



THIASOS

RIVISTA DI ARCHEOLOGIA E ARCHITETTURA ANTICA

2018, n. 7.2

K. HÖGHAMMAR, M. LIVADIOTTI (edited by),
Sacred and civic spaces in the Greek poleis world,
Uppsala seminars, 15-16 February 2017

«THIASOS» Rivista di archeologia e architettura antica
Direttori: Enzo Lippolis, Giorgio Rocco
Redazione: Luigi Maria Caliò, Monica Livadiotti
Redazione sito web: Antonello Fino, Chiara Giatti, Valeria Parisi, Rita Sassu
Anno di fondazione: 2011

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Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon s.r.l., via Ajaccio 41-43, 00198 Roma (Italia)
<http://www.edizioniquasar.it/>

ISSN 2279-7297

Tutti i diritti riservati

Come citare l'articolo:

K. HÖGHAMMAR, *The sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in Kos and the stelai with proxeny decrees*,
in K. HÖGHAMMAR, M. LIVADIOTTI (edited by), *Sacred and civic spaces in the Greek poleis world, Uppsala seminars, 15-16 February 2017*, Thiasos 7.2, 2018, pp. 77-99

Gli articoli pubblicati nella Rivista sono sottoposti a referee nel sistema a doppio cieco.



THE SANCTUARY OF THE TWELVE GODS IN KOS AND THE *STELAI* WITH PROXENY DECREES¹

Kerstin Höghammar

Key words: Kos, *Dodekatheon*, proxeny decrees, archive, *pompé*, inscriptions, literacy, readability, Hellenistic.

Parole chiave: Kos, *Dodekatheon*, decreto di prossenia, archivio, *pompé*, iscrizione, alfabetizzazione, leggibilità, ellenismo.

Abstract

The Dodekatheon in Kos town was served by one of the most important priests on Kos. The holders of the priesthood belonged to the Koan elite. The cult lasted from the mid-4th century B.C. to at least the Early Empire (early 1st century A.D.). During spring, there was a festival with public sacrifice/s in the temenos and games for the boys of the gymnasium. It is possible that, during the same festival, there was a pompé to the sanctuary in honour of Eumenes II (in the mid-2nd century). Such a procession would have proceeded along the streets following a prescribed route to the sanctuary. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the temenos was situated either close to the harbour or in or around the agora, in the northernmost part of town, and that it consisted of an enclosure with one or several altars and (probably) a temple. The magistrate responsible for making decisions concerning proxenoi (and probably also the new citizens) used the Dodekatheon for his archive. The sanctuary was important both to foreigners visiting Kos and to Koans who were interested in peace and harmony beneficial to the well-being of the Koan polis and to the success of long-distance trade.

Il Dodekatheon di Kos era gestito da uno dei sacerdoti più importanti della città e i detentori del sacerdozio appartenevano all'élite coa. Il culto durò dalla metà del IV secolo a.C. almeno al primo Impero (inizi del I secolo d.C.). Durante la primavera, si svolgeva una festività con sacrifici pubblici nel temenos e agoni per i giovani del ginnasio. È possibile che, durante la stessa festività, ci fosse una pompé per il santuario in onore di Eumene II (alla metà del II secolo). Una simile processione avrebbe proceduto lungo le strade seguendo un percorso prestabilito fino al santuario. Prove circostanziate suggeriscono che il temenos fosse situato vicino al porto, oppure all'interno dell'agorà o presso di questa, nella parte più settentrionale della città, e che consisteva in un recinto con uno o più altari e, probabilmente, un tempio. Il magistrato responsabile di decisioni riguardanti i proxenoi, e probabilmente anche i nuovi cittadini, utilizzava il Dodekatheon per i suoi archivi. Il santuario era importante sia per gli stranieri in visita presso la città sia per i Coi, interessati a quella pace ed armonia che erano provvidenziali per il benessere della polis e per il successo del commercio a lunga distanza.

Introduction

The thorough work carried out over the past three decades has increased our knowledge of the town plan of Kos (fig. 1)². We know, for instance, its physical dimensions, the location and direction of the city wall, the vast size of the space covered by the two joined *agoras*, one political and one commercial, the street system and the layout of some of the city blocks³. Many of the excavated structures, however, remain unidentified, possibly among them the *temenos* of the Twelve Gods (the *Dodekatheon*)⁴.

¹ I was inspired to work on this issue by Monica Livadiotti and Giorgio Rocco. I have discussed various conundrums with them, and I very much appreciate their expert knowledge and interest in Koan archaeology. I am also most grateful for Monica Livadiotti's help with locating various properties/find-spots in and around the town of Kos. My warmest thanks also go to Axel Frejman, who created the distribution plan (the town plan was kindly provided by M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco) and tentative reconstructions of the sanctuary and to Brita Alroth and Gunnel Ekroth whose reading of

the manuscript improved it in many ways.

² The Greek archaeologists in the then 22th Ephorate, the previous *epimeletes* – the late Charis Kantzia, Dimitris Bosnakis and Elpida Skerlou – working together with the Italian architects Monica Livadiotti, Giorgio Rocco and their team.

Throughout this paper, I use the terms 'city' and 'town' for the *asty* of Kos with no implication as to its size.

³ LIVADIOTTI 2012, fig. 1; HÖGHAMMAR 2016, fig. 3.

⁴ This sanctuary may also be unexcavated.



Fig. 1 Kos, general map of the ancient town (from LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2011, fig. 1): 1. *plateia/decumanus*; 2. agora, divided in a) original south agora, b) northern added agora; 3. Central Gymnasium; 4. Western Gymnasium; 5. Northern Gymnasium; 6. Stadium; 7. Theatre; 8. Acropolis; 9. Urban fortification walls; 10. Harbour fortification walls; 11. Sanctuary of Aphrodite *Pandamos* and *Pontia*; 12. Sanctuary of Heracles *Kallinichos*; 13. Eastern stoa of the harbour; 14. emporion; 15. shipsheds; 15b. shipsheds near the Harbour Baths; 16. Possible location of the *archeia*; 17. Continuation of the *plateia* to the western walls; 18. Possible temple at the western end of the larger *plateia*; 19. Public Hellenistic L-shaped building on an open square; 20. so-called *cardo*; 21. “Casa Romana”; 22. Odeion, 23. South Stoa of the agora; 24. Altar in the agora; 25. Attalids’ temple; 26. Imperial new access of the north agora; 27. Imperial aqueduct.

The *Dodekatheon* in Kos town has not yet been located, but the inscriptions referring to it provide us with some information about the sanctuary, its features and functions. Proxeny decrees form the majority of inscriptions connected to the sanctuary⁵. In the *polis* of Kos, as was the case in many other Greek city states, *proxenoi*, i.e. foreigners from various *poleis*, were awarded privileges by the Koan state⁶. A large majority of these state decisions were recorded on lists, but some were separately engraved on *stelai* and displayed. Twenty-nine such decrees were found on Kos, dating to between c. 350 and 150 B.C.⁷. Eight of these inform us that they were erected in the *Dodekatheon*, a collective entity of gods for all Greeks. But why were they placed in this sanctuary, and what can the inscriptions tell us about the sanctuary itself?

Using as evidence the inscriptions, the find-spots of the *stelai* with texts, and our knowledge of Greek archives and the cult of the Twelve Gods, I will answer (at least tentatively) the following questions:

1. What do we know about the location of the sanctuary in the town and its appearance?
2. Could the functions of the group of Twelve Gods in some way be associated with the responsibilities and privileges of the *proxenoi* presented in the decrees that were erected in the sanctuary, i.e. was there a connection between the cult and the phenomenon of *proxenia*?
3. What impressions did the people who visited the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods have upon entering the precinct? What could they see? And, why did they visit this particular sanctuary?

To answer these questions, I will concentrate on four aspects concerning the sanctuary:

1. The character of public archives in the Greek world and the relevance of this to the *Dodekatheon*;
2. The find-spots of the *stelai* with the proxeny decrees and their relevance to the location of the sanctuary in the town of Kos;
3. The character and connotations of the collective entity of the Twelve Gods and the relative importance of their cult on Kos;
4. The contents of the proxeny decrees and the physical size and appearance of the *stelai*.

The archival system of the Greeks

It is now generally recognised that the Greek *poleis* did not have one central archive. Instead, various magistrates stored records within their separate spheres of responsibility in the building(s) associated with their office, thus resulting in multiple archives⁸. The documents were written on (whitened) wooden boards, bronze or lead tablets, papyrus or parchment, and very few of them survive today⁹. Scafuro tells us that '[a]rchives are often referred to by the name of the temple in which records are preserved'¹⁰.

Some state decisions were inscribed on stone, either on walls or on *stelai*, and displayed in public places, mostly sanctuaries and *agorai*¹¹. In 2003, Liddel published a study on the places of publication of Athenian state decrees. He examined 1.679 decrees and found 553 texts which mention the place of publication. In Athens, the Akropolis was, on the whole, the most common place for *stelai* with state decrees, but, after c. 300, a greater number were displayed in the *agora*¹². He concluded that, outside the Akropolis, 'The place of publication of decrees was frequently directed by the relevance of a given location to the substantive content of the decree'¹³. He also noted that decrees set up at the Asklepieion in Athens were related to the cult or were honorary decrees for doctors, and that *stelai* found around the sanctuary relate to the same subjects¹⁴.

In Miletos, records were kept in the temple of Apollo Delphinios, which served as a public archive. They included treaties and decisions conferring citizenship or proxeny status on foreigners¹⁵. Also, the *bouleuterion* housed

⁵ All inscriptions in this text will be referred to by their numbers in the volumes *Inscriptiones Graecae* (*IG*) XII 4,1 and XII 4,2, shortened to *IG* + nr., for instance *IG* 251 for *IG* XII 4,1, 251.

⁶ A *proxenos* was normally a citizen who, in his own community, looked after the interests of the citizens of another state. He was awarded this status by an official decision of the state that wanted a 'representative' in the home *polis* of the would-be *proxenos*. The award boosted his status and also that of the man who proposed his appointment.

⁷ *IG* 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13-17, 20-24, 27-29, 34-36, 38-40, 42, 43 and 50. See also HÖGHAMMAR 2016, pp. 104-106. The proxeny decree *IG* 49 was found in Besançon and is thus excluded from this study. Henceforth, all dates in this paper are B.C. unless otherwise stated.

⁸ GEORGIOUDI 1988, pp. 228-229; LIDDEL 2003, pp. 79-93 (*stelai*, Athens); FARAGUNA 2005, p. 72; SCAFURO 2013, p. 407; FARAGUNA 2013, pp. 164-165; FARAGUNA 2015, p. 2/20 (print-out).

⁹ FARAGUNA 2015, p. 2/20 (print-out).

¹⁰ SCAFURO 2013, p. 406.

¹¹ SCAFURO 2013, p. 404.

¹² LIDDEL 2003, pp. 79-81.

¹³ LIDDEL 2003, p. 84.

¹⁴ LIDDEL 2003, p. 83.

¹⁵ SCAFURO (2013, p. 407) writes that 'it is safe to say that by the middle or late fourth century, decrees (treaties, conferrals of citizenship) were regularly published in the Delphinion and that the temple served as a public archive.'



Fig. 2. Findspots of *IG* nrr. 22 (Kermetè) and 27 (Ellinikà) (from Google Earth).

public documents¹⁶. At Ephesos, *c.* 135 inscribed citizenship and proxeny decrees have been found on the walls of the *Artemision*. Approximately one-third of them contain a clause stating that ‘the *neōpoioi* are to publish this decree in the temple of Artemis, where they also publish the rest of the citizenship decrees’¹⁷.

On Kos, the *Asklepieion*, situated a few kilometres outside the town, functioned as a major place of publication for decrees concerning the cult of Asklepios, and the games held in his honour. *Stelai* with copies of foreign decrees concerning the sanctuary and honouring doctors were also erected there. We can thus see the same pattern as in Athens, and, consequently, it is logical that that the places of publication in Kos town were also connected to the contents of the decrees. Just as in other *poleis*, different types of public decrees were erected – made public – in different places, and in Kos town the place of publication mentioned most often in the extant decrees is the *Dodekatheon*¹⁸. It appears in eight proxeny decrees, one citizenship decree and two decrees concerning the sale of a priesthood¹⁹. Following the Greek norm, the Koan magistrate responsible for the publication of the proxeny decrees would have placed them all in the same location – namely the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods. This also corresponds to what we know about the citizenship and proxeny decrees at Miletos (in the *Delphinion*) and Ephesos (in the *Artemision*). The inscriptions from Ephesos state explicitly that all the citizenship decrees were published in the same place, *i.e.* the decrees which do not mention the place of publication were also placed in the *Artemision*. I thus think we can be fairly certain that all the Koan proxeny decrees were set up in the *Dodekatheon*. Considering the intimate connection between the magistrate responsible for a certain area of administration and the building in which he kept his archive, such a building for documents concerning the Koan decisions on *proxenia* should be expected. The sanctuary of the Twelve Gods should then have served as a proper archive for the vast majority of proxeny decisions not inscribed on separate *stelai*, but listed on stone and/or on other more perishable materials²⁰. Inscriptions on stone could be placed outside, but documents in other materials, especially papyrus and parchment, must have been kept inside and thus required a building. This means that, if such an archive was placed in the *Dodekatheon*, we must also assume that there was a building within the sanctuary where documents concerning *proxenoi* were kept.

¹⁶ SCAFURO 2013, p. 407.

¹⁷ SCAFURO 2013, p. 412.

¹⁸ Other places where *stelai* with public decrees were erected include the Antigoneion (*IG* 317), the sanctuary of Zeus Alseios (*IG* 328), by the altars of Afrodite Pontia (*IG* 319) and of Homonoia (*IG* 315), the sanctuaries of Artemis *Toxitis*, Artemis *Lochia* and the

Aphrodision (*IG* 72.16-17).

¹⁹ Proxeny decrees *IG* 15, 22, 23, 27, 29, 36, 42 and 50; citizenship decree *IG* 41; decrees concerning the sale of the priesthood of Dionysos *Thyllophoros*, *IG* 304 and 326.

²⁰ One list on stone, *IG* 460, has been found in Kos.

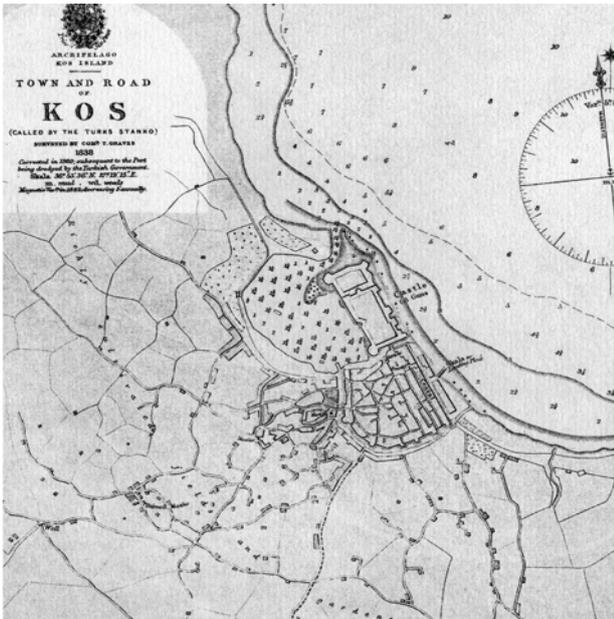


Fig. 3. Map of Kos town in 1838 (from LIVADIOTTI 2016).

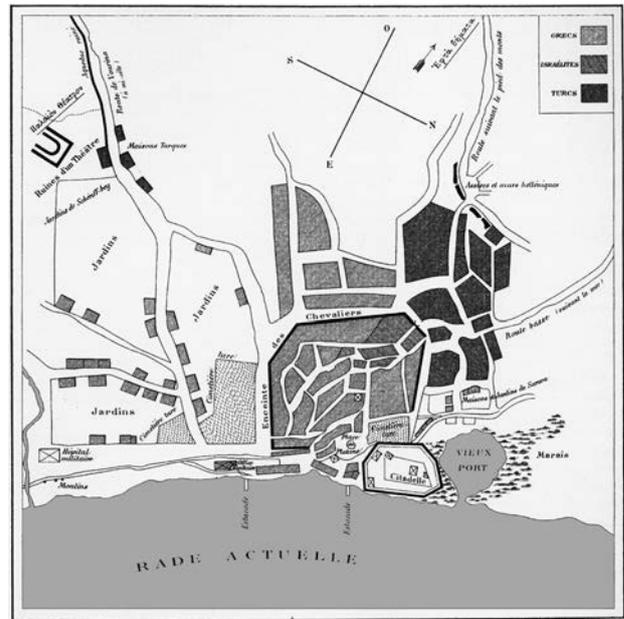


Fig. 4 Kos town in the 1880s. (from M. DUBOIS, *De Co Insula*, tav. II).

Location of the Dodekatheon

The *stelai* with inscriptions

The location of the *temenos* is, as noted above, not known, but the find-spots of a number of inscribed *stelai* could perhaps provide us an approximate idea of its location in the ancient city. A large concentration of find-spots in one particular area could indicate the location of the original place of publication. The issue is not straightforward, as a) all the decrees were moved from their original position and were put to secondary use as part of later walls and structures²¹, and b) all the proxeny decrees were most probably displayed in the *Dodekatheon*, but we can be certain that this was the case only for eight of the 29 decrees in this study²². The earliest of the decrees specifying the location dates to *c.* 300; so, from that time onwards, we can be certain that a sanctuary to the Twelve Gods existed on Kos, but it was most probably built in the mid-4th century since there is evidence of this cult from that time²³.

Current publications contain information on the provenance of 27 of the 29 *stelai* inscribed with Koan public decrees announcing the privileges of *proxenoi*. Two were found far away from the town (fig. 2), and 25 were found in or just outside the late 19th-/early



Fig. 5. Kos, map of the town and surroundings made 1926 by the Istituto Geografico Militare italiano (from LIVADIOTTI 2016).

20th-century town of Kos, i.e. as it was before the large earthquake of 1933 (figs. 3-5). During this period, the town of Kos was much smaller than the ancient city;

²¹ The *stelai* are thin, *c.* 4-8 cm, and could not be used as regular building blocks, but they are relatively easy to move.

²² Fifteen of the decrees may have included a clause concerning where the *stèle* was to be erected, but, due to the fragmentary state of the inscriptions, we do not know if that was the case. We know for certain that at least five, but probably seven, of the decrees did not include this information in the text (HÖGHAMMAR 2016, p. 106). Note that there is one mistake in HÖGHAMMAR 2016: there are 15 – not 14 –

decrees which are too fragmentary for certain knowledge, and eight – not nine – with the place of publication given in the text.

²³ *IG* 274, dated to *c.* 350, a cult calendar mentioning a priest of the *Dodekatheon*, and *IG* 332, a set of regulations for public cults in Kos town listing a joint priesthood of Zeus *Polieus* and the Twelve Gods, dated to *c.* 350. The earliest of the proxeny decrees (*IG* 2 and 4) are dated 'after *c.* 350'.



Fig. 6. Kos, the modern town (from Google Earth).

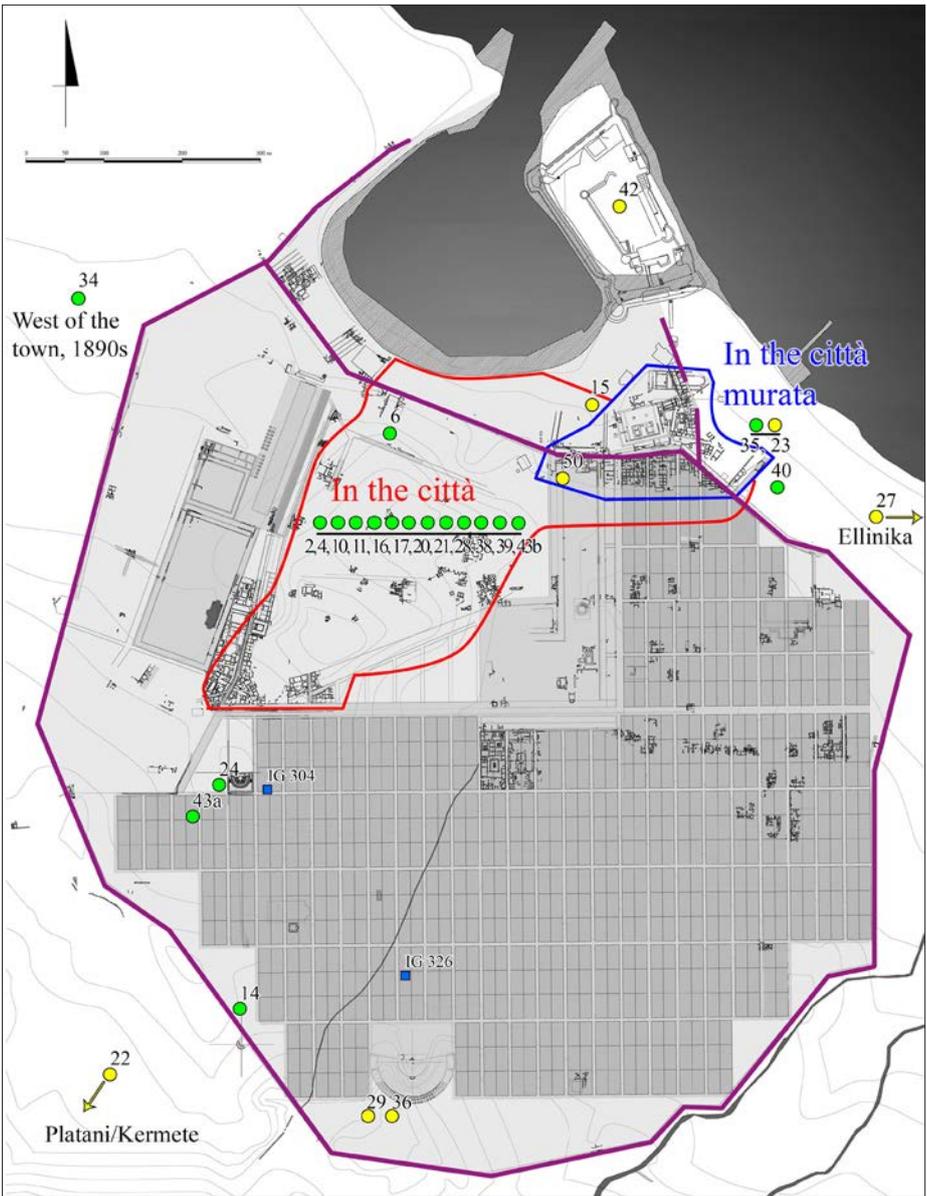


Fig. 7. Distribution plan of *stelai* with proxy decrees (graphic elaboration by Axel Frejman).

consequently, all 25 were probably located either within or immediately outside the ancient *asty*²⁴. Modern Kos is mainly built along the seashore, which means that most of the southern half of the ancient city has not been built over with modern buildings (fig. 6).

The other three inscriptions known to have been erected in the *Dodekatheon* are *IG* 41, an award of citizenship (*politeia*)²⁵, and *IG* 304 and 326, two decrees with regulations concerning the sale of the priesthood of Dionysos Thyloforos²⁶.

The find-spots of the *stelai*

Although all *stelai* most likely come from the *Dodekatheon*, the plan indicating the find-spots of them distinguishes between the inscriptions stating that the *stela* was erected in the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods (yellow dots on fig. 7) and those which do not explicitly state this (green dots on fig. 7). Many of the proxeny decrees were first published by scholars active on Kos during the decades just before or after 1900²⁷. In their publications, they noted the owners of the properties where the *stelai* were situated. The locations of the properties and the find-spots of the *stelai* given in fig. 7 are approximate, but it is clear in which part of the ancient *asty* they were located.

Decrees with information on the place of publication²⁸

<i>IG</i> nr.	Find-spot given in the publications
22	Two fragments found in the village Platani/Kermete
27	Found on the land of Zulantas in Ellinika, east of the town (towards Psalidi/Punta delle Forbici)
29	Found in a well in the garden of Sabri Bey
36	Found in a well in the garden of Sabri Bey
15	<i>Stele</i> in the house of George Thymanakis
42	Built into the wall of the Johanniter basilica in the Castro
50	Built into the wall of a house belonging to J. Pandelichizi on what is now Hippokratous Street, near the church of Aghios Konstantinos
23	Found in excavations in the Città Murata ²⁹

Two of the eight decrees stating that they were erected in the sanctuary of the *Dodekatheon* (*IG* 22 and 27) were found far outside the town, one at the village of Platani/Kermete on the road to the Asklepios sanctuary on the mountain slope above Kos, and one in an area called Ellenika, situated *c.* 3 km east of the town along the coast (fig. 2)³⁰. These find-places prove that stones from the sanctuary were moved several kilometres away from their original location.

Another two inscriptions (*IG* 29 and 36) were found in the southernmost part of the ancient city, near the ancient theatre³¹. One *stela* (*IG* 15) was found in the northernmost part of the ancient city; the exact location is not

²⁴ The close location of the find-spot of one *stela* (*IG* 34) is not known; it was probably just outside the late 19th-century town, to the west.

²⁵ It was inscribed on the same *stela* as *IG* 42. It is not unlikely that the few Koan citizenship awards we have were all erected in the *Dodekatheon*; compare to the situation at Miletos and Ephesos.

²⁶ There is also one extremely fragmentary list of *proxenoi* for the Koans (*IG* 460), which was found in a wall close to the Roman theatre (the Odeion).

²⁷ Pantelidis, Hauvette-Besnault & Dubois, Herzog, and Paton & Hicks in the late 19th century, and Maiuri and Segre in the early 20th century.

²⁸ In the following notes, the find-spot noted in *IG* XII 4.1 and 4.2 will be given first. Then, the publications will follow in chronological order, from oldest to newest.

²⁹ The città murata is clearly defined and situated in the north-eastern part of the ancient town.

³⁰ *IG* 22, 'inventa in vico *Platani*, fr. b a. 1933 in domus cuiusdam ruderibus, a a. 1937 cum torcular olearium extrueretur'. SEGRE 1993, ED 20, 'Entrambi sono stati trovati a Kermete ...'

IG 27, 'inventata in loco Ελληνικά sito ab urbe ad orientem prope promuntorium Ψαλιδί'.

MAIURI 1925, nr. 437, 'Stele marmorea scoperta nel terreno di *Zulantàs* nella località detta *Ellinikà* ...'

SEGRE 1993, ED 73, 'Rinvenuta nel terreno di *Zuluntàs* in località di *Ellinikà* (verso Punta Forbici)'.

³¹ *IG* 29, 'Una cum tt. 36, 256 in uno et eodem praedio suburbano inventum a. 1902 vidit Herzog Coi in domo quadam (inv. W 8); frustra quaesivimus'. *IG* 256, 'In puteo horti suburbano inventum et in urbis partem *Aspa* translatum, ubi in domo quadam privata a. 1902 vidit Herzog; frustra quaesivimus'.

HALLOF, HABICHT 1998, pp. 112-113, nr. 8, 'd.h. im Hause des Jannis Kyriotis in Aspos, gefunden in einem Brunnen im Garten des Sabri-Bey' (quote from Herzog).

IG 36, 'Vidit Herzog a. 1902 Coi in domo quadam (inv. W 25), sed de origine vide ad t. 29 [and *IG* 256]; frustra quaesivimus. *IG* 256. For *IG* 256 see this note, above for *IG* 29.

HALLOF, HABICHT 1998, p. 113, nt. 9. 'Inv. W 25, Im Haus des Sabri Bey. Herkunft dieselbe wie W 8' [= oben nr. 8]. See this note, above for *IG* 29.

known. The *stèle* IG 42 was built into the wall of the Johanniter basilica in the Castro, and IG 50 was found in a house on the street running along the southern perimeter of the città murata, not far from the archaeological museum³². The find-place of IG 23 is not specific: this inscription was found during the demolition of houses in the città murata³³.

Proxeny decrees lacking textual information on the place of publication

IG nr.	Find-spot
2, 4, 10, 11, 16, 17, 20, 21, 28, 38, 39 and 43 fragm. <i>b</i>	In the 'città' ³⁴
35	In the Città Murata
24 and 43 fragm. <i>a</i>	24 From the demolition in the area close to the Odeion 43 <i>a</i> Fragm. <i>a</i> found in a field behind the ruins of the theatre and the church Efta Bimata
14	In the house of Mr Pantelidis
6	Built into a wall in the yard of Sarrara Yussuf in the city, i.e. where the ancient <i>gymnasion</i> was situated (near the closed harbour)
40	Built into a wall of a house belonging to the demarch Mr Ioannidis and situated close to the <i>Foros</i> (market)
34	In the house of Pullu Mehmet in the city, and excavated in a 'Weinberg' in (the area) Flur Dermen Dibi (Μύλος ἀποκάτο, Mylos apokato) to the west of (and near) the town
8	In the garden of Emmanuel (or Constantine) Tzakanoglou; the location of this property is unidentified
7 and 13	Find-spot given as 'unknown' in the publications

Of the 19 *stelai*, 12 were found while clearing debris after two earthquakes in the early 20th century, 11 (possibly 12 if IG 43*b* is included) in the 'città' and 1 in the città murata³⁵. Two of the seven remaining decrees (IG 24 and 43*a*)³⁶ were found in the south-western part of town, in the neighbourhood of the Odeion, and a third (IG 14)³⁷

³² IG 15, 'inventa in urbis mediae rudibus'.

RAYET 1876, p. 51, nr. 3, 'Ce décret [= IG 15] est encastré dans le mur de la maison d'un négociant de Khora, nommé Georges Thymanakis'.

HAUVETTE-BESNAULT, DUBOIS 1881, p. 206, nr. 2, 'Dans la maison de M. Georges Thymanakis, au-dessus de la porte d'entrée...'

PATON, HICKS 1891, nr. 1, 'Stele in the house of George Thymanakis'.
SEGRE 1993, ED 54, 'Da demolizioni in città'.

The following information is known for the location of two different properties belonging to G. Thymanakis. One must be situated in the 19th-century town according to the above quotes. Another was situated just outside the western part of the ancient city wall in what was the western necropolis (information on the location comes from M. Livadiotti, 2017). The *stèle* with the proxeny decree must have been found in the town house, as the *stèle* was discovered when houses in the town were demolished. In the mid- to late 19th century, the richest Koans aspired to not only a town house but also a villa in the suburbs (LIVADIOTTI 1991, pp. 403-404; RAYET 1876, p. 15). As the town of Kos (=Khora) during that period was roughly limited to the città murata, a location near the closed harbour or in the città murata is presumed for this *stèle*.

IG 42, 'inventa a. 2002 in castello inter fundamenta ecclesiae equitum'.

BOSNAKIS, HALLOF 2003, pp. 224-225, nr. 12B, 'Gefunden im November 2002 bei Ausgrabungen im Kastro της Νερατζιάς, in Zweitverwendung verbaut in die Mauern der Johanniter-Basilika ...'

IG 50, 'Insertam muro domus in urbe sitae ad viam Χανδάκας (nunc Ἰπποκράτους) mense Mart. a. 1914 exscripsit Zarraphes; frustra ubique quaesivimus'.

MAIURI 1925, nr. 432, 'murata sul prospetto della casa di J.

Pantelechizi lungo la via del Candachio'.

Chandakas Street (now Hippokratous) runs along the southern wall of the città murata. The house of J. Pantelechizi was situated near the church Hagios Konstantinos and was demolished after the earthquake in 1933, as told by local inhabitants to M. Livadiotti in 2017.

³³ IG 23, 'inventum in urbe, muro cuidam posterior insertum'.

SEGRE 1993, ED 190, 'Trovata in scavo in città murata'.

³⁴ On the plan (fig. 7), the area I have marked as 'città' is approximate, but the entire area is situated in the northern half of the ancient town.

³⁵ One earthquake occurred in 1926 and another, larger one, in 1933. Nrr. 43*a* and *b* were found in different parts of the town.

³⁶ Compare nr. 43 fragm. *b* above. I have counted nr. 43 as having been found in the southern half of the ancient city.

³⁷ IG 24, 'reperta a. 1929 in Odeo Romano'.

SEGRE 1993, ED 70, 'da demolizioni presso l'Odeon romano'.

IG 43, 'inventa fr. *a* a. 1915 in loco Ἀμπάβρης prope theatrum, [fragm.] *b* a. 1921 in urbe'.

MAIURI 1925, nr. 435, 'rinvenuto da J. Zarrafis in un campo posto tra le rovine del teatro romano e la chiesa Ἐφτά βήματα' [fragm. *a*].

SEGRE 1993, ED 135, 'Dalle vicinanze del teatro romano' [fragm. *a*].

SEGRE 1993, ED 83, 'Da demolizioni in città' [fragm. *b*].

IG 14, 'Coi fuerat apud Pandelidem; perit praeter frustum, quod est in castelli receptaculo'.

HAUVETTE-BESNAULT, DUBOIS 1881, p. 207, nr. 3, 'Dans la maison de M. Georges Thymanakis...'

PANDELIDIS 1887, p. 72, 'Ἡ μὲν πρώτη εὑρήται ἐν τῷ κήπῳ Ἐμμ. Τζακνογλου, πρώην Ναλμπάντογλου; [= nr. 1], ἡ δ' ἑτέρα παρ' ἐμοί [= nr. 2]'.

PATON, HICKS 1891, nr. 3, 'In the house of Mr. Pantelidis'.

SEGRE 1993, ED 108, 'Da demolizioni in città'.

farther south-west. A fourth (*IG 6*) was found near the closed harbour, and a fifth (*IG 40*) close to the market, i.e. probably near the eastern end of the Città Murata as the late 19th-century market was situated there³⁸. The sixth *stèle* (*IG 34*) was found in the area of Flur Demen Dibi (Mylos apokato), west of and close to the late 19th-century town (figs. 4 and 7)³⁹. The seventh and last decree in this group (*IG 8*) was noted in the late 19th century, in a property whose location is as yet unidentified⁴⁰. Finally, the find-spots of *IG 7* and 13 are described as ‘unknown’ in the publications.

To summarise, of the inscriptions noting that they were erected in the *Dodekatheon*, two were found far outside the town of Kos; two came from the southernmost part of the ancient city, i.e. near the theatre; one was found in the northern part of the city; one in the Castro; and two in or just outside the città murata.

Three of the *stelai* with no textual information on the place of publication were found in the northernmost part of town, close to the *agora* and the harbours⁴¹. Eleven came from the ‘città’, which was built on top of the northern half of the ancient city. One *stèle* was found in an area west of the late 19th-century town, and two in the area around or near the Odeion. The last one came from the south-western edge of the town⁴².

In this group, we must also include the two inscriptions concerning the priesthood of Dionysos *Thyllophoros* which were set up in the *Dodekatheon*. *IG 304* was found near the Odeion, and *IG 326* in the gardens of Sherif-Bey, just north of the theatre⁴³. Also, one highly fragmentary list of *proxenoi* (*IG 460*), which was found near the Odeion, probably comes from the *Dodekatheon* (fig. 7)⁴⁴.

How are we to interpret these data? It is evident that stones from the sanctuary, in post-antique times, were moved both from and within the town, but whence and to where? Were they moved from the south-western section of the ancient city to the northern section, close to the harbour, or in the opposite direction? Eighteen of the *stelai* have been found in what was the northern half of the ancient city, and seven in its southern half. The northern half has, however, been extensively excavated, whereas the southern part has not been the subject of so much research. It is possible that the preponderance of inscriptions in the northern half is solely a consequence of more excavations there. There are thus no clear-cut conclusions to be drawn from the find-spots of the *stelai*, but, based on our present knowledge, the *Dodekatheon* is more likely to have been situated in the northern half of Kos town.

To sum up, present data indicate that there was in the northern half of Kos town a sanctuary for the *Dodekatheon*, probably as early as c. 350. We can be certain that it existed in c. 300 because a proxeny decree from that date was erected in the sanctuary. The *temenos* contained an open area where the *stelai* were placed and most probably also a building housing an archive for other documents filed by the magistrate responsible for the proxeny decrees.

The inscription *IG 281* and the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods

Lines 27-32 of a cult calendar from a *gymnasion* (nr. 5 on fig. 1) in Kos town (*IG 281*), dated 158-138, states that, during the month of *Artamitios* (April/May), a festival was held in the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, including a sacrifice and a contest for the boys. The festival may also have included a procession in honour of King Eumenes II

³⁸ *IG 6*, ‘inserta erat muro cuidam in hortis prope portum sito idcircoque ab gymnasio oriunda, ut sumpsit Herzog’.

HERZOG 1899, nr. 3, ‘verbaut in eine der beiden Mauern im Hof des Sarrara Jussuf in der Stadt, also vom Platz des antiken Gymnasiums stammend (s. unten)’.

IG 40, ‘erat inaedificata domui cuidam prope forum sitae’.

PATON 1894, p. 216, nr. 1, ‘In the possession of Mr. Ioannides’;

HERZOG 1899, nr. 187 (p. 124), ‘... an einem dem Demarchen Herrn Ιωαννίδης gehörigen Haus beim Φόρος (Markt) eingemauert’.

SEGRE 1993, ED 80, ‘Da demolizioni in città’.

³⁹ *IG 34*, ‘effossa in vineto quodam prope urbem sito’.

HERZOG 1899, nr. 5, ‘Im Haus des Pullu Mehmet in der Stadt. Ausgegraben in einem Weinberg in der Flur Dermen Dibi (Μύλος ἀποκάτω) westlich der Stadt’.

SEGRE 1993, ED 19, ‘Da demolizione di una casa in città’.

⁴⁰ *IG 8*, ‘Coi in horto quodam; perisse videtur’.

PANDELIDES 1887, p. 72, ‘Ἡ μὲν πρώτη [= nr. 1] εὕρηται ἐν τῷ κήπῳ Ἐμμ. Τζακνογλου, πρώην Ναλμπάντογλου ...’.

PATON, HICKS 1891, nr. 2, ‘In the garden of Constantine Tzakanoglou’.

⁴¹ Ancient Kos most probably had two harbours, one of which was a closed harbour.

⁴² The three inscriptions whose find-spots are unidentified or unknown are not included in this summary.

⁴³ *IG 304*, ‘inventata a. 1937 prope Odeum Romanum, muro inserta’.

SEGRE 1993, ED 216, ‘Fu rinvenuta nel febbraio del 1937 nella demolizione di un muro in vicinanza dell’Odeon romano’.

IG 326, ‘Inaedificata in domo urbana viri eius, qui in horto suo invenerat’.

DUBOIS 1883, p. 478, ‘Grande plaque de marbre trouvée dans la propriété de *Shériff-bey*; encadrée aujourd’hui dans le mur extérieur de sa maison, à Khora’ (Khora= città murata).

PATON, HICKS 1891, nr. 27c, ‘Large marble built into the house of the late Sherif-Bey’.

The location of the property, i.e. gardens, of Sherif-Bey is visible on the map of the town of Kos and its immediate surroundings in the volume *De Co Insula* by M. Dubois, 1884, tav. II (= fig. 4).

⁴⁴ *IG 460*, ‘olim inserta in muro prope theatrum Romanum sito’.

SEGRE 1993, ED 50, ‘Da demolizioni in vicinanza del teatro romano’.

to the sanctuary. The text is fragmentary and consists of three columns⁴⁵. The relevant lines in column II run as follows⁴⁶:

...
 ζ πομπή Εὐμένει
 ζ̄εις Κυπάρισσον
 καὶ εἰς τὸ Δωδε-
 30 κάθειον, θυσία
 καὶ ἀγωνάριον
 ἀνήβων
 ...

As the passage has been translated in different ways, the intended meaning is not absolutely clear. Two ways of understanding it have been presented. Firstly, when line 27 is taken in the context of the following lines, it means that there was a procession, a *pompe*, in honour of Eumenes to Kyparissos (= the Asklepicion) and to the *Dodekatheon*. This is the reading favoured by Ch. Long⁴⁷. If, on the other hand, l. 27 is interpreted as separate from the following lines, a *pompe* did occur, but we do not know where it went or which god received the offerings, and then, on the next day, at a different festival, minor games and sacrifices were held at Kyparissos and the *Dodekatheon*. This is how Le Guen-Pollet and Hallof read the lines.

S. Paul's view on the meaning of these lines is not clear. On one occasion, she writes that there were processions to Kyparissos in the 2nd century and refers to *IG* 281, l. 28⁴⁸. As this line is connected to the following one with a *καὶ* (and), a procession must also have gone to the *Dodekatheon*. Earlier in the same volume, however, she provides a different translation of the same lines: 'Le 7: au Kyparisson et au Dodékatheon: sacrifice et *agônarion* des impubères'⁴⁹.

Only a minor part of the complete text of the inscription remains. Above, to the right of and below the extant *stèle* other *stelai*, which are now lost, would have been joined to it. On the surviving *stèle*, the extant text is divided into three parallel columns. The left-hand part of column I is missing, as is almost all the text on column III. This means that we do not know which of the lines in column I began with a date since the lines presented as including a known or unknown date in the translations by Le Guen-Pollet and Hallof were chosen by the translator⁵⁰. Column III is too fragmentary to be of assistance – there is no legible text following the dates. The extant lines of column II, ll. 23-45, are complete. Thus, only column II provides us with secure information as to which lines began with a date. The column consists of 23 lines and contains 12 dates (including 'the last day but one' on l. 43).

col. II	translation by Hallof (Τέλωτα, <i>IG</i> 281)	translation by Le Guen-Pollet 1991, 196-197
[Αρτα]μιτίου	im Artamitios	[En <i>Arta</i>]mitios
δ̄ΙΙ[ο]σειδάνια	Am 1: Poseidon-Fest	Le 4, P[o]seidania
25 ε̄ ἀγωνάριον	25 Am 5: Schulwettkampf	Le 5, petite compétition des pubères
ἡβώντων	der Epheben	Le 6, procession en l'honneur d'Eumène
ζ̄ πομπή Εὐμένει	Am 6: Prozession für Eumenes	Le 7, au bousquet Kyparissos et au
ζ̄εις Κυπάρισσον	Am 7: zum Zypressenhain	sanctuaire des Douze Dieux; sacrifice
καὶ εἰς τὸ Δωδε-	und dem Heiligtum der	et petite compétition (<i>agônarion</i>) des
30 κάθειον, θυσία	30 Zwölfgötter, Opfer	impubères (<i>anêbôn</i>)
καὶ ἀγωνάριον	und Schulwettkampf	Le 10, Pythokleia en l'honneur de Zeus
ἀνήβων	der Jugendlichen.	Sôter
ἸΠυθόκλεια Δι	Am 10: Pythokles-Feiern für Zeus,	Le 11, petite compétition des pubères
Σωτήρι	den Retter.	Le 12, à côté de Dionysos

⁴⁵ For the Koan calendar: BOSNAKIS, HALLOF 2005, pp. 233-240.

⁴⁶ The lines have been copied from the home page of *IG* Berlin, Τέλωτα.

⁴⁷ Translation by Charlotte Long 1987, 92. The dates are, however, erroneous.

Artamitiou 5: Procession of Eumenes

Artamitiou 6: to Kyparissos

and to the *Dodekatheon*

sacrifice and contest for the boys

If there was a *pompe*, then we should view it as the sending of an offering to the gods, as a procession along a prescribed route (*ThesCRAI*, 2004, 1-2).

⁴⁸ PAUL 2013, p. 176, nt. 62.

⁴⁹ PAUL 2013, p. 159, nt. 661.

⁵⁰ LE GUEN-POLLET 1991, pp. 196-198; Hallof, *IG* Berlin, Τέλωτα translation, *IG* 281.

35 $\overline{\iota\alpha}$ ἀγωνάριον ἡβώ(ντων)	35 Am 11: Schulwettkampf der Jugendlichen.	Le 15, au <i>Dalion</i>
$\overline{\iota\beta}$ παρὰ Διονύσω	Am 12: beim Dionysos.	Le 19, procession en l'honneur des Muses
$\overline{\iota\epsilon}$ ἐπὶ Δάλιον	Am 15: zum Delios-Heiligtum	Le 26, procession pour le roi Attale
$\overline{\iota\theta}$ πομπή	Am 19: Prozession	Le 25, petite competition des pubères
Μουσῶν	der Musen.	Le 29, exams (apodeixis) des maîtres
40 $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ πομπή βα-	40 Am 25: Prozession für König	d'école et contrôle de l'ensemble des
σλεῖ Αττάλω	Attalos.	connaissances
$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ ἀγωνάριον ἡβώ(ντων)	Am 26: Schulwettkampf der Jugendlichen.	
Π ^p ἀπόδειξις	Am Vorletzten (Tag): Prüfung	
διδασκάλων	der Lehrer,	
45 καὶ κεφαλῶν γ	45 und 3 Hauptpersonen(?).	

Upon reading the text, we can note that the dates on 9 of the 12 occasions are immediately followed by an event and that several of the events are the subject of more than one line. On three occasions (ll. 28, 36 and 37), the dates are followed by a preposition and a location. It seems that the main principle is that a date is followed by an event, and the three cases with just a location are exceptions. The two translations of column II given above posit a *new* event for each date, but it is possible to read the text in a different way. We know that many festivals in Greek *poleis* were celebrated over several days, and we cannot reject the existence of such festivals in this calendar. If they do appear here, it means that consecutive dates on lines following one another, where the second line does not involve a new event, belong to the same festival celebrated over several days, and that the text following these dates should be read as belonging together. Such a reading would mean that ll. 27-32 belong together, as would ll. 35-36, and that the listing of these festivals also begins with an event following the main principle of the text arrangement. There remains one anomaly, however: the above-suggested reading does not explain l. 37, in which, after a new date is provided, we find a preposition followed by a location, just as in ll. 28 and 36. I cannot account for this, and, consequently, both interpretations of ll. 27-29 are, in my view, possible.

At the festival on *Artamitios* 7, we know that a *thysia* – a sacrifice, an offering – was made in the *Dodekatheon*. A *thysia* is an offering that was brought to the sanctuary and burned on an altar⁵¹. A public religious festival normally contained four main parts: a) a procession along a prescribed route, b) the killing of sacrificial animal(s) and the burning of certain parts, c) the sharing and eating of the cooked parts of the animal(s), and, lastly, d) competitive games⁵². Since *IG* 281 is a festival calendar that was found in a *gymnasion*, and the boys from the *gymnasion* participated in a sacrifice to the Twelve Gods in the sanctuary of these gods, the festival must have been public⁵³. A public festival, in all likelihood, also meant that the offering consisted of one or several sacrificial animals. The central aspect of a procession is to bring the sacrificial animal/s to the altar for sacrifice. The bringing of the animal/s to the sanctuary meant that there was a procession in which the *paides* (boys) took part. I thus theorise that the *thysia* on *Artamitios* 7 was preceded by a *pompe*.

Ph. Gauthier has pointed out that the boys regularly participated in public processions in Kos. He refers to the inscription *IG* 330.28-29 (Segre 1993, ED 89) that the boys playing *kithara* in a procession in honour of Nike did this “as they do in other processions”⁵⁴.

A slightly earlier sacred law – *IG* 291 from *c.* 180 – describes the participants in a procession in honour of King Ariarathes of Kappadocia. The reading of the text in the *IG* edition is slightly different from that of Chankowski (2005, p. 188), who used Segre’s posthumously published text from 1993 (ED 5). The most important difference in this context is that, whereas Segre supplied ‘*ephebes*’ after *neoi* on l. 11, Hallof and Bosnakis supply *paides*. In the *IG* edition of the text, ll. 5-12 tell us that citizens, *paroikoi* and all who are staying on Kos are to wear wreaths, the *prostatai* (the highest college of magistrates) are to go in the procession leaving from the Prytaneion together with the *monarchos* (the eponymous magistrate), the *hieropoioi* (temple officials), (-----), the winners in the stephanitic games, the *gymnasiarchos*, the *neoi* (young men), [the *paides* and the other] boards. They are to sacrifice to ...⁵⁵. It is interesting to note that the festival held in honour of Ariarathes included not just the citizens but also the resident strangers and all those who happened to be staying on the island. All these had to wear wreaths. This public *pompe* was likely similar to the one which I believe went to the *Dodekatheon*.

⁵¹ *ThesCRAI* 2004, p. 62; NAIDEN 2015, p. 463.

⁵² *ThesCRAI* 2004, p. 2.

⁵³ This is also the opinion of Paul (2013, p. 159).

⁵⁴ GAUTHIER 2009, p. 174. *IG* 330: “καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πο[μ]-[π]ῶν ποιεῦν[τι]”. Other examples of *paides* in processions are in *IG* 79B.25-

27 (*ephebes* and *paides*, text partly supplied), dated to the beginning of the 2nd century and *IG* 328.37-38, dated to the 1st century (*ephebes* and *paides*).

⁵⁵ The inscription continues after the end of this translation. Some parts of the lines are left out.

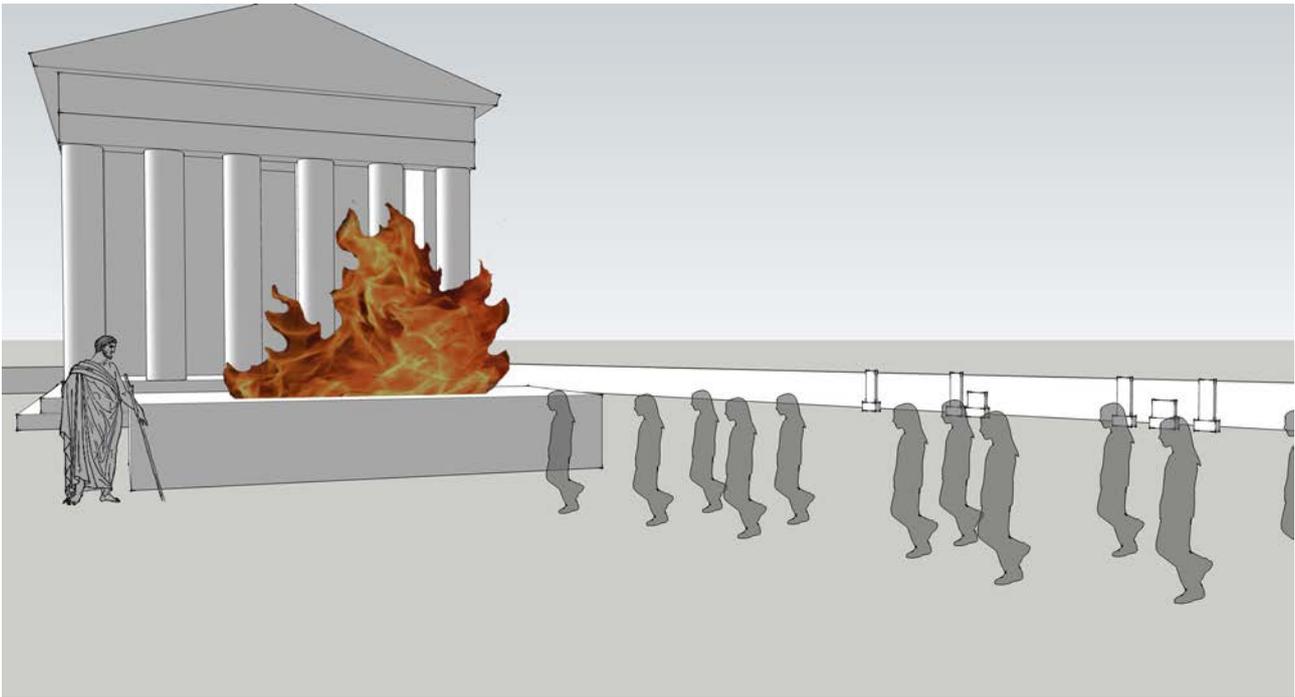


Fig. 8. Public sacrifice in the Dodekatheon: a tentative reconstruction (by Axel Frejman)

In the *pompe* preceding the sacrifice to the Twelve Gods, the boys of the *gymnasion*, dressed in their best clothes and led by the *gymnasiarch* or, perhaps, the *paidonomos*⁵⁶, had a set place in the procession, which followed a prescribed route through the city to the *Dodekatheon*. This was a festive occasion, and people along the route watched the *pompe*. After the sacrifice (fig. 8), the meat was cooked and eaten, and the boys competed in minor games.

The procession may have been in honour of Eumenes II and, if so, a statue of the king would have been carried in it (if l. 27 belongs together with the following lines)⁵⁷. We know from inscriptions that at least some *pompai* departed from the *prytaneion*, which was most probably situated in or near the *agora*⁵⁸. If this was the case on this occasion also, we may imagine that the procession began and ended at points not too far from each other, possibly along a circular route inside the city. Another possibility is that it started at one of the city-gates. As Livadiotti and Rocco have demonstrated, the east–west-oriented *plateia*, which divides the city in two halves, most likely formed the main processional street⁵⁹. The broadest section of the street (19 m)⁶⁰ was, during the Hellenistic period, c. 500 m long, and its eastern third passed by the southern, political *agora*. There, the South Stoa provided a *krepis* with two steps, each c. 32–33 cm high, on which spectators could stand and watch a passing procession⁶¹. There are also indications of raised steps on the northern side along the westernmost part of the 500-m stretch⁶². As pointed out by Livadiotti and Rocco, this would be in agreement with the findings of Cavalier and des Courtils, who in their article say steps on the side of a street are evidence for *pompai* passing along it⁶³. We should thus view the *plateia* of Kos as a processional street along which public *pompai* passed.

The *pompe* discussed in this article, whether or not it was held in honour of King Eumenes, probably went along the *plateia*, at least part of the way, and maybe also along one or several of the streets which were half as broad (9 m), i.e. the street running north from the western end of the *plateia* along the western *gymnasion*, the street continuing east from the eastern end of the broadest section of the *plateia* and the one going north from the same point. If this is correct, then the *temenos* of the Twelve Gods should be close to one of these streets⁶⁴.

⁵⁶ For *ephebes* and *paides* in processions led by the *gymnasiarch* and the *under-gymnasiarch* see IG 328.35–38; “they [the *strateges*] should participate in the procession together with the priest and the director of the games, the *gymnasiarch* and the *under-gymnasiarch*, together with them the *ephebes* and the *paides* in weapon”. GAUTHIER (2009, pp. 174–175) doubted the reading of this clause, but it is confirmed in IG 328, published in 2010. A comparison could also be made with the *pompe* for a hero, a youth, probably an *ephebe*, on Amorgos, IG XII 7.515, ll. 45–47, where the *gymnasiarch* leads the *ephebes* and all the younger men in a procession escorting a bull. I am obliged to G.

Ekroth for this reference.

⁵⁷ LONG 1987, p. 219.

⁵⁸ See IG 79.29 (2nd cent.), 291.8 (c. 180) and 339.15–16 (c. 200–150) for *pompai* departing from the *prytaneion*. In IG 79, the word ‘*prytaneion*’ has been supplied.

⁵⁹ LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2018, pp. 154–166.

⁶⁰ Normal streets were 4.5 m wide (see Livadiotti, this volume, p. 45).

⁶¹ ROCCO 2013, pp. 22, fig. 5, 35.

⁶² LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2018, pp. 158–159.

⁶³ CAVALIER, DES COURTILS 2008, pp. 83–91.

General background

The group of the Twelve Gods, the *Dodekatheon*, was venerated all over the Greek world⁶⁵. At Athens, an altar was set up as early as c. 520-510, but it was not until later in the 4th century that their cult became more widespread in the Greek world. Apart from at Athens, this group of gods is known also, but not only, at Megara, Olympia, Thasos, Delos, Hierapytna on Crete, Kos, Magnesia on the Maeander and Mytilene⁶⁶. The gods formed a Greek mini pantheon (with no god forgotten), from which one could ask for aid and protection and which consisted of 12 divinities that were clearly identified. They were mainly Olympian, but some could change depending on the place in which they were revered. In some locations, local divinities, such as the river god Alpheios at Olympia, were included⁶⁷. The nature of the Twelve Gods has been described in a variety of sources. One is the myth of Deucalion, the only man the gods spared from 'the first race of man' due to his piety and wisdom. All the others were annihilated because of their impiety, badness and belligerence. A new race of humans was created, and Deucalion placed them under the protection of the *Dodekatheon*, who acted in solidarity and perfect harmony⁶⁸. According to Georgoudi, the Twelve Gods seem to have been against conflict and antagonism and supported cooperation and friendship⁶⁹. To stress her point that this was how the Greeks saw them, she refers to a decree from Mytilene dated to the 330s where concord, justice and democracy are stressed, and to Megara where, during the same century, the Twelve Gods were associated with Artemis *Soteira*, whose main roles there were protection and salvation⁷⁰. The connection is even clearer at Magnesia, where an inscription concerning the *Dodekatheon* mentions that they, together with Zeus Sosipolis and Artemis Leucophryene, grant good harvests, the growth of herds, peace and affluence, and see to the safety and preservation of the *polis*⁷¹.

A second function becomes evident from the myths of Agamemnon and Iason, who both erected altars to the Twelve Gods to mark points of transition between territories, between Greeks and barbarians, between the known and the unknown: Agamemnon in the Troad and Iason at the Bosphoros. Also Alexander is said to have erected an altar to the Twelve Gods at the River Hyphasis in north India at the very limit of his conquered lands⁷². The conclusion of scholarly research over the past 30 years is that Greeks saw the presence of the Twelve Gods as indispensable for securing prosperity and avoiding conflicts inside as well as outside the *polis* state and that their cult was Panhellenic in its appeal⁷³.

The *temene* of the group appear to be placed in two different types of location. In myth and in one historical source, the *Dodekatheon* were protectors of the Greeks at transitional points on the borders of foreign lands. A completely different location is known from literature, inscriptions and excavations. One or several altars were set up at the very centre of cities, as in Alexandria⁷⁴. We know that, for some cities, an altar was situated in the *agora*, as at Xanthos in Lycia, at Magnesia on the Maeander, at Athens and at Leontinoi in Sicily⁷⁵. On Delos, the sanctuary was located just west of the *agora* of the Italians, and Strabo tells us that, in Aiolis, the altars of the Twelve Gods were situated at the harbour of the Achaians⁷⁶.

This means that, in other places during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, the sanctuary and altars were erected a) at a limit or a point of transition, b) in the centre of a city/in the *agora*, and c) by the harbour. This comparative material thus favours a location for the Koan *Dodekatheon* either in the town centre, in the *agora* or where there is a transition from one type of territory to another. Here, we may note that Reger recently published a paper in which he convincingly argues that harbours and harbour areas are such areas of transition⁷⁷.

The Koan *Dodekatheon*

We do not know what the Koan sanctuary looked like, but the features of the *temene* at Athens and Delos are known and can be used for comparison. At Athens it was, from the end of the 6th century, a simple enclosure with an

⁶⁴ This was first suggested to me by G. Rocco.

⁶⁵ LONG 1987, p. 229.

⁶⁶ LONG 1987, pp. 90-91, 136, 142, 229; GEORGOUDI 1998, pp. 81-82.

⁶⁷ RUTHERFORD 2010, p. 52; GEORGOUDI 1998, p. 76; LONG 1987, pp. 154-155.

⁶⁸ GEORGOUDI 1998, p. 76; GEORGOUDI 1996, p. 63.

⁶⁹ GEORGOUDI 1998, p. 76.

⁷⁰ GEORGOUDI 1998, pp. 77, 82. For Mytilene, she refers to HEISSERER, HODOT 1986, pp. 109-128; for Megara, she refers to Pausanias I.40.3.

⁷¹ GEORGOUDI 1998, p. 82. She refers to SOKOLOWSKI 1955, nr. 32.

⁷² For a discussion of the myths, see SEE GEORGOUDI 1998, p.

74. For Alexander, see LONG 1987, pp. 85, 213-214.. She refers to Diodoros Siculus, *Bibliotheca* XVII. 95.1.

⁷³ See also LONG 1987, pp. 142, 229, 249; RUTHERFORD 2010, p. 46.

⁷⁴ RUTHERFORD 2010, p. 53. For Alexandria, see Libanius (A.D. 314-393), *Descriptions* 25.2-6, 8.

⁷⁵ Xanthos, see RUTHERFORD 2010, pp. 50, 53-54; Magnesia, see *IMagnesia* 98.43-44; Athens, see following section; Leontinoi in Sicily, see Polyainos (2nd century A.D.), *Strategems* V 5.2.

⁷⁶ Delos, see fig. 11; the harbour of the Achaians, see Strabo, *Geography* XIII 3.5.

⁷⁷ REGER 2016, pp. 9-36, esp. p. 22.

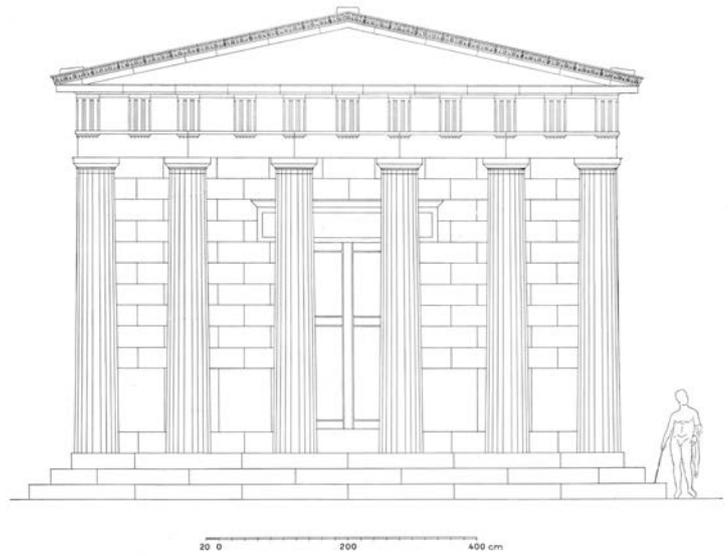
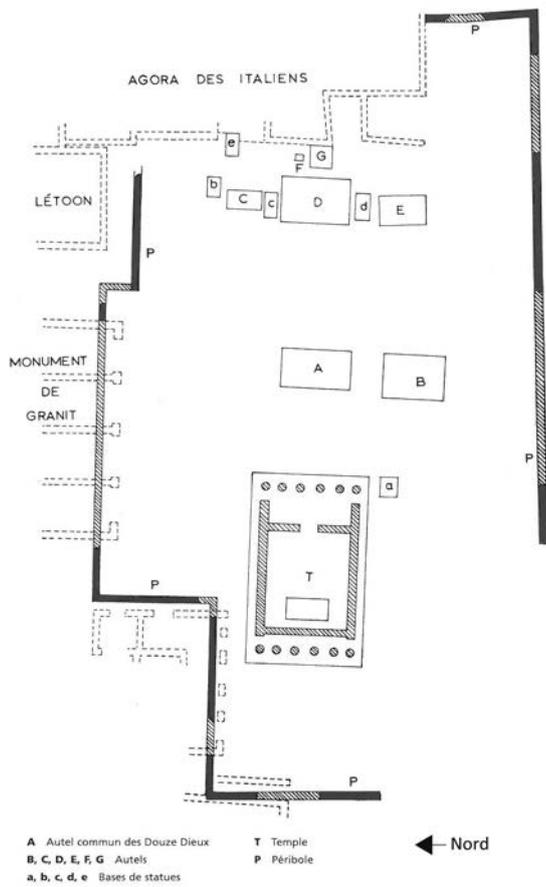


Fig. 10. Delos. Eastern front of the *Dodektheon* temple (from EAD 1955, pl. D).

Fig. 9. Delos. The *temenos* of the *Dodektheon* (from GEORGUDI, VERNANT 1996, fig. 8).

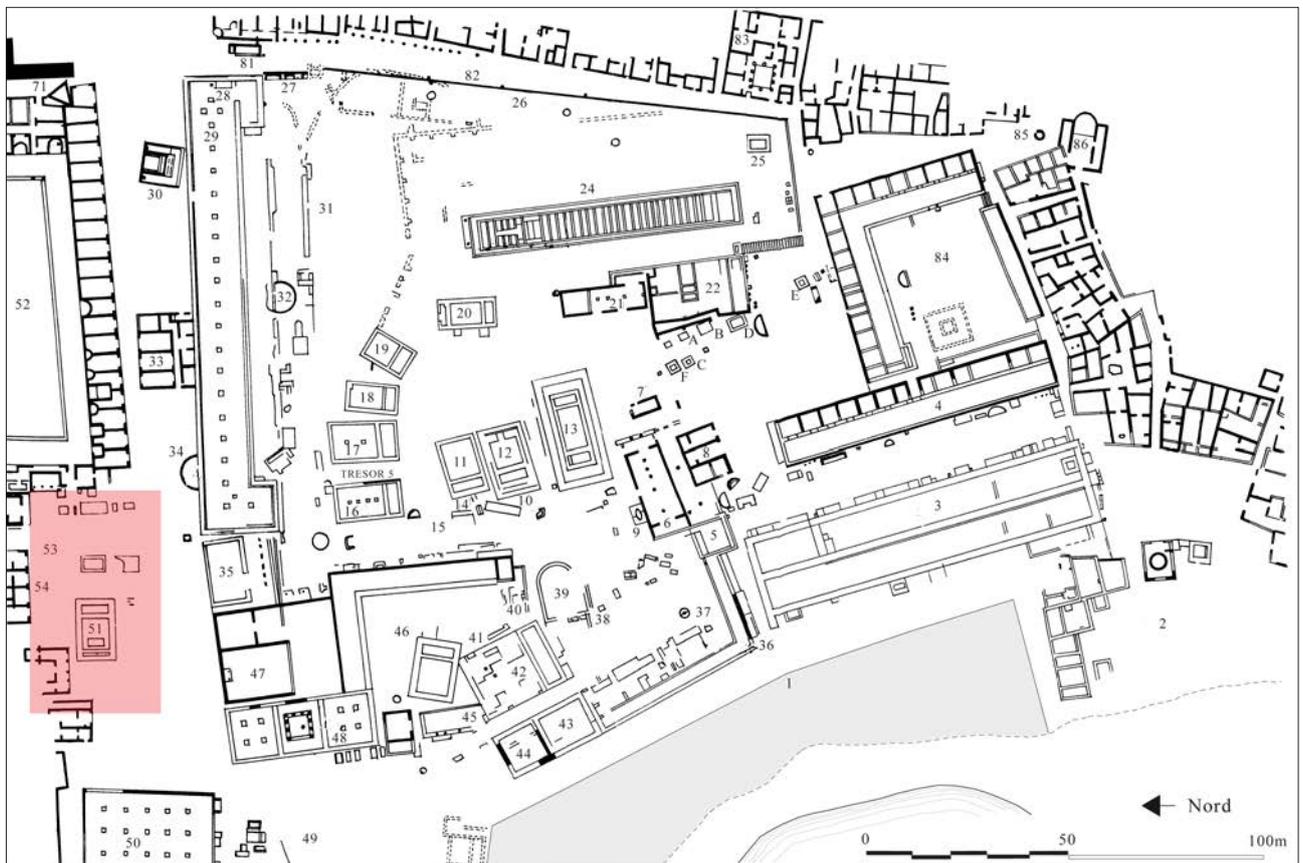


Fig. 11 Delos. General map of the area between the sanctuary of Apollo and the agora of Italians. The red box indicates the position of the *Dodektheon* (from EFA, 30678, *Guide de Délos* 2005, dépliant I. EFA/ B. Sagnier).

Fig. 12. Kos. Possible appearance of the *Dodekatheon* with multiple altars and no temple (reconstruction by Axel Frejman).

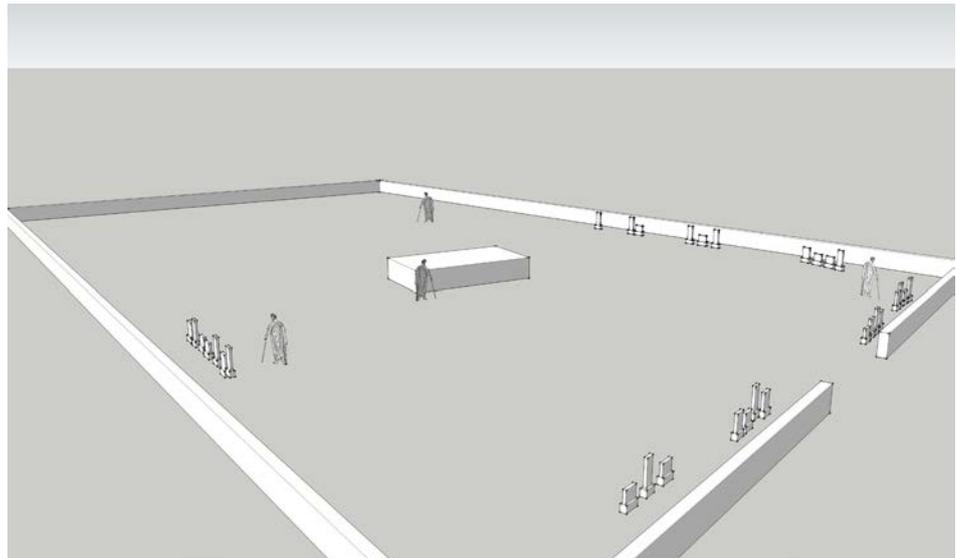
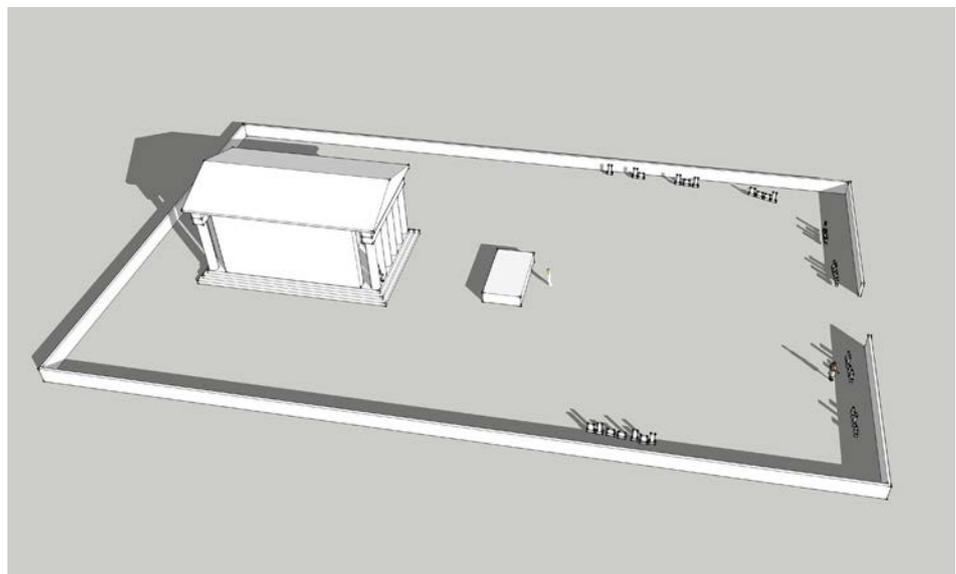


Fig. 13. Kos. Possible appearance of the *Dodekatheon* with one altar and a temple (reconstruction by Axel Frejman).



altar in the *agora*. Despite its small size (c. 11 x 11 m) and simplicity, the place was central and it formed the point from which road distances were measured in Attica. As it was renovated in the 4th century, we know that it remained important during the late Classical period⁷⁸. At Delos, the sanctuary consisted of an enclosure with several altars (*symboloi*) during the Classical period, and, from the early 3rd century, an exastyle amphiprostyle temple (figs. 9-10). The *temenos* was situated between to the *agora* of the Italians and the sanctuary of Apollo (fig. 11). It was irregular in form and covered an area measuring c. 30 x 60 m. The size of the temple was 10 x 16.5 m. Some fragments of divine figures were found in the vicinity, and they are thought to belong to the statues depicting the Twelve Gods known from inscriptions⁷⁹. There was also, in all likelihood, a colossal cult statue in the temple⁸⁰. Moreover, at Magnesia we know from an inscription that the *Dodekatheon* had an altar in the *agora*⁸¹. The sanctuary at Kos must have consisted of an enclosure with one or several altars, and, most probably, also a temple (see figs. 12 and 13 for tentative reconstructions).

The official state cult of the Twelve Gods on Kos is known through inscriptions from the mid-4th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. These inscriptions consist of a set of regulations for the public cults in Kos town (*IG* 332, dated to c. 350), a cult calendar consisting of several slabs (relevant here are *IG* 274, 275, dated to c. 350), proxeny decrees (see previous section), a cult calendar from the northern (the boys') *gymnasion* (*IG* 281, dated to 158-138), two *diagraphai* with regulations concerning the sale of the priesthood of Dionysos Thylophoros (*IG* 304, dated to c. 200-150, and *IG* 326, dated to c. 100-50) and two honorary inscriptions (*IG* 998, dated to the Augustan period, and *IG* 838, dated to

⁷⁸ GEORGOUDI 1998, pp. 81-82; GADBERY 1992, pp. 476-483, 487; *The Athenian agora. Guide*, 1990, pp. 96-97.

⁷⁹ *EAD* 1955, p. 177; *Guide de Délos* 1983, pp. 165-166, plan II,

opposite p. 161; fig. 39.

⁸⁰ *EAD* 1955, p. 177; *Guide de Délos* 1983, p. 165.

⁸¹ *IMagnesia* 98.43-44; GEORGOUDI 1998, p. 82.

A.D. 14-37)⁸². Apart from Zeus *Polieus*, the *Dodekatheon* are, through their priest, also connected to Athena *Polias* (IG 332), Zeus *Machaneus* (IG 274) and Apollo *Karneios* (IG 274). Zeus *Polieus* and Athena *Polias* are the main protectors of the *polis* as well as two of its most important gods. The fact that there was a joint priesthood for Zeus *Polieus* and the Twelve Gods (IG 332.22), according to Paul, proves that this priesthood was one of the most important on Kos⁸³. The other 4th-century inscriptions reveal that the priest of the Twelve Gods also conducted the sacrifices to Zeus *Machaneus*, Apollo *Karneios* and Artemis⁸⁴. He thus had wide responsibilities. The proxeny decrees indicate that the *Dodekatheon* continued to be in use during the 3rd and 2nd centuries. The two inscriptions concerning the priesthood of Dionysos *Thyllophoros* reveal the same for the 2nd and 1st centuries. The later honorary inscriptions give evidence of the priesthood of Zeus *Polieus*, Athena *Polias* and the Twelve Gods during the Augustan (IG 998) and Tiberian (IG 838) ages. They also reveal that the priesthood was held by members of the elite class. Euaratos, son of Acheloos (IG 998), also held the eponymous office of *monarchos*, the highest civic office on Kos, and the female priest Minnis, daughter of Praulos (IG 838), was given the highest honours by the Koan demos, and her husband held extraordinary honorary titles.

All together, the inscriptions make it clear that the cult of the Twelve Gods was of primary importance in the *polis* of Kos from the mid-4th century to the early Imperial period. They protected the safety and well-being of society and represented peace and affluence. The sanctuary of the *Dodekatheon* would have reflected their importance. Paul, in her recent monograph on the Koan cults, theorises that the existence of proxeny decrees in the sanctuary indicates that the *temenos* enjoyed high visibility in the city⁸⁵. The locations of the known *temene* of the Twelve Gods were either at points of transition, at the very centre of a city (in or close to the *agora*) or by the harbour. We could thus expect to find the Koan *Dodekatheon* in or by the *agora* or close to the harbours, an area which can be seen as transitional.

The proxeny decrees

A *polis* which made a foreign citizen a *proxenos* conferred upon him high status in his home *polis*. When the decree, giving not just the reasons for the decision but also the privileges awarded to him, was inscribed on a stone *stele* and erected in a public place, this was an added honour, given to only a select few, i.e. just to persons of extra high status or to those who had performed above the normal standard. I give below a translation of one Koan decree:

IG 15. Koan proxeny decree for Theron from Tyros, Phoenicia.
Proposition by Diagoras, son of Kleuchios. Date c. 300 B.C.
H. 40 cm, W. 35 cm, Th. 5 cm, H.o.L. 1 cm, Int. 0,8 cm

Resolved by the Council and the Demos,
Diagoras, son of Kleuchios proposed: As Theron,
son of Boudastratos from Tyros is a well-disposed man
to the demos of the Koans, and he,
at all difficult times, continues to provide
service to all Koans, it was resolved
by the demos; that it commend him and
that he and his descendants be *proxenoi*
of the polis of the Koans, and that they have

the right to travel to and from it, and to freely
bring in and out property/merchandise
both in war and in peace without threat of seizure
and without the need for a treaty.
The *poletai* are to commission the engraving
of the *proxenia* on a stele and to have it erected
in the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.

Author's translation (not original lines)

The vast majority of the *proxenoi* were only recorded on lists⁸⁶. Most scholars who have worked on individual proxeny decrees inscribed on *stelai* in the past 30-40 years regard these decrees, particularly those from the Hellenistic period, as symbolic and honorary, but without any practical value for the *proxenoi*⁸⁷. Mack, who recently published an

⁸² PAUL (2013, pp. 42-43) accepts Habicht's dating of IG 998 to c. 175-150. HABICHT (2000, p. 328; 2004, p. 65) does not present any direct arguments for his identification of the honorand in IG 998 as the *monarchos* in SEG 1952, nr. 89.A21, for whom we have only the first name. I presume it is based on both having served as *monarchos*. The name Euaratos is, however, fairly common on Kos, as Habicht also notes, and in my opinion the homonymity of just the proper name is not enough to establish identity (unless the name is very rare and the different inscriptions are, with a comfortable degree of certainty, dated to the same generation). SHERWIN-WHITE 1978,

p. 436 (onomastikon), HALLOF IG 998 and I prefer to identify Eirenaios, son of Euaratos, the donor of the statue and son of the honorand, with a priest listed in the Halasarnitan inscription IG 365.43 and there dated to 2 B.C. This would place the career of the father in the second half of the 1st century B.C.

⁸³ PAUL 2013, p. 282.

⁸⁴ IG 274.16; 275.17-19 (partly restored text).

⁸⁵ PAUL 2013, pp. 158-159.

⁸⁶ MACK 2015, pp. 14-15, 152-156.

⁸⁷ HÖGHAMMAR 2016, pp. 121, 128; MACK 2015, pp. 37, 123.

excellent monograph on the institution of *proxenia*, sees the power relationship between the *proxenos* and the majority of the city states as unequal. The *proxenos* was a benefactor whom the city needed to thank in a proper way and who received different (symbolic) privileges⁸⁸. However, this is probably not the whole picture; being a formally decreed *proxenos* and/or *euergetes* (well-doer) in a *polis* also meant that you enjoyed a privileged status in it: you had certain acknowledged and publicly known ‘rights’ which other foreigners did not have⁸⁹.

The *proxenoi* of the Koans were given few privileges compared to the *proxenoi* of most other *poleis*. The basic privilege, however, was the same as in just about all proxeny decrees in the Greek world. It consisted of the right of *asylia*, ‘free entry and exit in war and in peace with no forcible seizure of person’⁹⁰. We can also note one commonly occurring addition, a further privilege to the one generally granted: the Koans explicitly stated that a *proxenos* had the right to freely bring in and out property/merchandise (*χρήματα*) with no risk of seizure. Most other privileges that were normal in the Greek proxeny decrees were rare or did not occur at all in the presently known Koan decrees⁹¹. These were: *ateleia* – freedom from taxes which non-citizens were expected to pay; *proedria* – honorary seating at performances; *prosodos/ephodos* – access to the *boule* and/or assembly; *isoteleia* – the right to pay a lower, citizen rate of taxes; and *enktesis* – the right to own land.

That the property/merchandise of the *proxenos* was included in the Koan *asylia* clause is, I think, important. It means that the person at all times, both in peace and in war, had the right to come and go freely and also to freely bring in and out his property or merchandise – both person *and* goods were protected. Recent research has demonstrated that it is highly likely that this right covered not just the *proxenos* personally but also his representatives when they carried papers indicating the owner of the wares⁹². Such privileges thus provided tangible benefits to the heads of the trading houses whether they travelled with their merchandise or not. Another matter which is important in this context is that we now begin to see that trade was based on the household, the *oikos*, and not on individuals. The safe passage clause for a person and his goods was, in my opinion, a valuable asset in inter-*polis* trade, not just a symbolic honour as is often stated in contemporary research. The privileges given by the Koans to the *proxenoi* thus often indicate an interest in trade⁹³. Also, the motivation clauses could point to an interest in trade. The formulae used in a number of Koan decrees indicate that the award was motivated by help in a crisis, probably due to a grain shortage⁹⁴. The loaning or gifting of money to buy grain, or the direct gifting of grain to the *polis* by private foreign citizens, probably indicates that they were involved in trade activities.

In a recent article, S. Lambert discusses various reasons for inscribing honorific decrees in Athens⁹⁵. Many of the points he makes are, I think, also applicable to the situation at Kos. There are, of course, obvious differences between the two *poleis*. In the mid- and late 4th century, Athens was losing its position as one of the major Greek powers, although it was still one of the largest *poleis*. Kos did not have, and indeed never had, a similar position, even though it was viewed as an affluent *polis*. In short, Athens was adapting to a situation to which other Greek *polis* states were already accustomed. A quote from Xenophon’s *Poroi* 3.4 concerning Athens in the mid-4th century strengthens this point. He exhorts the Athenians to award *proedria* and *xenia* to well-disposed merchants and shippers ‘so that, being honoured, not only for the sake of profit, but also of honour, they might behave towards us as friends’⁹⁶. The passage continues: ‘The rise in the number of residents and visitors would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs’⁹⁷. Xenophon believed it important not only to allow foreign traders to earn profits but also to honour them with different awards so that they, also for this reason, would behave as friends to the Athenians. The numerous honorary awards to foreign *emporoi* from the second half of the 4th century indicate that this view was widespread in the city. Considering the number of proxeny decrees found in Kos, I think we can assume that the same attitude was common among the Koans.

Before I discuss the connection between the Twelve Gods and *proxenoi*, I will consider the point of inscribed honorary decrees more generally. Lambert states that the point of inscribing any decree ‘was to endow it with enhanced, solemn, significance and validity as expression of the collective Athenian will’⁹⁸. He also quotes Demosthenes 20, *Against Leptines* 64:

⁸⁸ MACK 2015, pp. 38-39.

⁸⁹ HÖGHAMMAR 2016, p. 102; GAUTHIER 1985, pp. 20, 21, 130.

⁹⁰ HÖGHAMMAR 2016, p. 126.

⁹¹ HÖGHAMMAR 2016, pp. 128-129.

⁹² HÖGHAMMAR 2016, p. 129; BRESSON 2000, pp. 131-149, esp. pp. 138-139, 143; RUBINSTEIN 2009, pp. 115-143, esp. p. 123.

⁹³ HÖGHAMMAR 2016, pp. 126-130.

⁹⁴ HÖGHAMMAR 2016, pp. 121-125.

⁹⁵ LAMBERT 2011, pp. 193-214.

⁹⁶ LAMBERT 2011, p. 197. Translation by Lambert.

⁹⁷ Translation from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0032.tlg011.perseus-eng1:3>. ταῦτα γὰρ τιμῶμενοι οὐ μόνον τοῦ κέρδους ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἐνεκεν ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἐπισπεύδοιεν ἂν. [5] ὅσω γε μὴν πλείους εἰσοικίζονται τε καὶ ἀφικνοῖντο, δῆλον ὅτι τοσούτω ἂν πλεον καὶ εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐξάγοιτο καὶ ἐκπέμποιτο καὶ πωλοῖτο καὶ μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφοροῖη.

Quote from <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0032.tlg011.perseus-grc1:3>.

⁹⁸ LAMBERT 2011, p. 202.



Fig. 14. Proxeny decrees *IG XII 4, 15* and *IG XII 4, 40* (from SEGRE 1993.2, tav. 17, ED 54; tav. 27, ED 80).

“It is fitting, therefore, to permit these *stelai* to be valid for all time, so that as long as any of these men [sc. honorands] are alive, they may suffer no wrong at your hands, and when they die, those inscriptions may be a memorial of the city’s character, and may stand as evidence to all those who wish to do us good, of how many benefactors the city has benefited in return”⁹⁹.

This passage concerns foreign honorands, and, even if it is an Athenian text, it reflects a general Greek view of this type of decree since such a vast number of them (over 2500) have been found in the Greek world¹⁰⁰. Having the decrees available ensured that the particular privileges of a *proxenos* could be ascertained and ensured. At Kos, as in Athens¹⁰¹, the decrees also signalled the importance and prestige of the Koan *polis*. They revealed to all visitors Kos’ strong network of friends, both prominent individuals and the city states of which they were citizens. The proxeny decrees in the *Dodekathemon* thus fulfilled several purposes, both practical and ideological.

As stated above, placing the decrees in public spaces guaranteed that the privileges of the honorand could be ascertained and ensured, but this raises another question. How many visitors to the *Dodekathemon* would have been able to read these texts? To answer this, I will begin by describing the inscribed letters and lines and the physical features of the text of these decrees. The texts were engraved on small to medium-sized stones. The few complete or almost complete slabs which still exist are between 40 and 83 cm high¹⁰². Together with a base, a podium, at a guess approximately 20-50 cm high, a monument would reach a height of 60-130 cm. On most *stelai*, the letters were c. 1.5 cm high¹⁰³. The space between the lines was mostly c. 0.7-1 cm. The letters are well cut and were coloured for better visibility. The lines in five of the six complete decrees include a maximum of 23-28 letters (fig. 14)¹⁰⁴. One (*IG 20*) has a maximum of 13 letters to a line. Also, the fragmentary decrees seem to adhere to the same norm, some with the lower and some with the higher maximum number of letters. This can be compared to other public decrees which often reached a line length of 40 to 60 letters. The proxeny decrees thus had fairly short lines and would, presumably, have been easier to read than public decrees with long lines.

⁹⁹ LAMBERT 2011, p. 205. The translated quote is from Lambert.

¹⁰⁰ MACK 2015, 2.

¹⁰¹ LAMBERT 2011, p. 203.

¹⁰² Six *stelai*: *IG 8*, height 83 cm; *IG 15*, 40 cm; *IG 20*, 52 cm (bottom edge missing); *IG 27*, 67 cm; *IG 40*, 53 cm; *IG 50*, 62 cm.

¹⁰³ The minimum height was 0.9 cm, and the maximum height was 1.8 cm.

¹⁰⁴ Two decrees (*IG 22* and *25*) had longer lines. They were not limited to announcing the proxeny status of the honorand, the honours awarded in them were higher and included a golden wreath.

We must also include the fragmentary list of *proxenoi* (IG 460) in this discussion. Only a small part of the 9.5-cm-thick *stèle* is preserved, and it is broken on all sides. The letters are 1-1.2 cm high, and the space between the lines is 0.6 cm. It was cut in list form according to the reconstruction of the lines in IG 460¹⁰⁵. The name of the *proxenos* seems normally to have been on one line and his patronymic on the next. This is followed by nationality and the awarded status – *proxenos* and *euergetes* – on two separate lines. To these could be added the words ‘himself and his descendants’ on two lines, resulting in a total of five or seven lines¹⁰⁶. The letters are clearly inscribed and easily read. In her excellent article (2009) on private and public literacy, R. Thomas treated different levels of literacy in terms of their functionality, i.e. the level needed for different types of inscriptions. She opines that the list format formed a category which was more accessible and easier to read than inscriptions with many words on the same line and with no word division¹⁰⁷. Discussing the Athenian lists, she suggests that ‘these carefully arranged lists on stone and wood were deliberately intended to be especially legible, more easily deciphered than most other documents and inscriptions’¹⁰⁸. She also thinks that traders as early as the late 5th century made use of and could read lists. Furthermore, she concludes that some even earlier letters from the fringes of the Greek world, dated to c. 500, indicate an even better command of continuous writing than the elementary lists, and, as written contracts became more normal with time, *emporoi* had more use of literacy¹⁰⁹. Another factor to consider is that recent research has suggested a fairly large proportion of the citizens during this period and in this part of the Greek world, perhaps up to c. 30%, could read and write¹¹⁰. My conclusion is that it is likely a fairly large proportion of both the Koans and the foreigners visiting the sanctuary would have been able to read the decrees and the lists.

The chosen location of the decrees indicated their intentionality: their locations held meaning. As Lambert writes, ‘inscribed decrees were intended to engage both men and gods in a nexus of relations and intercommunication’¹¹¹. So, why did the Koans erect the proxeny decrees in the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods? They surely formed the absolute majority of decrees in the sanctuary, as only a few other public decisions are known to have been erected there.

I suggest that the responsibilities of the Twelve Gods were favourable to the activities of the *proxenoi*. As a long-distance trader – and the Koan decrees indicate that many of the *proxenoi* were traders – you would have felt the need for divine protection when travelling to foreign *poleis*. A city which welcomed trade would have provided this protection to foreign merchants and their representatives. The Twelve Gods were against conflict and antagonism and supported cooperation and friendship and could thus be seen to be interested in and beneficial to peaceful international networks and ‘global’ trade. This group of gods secured prosperity and shunned conflict inside as well as outside the *polis* state and protected all Greeks, and so the *proxenoi* appointed by the Koans were placed under the protection of the Twelve Gods for all to see. Earlier scholars have rightly connected the Koan *Dodekatheon* to the unification of the Koans into a single *polis* in 366, but I think the proxeny decrees indicate that they also played an important role for travellers, both merchants and others, coming to the island, as well as for Koans interested in foreign trade – and Kos was a trading *polis*. The placement of the proxeny inscriptions in the sanctuary may suggest that it was located in the harbour quarter, north of the *agora* and/or close to the Koan *emporion*. The sanctuary of Aphrodite, with its twin temples, one to Aphrodite *Pandamos* (protector of the Koan demos) and one to Aphrodite *Pontia* (protector of seafarers), situated in the harbour area, offers a parallel for these gods’ interest in the welfare of both the *polis* and its visitors, and for such a location.

What, then, was impression did the *stelai* have on visitors to the sanctuary (fig. 15)? The rather modest *stelai* and the fairly small size of the letters meant that the texts were not immediately noticeable as visitors entered the *temenos*. Instead, the altar/s and the temple (which I suggest was there) would have drawn attention. Perhaps there were also other monuments, i.e. more or less sumptuous votives to the gods. However, it would have been easy to read the well-cut and clear proxeny texts once you were close to the *stelai*. They would probably, as in the Koan *Asklepieion*, have been placed along the enclosure, and anyone who could read could have walked alongside them and found out the names of these *proxenoi*, where they came from, what privileges had been given to them and the reasons for being given the extraordinary honour of a separate *stèle*.

¹⁰⁵ For a photo see SEGRE 1993.2, Tavv. 16, ED 50 (B).

¹⁰⁶ Here, in contrast to the *stelai* with the individual proxeny decrees, it seems that the *proxenos* is also normally given the status of *euergetes*.

¹⁰⁷ THOMAS 2009, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰⁸ THOMAS 2009, p. 33.

¹⁰⁹ THOMAS 2009, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ THOMAS 2014, under ‘literacy’. She refers to HARRIS 1989. According to Polybios, the Rhodians accepted ‘from Eumenes [II]

280.000 *medimni* of corn for the purpose of lending out the proceeds and applying the interest to the payment of salaries of the tutors and teachers of their sons’. Polybios XXXI 31.1-2 (Loeb ed.). This implies the sons of the entire citizen population. At Teos (SIG³ 578), a private citizen, in the later 3rd century, donated 34.000 dr. to the *polis*. The money was intended to cover the cost of teachers. All free boys had to go to school. The teachers would also have taught girls.

¹¹¹ LAMBERT 2011, p. 201.

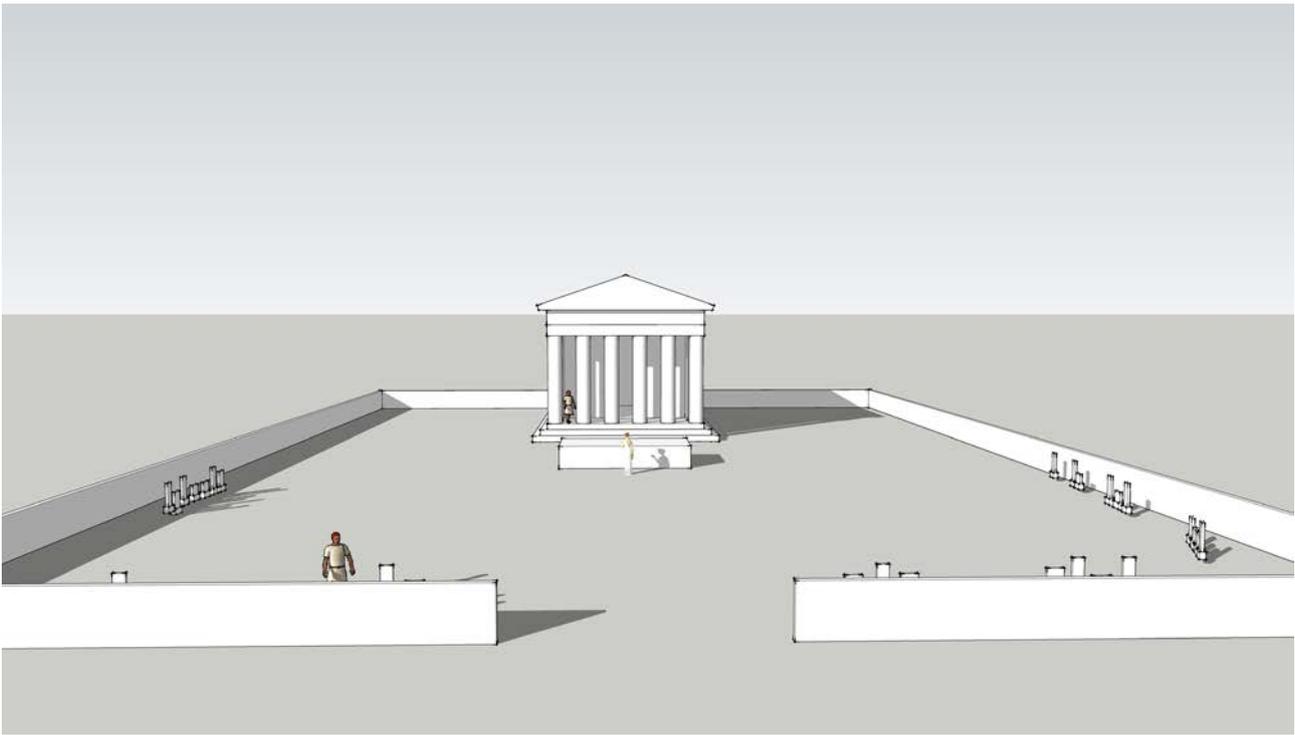


Fig. 15. Kos. Tentative reconstruction (possible appearance) of the *Dodekatheon* with one altar and a temple, frontal view (drawing by Axel Frejman).

If my tentative suggestions are right, then both foreigners and Koans visited the sanctuary on an everyday basis; travellers from abroad did so to thank their own gods (included in the Twelve Gods) for a successful journey to and stay at Kos, and to pray for a good journey before leaving the island. Koans wishing to honour these gods of national and transnational unity and harmony would also have gone there, as would anyone who wanted to know more about the particular rights of any individual *proxenos* with whom they wanted to trade. At festivals a large number of people would participate and fill the sanctuary.

Summary

The cult of the Twelve Gods lasted from the mid-4th century B.C. at least until the early 1st century A.D. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the *temenos* was situated in the northern half of town, close to the harbour or in or around the *agora*, and that it consisted of an enclosure with one or several altars and, most probably, a temple.

The *Dodekatheon* in Kos town was served by one of the most important priests on Kos. The holders of the priesthood belonged to the Koan elite. In the spring, there was a festival with a public sacrifice in the *temenos* and games for the boys of the *gymnasion*. It is possible that, during the mid-2nd century, there was, at the same festival, a *pompe* to the sanctuary in honour of Eumenes II. Such a procession would have proceeded along the streets, following a prescribed route to the sanctuary. The magistrate responsible for the decisions on *proxenoi*, and probably also the new citizens, used the *Dodekatheon* for his archive. The sanctuary was important both to foreigners visiting Kos and to Koans interested in peace and harmony beneficial to the well-being of the Koan *polis* and to the success of long-distance trade.

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