



# THIASOS

RIVISTA DI ARCHEOLOGIA E ARCHITETTURA ANTICA

2022, n. 11

*Direttore:* Giorgio Rocco (Politecnico di Bari, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Ingegneria Civile e dell'Architettura; Presidente CSSAr Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura, Roma)

*Comitato editoriale:* Monica Livadiotti, Editor in Chief (Politecnico di Bari, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Ingegneria Civile e dell'Architettura), Roberta Belli (Politecnico di Bari, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Ingegneria Civile e dell'Architettura), Luigi M. Calì (Università degli Studi di Catania, Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche), Maria Antonietta Rizzo (Università di Macerata, Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia), Giorgio Ortolani (Università di Roma Tre, Dipartimento di Architettura); Fani Mallouchou-Tufano (Technical University of Crete, School of Architecture; Committee for the Conservation of the Acropolis Monuments – ESMA); Gilberto Montali (Università di Palermo, Dipartimento di Culture e Società)

*Redazione tecnica:* Davide Falco (Politecnico di Bari, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Ingegneria Civile e dell'Architettura), Antonello Fino (Politecnico di Bari, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Ingegneria Civile e dell'Architettura), Gian Michele Gerogiannis (Università degli Studi di Catania, Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche), Chiara Giatti ("Sapienza" Università di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità), Antonella Lepone ("Sapienza" Università di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità), Giuseppe Mazzilli (Università di Macerata, Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici), Luciano Piepoli (Università di Bari, Dipartimento di Ricerca e Innovazione Umanistica), Valeria Parisi (Università della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli), Konstantinos Sarantidis (Ministero della Cultura Ellenico), Rita Sassu (Unitelma, "Sapienza" Università di Roma).

*Comitato scientifico:* Isabella Baldini (Università degli Studi di Bologna "Alma Mater Studiorum, Dipartimento di Archeologia), Dimitri Bosnakis (Università di Creta, Dipartimento di Storia e Archeologia), Ortwin Dally (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Leitender Direktor der Abteilung Rom), Vassiliki Eleftheriou (Director of the Acropolis Restoration Service YSMA), Diego Elia (Università degli Studi di Torino, Dipartimento di Scienze Antropologiche, Archeologiche e Storico Territoriali), Elena Ghisellini (Università di Roma Tor Vergata, Dipartimento di Antichità e Tradizione Classica), Kerstin Höghammar (professore emerito Uppsala University, Svezia), François Lefèvre (Université Paris-Sorbonne, Lettres et Civilizations), Marc Mayer Olivé (Universitat de Barcelona, Departamento de Filología Latina), Marina Micozzi (Università degli Studi della Tuscia, Viterbo, Dipartimento di Scienze dei Beni Culturali), Massimo Nafissi (Università degli Studi di Perugia, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche sezione Scienze Storiche dell'Antichità), Massimo Osanna (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II, Direttore generale Soprintendenza Pompei), Domenico Palombi ("Sapienza" Università di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità), Chiara Portale (Università degli Studi di Palermo, Dipartimento di Beni Culturali sezione archeologica), Elena Santagati (Università degli Studi di Messina, Dipartimento di Civiltà Antiche e Moderne), Piero Cimbolli Spagnesi ("Sapienza" Università di Roma, Dipartimento di Storia dell'Architettura, Restauro e Conservazione dei Beni Architettonici), Thomas Schäfer (Universität Tübingen, Instituts für Klassische Archäologie), Pavlos Triantaphyllidis (Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lesbos, Lemnos and Samos, Greece), Nikolaos Tsoniotis (Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, Greece)

Roberta BELLI PASQUA, *Honours for the Julio-Claudians in Cos. Some brief notes*

Il contenuto risponde alle norme della legislazione italiana in materia di proprietà intellettuale ed è di proprietà esclusiva dell'Editore ed è soggetta a copyright.

Le opere che figurano nel sito possono essere consultate e riprodotte su supporto cartaceo o elettronico con la riserva che l'uso sia strettamente personale, sia scientifico che didattico, escludendo qualsiasi uso di tipo commerciale.

La riproduzione e la citazione dovranno obbligatoriamente menzionare l'editore, il nome della rivista, l'autore e il riferimento al documento. Qualsiasi altro tipo di riproduzione è vietato, salvo accordi preliminari con l'Editore.

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:

R. BELLI PASQUA, *Honours for the Julio-Claudians in Cos. Some brief notes*  
*Thiasos* 11, 2022, pp. 233-253

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



## HONOURS FOR THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS IN COS. SOME BRIEF NOTES

Roberta Belli Pasqua\*

**Keyword:** *Cos, Julio-Claudian, honorary inscriptions, dedicatory inscriptions, earthquakes in antiquity*

**Parole chiave:** *Cos, Giulio-Claudi, iscrizioni onorarie, iscrizioni dedicatorie, terremoti nell'antichità*

### Abstract:

*A series of inscriptions in honour of Augustus and the members of the Julio-Claudian house has been brought to light in Cos, starting from the archaeological research on the island in the 19th century. The inscriptions show a discrete continuity over time and concern not only the princeps but also members of his family. The main demes of the island appear to have been involved in this process of interaction between the local élites and the imperial family, and, of course, the most representative polis, Kos, arisen from the metoecism. Honorary and dedicatory epigraphs are attested; the damoi appear to be the main commissioners of the dedications, which are therefore marked by a public and collective nature. Dedications were also made by individual members of the local élite, as in the case of the dedications to Nero made by Gaius Stertinius Xenophon. Frequently the dedication accompanies a statue of the addressee, namely the princeps or a member of the domus Augusta; in some cases the princeps and the members of the imperial house are assimilated to gods, whose divine appellations or epicleses are associated with the human names in the considered epigraphical texts; the documents examined show that, in the context of Cos, the main deities of the island were involved in this practice: Asklepios, Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis, Leto, Demeter, Rhea and Homonoia. These epigraphs have often been examined by scholarly critics, but a comprehensive and up-to-date reading of them may suggest useful elements for reflection on the modalities and interaction between the central power and the local Greek community in the Roman age.*

*Da Cos proviene una serie di iscrizioni in onore di Augusto e dei membri della casa giulio-claudia, messe in luce a partire dalle ricerche archeologiche sull'isola nel XIX secolo. Le epigrafi mostrano una discreta continuità nel tempo e riguardano non solo il princeps, ma anche i membri della sua famiglia. I principali demi dell'isola appaiono coinvolti in questo processo di interazione oltre alla polis più rappresentativa, Kos, nata a seguito del metecismo. I damoi si qualificano come i principali committenti delle dediche, che si configurano quindi per il carattere pubblico e collettivo; si discostano da questa modalità le dediche fatte da singoli membri delle élites locali, come nel caso delle dediche a Nerone fatte da Gaio Stertino Senofonte. Di frequente la dedica accompagna una statua raffigurante il destinatario, lo stesso princeps o uno dei membri della domus Augusta, in forma assimilata ad una divinità; quest'ultima compare in associazione al nome nel testo epigrafico; i documenti esaminati mostrano che, nel contesto di Cos, in questa prassi sono coinvolte le principali divinità dell'isola: Asklepios, Apollo, Afrodite, Artemide, Leto, Demetra, Rhea e Homonoia. Le epigrafi in questione sono state spesso prese in esame dalla critica scientifica, ma una loro lettura complessiva e aggiornata può suggerire utili elementi di riflessione sulle modalità e sull'interazione tra il potere centrale e la comunità locale greca in età romana.*

A series of inscriptions in honour of Augustus and members of the Julio-Claudian house has been brought to light in Cos<sup>1</sup>, starting from the archaeological research on the island in the 19th century; the epigraphs have often been examined by scholarly critics, but a novel comprehensive and up-to-date reading of them may suggest useful elements for reflection on the interaction modalities between the central power and the local Greek community in the Roman age (fig. 1).

\*Polytechnic University of Bari; roberta.belli@poliba.it

<sup>1</sup> According to the convention proposed in the previous bibliography (SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, VALLARINO 2009) the spelling Kos is adopted to indicate the polis arisen from the metoecism of 366/65 B.C.,

while Cos indicates the island, both as a geographical entity and as a unitary state. On the question of the synoecism or metoecism: SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, pp. 50-58 (with previous bibliography); Interdonato E., *Cos*, in CALIÒ 2005, pp. 81-91.

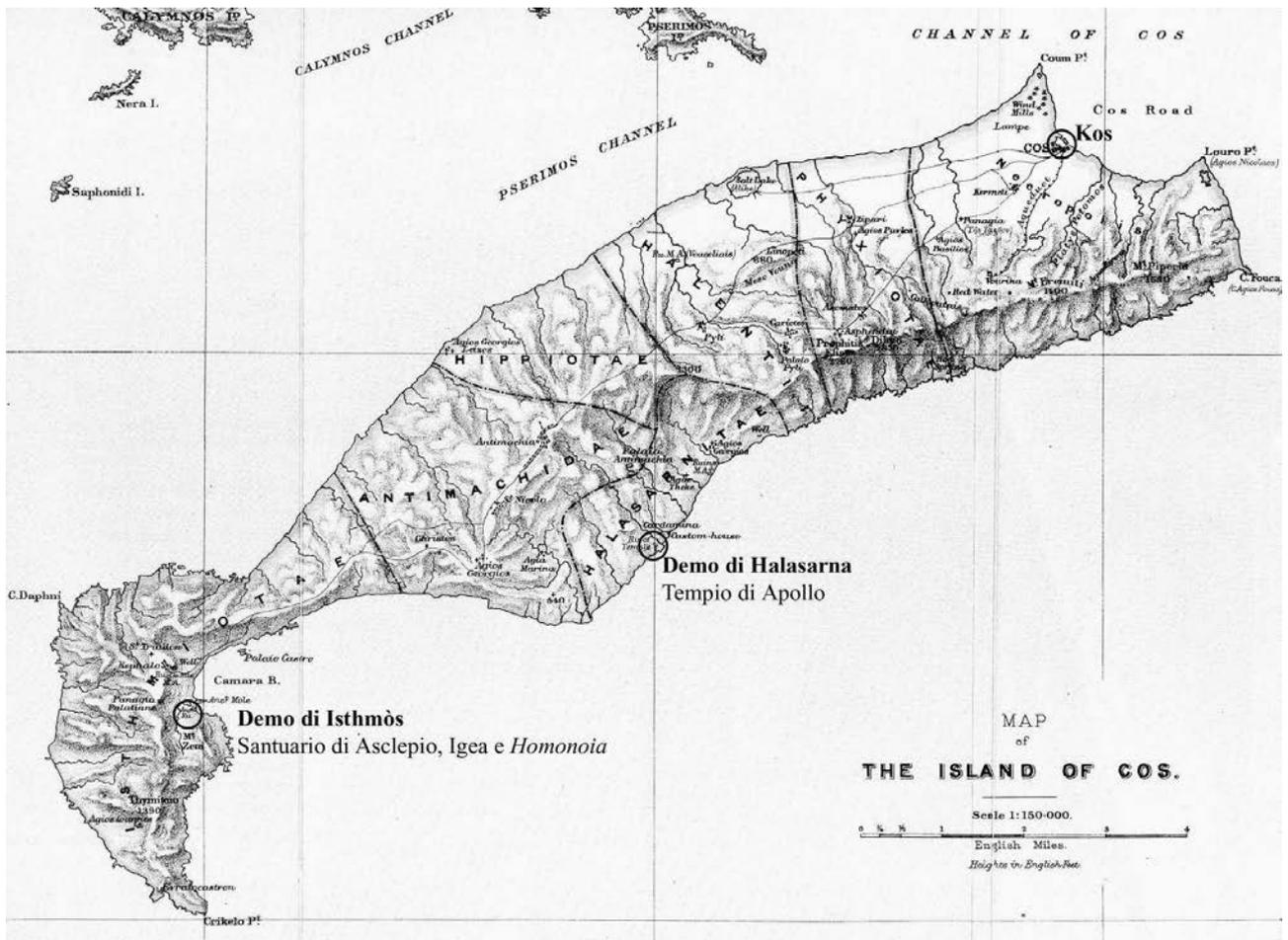


Fig. 1. Map of Cos and location of the *demoi* (after PATON-HICKS 1891, revised by G. Vallarino in VALLARINO 2009, fig. 1).

From the deme of the Halasarnitai comes an inscription in honour of Augustus, engraved on a round grey marble base, now lost; the prince is celebrated with the epiclesis of Apollo and described as κτίστας καὶ εὐεργέτας<sup>2</sup>.

The charitable activity towards the island is attested in another inscription, dedicated in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia: it is a decree of Coans issued to thank the *princeps* for the aid sent following an earthquake that hit the island in 27/26 B.C.<sup>3</sup>; the text makes an explicit reference to the “calamity of the earthquake” (τῆς δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν περιστάσεως) and in highly laudatory tones celebrates Augustus who as “saviour and god” gave a “new birth” (παλιγγενεσία) to the community, worked for the foundation of the city ([τὴν] τῆς πόλεως κτί[σ]ιν ἐφ’ ἑατῶ [θ] ἐμ[ενος]), surpassing (ὑπερέβαλε) the mythical founder Merops and became its new archegetes (γενόμενος ἀρχηγέτ[ης] τῆς πόλεως).

The high degree of seismicity of Cos is well known: the island is subject to earthquakes that have their epicentre in the fracture points present in the underwater seabed<sup>4</sup>; in the last century the disastrous earthquake of 23 April 1933 was the tragic cause of the intensive excavations that brought to light the remains of the ancient city<sup>5</sup> and also in recent years an earthquake of considerable intensity has struck the island. For the ancient age, both the literary and epigraphic sources and the archaeological documentation have made it possible to identify a number of particularly disastrous

<sup>2</sup> IG XII, 4,2, 1157; HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 190 nr. 80; HEIL 2013: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλασαρνεϊτῶν ἀνέθηκεν Αὐτοκράτορα Κα[ί]σαρα θεοῦ υἱόν, θε[ῶν] Ἀπόλλωνα, Σεβα[στόν], τὸν αὐτοῦ κτίστα[ν καὶ] εὐεργέταν; PAUL 2013, p. 204.

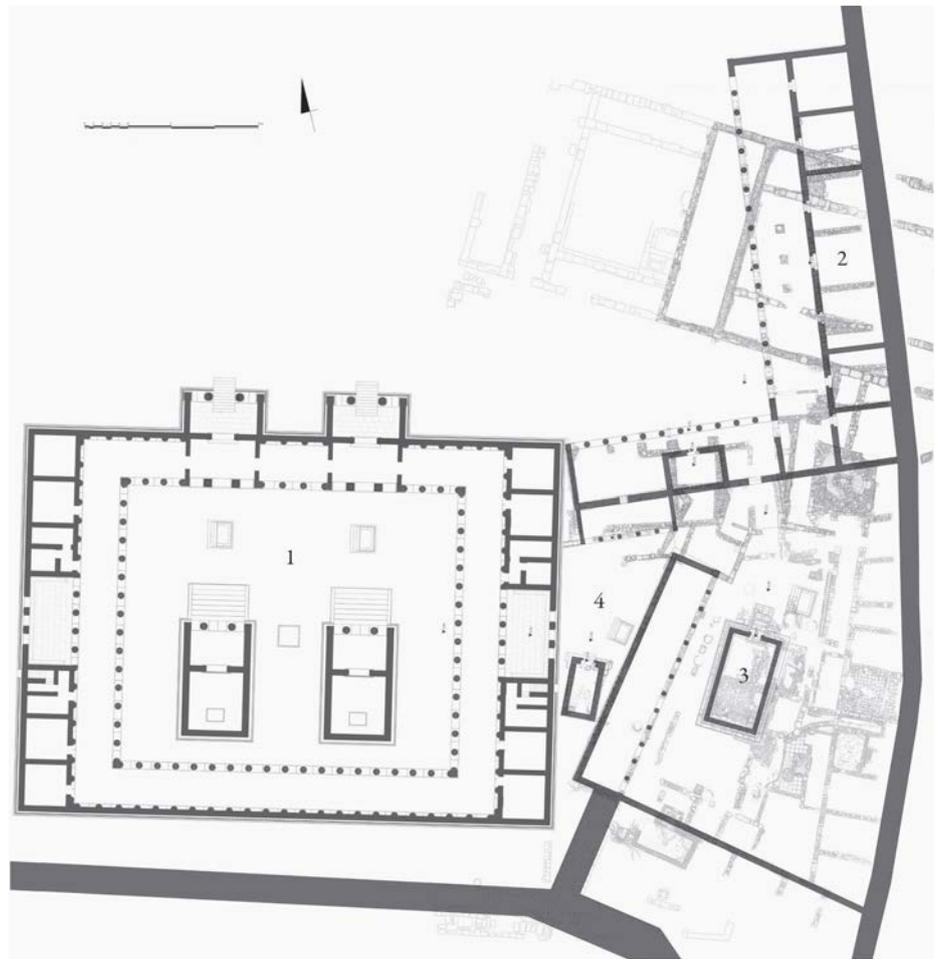
<sup>3</sup> DITTENBERGER *et alii* 1896, coll. 110-112, nr. 53. <https://doi.org/10.11588/digit.2020#0066>; ROBERT 1978, p. 401; SHERWIN WHITE 1978, p. 148; GUIDOBONI 1989, p. 656; GUIDOBONI, CAMASTRI, TRAINA 1994, p. 176; HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 33; CONTI 2008 p. 375; STORCHI MARINO 2009, p. 197; DE MARTINO 2017, pp. 160. The inscription is after 24 B.C., since Augustus is remem-

bered as the winner of the Cantabrians.

<sup>4</sup> PANESSA 1989, pp. 94-95.

<sup>5</sup> For the disastrous earthquake of 1933, following which a large part of the ancient city was brought to light: M. Livadiotti, in LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 1996, pp. 102-106, with previous bibliography; the destruction was followed by the design of the master plan for the construction of the modern city (ROCCO, LIVADIOTTI 2012); for the resumption of studies of what the Italians brought to light, carried out in collaboration between the Italian Archaeological School and the Archaeological Ephorate over the last thirty years, see ROCCO 2000.

Fig. 2. Kos, restored plan of the sanctuaries of the harbour. 1. sanctuary of Aphrodite *Pandamos* and *Pontia* with the *hestiatoria* inside the porticoes; 2. East Stoà of the Harbour; 3. Sanctuary of Herakles *kallinikos epi limeni*; 4. Sanctuary of an unknown god (after G. Rocco in ROCCO, CALIÒ 2016).



seismic events<sup>6</sup>; at least one earthquake must have struck Kos Meropis at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. and in 199/198 the new Kos, which was founded after the metoecism of 366/65 B.C., was hit by a major earthquake, which also affected Caria and the islands of the south-eastern Aegean between Rhodes and Samos<sup>7</sup>.

The earthquake damaged several monumental complexes, first of all the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Pandamos* and *Pontia* in the harbour district (fig. 2), for which an inscription attests to the destruction of several banquet halls (ἰστυατορίω[ν]) and additional rooms (χρηστικίω[ν])<sup>8</sup>; while the *peribolos* (περίβολον) is mentioned among the structures to be reconstructed. Indeed, a recent analysis of the remains of the architectural structures has made it possible to date the entire structure to the second half of the 3rd century B.C. and to recognise an overall restoration project, which can be dated to the 2nd century B.C. In this occasion, part of the enclosure, the inner rooms of the porticoes, the peristyle and probably the *propylaea* of the sanctuary were reconstructed<sup>9</sup>.

It is possible that some sections of the northern fortified wall, near the so-called Eastern Gate, were also rebuilt to reinforce the defences following the events of the Cretan War (205-202 B.C.) and the war against Philip V of Macedonia (201-196 B.C.)<sup>10</sup>.

The *Eleusinion* in the deme of the Halentioi, in Kyparissi, may also have been damaged by the earthquake. Italian excavations carried out in the 1920s uncovered a *temenos* with an altar and a base on which eight marble votive statues were preserved, dedications by private individuals to the Eleusinian deities; the inscriptions on the bases of the

<sup>6</sup> On the earthquakes that hit the island on several occasions in ancient and modern times: MALACRINO 2007, in particular for the Augustan age pp. 259-261; on the earthquakes in Augustan age, see also: HÖGHAMMAR 1993, pp. 32-33.

<sup>7</sup> On the earthquake: GUIDOBONI, COMASTRI, TRAINA 1994, nr. 041, pp. 147-150.

<sup>8</sup> ED 178; SEGRE 1993-2007; DILLON 1999.

<sup>9</sup> On the sanctuary of Aphrodite, its chronological framework and the identification of the compartments: ROCCO 2009, with previous

bibliography; on the *hestiatoria* of the sanctuary also LIVADIOTTI 2017, p. 235.

<sup>10</sup> Interventions on the walls were brought to light by the essays carried out by the Italians after the 1933 earthquake: LAURENZI 1936-1937, p. 137; MORRICONE 1950, p. 60; on the walls G. Rocco, in LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 1996, pp. 96-102, part. 96-98; on the connection between the reconstruction of the walls and the earthquake of the early 2nd century B.C.: MALACRINO 2007, p. 258.



Fig. 3. Kos, agorà. Remains of the new *krepis* of a first Roman phase, dated to the end of the first century B.C., in Augustan period, seen from south-east (after M. Livadiotti, in ROCCO, LIVADIOTTI 2011, fig. 20b).

statues document a continuity of life for the sanctuary between the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C.; it has been suggested, therefore, that the end of frequentation may have been caused by the earthquake at the beginning of the century<sup>11</sup>.

In the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. new seismic activity affected the region, as attested by the earthquake of 27/26 B.C. already recorded in the Olympian inscription and by a second earthquake occurred in the years 6/5 B.C. The first was probably the manifestation of a wider phenomenon, which also involved Laodicea in Phrygia, Tralles and the island of Chios<sup>12</sup>, while the second is recorded in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, which dates it to the third year of the 193rd Olympiad<sup>13</sup> and recalls that *In insula Coe terraemotu plurima conciderunt*.

The two Augustan inscriptions do not mention specific monuments damaged by the earthquake; the epigraph from Olympia recalls in a generic way that Augustus could not bear that the city “remained buried under the ground” (μη̄ π[ε]ρι[δ(ε)]ῖν [κει]μ[έ]νην ἐπ’ ἔδαφος), while in the one from Halasarna the reference to the earthquake is suggested by the title “founder” attributed to Augustus, according to a formula attested in other similar cases<sup>14</sup>.

The archaeological documentation, however, contributed to the reconstruction of the extent of the damages and of the consequent restoration that followed the two earthquakes<sup>15</sup>. It is possible that some limited reconstruction work was carried out in the agora, which nonetheless retained its Hellenistic layout and configuration. Work was carried out on the northern inner portico, enlarged with a new *krepis* (fig. 3), whose foundations reuse stone blocks from the northernmost section of the eastern *stoà*, dismantled on that occasion<sup>16</sup>. It has been suggested that the sanctuary of Heracles *Kallinikos epi limeni* may also have been damaged by the earthquake of 6/5 B.C. since some of the work on the eastern sector of the *temenos* seems to date from the first half of the 1st century A.D.<sup>17</sup>.

Restoration work dating from the same period was also recognised on some lintel blocks, discovered by Luciano Laurenzi in the 1930s near the stadium. A study of the architectural order and the site of their discovery allowed us

<sup>11</sup> On the site of the sanctuary: LAURENZI 1931, pp. 623-625; on the statues: KABUS-PREISSHOFEN 1975; PAUL 2013, p. 247; on the effect of the earthquake of the 2nd century B.C.: MALACRINO 2007, p. 259.

<sup>12</sup> GUIDOBONI, CAMASTRI, TRAINA 1994, nr. 072, pp. 174-177.

<sup>13</sup> GUIDOBONI 1989, p. 657; GUIDOBONI, CAMASTRI, TRAINA 1994, p. 176, speculate that the earthquake may actually be double in strength compared to that of 27/26; on the earthquake of 6-5 B.C. brief reference in MORRICONE 1950, p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> The term *ktistes* assimilates the benefactor of the community to the mythical hero from whom it descends; it appears characteristic of the figure of the Hellenistic ruler and in Roman times it was attributed to eminent personalities and then to the emperor: HELLER 2009, pp. 362-364; STORCHI MARINO 2009. On the use of the term for benefactors who contributed to the reconstruction of buildings destroyed by earthquakes, cf. also ROBERT 1978, spec. p. 26 (Claudius to Samos); STORCHI MARINO 2009, p. 196. The granting of aid by the emperors is a modality taken up by the Hellenistic sovereigns al-

though the intervention of the Roman emperors was less discretionary than the will of the latter: STORCHI MARINO 2009, p. 219; on the nature and modalities of imperial aid also TRAINA 2002.

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted in this regard that it is not easy to distinguish between any restoration interventions implemented after the earthquake of 27/26 and that of 6/5 B.C.; the restoration activity recognised in the monuments under consideration can be framed in the first half of the 1st century A.D. and it is known that a long period of time could also elapse between the seismic event and the restoration work; on the methods and times of intervention, examination in STORCHI MARINO 2009.

<sup>16</sup> On the layout of the agora and the construction phases in the Roman age: M. Livadiotti, in ROCCO, LIVADIOTTI 2011, pp. 401-420, for the Augustan age, p. 401.

<sup>17</sup> MALACRINO 2007, p. 261. On the sanctuary of Heracles: MALACRINO 2009, for the damage caused by the earthquake of the Augustan age, p. 205.

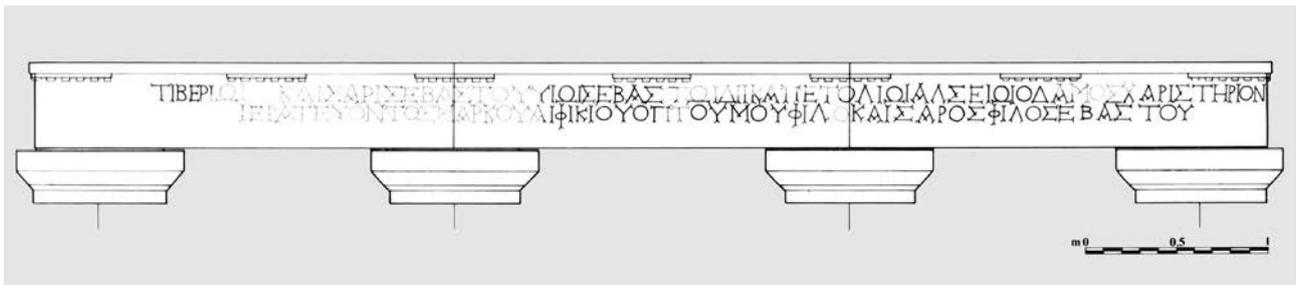


Fig. 4. Kos, Northern Gymnasium, Propylaeum, recomposed blocks of the architrave with the inscription from the Julio-Claudian age, based on the study by M. Livadiotti (drawing by M. Livadiotti, after LIVADIOTTI 1995, fig. 1).

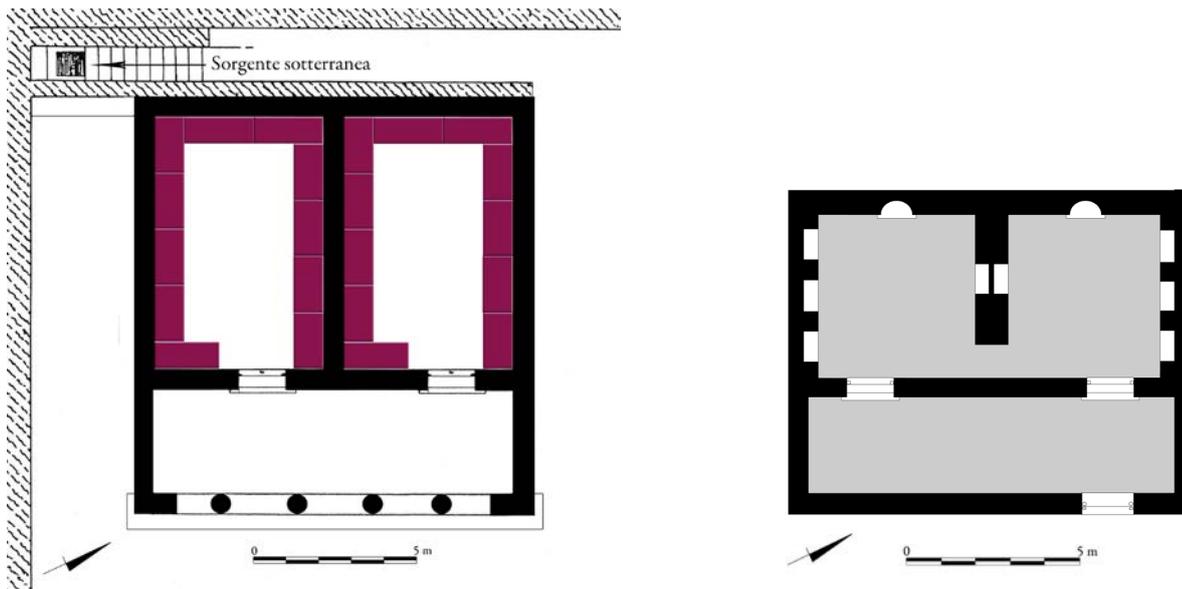


Fig. 5a,b. Kos, sanctuary of Asklepios. Building D, restored plans: a. as a *hestiatorion*, first phase (after HERZOG, SCHAZMANN 1932, fig. 31, revised by M. Livadiotti, in LIVADIOTTI 2013, fig. 26); b. as a library, second phase (drawing M. Livadiotti, after LIVADIOTTI 2013, fig. 31).

to date the blocks to the 2nd century B.C. and to attribute them to the *propylaeum* of the Northern Gymnasium<sup>18</sup>. A restoration in the first half of the 1st century A.D., on the other hand, can be elicited by the text of a fragmentary inscription carved on these blocks (fig. 4). The epigraph bears a dedication to an emperor, identifiable with one of the successors of Augustus, Tiberius or Claudius, mentioned with the epiclisis of Zeus *Kapetolios Alseios* (see below)<sup>19</sup>.

For the sanctuary of Asclepius, too, some analyses of the architectural structures could suggest damage caused by one of the two Augustan earthquakes<sup>20</sup>. In this regard, the ‘Building D’ case study is worthy of consideration. An analysis of the remains of the edifice, located on the second terrace, definitively ascertained its function as a *hestiatorion* (fig. 5a); the building can be dated to the end of the 3rd century B.C. but shows that it underwent a major renovation (fig. 5b) that

<sup>18</sup> The discovery of Laurenzi remained unpublished; Luigi Morricone later gave a brief report of it in the Preliminary Report of the Italian excavations in Kos, published in 1950: the scholar had proposed a dating of the blocks to the Hellenistic age on the basis of the characters of the architectural order and recognized a restoration in the 1st century A.D. due to the presence of the inscription datable to that period; finally, he had attributed them to a temple of Zeus *Alseios*, a divinity mentioned in the inscription: MORRICONE 1950, p. 244, note 58. A reconstruction of the discovery and of the subsequent events is in LIVADIOTTI 1995 to which we owe the study and the new proposal of interpretation of the architectural fragments; see also M. Livadiotti, in LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 1996, p. 155, fig. 359.

<sup>19</sup> The inscription is now largely lost due to the damage suffered by the blocks during the Second World War, but had been read by Mario

Segre before the damage: SEGRE 1993-2007, p. 207, EV 135; *IG XII*, 4, 2, 638: Τιβερῖωι Κα[ισαρι Σεβαστοῦ] υἱῶι Σεβαστ[ῶι] Διὶ Καπ[ετ]ολίωι Ἀλσειῶι ὁ δᾶμος χαριστήριον, ἱερα[τεύοντος Μάρκου] Αἰφικίου Ὀπτούμου φίλ[ο]καίσαρος φίλοσεβάστου. Segre frames the inscription in the 1st century A.D.; in *IG XII*, 4, 2, 638, a dating in the Tiberian age is proposed, followed also by PAUL 2013, p. 48, note 99. On the possible identification with Claudius, advanced by Morricone in unpublished notes, LIVADIOTTI 1995, p. 27, note 5.

<sup>20</sup> On the action of earthquakes for building interventions on the *Asklepieion*: MALACRINO 2007, p. 260 (with previous bibliography); INTERDONATO 2013, pp. 59-61, fig. 98: the identification of the Augustan age restorations is proposed on the basis of observations on the different construction techniques of the structures. On the sanctuary, the chronological phases and the structures see also ROCCO 2017.

can be dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D., based on the construction technique. Suggestive is the hypothesis that the aforementioned Augustean earthquakes may have caused the destruction and consequent abandonment of the building, which was then rebuilt and re-functionalized. The renovation also involved a change of use and the hypothesis that interprets the building as a library seems very likely. Such an hypothesis is based on an epigraph mentioning the gift of a library to the sanctuary by the famous physician Caius Claudius Stertinius Xenophon<sup>21</sup>. In this case, the identification with the library donated by Stertinius Xenophon, a person close to the emperor Claudius, would maybe reveal a continuation of construction activity after the earthquakes of the last quarter of the first century B.C., even in the Claudian period.

Apart from this, construction activity can be further elicited by another inscription dating back to the age of Claudius (47 A.D. or shortly afterwards) concerning a restoration of a series of public buildings destroyed by an earthquake, maybe one of those occurred during the Augustan age or perhaps a subsequent one, perhaps that of 47 A.D. which hit some cities in Ionia<sup>22</sup>.

In the deme of the Halasarnitai, in Apollo's sanctuary, excavations carried out in the 1990s revealed traces of two burned remains referable to extensive fires in the northern and southern walls of Building A; in particular, evidence for a first fire, smaller in extent than the second, which was detected on the upper part of the building's *euthynteria*, was attributed to the consequences of the earthquake of 6/5 B.C.<sup>23</sup>.

Although the amount of aid granted by Augustus is not quantified in the inscriptions, however, this intervention is part of a constant practice in the policy of the *princeps*, even before his final assumption of power: already in 31 B.C., in fact, Octavian had provided help to the city of Salamis in Palestine, hit by an earthquake; the same measure concerned Paphos in Cyprus in 15 B.C. In both cases the cities also changed their names, confirming a "new foundation" following the reconstruction desired by the prince. The cities of Kyme and Tralles, hit by the same earthquake as Cos in 27 B.C., also received support from Augustus, and Tralles added the name Kaisareia to its original toponym. Finally, Dione Cassius mentions aid to Naples, which was devastated by an earthquake and a fire in 2 B.C.: in the latter case, the city commemorated the event by instituting games in honour of the *princeps*<sup>24</sup>.

Augustus himself testifies to his activity in favour of cities affected by catastrophic events in the *Res Gestae* (RGDA, App. 4): *Impensa p[raestita in spe]ctacul[a] scenica et munera gladiatorum at[que] athletas et venationes et naum] ach[iam] et donata pe[c]unia [colonis municipiis op]pid[is ter]rae motu incendioque consumpt[is] a[ut] viritim] a[micis senat]oribusque quorum census explevit, in[n]umera[bilis]*; in the passage, donatives (*donata pecunia*) for natural disasters are mentioned in second place, after the financing (*impensa praestita*) of public works; Suetonius also mentions the prince's interventions after seismic events, recalling that he *aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit* (Suet., *Aug.*, 47).

It has been hypothesised that, also for the case of Cos, Augustus appointed one of his representatives on the island to organise aid: the activity of Publius Statilius Taurus, honoured together with his wife Cornelia by two epigraphs placed by the *damos* in the sanctuary of Asclepius, has been interpreted in this way<sup>25</sup>. In the dedications, Statilius is remembered without magistrates' duties but as patron and euergetes and celebrated for his *aretè* and *eunoia*; the choice may have been determined by the fact that, since Cos was part of a senatorial province, the prince preferred to use a person outside the imperial family as spokesman for his euergetic interventions in favour of the island. However, it should be remembered that the appointment of one or more representatives to inspect the damage and organise aid is also a widely attested practice; in fact, on the occasion of the same earthquake of 27/26 B.C. that struck Tralles, Augustus appointed a commission to rebuild the town and the same procedure was followed by Tiberius, in 17 A.D., to assess the damage caused by the severe earthquake that struck twelve towns in the Meander valley<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> A first hypothesis about the identification of Building D as a *bestiatorion* was put forward by ARMPIS 1995-96 and ARMPIS 1998, p. 176, later confirmed by LIVADIOTTI 2013 to which reference should be made for the architectural and typological analysis of the building and its interpretation as a library in the 1st century A.D.; see also LIVADIOTTI 2017, pp. 236-238. On the identification of Building D as *bestiatorion* see also: INTERDONATO 2013, pp. 283-288: the scholar, however, believes that the building maintained this function even in Roman times.

<sup>22</sup> BOSNAKIS, HALLOF 2008, pp. 233-235, nr. 33. The scholars identify the earthquake with that of 47; however, it should be remembered that many cities of Ionia were hit by a disastrous earthquake also in 17, during the reign of Tiberius. On the earthquake of 47: GUIDOBONI, CAMASTRI, TRAINA 1994, nr. 086, pp. 188-191; on the earthquake of 17: *ibidem*, nr. 079, pp. 180-185.

<sup>23</sup> KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS, KALOPISSI-VERTI, PANAYOTIDI 1995-1996, pp. 321-322. The second fire, of greater magnitude, of which

traces have been found at a higher level, would seem to be related to a subsequent earthquake, that of the age of Antoninus Pius: the earthquake seems to have been more extensive and determined the abandonment of the building.

<sup>24</sup> CONTI 2008, for the interventions of the Julio-Claudian age, pp. 374-378; STORCHI MARINO 2009, in particular for the Augustan age, pp. 194-199; DE MARTINO 2017.

<sup>25</sup> HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 166, nr. 55 (inscription in honor of Statilius Taurus), nr. 56 (inscription in honor of Cornelia) and p. 52: it should be noted that the dedication to the latter actually represents a sort of "transversal honor" to Statilius himself, paid through the figure of his wife. On the inscriptions see also INTERDONATO 2010, pp. 63-64, to which reference is also made for the analysis of the relationship between *euergesia* and patronage; INTERDONATO 2013, pp. 59, 198, 259, Catalogue III.79-80.

<sup>26</sup> TRAINA 2002; on this earthquake, GUIDOBONI, POIRIER 2019, pp. 91-93; see pp. 118-123 for types of relief to cities after an earthquake.



Fig. 6. Cos, portrait of Augustus (after LAURENZI 1938, fig. 41).

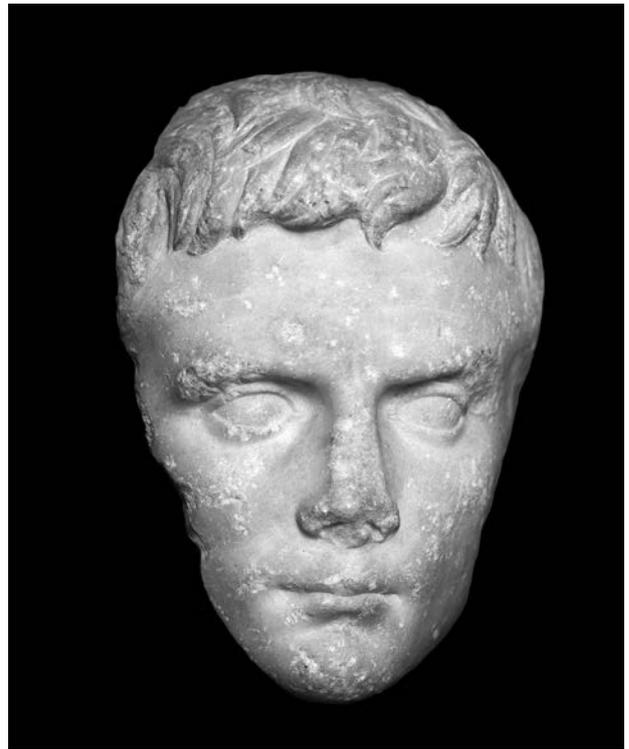


Fig. 7. Cos, Portrait of Augustus. Louvre Museum (Ma 2577) (photo: Marie-La Nguyen, User: Jastrow) 2009, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons).

The measures issued by Augustus in favour of Cos did not remain an isolated example; imperial aid was granted again, in an even greater form, in the 2nd century A.D., when a particularly disastrous earthquake in 142/144 affected the regions close to the micro-Asian coast (in particular Lycia, Caria), Rhodes and Cos, causing very serious damage to the city, which was rebuilt thanks to the substantial funding provided by Emperor Antoninus Pius; the earthquake marked the start of a grandiose building programme that transformed the urban landscape, and the reconstruction was also celebrated by several inscriptions praising the imperial intervention<sup>27</sup>.

Returning to the Augustan age, in the epigraph from Halasarna Augustus is honoured as *Apollo Soter*: the *princeps* is thus assimilated to the main deity of the deme, who appears as *Soter*, an attribute attested locally for Apollo only by this inscription<sup>28</sup>. In view of the assimilation between Augustus and Apollo, the term *Soter* can perhaps be explained in the light of its value in the laudatory onomastics of the Hellenistic and later imperial ages<sup>29</sup>. The inclusion of the prince in the local honour system will also be compared with other members of the family, as will be seen below.

Other honorary and dedicatory inscriptions for Augustus have been found in Kos; in one the *damos* dedicates a supplicatory gift (probably a statue) to the gods for the salvation of the prince<sup>30</sup>; in the second one, fragmentary, only the name of Augustus is preserved<sup>31</sup>. Another bilingual inscription, on the other hand, shows the dedication of a statue of Augustus as *Hermes*, made by a college of perfume sellers<sup>32</sup>, in the Tiberian age.

The statues pertaining to the inscribed bases are lost, however two portraits of Augustus are known. The first portrait (fig. 6), published by Laurenzi in 1938, has been framed in the *Prima Porta* type and must have belonged to

<sup>27</sup> STORCHI MARINO 2009, pp. 216-217; Pausanias, 43, 4: Antoninus' intervention is defined as a *yperbole* of money and means while the restoration is a *prothymia*. On the earthquake, GUIDOBONI 1989, p. 669.

<sup>28</sup> On Halasarna's cult of Apollo: PAUL 2013, pp. 189-210: epiclesis for the god are not attested, perhaps due to the easy recognition of his cult due to the importance that the god had in this deme, *ibidem*, p. 204.

<sup>29</sup> HELLER 2009, pp. 362-365; on "*euergetes, ktistes and soter*" on the epigraphs in Cos, see also HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 80.

<sup>30</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 673: ὁ δᾶμος ὑπὲρ τᾶς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ

Σεβαστοῦ σωτηρίας θεοῖς ἱλαστήριον; HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 138, n. 28.

<sup>31</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 634 [A]ὐτοκρά[τορι Καί]σαρι θεοῦ [υἱοῦ] Σεβαστῶν; HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 135, n. 29; See also IG XII, 4, 2, 633 and 636. Another fragmentary epigraph may also be referred to Augustus: IG XII, 4, 2, 886: [Aὐτ]οκράτορα Κ[αί]σαρα — — —; HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 122, n. 12.

<sup>32</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 635: *Imp(eratori) Caesari Divi f(ilio) Aug(usto) Mercurio scrutare(i)*. Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστῶν Ἑρμῆι γρυτοπῶλαι προστατοῦντος Διογένους τοῦ Πολυχάρους φιλοκαίσαρος. HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 137, nr. 27; INTERDONATO 2013, p. 138.

a larger-than-life-size statue. Despite the strong erosion of the surface, the individual features of the prince's physiognomy are recognisable: a wide oval defined by a square chin, a flattened appearance of the face, sunken eyes under strong and straight eyebrows, hair with three large locks forming a pincer and fork motif at the top of the forehead<sup>33</sup>. A second portrait is in the Louvre Museum (fig. 7), where it was acquired in the 19th century; Kate de Kersauson considered it to be an original creation, made between 27 and 20 B.C.<sup>34</sup>.

The existence of statues of the *princeps* is also attested by an honorary decree for the physician Isidoros issued by the citizens and inhabitants of the deme of the Halentioi; the text specifies that the stele with the decree is dedicated near the statue of Augustus; in the same text, moreover, the dating of the decree is indicated by the mention of the *monarchos* and of the priest of the Emperor Augustus, son of the divine Caesar: the expression therefore attests to the existence of a cult in honour of the *princeps*<sup>35</sup>.

Julia, daughter of Augustus and wife of Agrippa, is also the addressee of dedications by the island's *damosi*. She is honoured with three inscriptions dedicated by the Isthmiontai and by the Halasarnitai respectively. The inscription from Isthmus, engraved on a white marble base, is the dedication of a statue made by the Isthmian *damos* to Julia, qualified as the wife of Marcus Agrippa and daughter of Caesar Augustus<sup>36</sup>; the *damos* of the Halasarnitai dedicated a bronze statue to the noblewoman, which depicted her as Artemis; on the base was engraved the inscription, which again defines Julia as the wife of Agrippa and daughter of Augustus. In a second epigraph the same *damos* honours her as Leto *Kalliteknos*<sup>37</sup>.

The specific reasons for the honours are not known; it is likely that this was also a "transversal" honour aimed at paying homage to Augustus and Agrippa through the female member of their family. In this regard, it may be interesting to recall that a study conducted by Kerstin Höghammar (1997) on the presence of statues of women in public spaces in Cos between the Hellenistic and the early imperial age pointed out an increase in the number of dedications to female personalities precisely in the Augustan age compared to previous phases<sup>38</sup>. Although limited, the increase in number registers a drastic change in the way women were honoured on the island and can be read in the light of the local community's need to deal more broadly with the representatives of the new power, conforming to the demands of imperial propaganda promoting female members of the *familia Caesaris*.

It is likely that the dedications to Julia were made on the occasion of a visit of the married couple possibly during their stay in the East between 17 and 13 B.C.<sup>39</sup>; Agrippa's activities aimed at strengthening the ties between Augustus and the Greek cities, often using the institution of patronage, and this may have resulted in the honorary dedications made by the *damosi* of the island to the Roman general's wife, who was also the daughter of the *princeps* himself. He, as already mentioned, had given prompt support during the damage caused by the earthquake<sup>40</sup>. It should also be mentioned that in neighbouring Kalymnos Agrippa is honoured as a *patron* and *euergetes* by the local *damos* in an epigraph discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo<sup>41</sup>.

In two of the inscriptions Julia is assimilated to gods in the local *pantheon*: Artemis and Leto. The cult of Artemis is attested at Halasarna by an inscription on a marble stele, which shows the calendar of sacrifices to be made by Apollo's priest on an annual basis in the deme; the inscription documents a cult of the goddess with the epiclesis of *Agrotera* in whose honour a sacrifice was made in the month *Karneios*. The cult is added to the already known cults of Artemis *Lochia*, Artemis *Toxitis*, Artemis *Pergaia*; while another festival in honour of the goddess is attested in a sacred

<sup>33</sup> At the time of publication (LAURENZI 1938, p. 65, fig. 41), the portrait was kept in the Antiquarium of Kos; however, the place of discovery is not reported; GIULIANO 1959, p. 162, nr. 3. At present it has not been possible to carry out a survey in the Antiquarium in order to find and examine the head.

<sup>34</sup> GIULIANO 1959, p. 162, nr. 2; KERSAUSON 1986, p. 80, nr. 34 (Ma 2577): the portrait was purchased in 1883.

<sup>35</sup> PATON, HICKS 1891, pp. 221-222, nr. 344; IG XII, 4, 2, 1142, lin. 1-3 *ἱερέως δὲ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; lin. 14-16: *καθειέρωσαν δὲ τὴν στάλαν <π>αὐτὴν καθειδρυσμένην εἰκόνα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*. si veda anche HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 190, nr. 95. On the imperial cult and exponents of the Coan community: BOURASELIS 2000, pp. 89-91. See also HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 176-177, nr. 66-67, honorary and dedicatory inscriptions for winner in a contest of praise-singing for Augustus, from the *Asklepieion*; INTERDONATO 2013, pp. 199-200 and p. 139; on the imperial cult: pp. 137-145.

<sup>36</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 1180: from Isthmus (Kephalos); the inscription is dated between 21 and 12 B.C.: [ὁ] δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσθμῶ[των] [ἄ]νήθηκεν

Ἰουλίαν Μάρκ[ου] [Ἰ]γρίππα γυναῖκα, θυγατέρα [Καί]σαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

<sup>37</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 1154: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλασαρνιτῶν Ἰουλίαν γυναῖκα Ἀγρίππα, θυγατέρα δὲ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰκόνι Ἀρτάμιδος; 1155 (from Halasarna): ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλασαρνιτῶν καθιέρωσεν Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστ[αν] Λατοῖν καλλιτέκνον. For the latter, see HALLOF 2004, nr. W45; cfr. also KAJAVA 2008. On the three inscriptions also: HÖGHAMMAR 1993, pp. 187-189, nr. 77-79; HEIL 2013, p. 185. See also: HAHN 1994, pp. 108-109.

<sup>38</sup> HÖGHAMMAR 1997; Augustus himself should also be remembered, aimed at enhancing the role of women, especially the members of the dynastic family, as an instrument of political propaganda: CENERINI 2013.

<sup>39</sup> On Agrippa's journey: RODDAZ 1984, pp. 419-475. See also SHERWIN WHITE 1978, pp. 249-250; RODDAZ 1984, pp. 456-463. <sup>40</sup> HÖGHAMMAR 1993, p. 31-33.

<sup>41</sup> SEGRE 1944/45, p. 164, nr. 141 = AE 1954, 11; EILERS 2002, 209, C 36; See HEIL 2013, p. 185.

cave in the *polis* of Kos<sup>42</sup>. The cult of Leto is also well attested in Cos, where the mythical story placed the birth of the goddess; her cult often appears to be associated with that of Apollo *Dalios*<sup>43</sup>.

With regard to the attribute *καλλίτεκνος* it should be remembered that the term appears associated with Julia also in a dedication made by the people of Priene and in an epigraph, relating to her, found in the temple of Zeus *Lep-synos* at Euromus in Caria<sup>44</sup>. Generally speaking, the adjective is used to define prolific women and its use in the case of Julia is motivated by the number of children she had following her marriage to Agrippa; this definition becomes all the more valuable if we consider that Julia is the mother of Gaius and Lucius Caesars, adopted in 17 B.C. by Augustus himself; the exaltation of Julia's identity as a mother is, at the same time, a guarantee of dynastic continuity and the prosperity of the state.

The original location of the bases inscribed with the dedicated statues in the deme of the Halasarnitai is not known, but it is probable that they were located in the sanctuary of Apollo, which is characterised as a political as well as a religious centre and, in this context, must have strengthened its role in Roman times, in parallel with the *Asklepieion*<sup>45</sup>.

The same Halasarnite *damos* dedicates a *naos* to Julia's son, Gaius Caesar, defined as νέος θεός<sup>46</sup>, while a second dedication is made to the latter at Kos by the *gerousia*<sup>47</sup>.

Finally, a very fragmentary inscription from the *polis* in honour of a personage whose name has not been preserved is worth mentioning; the personage is mentioned as a priest of Apollo, gymnasiarch, *agonothetas* of the *agon* in honour of Hera and the Pythokleia, priest of Tiberius and Claudius; the text also mentions a "... Caesar, son of Augustus, Parthian", identified by Angelos Chaniotis with Gaius Caesar himself<sup>48</sup>. The term would refer to the peace-making role played by Gaius Caesar in the East, with the Parthian king Phraates IV, and would have been honoured by the Coans on the occasion of a visit to the island, after his stay in Samos (Svet., *Tib*, 12, 2); the term is not found in the official title of Gaius Caesar but would have been added as a divine epithet; the honours granted to Gaius on the island would also include the institution of games in his name, which are mentioned in another epigraph, in honour of an athlete<sup>49</sup>.

The successors of Augustus are just as honoured as the founder of the dynasty; Tiberius is the recipient of a very fragmentary inscription from the deme of the Halasarnitai<sup>50</sup> and of a second inscription engraved on a block, on which at a later stage an epigraph was inscribed in honour of Claudius<sup>51</sup>; in the inscription Tiberius is honoured for having confirmed the *asylia* at the sanctuary of Asclepius (23 A.D.). Also another honorific inscription for the emperor<sup>52</sup> and a dedication for the well-being of Tiberius and Julia<sup>53</sup> come from the sanctuary; moreover, a further dedication for the prosperity of the emperor Tiberius comes from Antimachia<sup>54</sup>. Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius, is also honored in an inscription from Kos<sup>55</sup>.

An epigraph for the health of the emperor Gaius is dedicated in the *Asklepieion*: the dedication is engraved on a marble stele and, in it, the emperor is called *Neos Asklapios*<sup>56</sup>; the assimilation to the god of medicine will later be reserved also for Nero, as we shall see. In an honorary epigraph from Antimachia Gaius's accession to the throne

<sup>42</sup> KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS 2004, part. p. 124; for the cult of Artemis see also: SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, p. 303; CUCUZZA 1997, pp. 71-72 (Artemis *Toxitis* in Crete and Cos); PAUL 2013, pp. 140-144.

<sup>43</sup> KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS 2004, part. p. 125; SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, p. 300-301.

<sup>44</sup> KAJAVA 2008 (with previous bibliography); see also: HAHN 1994, p. 116, nr. 72 (for the term, p. 109).

<sup>45</sup> For the value of the sanctuary of Apollo KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS 2004, pp. 125-126. On the role of the *Asklepieion*: INTERDONATO 2010.

<sup>46</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 637: Ο δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλασαρνιτᾶν Γαῖωι Ἰουλίωι Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱῶι Καίσαρι νέωι θεῶι τὸν ναόν.

<sup>47</sup> SEGRE 1997-2007, EV 373: [ἄ γερουσί]α Γάϊον [Καίσαρ]α Σεβαστοῦ [Καίσαρ]ος υἱόν; BURASELIS 2000, p. 112, to which reference is made for the role of *gerousia*, so too SHERWIN WHITE 1978, p. 171; see also IG, XII, 4, 2, 1024, the gap is integrated [ἄ βουλ]ἄ instead of [ἄ γερουσί]α. (17 B.C.-4 A.D.).

<sup>48</sup> SEGRE 1997-2007, EV 134; CHANIOTIS 2003, pp. 343-344; IG, XII, 4, 2, 1053.

<sup>49</sup> CHANIOTIS 2003; SEGRE 1993-2007, EV 218; IG, XII, 4, 2, 938, ll. 9-11.

<sup>50</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 1158 [v. *erasus*] Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τυχη[ — — ].

<sup>51</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 641: side A: [ὁ δᾶμος καθιέρωσε Τιβε]ρίωι Καίσαρι θεοῦ Σε[βαστοῦ υἱῶι] [χαριστήριον τὰς ἀσυλία]ς, ἃς ἔχει παρ' αὐτο[ῦ βεβαιωθείσας]. [τῶι παραβαίνοντι ἐνθῦ]μιον ἔστωι τὰς ἀσε[βείας τὰς εἰς τὸν] Σεβαστόν; the text is differently integrated in SEGRE 1993-2007, EV 279. On the confirmation of the *asylia* of the *Asklepieion* in A.D. 23: SHERWIN WHITE 1978, p. 149; see also Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 14.

<sup>52</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 888: [ὁ δᾶμ]ος Αὐτοκράτορα [Τιβε]ρίωι Καίσαρα θεοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ] υἱὸν Σεβαστόν.

<sup>53</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 674: ἱλαστήριον θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰς σωτηρίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ vac. καὶ Ιουλίης Σεβαστάς-ιεροφύλακες Μάρκος Σθένιος Λευκίου υἱὸς καὶ Θύρος ν β' καὶ Απολλωνίδης Θεαρήτου, φ(ύσει) δὲ Απολλωνίδου φιλοκαίσαρες.

<sup>54</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 675: ὑπὲρ Τιβερίου θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γάϊος [Ιούλιος] ΤΕΛΕΓΗΜΝΟΣ ἱερατεύων Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>55</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 885: Δρούσος Κ[αίσαρ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος] Σεβαστοῦ ν υ[ίος, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱωνός].

<sup>56</sup> IG, XII, 4, 2, 676: ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ νίκας τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γαῖου] Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ, πατρὸς πατρίδος, αὐτοκράτορος, νέου Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱλαστήριον; si veda anche HEIL 2013, p. 185.

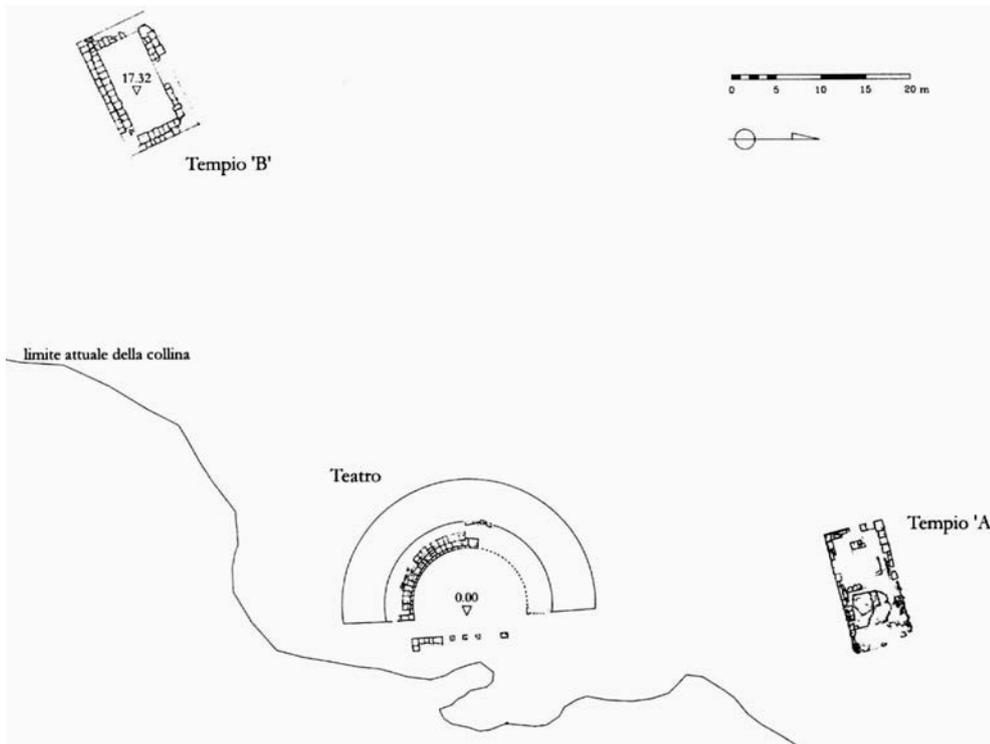


Fig. 8. Cos, Isthmus. Survey of the sanctuary of Asklepios, Hygieia and Homonoia (after LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2001, fig. 19).

looks almost like an epiphany<sup>57</sup>. Furthermore, a small bronze bust of Caligula was found in the central area of the agora of Kos<sup>58</sup>.

The beloved sister of Gaius, Drusilla, is also the recipient of two dedications, one of which is offered by the *damos* of the Halasarnitai<sup>59</sup>, the other was found in Kos<sup>60</sup>; in the latter (37-38 A.D.) Drusilla is honoured as *Nea Aphrodite* and described as the sister of Gaius and daughter of Germanicus. Honour is paid to Drusilla because of her piety; she is also referred to as *euergetis* (ταῖ ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτιδι ἑαυτοῦ εὐσεβείας χάριν); the expression is similar to the one used in an epigraph issued a few years later in honour of his sister Agrippina Minor (ἐκ πρ[ο][γόνων] εὐεργέτιν τοῦ δά[μου]) (cf. *infra*). The expression could refer to the fact that, among the relatives or ancestors of the honored, there was one already named by the Coans *euergeten auton kai tous ekgonous*, so Drusilla (and Agrippina) would be among the *ekgonous* of the honored and as such also entitled to euergesia. The reference to euergesia is also attested, in the masculine form, in one of the inscriptions in honour of Caligula from nearby Kalymnos<sup>61</sup>. In this regard it is worth mentioning that the grandfather of Drusilla, Agrippina and Gaius himself, Marcus Agrippa, is honoured in Kalymnos as *euergetes* (see above).

The cult of Aphrodite is one of the most important on Kos, as attested by the sanctuary near the port, already mentioned at the beginning of this contribution; the goddess is worshipped with the attributes of *Pandamos* and *Pontia*, epicleses that qualify her civic and maritime-commercial aspect<sup>62</sup>.

In the second inscription, the *damos* of the Halasarnitai honours Drusilla as *Sebastè Homonoia*; even here it is interesting to note the assimilation of the noblewoman with a personification of a public value, since it celebrates the Concord between civic entities; the cult seems to have developed on the island, particularly in the deme of Isthmus, following the *homopoliteia* between Cos and Kalymnos, which occurred at the end of the 3rd century B.C.; the goddess appears to be associated with Asklepios and Igeia, local deities with a strong identitarian meaning; the sanctuary of the three deities has been recognised as a complex consisting of two temple buildings and a theatre (fig. 8) unearthed in

<sup>57</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 1171 [ἐ]γνιατοῦ πρώτου τᾶς [Γαῖ]ου Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ υἱοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιφανείας, δαμαρχεῦντος Σέξτου Ποπιλλίου [— —] υἱοῦ Ρούφου, φιλο[καίσαρος, εὐσεβοῦς, δά] μου [υἱοῦ — —]. INTERDONATO 2013, p. 140.

<sup>58</sup> GIANNIKOURI, SKERLOU, PAPANIKOLAOU 2011, p. 366 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>59</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 1159: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλασα[ρ]νειτᾶν καθιέρωσε Σεβαστᾶν Ομόνοϊαν [Δ[ρούσιλλα]ν] διὰ ναποῶν Λεωνίππου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου, Αὔλου Τερεντίου Αὔλου υἱοῦ, Μάρκου Κοιλίου Μάρκου υἱοῦ

πρεσβυτέρου, φιλοκαισάρων. See also: HEIL 2013, p. 185.

<sup>60</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 640: [ὁ δᾶμος] καθιέρωσεν Δρουσίλλα, Ἄφροδείται νέαι, [ἀδ[ελφᾶι Γαῖου]] Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, θυγατρὶ δὲ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος, ταῖ ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτιδι ἑαυτοῦ εὐσεβείας χάριν.

<sup>61</sup> SEG 1952, n. 143.

<sup>62</sup> On the cult of Aphrodite *Pandamos* and *Pontia*: PARKER 2002, pp. 143-60; PARKER, OBBINK 2000, pp. 429-449; VALLARINO 2009, pp. 191-192; PAUL 2013, pp. 79-90.

the 1920s and 1930s by Italian excavations near the modern village of Kephalos; the discovery inside one of the two buildings of a base with a dedication to Homonia testifies to the deity's use of the small building<sup>63</sup>.

Agrippina Minor had already been the object of honours on the island before her marriage to Claudius, when she was the wife of the proconsul of Asia Gaius Sallustius Crispus Passienus. This is attested by a marble slab, reassembled from two fragments found at different times and places by Herzog at the beginning of the 20th century; the slab bears two inscriptions, engraved at two different times: the older one, dating from the early forties (42/43 A.D.), is a dedication to the daughter of Germanicus Caesar and wife of the proconsul Gaius Sallustius Crispus Passienus; the other one was dedicated to her few years later (50-54 A.D.) and celebrates her with the title of Julia Augusta Agrippina, wife of Augustus Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus Emperor<sup>64</sup>. The slab has been attributed to the base of a statue of Agrippina, now lost, originally erected in her honour as the wife of the proconsul of Asia and probably dedicated in the *Asklepieion*. Most probably, the occasion of the tribute was a visit of Agrippina and her husband to the island, during which the specific reason for the dedication may have occurred<sup>65</sup>.

The second inscription, on the opposite side of the slab, is evidently the result of an update regarding the new *status* of Agrippina, who became the fourth wife of emperor Claudius in A.D. 49. The newer inscription no longer explicitly refers to the empress' subversive character, but rather celebrates her as a result of her role as imperial wife, while attributing to the emperor the title of saviour and founder of the *polis* (σωτήρ[ος καὶ] κτίστα τῆς πόλιος).

The author of both dedications to Agrippina is the Koan *damos*, while the use of the term ἀνέθηκε in the older inscription reveals its honorary and dedicatory character at the same time; in the latter, Agrippina is called ἐκ πρ[ο] [γόνων] εὐεργέτιν τοῦ δά[μου]; as already mentioned, the expression is very close to that which appears on the inscription issued by the *damos* for Julia Drusilla in 37/38 A.D. (see *below*), whose meaning has already been discussed.

The dedication to the empress Agrippina, on the other hand, is part of a group of other inscriptions in which she is honoured individually or in pairs with the emperor. With the latter, in fact, she is honoured on a marble base with an inscription that is repeated twice: Claudius is defined as Zeus *Sotèr*, while Agrippina has the attributes of *Sebastè* and *Demeter Karpophoros*<sup>66</sup>. A dedication similar to this one must have been engraved, perhaps, on a fragment of an architrave, of unknown origin; the inscription is heavily mutilated, but the presence of the words *Autokrator* and *Sebastè Ka[...]* suggest an identification with the imperial couple and to hypothesise a text of a similar tenor to the previous one<sup>67</sup>.

With an individual dedication, instead, Agrippina is honoured by the *damos* of the Isthmians as documented by an epigraph on a marble base that again bears the title Augusta, Dea, *Demeter Karpophoros*<sup>68</sup>. Finally, as Rhea, Agrippina is mentioned in an honorary inscription, fragmentary in its opening lines, erected for a personage whose name is missing and found in Kos, in the area of the agorà<sup>69</sup>; the honoured personage is remembered as *agoranomos*, *agonothetes*, gymnasiarch of the presbyters, as well as *epimeletès* of the *hierà* of *Sebastà Rhea*. This definition, together with the reference to the *eusebeia* of the unknown personage to the *Theòì Sebastòì* and the definition of *philokaisar*, makes it possible to recognise the divine figures as the imperial couple and to hypothesise the existence of a specific cult in their honour. It is also noteworthy that this priesthood was assumed by a person who held important magistrate

<sup>63</sup> On the Homonoia cult: PAUL 2013, inscription by Drusilla p. 213, note 58; on the identification of the Isthmian sanctuary, in which the divinity is associated with Asklepios and Hygieia: LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2001. On the base with a dedication to Homonoia, found by Laurenzi in the temple: IG, XII, 4, 2, 1186; HÖGHAMMAR 1993, 198, 88.

<sup>64</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 890: side A) ὁ δᾶμος ἀ[νέθη]κεν Ἀγριππείναν τὴν [Γερ]μανικοῦ Καίσα[ρος] θυγατέ[ρα], γυναῖκα δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτ[ο]υ Γαίου Σαλλου[στί]ο[υ] Κρίσπου Πασσιήνου, ἐκ προ[γόνων] εὐεργέτιν τοῦ δά[μου]. Side B) [ὁ δᾶμος καθιέρωσεν Ἰουλι[α]ν Σεβαστὴν Ἀγριππείναν, τὴν γυν[α]ίκα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τιβερίου [Κ]λαυδίου Καίσα[ρ]ος Γερμα[ν]ικοῦ αὐτοκράτο[ρο]ς, σωτήρ[ος καὶ] κτίστα τῆς πόλιος. The first fragment had been reused in a house and was identified by Herzog in 1900; the second fragment was found by the scholar in a field near the *Asklepieion*: cf. HERZOG 1922, p. 237, note 2; an in-depth examination of the inscriptions and the history of the findings is in HEIL 2013. The epigraph is also published in BARRETT 1996, p. 222, nr. 22 (there is no reference to the different places where the fragments were found); the text with the dedication to Agrippina as the proconsul's wife is dated by Barrett in the early Forties of the 1st century A.D.

<sup>65</sup> On the marriage with Sallustius Crispus: BARRETT 1996, pp. 84-

85; Sallustius Crispus held the proconsulate of Asia in 42/43 A.D., on the contextualization of the inscription during the proconsulate of Sallustius Crispus: HEIL 2013, pp. 185-186.

<sup>66</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 643 (49-50 A.D.): found in 1900, now preserved in the Kos Castle, in the warehouse area: side A) Τιβερίω Κλαυδίω Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Γερμανικῶι Διὶ Σωτήρι καὶ Ἀγριππείνῃ Σεβαστῇ Δήμητρι Καρποφόρῳ. Side B) [Τιβερίω Κλαυδίω Καίσαρι] [Σεβαστῶι Γερμανικῶι Διὶ] Σωτήρι καὶ Ἀγριππείνῃ Σεβαστῇ Δάματρι Καρποφόρῳ. On the inscription BARRETT 1996, p. 222, n. 21 (with further bibliography). On the title of the empress: HAHN 1994, pp. 190-194.

<sup>67</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 647 (1-50 A.D.): [— — —] Αὐτοκρ[άτορι] — — — [— — —] ΩΙ, δημαρχικ[ῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ — — — [— — —] Σεβαστῇ ΚΑ[— — —]; SEGRE 1993-2007, n. 252.

<sup>68</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 1182 (50-59 A.D.): ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσ[θ]μιωτῶν καθιέρωσεν Σεβαστὴν θεῶν Δαμάτραν Καρποφόρον.

<sup>69</sup> IG XII, 4, 2, 1058, marble base, in two fragments: [— — —] [— — —] Σ[.]ΕΙΟΙ [φίλο]καί[σα]ρα, ἀγορανομ[ήσαν]τα ἀγνώ, ἀγωνοθε[τή]σαντα εὐσεβῶς, ἐπι[με]λητεύσαντα τῶν *vac.* τῶν Σεβαστῶν Πέας ἱερῶν ἀρεστῶς, γυμνασιάρχ[ησαν]τα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων σεμνῶς, διὰ τε τῶν *vac.* ἐς τὸς θεὸς Σεβαστῶς εὐσεβείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ σύστημα φιλοφροσύναν εὐνοίας χάριν.



Fig. 9. Cos, Kyparissi, Demeter statue dedicated by Melachri-das. Kos, Archaeological Museum (photo G. Pasqua).

should be stressed that its discovery in the sacred building does not necessarily imply the identification of the ancient temple with a place of worship of the goddess<sup>77</sup>.

Rhea is also a deity honored in the Coan context: she appears as the recipient of a sacrifice in the month Karneios in one of the calendars<sup>78</sup> of the cults found on the island, which prescribes the rules for the sacrifice, the months of the

positions within the civic community; based on the assonance with the figure of Stertinius Xenophon, who also held the role of Rhea's priest, Ulrike Hahn proposed to identify the personage as a member of the powerful local medical class<sup>70</sup>. Finally, further evidence of the cult of Rhea is provided by an altar bearing the name of a priest of the goddess<sup>71</sup>.

As for the other members of the *domus Augusta*, the empress is, therefore, honoured through assimilation with certain deities of the Coan *pantheon*, in particular Demeter *Karpophoros* and *Sebastà Rhea*.

Literary tradition links Demeter to the island: a poem dedicated to the goddess by Philitas of Cos sets part of the search for her daughter kidnapped by Hades on the island. Epigraphic documentation and archaeological findings attest to the cult of Demeter on the island already in an age prior to the metoecism; a sanctuary was located in the north-western part of the *polis*, not far from the stadium, by Herzog (1901)<sup>72</sup>, but the identification, as well as the location of the cult site, still present elements of uncertainty<sup>73</sup>.

A second sanctuary is instead documented in the deme of Haleis, in Kyparissi (fig. 9), as already mentioned<sup>74</sup>; a third place of worship, finally, could be identifiable in the remains of the temple later incorporated into the church of the Panaghia Palatiani near Kephalos: the identification of the temple as the seat of the cult of Demeter was hypothesised by Herzog on the basis of two inscriptions, one of which was proposed to be identified in a fragmentary epigraph, integrated with the names of Demeter and Kore by Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli<sup>75</sup>, and the other in the inscription already mentioned in honour of Agrippina as *Demeter Karpophoros*<sup>76</sup>, which was preserved precisely in the church. Although the latter is an important testimony to the epiclesis of the goddess, as well as to the honours bestowed on the empress in this capacity, it

sanctuary discovered by Herzog: a summary of the findings and related hypotheses of identification in LIVADIOTTI 2015, p. 124. On the location of the cult of Demeter also: PAUL 2013, pp. 73-75; the place of worship seems to have been damaged by a seismic event in the early 2nd century B.C. and restored, perhaps following a public subscription: MALACRINO 2007, p. 258.

<sup>74</sup> PAUL 2013, p. 247.

<sup>75</sup> PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1963-1964, p. 181, XX.

<sup>76</sup> *IG XII*, 4, 1182.

<sup>77</sup> Thus, with good reason, PAUL 2013, p. 223 with previous bibliography.

<sup>78</sup> PAUL 2013, p. 382; cf. *IG XII*, 4, 274 datable to the middle of the 4th century B.C.; on the epigraphic testimonies of the divinity in Cos, PAUL 2013, p. 338, note 58 and *passim*.

<sup>70</sup> HAHN 1994, pp. 190-192.

<sup>71</sup> MAIURI 1925, pp. 157-158, nr. 450.

<sup>72</sup> HERZOG 1901, pp. 134-137: the identification of the place of worship with a spring, evidenced by the discovery of a series of clay statuettes and a female head in marble, identified by the scholar as Kore, was confirmed by the discovery of a fragmentary inscription with a dedication to Demeter; see also LAURENZI 1931, p. 610.

<sup>73</sup> Herzog's recognition was first confirmed by KANTZIA 1988, pp. 179-181, and hypothetically identified with a temple found by the scholar in odos Veroiopoulou, in the property Tsoulpha Rodias (KANTZIA 1992; KANTZIA 1994), later questioned by the same scholar (KANTZIA 1995). The discovery of a place of worship of a mysterious female divinity unearthed close to the western walls of the city, owned by Demetsi Makrychamilaki, in recent times contributes to keeping open the question concerning the location of the

year and the animals to be sacrificed to the different deities; her sphere of competence, linked to the productive capacity of nature, makes her similar to Demeter, with whom - as well as with Athena - Rhea shares the offering of a sheep as an animal to be sacrificed in her honor. The goddess does not seem to be distinguished by specific epiclesis, the attribute *Sebastà*, present in the honorary inscription of an unknown personage mentioned above, is rather linked to the imperial figure in whom Agrippina Minor has been recognised; on the other hand, Demeter is distinguished in Cos by several attributes, including that of *Karpophoros* or “fruitful”, an epiclesis that is proper to her in a Hellenistic dedication<sup>79</sup>, but which also appears in two of the epigraphs in honour of the empress mentioned above<sup>80</sup>.

Moreover, the representation of the empress *sub specie Demetrae* is also attested outside the coeval context, according to a recurrent practice in imperial propaganda; in sculpture a significant example is a slab from the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias, where Agrippina is depicted in the guise of Demeter with a *bouquet* of spikes and poppies in her left hand while she shakes Claudius’ right hand in the guise of Triptolemus or Zeus<sup>81</sup>. A greater number of references can be found, however, in numismatics, where the assimilation of Agrippina Minor to Demeter seems to have found particular favour in the Hellenic East<sup>82</sup>, and in epigraphy, which is also confined to the Greek-Oriental sphere, of which the Coan context offers the most significant evidence.

In addition to the inscriptions, a portrait of Agrippina (fig. 10) has also been preserved in Kos, originally pertaining to a statue with colossal dimensions, depicting the veiled empress, perhaps in the guise of a praying woman<sup>83</sup>. The portrait is only partially preserved, but it is possible to recognise the features of her physiognomy in some facial details - such as the smooth, rectangular forehead; the almond-shaped eyes, recessed under the eyebrow arch, with the upper eyelid above the lower one - and in the hairstyle, characterised by a triple row of locks ending in a ring along each side of the face, to which a fourth row of smaller locks is added, also closed in a ring, delimiting the forehead and the sides of the face up to the ears. The presence of this further row of curls has made it possible to include the Coan specimen in the type known as Milan-Florence, recognised in the series of portraits of the empress<sup>84</sup>.

The head had been reported in the early 20th century by Herzog who, on the basis of an identification by Margarete Bieber, had already proposed that it was Agrippina Minor. The hypothesis was then taken up hypothetically by Laurenzi and partly followed by more recent critics<sup>85</sup>. On the basis of the testimony of Herzog and other preserved



Fig. 10. Cos, portrait of Agrippina Minor. Kos, Archaeological Museum (photo G. Pasqua).

<sup>79</sup> *IG XII*, 4, n. 518: III B.C.

<sup>80</sup> The aforementioned *IG XII*, 4, 2, 643 (paired with Claudius), and 1182; also *IG XII*, 4, 2, 647, fragment of an epistolary drawn in MAIURI 1925, 471 and also published in SEGRE 1993, nr. 252, was integrated by Maiuri as dedicated to the emperor Claudius and his wife Agrippina with the epiclesis *Sebastè Karpophoros*. *Karpophoros* for Agrippina is also attested in contexts other than that of Cos: Lesbos, *IG XII*, 2, 258: *Theà Aiolis Karpophoros*, see HAHN 1994, p. 190.

<sup>81</sup> Aphrodisias, *Sebasteion*, plate with Agrippina and Claudius: SMITH 1987, pp. 106-110, nr. 3, pls. VIII-IX; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, p. 158, nr. 104, pl. 27.1; on the *Sebasteion* Agrippina is also presented in a second plate, depicted in the act of crowning Nero: SMITH 1987, pp. 127-132, 11, pl. XXIV-XXVI; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, p. 158, nr. 105, pl. 27.2.

<sup>82</sup> On the representation of the female members of the *familia Caesaris sub speciae deae*: MIKOCCI 1995; in part. for Agrippina Minor as Demeter: pp. 38 (epigraphy), 39-40 (numismatics, sculpture and glyptic); on the value and significance of these representations, most recently PORTALE 2013.

<sup>83</sup> Kos, National Archaeological Museum. Height 0.55 m. HERZOG 1922, p. 239, note 3; IACOPI 1928, p. 95; LAURENZI 1955-56, pp.

124-125, nr. 142. For a reconstruction of the history of the head and its analysis in the light of the coan context: BELLI PASQUA 2018, expressing some of the positions here proposed. I thank Dr. Melpomeni Philimonos, former Director of the XXII Ephorate of Prehistoric-Classical Antiquities of Rhodes, for granting the study and publication permission of the Agrippina.

<sup>84</sup> The analysis of the portraits of Agrippina Minor is still subject to in-depth analysis; so far four types have been recognized, which can be placed chronologically between the late Claudian and proto-Neronian age, perhaps used simultaneously; of these, the Ancona type was perhaps created on the occasion of the wedding with Claudius, while the Stuttgart type could be the most recent, given the accentuated similarity with Nero. Greater difficulty in chronological classification is for the other two types: Milan-Florence and Parma-Naples; on the subject see in particular: TRILLMICH 1974; FITTSCHEN, ZANKER 1983, p. 6-7, nr. 5, with a list of types; SMITH 1987, pp. 106-110, nr. 3, pl. VIII-IX; pp. 127-132, nr. 11, pl. XXIV-XXVI (Ancona type); WOOD 1988; TRILLMICH 1994 (with further bibliography); WOOD 1999, pp. 295-304; TRILLMICH 2007.

<sup>85</sup> On the coan portrait, in addition to the aforementioned HERZOG 1922, IACOPI 1928 and LAURENZI 1955-56, see: GIULIANO 1959,

documentation, moreover, the head must have been found in the area of the theatre of Kos<sup>86</sup>. The building has yet to be thoroughly excavated and systematically studied, so it is currently not possible to reconstruct in detail its configuration, its chronological phases, or even the sculptural decorations with which it was probably equipped<sup>87</sup>. However, it cannot be ruled out that, within the Roman macro-phase evidenced by the remains brought to light, the statue of Agrippina Minor could be ascribed either to the furnishings of the stage building itself or to a room, perhaps intended for imperial celebrations, connected to the theatre complex.

The frequency of dedications reserved for Agrippina can be read mainly in the light of the link between the island and Emperor Claudius, who was also the recipient of a series of dedications.

Reference has already been made to the inscriptions in which the imperial couple is celebrated; in the duplicated inscription found on Kos, the emperor is celebrated as Zeus *Soter* paired with Agrippina Demeter *Karpophoros* and probably he was mentioned in a similar way in the other, albeit fragmentary, inscription on a fragment of an architrave. In the other inscription, honouring him again as a couple with Agrippina, he is, instead, called *Soter kai ktistas tas polios*<sup>88</sup>; to these dedications are added others, whose addressee is Claudius alone.

An inscription is placed in his honour by the *damos* of the Antimachidai and is engraved on the abacus of a marble capital now lost<sup>89</sup>; a second one is placed by the *damos* of the Halasarnitai honouring him (*kathierosen*) as *soter* and *euergetes*<sup>90</sup>; a round altar bears an inscribed dedication to Claudius *Poseidon Asphaleios*<sup>91</sup>; an epigraph, placed by the *damos* of the Isthmiotai recalls the consecration of a *naos* to Claudius<sup>92</sup>.

The large number of dedications is justified by the gratitude of the local community for the favour Claudius showed to the island, also thanks to the intercession of Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, a citizen of Cos and personal physician to the emperor, who worked to obtain the emperor's favour towards his hometown and for this he was widely honoured by his fellow citizens, who rewarded him with numerous honorary titles (see *below*)<sup>93</sup>. Stertinius's good offices are credited with the exemption from the payment of taxes (*immunitas, omni tributo vacui*) granted by the emperor to Cos after 53 A.D.<sup>94</sup>.

The emperor may also have promoted or favoured the restoration of some of the buildings destroyed by the earthquakes mentioned above, if for example the inscription on the lintel fragments attributed to the propylaeum of the northern Gymnasium can be referred to him and not to Tiberius.

An honorary inscription for Tiberius Claudius Caesar Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina, is dedicated by the *damos* of the Isthmiotai between A.D. 43 and 55; the text, engraved on a marble stele, is only partially preserved and bears the name of the *damos* and the honoured prince<sup>95</sup>.

Finally, Nero is celebrated in two honorary inscriptions and in three dedicatory epigraphs; the honorary inscriptions come from Halasarna<sup>96</sup> and from Hippia<sup>97</sup>. Gaius Stertinius Xenophon is the author of the dedications: two, engraved on a marble altar, come from Kos; the text is almost identical and bears the dedication to (Nero) Asklepios<sup>98</sup>; the third epigraph is engraved on a marble statue base, placed inside the niche west of the staircase that joins the second and third terraces of the sanctuary of Asklepios (fig. 11a,b); the placement inside the niche, with a fountain, gives the ensemble the appearance of a real *naiskos* and increases the sacral value of the dedication, which included a statue on the base; the text mentions Stertinius as the dedicator, remembered with the numerous honorary titles that the Coan

p. 160, nr. 17, which however identifies it as Agrippina *Maior*; POLASCHEK 1972, p. 208, note 21; FITTSCHEN, ZANKER 1983, pp. 6-7, nr. 5, note 4, j (Type II, Milano-Firenze); KREIKENBOM 1992, pp. 203-204, III, 71, pl. 16c,d; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, p. 106, nr. 108, pl. 26.1, which considers it a mixture of the Ancona and Milan-Florence types, dating it to the Claudian age; PORTALE 2013, p. 217.  
<sup>86</sup> HERZOG 1922, p. 239, note 3; LAURENZI 1955-56, pp. 124-125, nr. 142. Laurenzi recalls the discovery near the theater also in a file relating to this monument, prepared for the drafting of an archaeological map of the island, which remained unpublished.

<sup>87</sup> Sul teatro: M. Livadiotti, in LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 1996, pp. 156-158, with previous bibliography; HERZOG, 1899, pp. 156-158; IACOPI 1928, p. 98; MORRICONE 1950, p. 244; SHERWIN WHITE 1978, p. 25, note 69.

<sup>88</sup> *IG*, XII, 4, 2, 890 b; see *supra*.

<sup>89</sup> *IG* XII, 4, 2, 1172: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀντιμαχιδᾶν καὶ Αἰγυλίων καὶ Ἀρχιαδᾶν καθιέρωσεν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον [Γερ]μανικὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν.

<sup>90</sup> *IG* XII, 4, 2, 1160: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλασαρνειτᾶν καθιέρωσεν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν - τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ

εὐεργέταν.

<sup>91</sup> *IG* XII, 4, 2, 417: Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ποσιδᾶνος Ασφα[λεί]ου (from Kardamena).

<sup>92</sup> *IG* XII, 4, 2, 642: Τιβερίω Κλαυδίω Καίσαρι Γερμανικῷ Σεβαστῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὸν ναὸν ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσθμιωιτᾶν καθιέρωσεν[ν].

<sup>93</sup> On Stertinius Xenophon: SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, pp. 149-152; BURASELIS 2000, pp. 66-110, 156-159; VALLARINO 2010.

<sup>94</sup> HAHN 1994, pp. 190-192; SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, p. 149; BUONGIORNO 2010, pp. 353-354 (*SC de immunitate Coorum*).

<sup>95</sup> *IG*, XII, 4, 2, nr. 1181: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰσθμιωιτᾶν καθιέρωσεν [— — —] Καίσαρα Βρετανικόν (43-55 A.D.).

<sup>96</sup> *IG* XII, 4, 2, 1161[[[Nέρωνα]]Κλαύδιο[ν] Καίσαρα Δροῦσον Γερμανικόν διὰ ναποᾶν τῶν σὺν Ἀττάλου τοῦ Εὐριπίδου. Engraved on a round marble base, with previous inscription. See also HÖGHAMMAR 1993, pp. 185, nr. 75 (A).

<sup>97</sup> *IG* XII, 4, 2, 1145 ([— — — ? — — —] Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον [[Σεβ]αστ[ὸ]ν] Γερμανικόν ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἰππιωιτ[ᾶ]ν).

<sup>98</sup> *IG* XII, 4, 2, 645: Γ[αί]ος Στερτίνιος Ξενο[φών] εὐεργέτας τᾶς πατρίδος, καὶ ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου Ἀσκληπιῶ Καίσαρι Ἀγαθῷ Θεῷ ἀνέθηκε, and 646.



Fig. 11a,b. Kos, sanctuary of Asklepios, third terrace. a. niche with fountain and base of a statue with a dedication to Nero Asklepios, Igea and Epione by Gaius Stertinius Xenophon; b. detail of the base with inscription (photo G. Rocco).

community had bestowed on him for his commitment to the imperial house in favour of his city of origin; the dedication is to Nero Asklepios, Epione and Hygieia<sup>99</sup>.

The documents examined so far make it possible to draw some concluding remarks.

Epigraphs, through the medium of writing, flanked - when present - by sculptural documentation are confirmed as the most suitable evidence to show and, later for us, to reconstruct the relations between the local ruling classes and imperial power. In the case of Cos, epigraphic evidence from the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods documents a discrete continuity over time and concerns not only the emperor but also the members of his family: wives, daughters, sons, sisters; the island's main demes appear to have been involved in this process of interaction: Antimachidai, Halasarnitai, Halentioi, Hippiotai, Isthmiotai, and, of course, the most representative *polis*, arisen from the metoecism: Kos. In particular, the Halasarnitai and the Isthmiotai seem to have been particularly active in honorary activity; the Halasarnite *damos* bestowed epigraphs on Augustus, his daughter Julia, his grandson and adopted son Gaius Caesar, Tiberius, Drusilla, sister of Gaius, and Claudius; the Isthmian *damos*, on the other hand, on Julia, Agrippina, Claudius, and Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina. In the *polis* and in the main extra-urban sanctuary, the *Asklepieion*, there are inscriptions for Tiberius, for Gaius, for Agrippina Minor and for Nero.

The places where the individual dedications are placed are the *topoi epiphanestatoi*, the most representative places of the individual communities, in many cases coinciding with the main religious and political sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary of Apollo in the deme of the Halasarnitai or the *Asklepieion* (fig. 12), confirming the role of places of worship as privileged areas to host and tangibly exhibit the system of dialogue between the local communities and the imperial power.

The dialogical relationship between the local community and the emperor, however, does not appear to be limited to the local context, but takes on an “international” dimension, as shown by the inscription of thanks from the

<sup>99</sup> IG XII, 4,2, 644 Ἀσκληπιῶν Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶν καὶ Ὑγίαι καὶ Ἥπιόνῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτῶν διὰ βίου Γαίου Στερτίνιος Ἡρακλείτου υἱός, Κορινθία, \*Ξενοφών, φιλο[ρ]ώμμιος \* [φ[ιλόνέρων]] φιλόκαισαρ,

φιλοσέβαστος φιλόπατρις, δάμου υἱός, εὐσεβῆς εὐεργέτας τὰς πατρίδος, ἥρως ἀνέθηκεν.

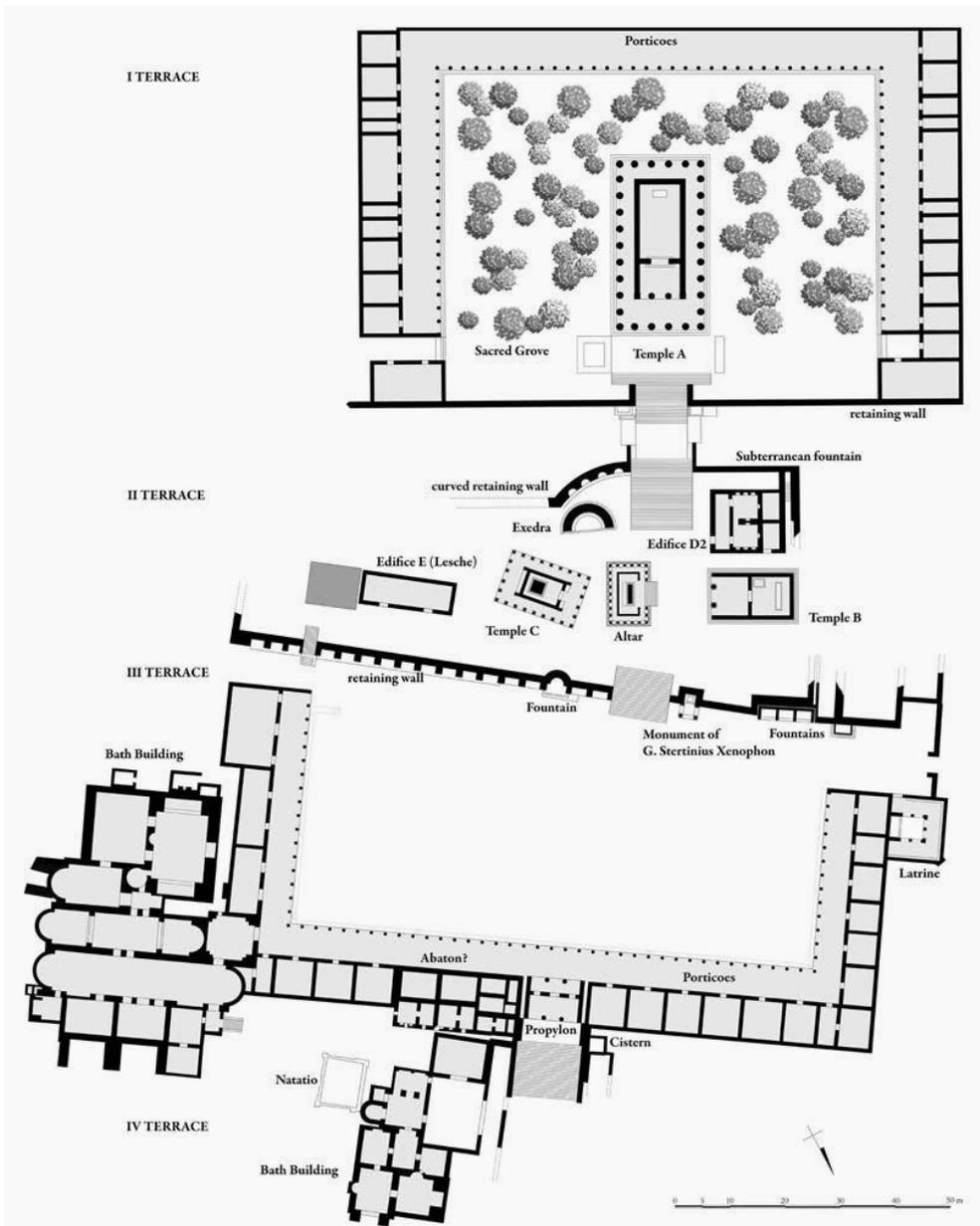


Fig. 12. Kos, sanctuary of Asklepios, restored plan (after Rocco 2017, fig. 2).

Coans to Augustus found in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia. In this sense, the prestige of the emperor - whose euergetic function is testified to - and of the community that is benefited is exalted and their reciprocal closeness underlined: the expression “close to his heart” (ὡς οικηοτάτην [τὴν π]όλ[ιν]) that appears in the text is illustrative in this sense.

The *damoí* qualify as the main commissioners of the dedications, which are therefore of a public and collective nature. Dedications made by individual members of the local *élite*, as in the case of the dedications to Nero made by Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, differ from this mode. In this regard, his work is part of a phenomenon recognised in Cos from the end of the republican age, when family groups or individual persons stood out from the community and linked themselves to the new Roman referents with whom they acted as intermediaries. In this sense, for the republican age, the figure of Theopompos of Cnidus, who interceded with Caesar, by virtue of his friendship with the latter, in favour of the island that had sided with Pompey, and, for the Claudian age, Stertinius Xenophon himself, is an example of this; the position of privilege that these characters derive from it is therefore twofold: *clientes* of the imperial family, *patroni* and euergetes in the community of origin<sup>100</sup>. A similar case is documented, for example, in Mytilene, where Teophanes, a friend of Pompey, obtains freedom for his city from the general<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> An analysis of the theme in: INTERDONATO 2010; INTERDONATO 2004, pp. 274-276.

<sup>101</sup> GOLD 1985.

Charitable activities also included building work: mention has already been made of the donation of a library to the sanctuary of Asklepios, the furnishing of the niche with the dedication to Nero and the restoration and refurbishment of the water system of the third terrace<sup>102</sup>. It cannot be ruled out, as already mentioned with regard to the library, that part of the new works may have been part of the reconstruction and enrichment of the monumental array, which had to be developed over time after the earthquakes.

Equally exceptional are the honours that the community bestows on its patron in return, designating him with specific, particularly grandiloquent titles (φιλο[ρ]ώμαιος φι[ιλονέρων] φιλόκαισαρ, φιλοσέβαστος φιλόπατρις, δάμου υἱός, εὐσεβής εὐεργέτας τὰς πατρίδος) while the emperor's benevolence is also attested by his role as a priest for life of the associated cult of Asclepius and the emperor (ἱερ]εὺς δ[ιὰ] [βίου Ἀσκ]λαπιῶ [Καίσαρι Ἀγα]θῶ [Θεῶ]).

The phenomenon, however, is not limited to Cos alone, but there are several attestations in other centres of the Greek East, just think, for example, of the role played by Gaius Julius Zoilus in the interaction between Augustus and his city of origin, Aphrodisias in Caria<sup>103</sup>.

Regarding the type of inscriptions, purely honorary and other honorary and dedicatory epigraphs are attested together. The motivations are different: in the case of Augustus, the inscription is configured as a thank you for the help following the earthquake<sup>104</sup>; the promotion of building activity - whether or not following the catastrophic events - as an act of homage to the emperor is documented, for example, by the inscribed architrave of the propylaea of the Northern Gymnasium and, probably, also in the case of the preserved lacunar epigraphs on architraves or other architectural elements. In other cases, the gratitude is due to particularly important measures, such as the *asylia* reconfirmed by Tiberius for the *Asklepieion*, or the *immunitas* granted by Claudius in 53 A.D.: a measure that by changing the administrative *status* can be almost equivalent to a new foundation.

Frequently the dedication accompanies a statue of the addressee, the *princeps* or a male/female member of the *familia Caesaris*, often assimilated to a deity; the latter appears in association with the human name in the epigraphic text; the documents examined show that, in the context of Cos, the main deities of the island were involved in this practice: Asklepios (fig. 13), Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis, Leto, Demeter, Rhea and Homonoia.

Generally speaking, the phenomenon is widespread in the Hellenic Mediterranean and does not concern only the religious sphere but also the political one: it is a way of contextualizing the relations between local communities and the new autocratic power within a religious tradition more understandable to the Greek populations, who were already accustomed to worship living humans, i.e. the Hellenistic rulers, and used to associate them with local deities; the association between the mortal recipient and the deity can take different forms, such as the simple juxtaposition of the name of the god next to that of the honoured person, or the more structured form of a joint cult, as can be hypothesised in the case of Nero Asklepios, or the institution of games or, finally, the dedication of a temple building<sup>105</sup>: all modalities that can be recognised in the epigraphic documentation examined.

In short, through honorary formulas and dedications, their placement in the most representative places of the community, assimilation with local deities, joint cults and periodic celebrations, the community reaffirms its homage to the emperor and his family, while the emperor is ready to respond to the needs of the community by performing his charitable activities on specific occasions, such as natural disasters, or through benevolence towards the most influential members of the local ruling class.



Fig. 13. Kos, Mosaic depicting the arrival of Asklepios on the island. Kos, Archaeological Museum (photo: G. Pasqua).

<sup>102</sup> SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, pp. 151, 283-284.

<sup>103</sup> On Zoilos, SMITH 1994.

<sup>104</sup> On the administrative condition of Cos in the Augustan age, variously discussed regarding the island's participation in the political

events that preceded the assertion of Octavian's power, BURASELIS 2000, pp. 122-150, with previous bibliography.

<sup>105</sup> CAMIA 2009; CAMIA 2012.

## Bibliography

- ALEXANDRIDIS 2004 = ALEXANDRIDIS A., *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses: eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna*, Mainz a.Rh. 2004.
- ARMPIS 1995-1996 = ARMPIS, E.A., *Building types found in the sanctuaries of Asklepios in the Peloponnese and Attika. Dining-Halls*, in *Archaïognosia* 9, 1995-96, pp. 339-352.
- ARMPIS 1998 = ARMPIS E.A., *L'organizzazione des Asklépieia*, in VERBANCK-PIÉRARD A. (ed.), *Au temps d'Hippocrate, Médecine et société en Grèce antique*, Mariemont 1998, pp. 165-180.
- BARRETT 1996 = BARRETT A.A., *Agrippina. Sex, Power, and Politics in the early Empire*, London 1996.
- BELLI PASQUA 2018 = BELLI PASQUA R., *Forme della propaganda imperiale nel Dodecaneso: un ritratto di Agrippina Minore da Kos*, in *Archeologia Classica* 69, 2018, pp. 333-355.
- BUONGIORNO 2010 = BUONGIORNO P., *Senatusconsulta Claudianis Temporibus facta. Una palingenesis delle deliberazioni senatorie dell'età di Claudio (41-54 d.C.)*, Napoli 2010.
- BURASELIS 2000 = BURASELIS K., *Kos between Hellenism and Rome. Studies on the Political, Institutional and Social History of Kos from ca. the Middle Second Century B.C. until Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia 2000.
- CALIÒ 2005 = CALIÒ L.M., *Theatri curvaturae similis. Note sull'urbanistica delle città a forma di teatro*, in *Archeologia Classica* 56, 2005, pp. 49-130.
- CAMIA 2009 = CAMIA F., *Imperatori romani tra gli dei greci: riflessioni sull'associazione tra culto imperiale e culti tradizionali in Grecia a partire dalla documentazione epigrafica*, in CAMIA F., PRIVITERA S. (a cura di), *Obeloi. Contatti, scambi e valori nel Mediterraneo antico. Studi offerti a Nicola Parise*, Paestum-Atene 2009, pp. 205-222.
- CAMIA 2012 = CAMIA F., *Theoi olympioi e theoi sebastoi: alcune considerazioni sull'associazione tra culto imperiale e culti tradizionali in Grecia*, in FRANCHI E., PROIETTI G. (a cura di), *Forme della memoria e dinamiche identitarie nell'antichità greco-romana*, Università degli Studi di Trento, Dipartimento di Filosofia, Storia e Beni Culturali, 2012, pp. 93-110.
- CENERINI 2013 = CENERINI F., *Il ruolo delle donne nel linguaggio del potere di Augusto*, in *Paideia* 68, 2013, pp. 105-129.
- CHANIoTIS 2003 = CHANIOTIS A., *Livia Sebaste, Iulia Sebaste, Caius Caesar Partikos, Domitian Aniketos Theos: inofficial titles of emperors in the early principate*, in *AAntHung* 43, 2003, pp. 341-344.
- CUCUZZA 1997 = CUCUZZA N., *Considerazioni su alcuni culti della Messarà di epoca storica e sui rapporti territoriali tra Festòs e Gortina*, in *RendMorAccLincei* s. 9, v. 8, 1997, pp. 63-93.
- CONTI 2008 = CONTI S., *Provvedimenti imperiali per comunità colpite da terremoti nel I-II sec. d.C.*, in *Klio* 90, 2, 2008, pp. 374-386.
- DE MARTINO 2017 = DE MARTINO E.M., *Augusto ktistes di Neapolis*, in LOMBARDI P. (ed.), *Come Aurora. Lieve, preziosa. Ergastai e Philoi a Gabriella Bevilacqua*, Giornata di studio, Roma 6 giugno 2012, in *Opuscula Epigraphica* 17, 2017, pp. 155-161.
- DILLON 1999 = DILLON M.P.J., *Post-Nuptial Sacrifices on Kos (Segre, "ED" 178) and Ancient Greek Marriage Rites*, in *ZPE* 124, 1999, pp. 63-80.
- DITTENBERGER *et alii* 1896 = DITTENBERGER, W., PURGOLD K., CURTIUS E., ADLER F. (eds.), *Olympia V, Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1986.
- EILERS 2002 = EILERS C., *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, Oxford 2002.
- FITTSCHEN, ZANKER 1983: K. FITTSCHEN, P. ZANKER, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom. III, Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse, Frauenporträts*, Mainz a. Rh. 1983.
- GIANNIKOURI 2011 = GIANNIKOURI A. (eds.), *Η Αγορά στη Μεσόγειο από τους ομηρικούς έως τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους. The Agora in the Mediterranean from homeric to roman times. International Conference Kos, 14-17 april 2011*, Athens 2011.
- GIANNIKOURI, SKERLOU, PAPANIKOLAU 2011 = GIANNIKOURI A., SKERLOU E., PAPANIKOLAU E., *Η αγορά τής Κο. Ανασκαφικά δεδομένα*, in GIANNIKOURI 2011, pp. 357-382.
- GIULIANO 1959 = GIULIANO A., *La ritrattistica dell'Asia Minore dall'89 a.C. al 211 d.C.*, in *RLASA*, 17, n.s. 8, 1959, pp. 146-201; ora riedito in A. Giuliano, *Mondi a confronto. Scritti di archeologia, arte e storia*, Roma 2021, pp. 301-340.
- GOLD 1985 = GOLD B. K., *Pompey and Theophanes of Mytilene*, in *The American Journal of Philology* 103, 1985, pp. 312-327
- GUIDOBONI 1989 = GUIDOBONI E., *I terremoti prima del Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea*, Bologna 1989.
- GUIDOBONI, POIRIER 2019 = GUIDOBONI, E., POIRIER, J.-P., *Storia culturale del terremoto dal mondo antico a oggi*, Soveria Mannelli 2019.

- GUIDOBONI, COMASTRI, TRAINA 1994 = GUIDOBONI E., COMASTRI A., TRAINA G., *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*. ING e SGA Storia Geofisica Ambiente, Roma-Bologna 1994.
- HALLOF 2004 = HALLOF L. e KL., *Die Inscriften aus der Grabung Rudolf Herzogs in Halasarna*, nr. W 45, in KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS G., *Αλασαρνα Ι. Οί επιγραφές*, Athina 2004, pp. 126-127.
- HAHN 1994 = HAHN U., *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*, Saarbrücken 1994.
- HEIL 2013 = M. HEIL, *Agrippina und Kos. Eine Inschrift und ihre Geschichte*, in *ZPE* 184, 2013, pp. 183-192.
- HELLER 2009 = HELLER A., *La cité grecque d'époque impériale : vers une société d'ordres?*, in *Annales* (HSS) 64.2, 2009, pp. 341-373.
- HERZOG 1899 = HERZOG R., *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, Leipzig 1899.
- HERZOG 1901 = HERZOG R., *Bericht über eine archaeologische Expedition auf der Insel Kos im Sommer 1900*, in *JdI* 16, 1901, pp. 131-140.
- HERZOG 1922 = HERZOG R., *Nikias und Xenophon von Kos. Zwei Charakterköpfe aus der griechisch-römischen Antike*, in *HZ* 125, 1922, pp. 189-247.
- HÖGHAMMAR 1993 = HÖGHAMMAR K., *Sculpture and society: a study of the connection between the free-standing sculpture and society on Kos in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods*, Uppsala 1993.
- HÖGHAMMAR 1997 = HÖGHAMMAR K., *Women in public space: Cos c. 200 B.C. to c. AD 15/20*, in JENKINS I., WAYWELL G. (eds.), *Sculptors and sculpture of Caria and the Dodecanese*, London 1997, pp.127-133.
- IACOPI 1928 = IACOPI G., *Musei, Esplorazioni e scavi nelle isole minori*, in MAIURI A., IACOPI G., *Rapporto generale sul servizio archeologico a Rodi dal 1912 al 1927, Clara Rhodos*. 1, 1928, pp. 92-104.
- IG XII, 4, 1 = BOSNAKIS D., HALLOF K., RIGSBY K. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Maris Aegaei Praeter Delum*, XII, IV, 1, *Inscriptiones Cuius Insulae, Decreta, Epistulae, Edicta, Tituli Sacri*, Berlin, Boston 2010.
- IG XII, 4, 2 = BOSNAKIS D., HALLOF K. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Maris Aegaei Praeter Delum*, XII, IV, 2, *Inscriptiones Cuius Insulae, Catalogi, Dedicaciones, Tituli Honorarii, Termini*, Berlin, Boston 2012.
- INTERDONATO 2004 = INTERDONATO E., *Euergetismo e dediche nei santuari greci in età romana : il caso dell'Asklepieion di Kos*, in LAMOINE L., TRÉMENT F., CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI M., *Autocélébration des élites locales dans le monde romain: contextes, images, textes (Ile av. J.C. - IIIe s. ap. J.-C.)*, Clermond Ferrand 2004, pp. 267-285.
- INTERDONATO 2010 = INTERDONATO E., *Romani e Italici nell'Asklepieion di Kos*, in *Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean, XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Roma 2008*, in *Bollettino di archeologia on line*, 1, 2010, pp. 59-67.
- INTERDONATO 2013 = INTERDONATO E., *L'Asklepieion di Kos: archeologia del culto*, *Archeologia Classica*, Monografie e supplementi 12, Roma 2013.
- KABUS-PREISSHOFEN 1975 = KABUS-PREISSHOFEN R., *Statuettengruppe aus dem Demeterheiligtum bei Kyparissi auf Kos*, in *Antike Plastik* 15, Berlin 1975, pp. 31-64.
- KAJAVA 2008 = KAJAVA M., *Julia Kalliteknos and Gaius Caesar at Euromus*, in *Arctos* 42, 2008, pp. 69-76.
- KANTZIA 1988 = KANTZIA CH., *Recent Archaeological Finds from Kos. New Indications for the Site of Kos-Meropis*, in DIETZ S., PAPACHRISTODOULOU I. (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen 1988, pp. 175-183.
- KANTZIA 1992 = KANTZIA CH., *Οδός Βεροιοπούλου 1 (οικόπεδο Τσουλάρα Ποδιάς)*, in *ADelt* 42, 1987 (1992), B'2, pp. 626-627.
- KANTZIA 1994 = KANTZIA CH., s.v. *Coo*, in *EAA*, II Suppl. 1971-1994, II, Roma 1994, pp. 263-267.
- KANTZIA 1995 = KANTZIA CH., *Παρόραμα*, in *ADelt* 44, 1989 (1995), B'2, p. 509.
- KERSAUSON 1986 = de KERSAUSON K., *Catalogue des portraits romains, I, Portraits de la République et d'époque Julio-Claudienne*, Paris 1986.
- KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS 2004 = KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS G., *New Epigraphical Evidences on the Cults of Ancient Halasarna in Cos*, in HÖGHAMMAR 2004, pp. 119-127.
- KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS, KALOPISSI-VERTI, PANAYOTIDI 1995-1996 = KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS G., KALOPISSI-VERTI S., PANAYOTIDI M., *Excavations at Kardamaina (ancient Halasarna) in Kos*, in *Archaiognosia* 9.1-2, 1995-1996, pp. 313-335.
- LAURENZI 1931 = LAURENZI L., *Nuovi contributi alla topografia storico-archeologica di Coo*, in *Historia* 5, 1931, pp. 603-636.
- LAURENZI 1938 = LAURENZI L., *Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi e dell'Antiquarium di Coo*, in *Clara Rhodos* IX, 1938, pp. 9-122.

- LAURENZI 1955-56 = LAURENZI L., *Sculture inedite del Museo di Coò*, in *ASAtene*, 33-34, ns. 17-18, 1955-56, pp. 59-156.
- LAURENZI 1936-37 = LAURENZI L., *Attività del servizio archeologico nelle isole italiane dell'Egeo nel biennio 1934-1935*, in *BdA* 1936-1937, pp. 129-148.
- LIVADIOTTI 1995 = LIVADIOTTI M., *Il "tempio di Zeus Alseios" a Coò. Una nuova ipotesi di interpretazione*, in *Studi in memoria di G. De Angelis d'Ossat*, in *Palladio* 14, 1995, pp. 19-28.
- LIVADIOTTI 2013 = LIVADIOTTI M., *Lo hestiatorion dell'Asklepieion di Kos*, in *Thiasos* 2.2, 2013, pp. 39-58.
- LIVADIOTTI 2015 = LIVADIOTTI M., II.1. *Le ricerche italiane*, in BALDINI I., LIVADIOTTI M., *Archeologia proto bizantina a Kos. La città e il complesso episcopale*, Bologna 2015, pp. 123-154.
- LIVADIOTTI 2017 = LIVADIOTTI M., *Hestiatoria nel Dodecaneso*, in MASSERIA, MARRONI 2017, pp. 231-241.
- LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 1996 = LIVADIOTTI M., ROCCO G. (a cura di), *La presenza italiana nel Dodecaneso. La ricerca archeologica, la conservazione, le scelte progettuali*, Catania 1996.
- LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2001 = LIVADIOTTI M., ROCCO G., *Il santuario di Asklepios, Hygeia e Homonoia a Coò*, in MARC J.-Y., MORETTI J.-CH. (éds.), *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce*, BCH Suppl. 39, Athènes 2001, pp. 371-84.
- LIVADIOTTI, ROCCO 2012 = LIVADIOTTI M., ROCCO G., *Il piano regolatore di Kos del 1934: un progetto di città archeologica*, in *Thiasos* 1, 2012, pp. 3-18.
- MAIURI 1925 = MAIURI A., *Nuova Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Firenze 1925.
- MALACRINO 2007 = MALACRINO C.G., *Archeologia e terremoti a Kos*, in MALACRINO C.G., SORBO E. (a cura di), *Architetti, architettura e città nel Mediterraneo antico, Atti del Convegno, Venezia, 10-11 giugno 2005*, Milano 2007, pp. 248-273.
- MALACRINO 2009 = MALACRINO C.G., *Il santuario di Eracle Kallinikos epi limeni e lo sviluppo del porto di Kos in età ellenistica*, in *Numismatica e Antichità classiche. Quaderni ticinesi* 34, 2009, pp. 181-205.
- MASSERIA, MARRONI 2017 = MASSERIA C., MARRONI E. (a cura di), *Dialogando. Studi in onore di Mario Torelli*, Pisa 2017.
- MIKOCKI 1995: T. MIKOCKI, *Sub specie deae. Les impératrices et princesses romaines assimilées à des déesses. Étude iconologique*, Roma 1995.
- MORRICONE 1950 = MORRICONE L., *Scavi e ricerche a Coò (1935-1943), Relazione Preliminare*, in *BdA* 35, 1, 3-4, 1950, pp. 54-75, 219-246, 316-331.
- PANESSA 1989 = PANESSA G., *Fonti classiche: caratteri della sismicità del Mediterraneo centro-orientale*, in GUIDOBONI 1989, pp. 92-104.
- PARKER 2000 = PARKER R., OBBINK D., *Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» VI. Sales of priesthoods on Cos I*, in *Chiron* 30 (2000), pp. 415-449.
- PARKER 2002 = PARKER R., *The Cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia on Cos*, in HORSTMANSHOFF H.F.J., SINGOR H.W., VAN STRATEN F.T., *Kykeon. Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 124, Leiden, Boston, Köln 2002, pp. 143-160.
- PATON, HICKS 1891 = PATON W.R., HICKS E.L., *The inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford 1891.
- PAUL 2013 = PAUL S., *Cultes et sanctuaires de l'île de Cos*, Liège 2013.
- POLASCHEK 1972 = POLASCHEK K., *Studien zu einem Frauenkopf im Landesmuseum Trier und zur weiblichen Haartracht der iulisch-claudischen Zeit*, in *TrZ* 35, 1972, pp. 141-210.
- PORTALE 2013 = PORTALE C., *Augustae, Matrons, Goddesses: Imperial Women in the Sacred Space*, in GALLI M. (a cura di), *Roman Power and Greek Sanctuaries Forms of Interaction and Communication*, Athens 2013, pp. 205-243.
- PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1963-1964 = PUGLIESE CARRATELLI G., *Il damos coò di Isthmos*, in *ASAtene* 41-42, 1963-1964, pp. 147-202.
- ROBERT 1978 = ROBERT L., *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, in *BCH* 102,1, 1978, pp. 395-543.
- ROCCO 2000 = ROCCO G., *Le ricerche italiane a Rodi e Coò*, in *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia, Atti del Simposio in onore di Antonino Di Vita, Ragusa, 13-15 febbraio 1998*, Padova 2000, pp. 95-104.
- ROCCO 2009 = ROCCO G., *Note sul santuario di Afrodite Pandamos e Pontia a Kos*, in *ASAtene* LXXXVII, serie III, 9, Tomo I\*\*, 2009, pp. 599-612.
- ROCCO 2017 = ROCCO G., *Il santuario di Asclepio a Kos: una rilettura funzionale delle strutture*, in MASSERIA, MARRONI 2017, pp. 333-347.

- ROCCO, LIVADIOTTI 2011 = ROCCO G., LIVADIOTTI M., *The Agorà of Kos: The Hellenistic and Roman phases*, in GIANNIKOURI 2011, pp. 383-423.
- RODDAZ 1984 = RODDAS J.-M., *Marcus Agrippa*, BEFAR 253, Rome 1984.
- SEGRE 1944-45 = SEGRE M., *Tituli Calymnii*, in *ASAtene* 22-23, 1944-45.
- SEGRE 1993-2007 = SEGRE M., *Iscrizioni di Cos*, Roma 1993-2007.
- SHERWIN-WHITE 1978 = SHERWIN-WHITE S.M., *Ancient Cos. An historical Study from the Dorian settlement to the Imperial Period*, Göttingen 1978.
- SMITH 1987 = SMITH R.R.R., *The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*, in *JRS* 77, 1987, pp. 88-138.
- SMITH 1994 = SMITH R.R.R., *Aphrodisias I. The monument of C. Iulius Zoilos*, Mainz 1994.
- STORCHI MARINO 2009 = STORCHI MARINO A., *Munificentia Principis e calamità naturali*, in STORCHI MARINO A., MEROLA G.D. (a cura di), *Interventi imperiali in campo economico e sociale: da Augusto al Tardoantico*, *Pragmateiai* 18, Bari 2009, pp. 183-224.
- TRAINA 2002 = TRAINA G., *Terremoti e misure amministrative nella provincia d'Asia (I a.C.-II d.C.)* in *MedAnt* 5,2, 2002, pp. 747-757.
- TRILLMICH 1974 = TRILLMICH W., *Ein Bildnis der Agrippina Minor von Milreu*, in *MM* 15, 1974, pp. 184-202.
- TRILLMICH 1994 = TRILLMICH W., s.v. *Agrippina Minore*, in *EAA*, II Suppl. 1971-1994, I, Roma 1994, pp. 115-116.
- TRILLMICH 2007 = TRILLMICH W., *Typologie der Bildnisse der Iulia Agrippina*, in MOLTESEN M., NIELSEN A.M., *Agrippina Minor. Life and Afterlife. Liv og eftermaele*, Copenhagen 2007, pp. 45-65.
- VALLARINO 2009 = VALLARINO G., *I dedicanti di Cos in età ellenistica: il caso dei magistrati eponimi tra polis e demi*, in KAJAVA M., BODEL J. P. (a cura di), *Religious dedications in the Greco-Roman world: distribution, typology, use*, Roma 2009, pp. 181-207.
- VALLARINO 2010 = VALLARINO G., *Dediche altoimperiali da Kos per i theoi patrooi*, in *Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean, XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Roma 2008*, in *Bollettino di archeologia on line*, I, 2010, pp. 68-72.

