁰ Although we have not been told how many or what kinds of cases Charianthos was asked to resolve, it is not unlikely that they were largely concerned with disputes between debtors and creditors. The economic climate

²⁰ The latter must be the sense of κ[ατὰ τὸν νόμο]ν in lines 22-23, if our restoration is correct. The inducement for referring such disputes to informal arbitration rather than to the courts may have been similar to that in the *diagramma* of Antigonos I to the city of Teos, where the penalty was markedly greater if the case was lost in court. Cf. Welles, *op. cit.*, no. 3, part 6, pp. 16 ff.

of the Aegean islands seems to have been particularly critical during the third century.²¹

Lines 24-37. The several honors and rewards, including proxeny, granted to Charianthos are thoroughly typical of dikast decrees of this period.²²

Line 25. Professor Householder solved for us the problem of the subjunctive ἴσαντι. Cf. C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago, 1955, 151 (p. 120) for examples of this formation (by simple lengthening of the stem-vowel of some athematic verbs) in Cretan, Cyrenaic, Arcadian and Thera; Pindar, *P.* IV, 92: ἔρατι (subj.); and Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*³, Paris, 1963, p. 258. The actual form ἴσαντι appears in a Knossian decree found in Teos (Collitz-Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1905, III, 1, no. 5186).

Line 26. Only the right-hand vertical stroke of the initial mu is clear.

Line 27. The genitive πόλευς is unusual. The only other example of this form we have found is in Theognis, where in v. 776 (τῆσδε πόλευς, ἴνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ) the MS. evidence seems to require it. Its reappearance in line 37 argues against its being an error of orthography. If correct, it probably represents the contraction of a previous form πόλεος. Cf. also Buck, *op. cit.*, 5 (p. 40).

Line 30. For μετὰ τὰ ἱερά = "after the sacred business," cf. J. H. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII,iii, Princeton, 1966, p. 15, No. 46 *b*, a reference kindly given us by B. D. Meritt.

Line 31. The 2% export and import tax is also known at Delos in the third century.²³

Line 34. The form ποέῖ, if it is not a mistake, may be an Atticism. The shortened form of the verb is attested in Attic, Aeolic and Arcadian.

Line 35. The phrase ᾧ δυνατά ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις is difficult; the relative probably refers to στεφάνωι, and the verb στεφανῶσαι is probably to be understood with δυνατά. The indicative ἐστὶν requires that the clause be simply descriptive of the particular crown; it cannot be indefinite ("with whatever crown the city can"). Might the relative refer to the immediately preceding phrase and bear a temporal force? This

²¹ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, Oxford, 1953, pp. 205-209, 222 ff. A brief but very useful discussion of Hellenistic decrees of this type is to be found in W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization*, London, 1952, pp. 88-91. On the broader subjects of international arbitration and foreign judges, see especially A. Raeder, *L'arbitrage international chez les Hellènes (Publication de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien, Tome 1)*, Kristiana, 1912; M. N. Tod, *op. cit.*; A. Steinwenter, *loc. cit.*; L. Gernet, *Droit et Société dans la Grèce Ancienne*, Paris, 1955, pp. 103-121. We look forward to the appearance of L. Robert's promised book on foreign judges.

²² Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 28 ff., and Larfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 394 ff.

²³ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

seems unlikely, but would at least account for the mood of ἐστίν. The sentence most probably means "And that he be crowned for the present with what the city can afford: a golden crown worth three hundred drachmas."

Lines 37-38. Nothing is known about the sanctuary of Athena on Kimolos, though it must have been the most important sanctuary on the island. It was obviously the site of the court over which Charianthos presided and doubtless was the place where all state decrees were set up.²⁴

The precise location of this sanctuary is not known, but it is not unlikely that it was situated on the rocky islet of Ayios Andreas (Daskalio) just off the southwestern coast of Kimolos. Although the little island now lies some 200 m. offshore, it was once joined to the mainland near the modern Elleniko. A draped female statue of Parian marble said to be of Hellenistic date and traces of dressed masonry are among the discoveries reported from Ayios Andreas.²⁵

For the assimilation of ἐν to ἐς before a following *sigma*, cf. the examples in Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*³, Berlin, 1900, pp. 110-111. We have not been able to persuade ourselves that there is an iota either at the end of line 38 (though the possibility cannot be absolutely ruled out) or at the beginning of line 39; consequently there is a spelling discrepancy between this version of the name and that in line 13.²⁶

Lines 39-41. The same distinction between "judgment" and "reconciliation" is used here as in line 24. Yet some confusion results here since the second τὰς implies δίκας rather than κρίσεις, though only the latter are mentioned. It seems to be a strained example of the infrequent use of the article + δὲ without a preceding article + μὲν in distinguishing parts of an aggregate whole. This one is especially awkward as it is followed immediately by another example of the same sort in τὰν δὲ.

The ancient city of Geraistos and its sanctuary of Poseidon Geraistios were well known to the Greeks from Homeric times.²⁷ Indeed, the sanctuary of Poseidon seems

²⁴ The head of Athena was represented on Kimolian bronze coins of the Hellenistic period; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², Oxford, 1911, p. 484.

²⁵ Büchner, P-W, *R.E.*, s.v. Kimolos; Ch. Mustakas, "Kimolos," *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIX/LXX, 1954/1955, pp. 153 ff., Beil. 62 (map of Kimolos); and J. T. Bent, *Aegean Islands*, Chicago, 1966 (reprint, with additions, of *The Cyclades*, London, 1885), pp. 55-56.

²⁶ In view of the fact that this Doric inscription must have been produced by an an Ionic-speaking stonecutter, and that the form Ἀθαναίας in line 13 can no longer be checked on the stone itself, it is impossible to say for sure whether both forms of the goddess' name were used in this pair of decrees. Both could be current in the same city at the same time, but we have been unable to find an example of their occurrence in the same inscription. In view of the Ionic Ποσειδάωνος in line 48, it seems most probable that the variant forms of Athena's name are also the result of the stonecutter's error.

²⁷ For all ancient references, see F. Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböa*, Berlin, 1903, pp. 111-113, and Bölte, P-W, *R.E.*, s.v. Geraistos.

There can be no doubt that the ancient town of Geraistos is to be associated with the modern (Porto) Kastri; and, in view of the find-spot of our inscription, it seems most likely that the

to have become the most important religious center in the Karystia, if not in fact in the whole of southern Euboea, by the Hellenistic period. It is for this reason, presumably, that the honorary decree of Charianthos was set up there rather than in his home town, Karystos.²⁸

In line 40, ἀσύλωφ is almost certainly substantive; and the ἄσυλον being referred to is also almost certainly to be distinguished from the ἱερόν. Therefore it seems that a specific part of the sanctuary at Geraistos was ἄσυλον and that it was there that the Kimolians (at the suggestion of Charianthos?) wanted their decrees to stand.²⁹

Lines 41-43. These Kimolian archons are known from no other sources.

Lines 43-49. The responsibilities of the πρεσβευτάς (and, presumably, the δαμόσιος in line 15) apparently included those of the δικασταγωγός.³⁰

Only traces of the last four letters of line 44 remain, but such evidence as the stone and our squeezes afford agrees well with -ΑΡΕΣ which gives precisely the required sense. We also considered -ΛΕΥ, and the first of the letters could be lambda; but there definitely seem to be four letters here, and the final sigma is virtually certain enough to be left undotted. The contracted future of εἰμί is well attested for Doric.

There is space at the end of line 45 for two or even three letters. The mere scratches that are left may be the remains of two or possibly three letters; but since the only trace of anything certainly belonging to a letter is part of a vertical stroke near the center of the space after omikron, it seems reasonable to read δο[Ϝ]-, remembering that syllabic division at the ends of lines is characteristic of this inscription.

The Kimolian treasurers are unknown from any other source.

Ποσειδῶνος in line 48, like ἀναγράψαι in line 11, is most likely a slip on the part of the Karystian stonecutter, who substituted his accustomed Ionic form; ἱερώι in lines 13, 38, 40 and 48 is a consistent Ionicism (common in later Doric), and therefore quite possibly the contemporary Kimolian usage.

sanctuary of Poseidon also was there. Yet one still cannot rule out the possibility that the temple of Poseidon is to be associated with the impressive remains at Elleniko Platanistou and our stele was somehow transported (perhaps in later antiquity) to its place of discovery. For a brief discussion of the archaeological remains at (Porto) Kastri, see L. H. Sackett, *et al.*, "Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey," *B.S.A.*, LXI, 1966, pp. 81-83.

²⁸ The importance of the sanctuary at this time may also be reflected by the appearance of Poseidon as an obverse type on the bronze coinage of Karystos at least by the early second century B.C.; B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, p. 357, and Head, *B.M.C.*, *Central Greece*, London, 1884, pp. lxiv, 104, pl. xix, 6-7.

²⁹ It is unusual that only a part of the sanctuary should be designated as an asylum. We have not been able to find precise parallels for this phenomenon though a similar situation may have existed in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios at Akraiphia; cf. *I.G.*, VII, *add.* 4135 (third century). For good discussions of ἄσυλον and ἀσυλία, see P. Stengel, P-W, *R.E.*, s.v. Asylon; Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, Munich, 1920, pp. 17-21, 30-31; and E. Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie*, Diss., Giessen, 1933.

³⁰ For the duties of the δικασταγωγός, see Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 83, and Robert, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, p. 417 (note 5) and *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, p. 158.

Lines 49-52. It was customary to entertain foreign judges and other visiting dignitaries at the prytaneion.³¹

DATE

We have already suggested that our inscription belongs to the third century (above, p. 186). This obviously rules out the possibility that "King Antig[onos]" in line 21 refers to Antigonos I, and it clearly leaves us with a choice between Antigonos II (Gonatas) and Antigonos III (Doson).

The reference to an Antigonos certainly indicates that we are concerned with a period of Macedonian influence in the Aegean islands; and, since we know that the Ptolemies had control of the Aegean during much of the earlier third century, our inscription cannot be assigned to the early years of Gonatas.³² Indeed, it must belong to the period of Macedonian ascendancy after the Chremonidean War (265-261) and perhaps the subsequent Antigonid successes in the naval engagements at Kos and Andros. Unfortunately, the dates of these battles (particularly that of Andros) are still the subject of considerable dispute.³³

There is now a good deal of evidence (almost exclusively epigraphical) bearing witness to Macedonian intervention in the Aegean islands during the later third century, and much of this evidence is in fact of the sort that we have in our inscription.³⁴ Yet seldom can we be certain as to whether the Antigonid in question is Gonatas (283-239) or Doson (229-221), for both seem to have played an active role in the affairs of the islanders. Nor is epigraphy of any significant value, for the decade separating the reigns of the two Antigonids is simply too brief for one to put any stock in the chronological value of letter-forms.³⁵

We are forced to conclude, therefore, that our inscription could well belong to either the later years of Gonatas (*ca.* 250-239) or the reign of Doson, i.e. roughly to the third quarter of the third century. This harmonizes reasonably well with what we know about Macedonian influence in Euboia in the last half of the third century.³⁶

³¹ Larfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-393, and Robert, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, pp. 163-164.

³² On Ptolemaic control of the Aegean and the "Island League," see W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 106 ff., 466-472. There is nothing to indicate clearly that Kimolos was ever an official member of the League. Cf. now I. L. Merker, *Studies in Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Century Following the Death of Alexander*, Diss., Princeton, 1958, pp. 64-65. We would like to thank Professor Merker for reading this article in manuscript.

³³ The following contain most of the references to the endless literature on this subject: Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-466, A. Momigliano and P. Fraser, "A New Date for the Battle of Andros," *C.Q.*, XLIV, 1950, pp. 107-118, and Merker, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff.

³⁴ J. Delamarre, "L'influence macédonienne dans les Cyclades au III^e siècle avant J.-C.," *Rev. de Phil.*, N.S. XXVI, 1902, pp. 310-325; Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-469; and Merker, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³⁵ This is particularly obvious from the dispute that has long raged over the date of an important decree of the island of Syros in recognition of a foreign judge sent by an Antigonos; cf., for example, F. Dürrbach (ed.), *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, I, 1, Paris, 1921, pp. 54-57.

³⁶ Euboia seems to have been under Macedonian domination continuously from the death of

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We might summarize the contents of our inscription by reviewing the sequence of events that led up to the ancient publication of the two decrees at Geraistos.

The troubled times of the later third century brought about, in the third quarter of that century, an accumulation of legal disputes (probably between debtors and creditors) on the island of Kimolos. Since the islanders were unable to resolve these disputes by themselves, they appealed to King Antigonos (whether Gonatas or Doson) for assistance. Antigonos reacted by turning to another of his protectorates, Euboia, and had Charianthos of Karystos appointed *dikastas*.³⁷ Apparently the situation did not warrant the selection of a larger judicial commission.³⁸

Charianthos, accompanied by a secretary whose name we do not know, then sailed to Kimolos, where he proceeded to resolve the disputes both by informal arbitration and by conventional hearings. His handling of the situation was so successful that he was formally accorded all the honors of a foreign judge, including a golden crown; and his secretary was even awarded an olive crown. Finally, the people of Kimolos decreed that the acts of both Charianthos and his secretary be further commemorated by the erection of stelai bearing the honorary decrees in the sanctuary of Athena on Kimolos and in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Geraistos, the major religious center in the neighborhood of the judge's home. A Kimolian ambassador was sent along with Charianthos to supervise the ceremonies at Geraistos.

The discovery of this inscription, then, is of considerable interest from several points of view. In addition to the obvious clarification it provides for the older fragment (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 44), it is the first major contribution to an understanding of the history of Kimolos in the Hellenistic period and is another solid piece of evidence illustrating the role played by the Antigonids in the Aegean islands during the third century. It is also one of the best preserved examples of a Hellenistic decree in honor of a foreign judge and thereby represents an important new source of information about the institution of foreign judges and international arbitration in Hellenistic times.³⁹ Although some problems remain unsolved and others have now been raised, we trust that this important document will stimulate further inquiry into this very difficult period of Greek history.

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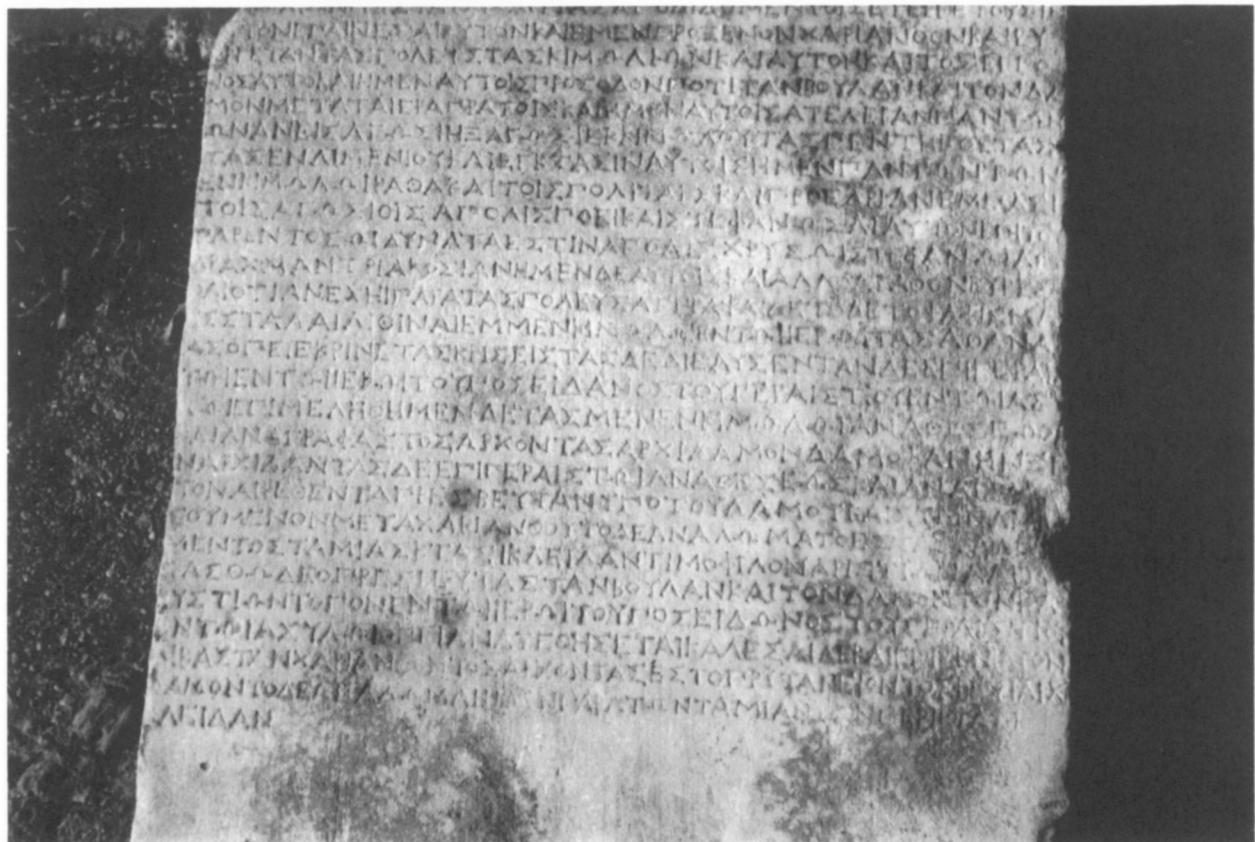
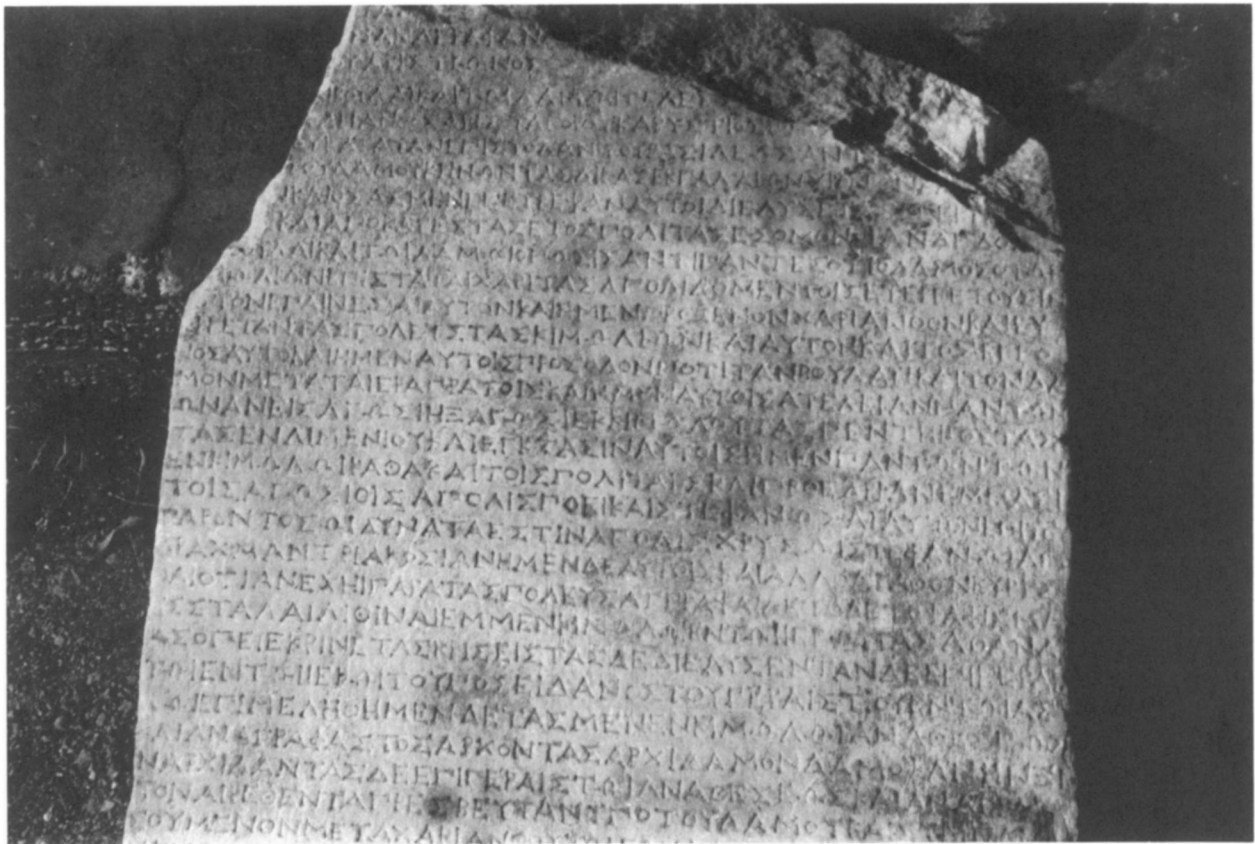
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Alexander, the son of Krateros (249/248?); F. Geyer, P-W, *R.E.*, s.v. Euboia, and W. P. Wallace, *The Euboian League and its Coinage*, New York, 1956, pp. 35-56. It is rather unlikely, too, that the Antigonids would have been able to take a very active part in insular affairs generally before the revolt of Alexander had been put down.

³⁷ We are not told the circumstances involved in the appointment of Charianthos, and it would be only a guess as to why he was specifically chosen. Cf. Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff., for a discussion of the factors determining the selection of an arbitrator.

³⁸ For the size of the tribunal in cases of international arbitration, see Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.

³⁹ The results of Professor Robert's study of foreign judges will doubtless clarify many of the uncertainties of our inscription.



THOMAS W. JACOBSEN AND PETER M. SMITH: TWO KIMOLIAN DIKAST DECREES FROM GERAISTOS IN EUBOIA