



BOREAS

Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and
Near Eastern Civilizations

34

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The Geography of Connections

Proceedings of an International Conference
at the Department of Archaeology and Ancient
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and Near Eastern Civilizations 34

Series editor: Gunnel Ekroth

Editors: Kerstin Höghammar, Brita Alroth and Adam Lindhagen.

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The English text was revised by Catherine Parnell.

Abstract

Kerstin Höghammar, Brita Alroth & Adam Lindhagen (eds.)

Ancient ports. The geography of connections. Proceedings of an international conference at the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 23–25 September 2010. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 34, Uppsala 2016. 346 pp., with 85 ills., ISBN 978-91-554-9609-8

This volume contains 11 articles from an international conference on ancient ports in the Greek and Roman world from the Classical period to Late Antiquity.

The Graeco-Roman civilization was, to a large extent, built on a constant flow of people, goods and ideas between various parts of the Mediterranean. This volume treats the function, character and connectivity of ports in the Greek and Roman Mediterranean. The following topics are discussed: the role of river and sea ports locally, regionally and Mediterranean-wide; the freighting on rivers; the infrastructure of large harbours; the role of the hinterland; sea-routes; connectivity and the social character of harbour cities through time.

Key words: ports, harbours, harbour network, sea-routes, fluvio-maritime vessels, hinterland, connectivity, transshipment points, port infrastructure, trade, proxeny network, shipsheds, Portus, Ostia, Rome, Naxos (Sicily), Ravenna, Narona, Pistiros, Kos, Halasarna, the Corinthian Gulf, Achaia, Arcadia, the Aegean

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ISSN 0346-6442

ISBN 978-91-554-9609-8

Printed in Sweden by Carlssons Tryckeri, Uppsala 2016

Distributor: Uppsala University Library, Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden

www.uu.se; acta@ub.uu.se

International Networks of an Island Port in the Hellenistic Period—the Case of Kos

by

Kerstin Höghammar

Abstract

This paper treats some of the international contacts of Kos mainly during the Hellenistic period. Six analytical groups based on inscriptions and coins form three separate webs that are investigated and compared. The first web consists of the Koan network of *proxenoi* as seen in the inscriptions, those for Koans in other places and Koan *proxenoi* for citizens of other states. The second type of web is based on the bronze coins, the foreign ones found on Kos and the Koan pieces found abroad. The third is composed of the states responding positively to the campaign of the Koan state to obtain *asylia* for the Asklepieion and Panhellenic status for the Asklepios games, and the *poleis* appearing in the victors' lists. Judging by this material, Kos was, in all three webs, a significant actor in the Greek world, not only in the immediate neighbourhood, but also in more distant areas.*

Introduction

The Greek city-states had multiple international contacts. I will examine some of the contacts of Kos during the second half of the 4th century and the Hellenistic period, a time that is rich in terms of both written and archaeological sources. For this era it is possible not only to obtain a general picture of the places in their world with which a city was in contact, but also to some extent what type of contacts this city had with other states. There is a considerable number of available source materials and each tells its own story.¹ For a more comprehensive picture of the international contacts of Kos

* A number of people have helped me with this article in various ways, and the text has gained considerably from their aid. The 'post-graduate seminar' of Classical archaeology and Ancient history at Uppsala University has read and commented on various earlier versions of the text. E. Culasso Gastaldo sent electronic versions of her articles when I was working far away from a library. W. Mack kindly answered my questions and added *poleis* with Koan *proxenoi* to my list and V. Stefanaki sent supplementary information on foreign bronze coins found on Kos. M. Livadiotti generously gave me permission to use her town plan of Kos and sent me her original plan. Christy Constantakopoulou read a late version of the text and had several suggestions which have markedly improved it. Daniel Löwenborg helped with the originals for the distribution maps. Finally, and most of all I want to thank Brita Alroth whose help in the final stage has been invaluable. She finalized the distribution maps, read the manuscript with utmost care and helped me erase a number of inconsistencies. All have my deepest gratitude and any remaining errors are my own.

¹ Until the beginning of 2016, it was my intention to include the funerary inscriptions of foreigners showing their origin, and thus which other states had citizens who found Kos an attractive polis to settle in or to visit, but this material has been left out. By 2015 I had col-

than is possible here, a more extensive study is needed.² I have chosen to investigate and compare three webs based on different source materials which belong to partly different social spheres. When possible I will also discuss the chronological development within each web.

Kos was a port town and its different networks should reflect this fact, but how wide, how intense and how stable were they? Do these networks, in the three cases I study, coincide or vary, i.e. does the network depend on the type of contact or are they all the same whatever sphere we study? Was the polis of Kos primarily a regional actor or did it have direct and regular long-term contacts with places in other parts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea? If the latter is true, what does this mean for our view of the significance of Kos (and other *poleis* in similar positions) in the Greek world? Another question is whether we can note a difference between the places that were vital to the Koans, and places to which Kos was important?

The main part of the text consists of an analysis of the proxeny inscriptions which tell us about the official contacts the Koans had with (individuals in) other states and the states whose citizens often(?) visited Kos. The life-time award of *proxenia* was decided by the polis, but proposals as to who was to be put forward were made by individual citizens.³ The bond was enduring, and often covered generations as the grant could be inherited, and the *poleis*/states that formed part of this type of web signalled long-term official interest, though the connection was through individuals.

Next I will discuss the bronze coins lost or buried by travellers to and from the island. These coins are evidence of people travelling from the issuing state to Kos, or from Kos to the place where the coins have been found. We remain unaware, however, of who the travellers were and the reasons for their journeys: they could be anything from personal and family-related to official state business.

The third section concerns the states that declared the Koan Asklepieia to be Panhellenic and the sanctuary of Asklepios to be *asylos*, as well as the *poleis* represented in the victors' lists. The states sent official representatives to attend the games every fourth year confirming the high status of this festival also in a Panhellenic perspective. Both initial and subsequent contacts through sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*) and the hosts of the *theoroi* were

lected 158 funerary monuments relating to strangers on Kos and analyzed them according to origin, date and sex. However, when the volume *IG XII 4.3* appeared in March 2016, containing c.1800 funerary inscriptions from the town of Kos, c. 375 of which were previously unpublished, I decided not to publish this, now incomplete, data. I am much obliged to K. Hallöf for his kindness in sending me the proofs of the *IG* volume before it appeared in print.

I will, however, mention one result from the analysis of the 158 funerary inscriptions. Just over one third of the buried foreigners were women, mostly dating to the 2nd and 1st century B.C. and by far the largest single group, 10 women, came from Antiocheia in the late Hellenistic (and possibly Augustan) period. This indicates that women travellers were common in the 2nd and 1st century and it will be interesting to see whether this picture is confirmed in "new" material.

² Some materials which are highly relevant to the issue have not been treated here. Koan amphora remains evidencing the export of wine have been found all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea area, but an up-to-date collation of the data was not possible in this article.

³ Mack 2015, 90, 101–102.

state sponsored and official. These contacts with other states belonging to the Greek *oikomene* were long term and could last over centuries.

A final section gives a comparative analysis of the three groups and the conclusions.

Before I present the three groups I will describe the geographical background which made the growth of Kos town possible in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The geographical and physical prerequisites

One of the major trade-routes in the ancient Mediterranean ran along the western sea-board of Asia Minor with one end in the Black Sea region and the other in the SE Mediterranean. The western coast-line of Asia Minor has many deep bays generally running in an east–westerly direction and a host of off-shore islands. Travellers along this route normally sailed close to the coast, but traversed the mouth of the bays on their way up or down the coast (*Fig. 1*).



Fig. 1. Map of the eastern Aegean and western Asia Minor. From Google Earth.

The basic sailing conditions were as follows: starting in the east, off Syria, there was a major current which flowed westwards towards Rhodos. Then there was a general north-ward current along the coast from Rhodos up to Chios, which varied in intensity from about 1–2 knots up to 3–4 knots in the narrow straits between some of the islands and the mainland. This helped ships travelling northwards.



Fig. 2. Map of Kos. From Google Earth.

In the summer sailing season (June–late September) the main winds in the Aegean area are the Etesians blowing from the north. There are also strong land and sea-breezes, i.e. local coastal winds alternating in a daily cycle which could help sailing vessels up to a distance of *c.* 25 km from land. During the day, i.e. in the afternoon and early evening, sea-breezes blow from water to land as the land is hotter and the air rises. Late at night and in the early morning land breezes blow from land to sea as the land then is cooler than the water.

Another factor to note is that if a peninsula or an island has a high coastline, an obstacle which causes the prevailing winds to be displaced vertically, this creates turbulent air also in the summer. This turbulent air produces gusts and squalls of varying strength, direction and duration on the

lee side (on Kos to the south) of peninsulas and islands. These winds are highly unpredictable.⁴

Looking at the island (*Fig. 2*) we can see that the most important early centres, Astypalaia and Halasarna, were situated on the south coast of the island where there were sandy shores which were suitable for beaching smaller vessels. The waters were well protected from the northerly winds, but no doubt exposed to sudden squalls as this part of the coast is mostly open. Kos town is situated on the north-east coast, and is only partly protected from the northern winds by the tip of the Halikarnassean peninsula, and from large waves by the northern point of the island. Still it was only when the newly synoikisized polis moved to this location in 366, that a Koan port became important to sailors and maritime travellers.

The harbour of Kos town has a narrow inlet and once entered it provides good shelter (*Figs. 3, 4*). To the south-east there is now a peninsula, but previously this was a small island which protected the harbour. As there is no high land to the north in the immediate vicinity, the risk of unexpected dangerous squalls was low. This part of Kos should thus be less prone to sudden spells of bad weather in the summer season. In the late afternoon sea-breezes would have helped vessels entering the port, and in the early morning the land breeze would have filled the sails of departing ships. As this safe and convenient harbour is situated directly on the north–south sea lane ships started flocking to it. This can be seen in the literary sources. Meleager (*c.* 140–70 B.C.) wrote:

Well-cargoed ships of the high sea, who ply the passage of Helle,
taking to your bosoms a goodly north wind, if perhaps at the shore you
see Phanion on the island of Cos, gazing over the blue sea, give her
this message, good ships, that desire carries me there not on ship-
board, but as traveller on foot.⁵

At about the same time, in the early first century B.C., Diodoros Siculus wrote that from *c.* 366, when the new polis of Kos was established, it “grew greater both through the public revenues and through the wealth of private individuals and soon became a match for leading cities”.⁶ We may safely draw the conclusion that the geographical position and topography of Kos harbour combined to increase the importance of Kos as a port town.

Proxenoi for the Koans and Koan proxenoi

In this part I will look at, firstly, the Koan proxeny-decrees to see where and when *proxenoi* for the Koans appear and, secondly, the *poleis* having a *proxenos* on/from Kos. I will also present the reasons given by the polis of Kos when conferring *proxenia* and the special privileges added to the award

⁴ Morton 2001.

⁵ From Meleager's *Garland*, in A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page, *The Greek anthology. Hellenistic epigrams* I, LXVI. Translation from Sherwin-White 1978, 18.

⁶ Diodoros Siculus, *Historiae* 15.76.2. Translation by S. Sherwin-White (1978, 225).

on the chosen persons and discuss them in a more general context, as they may tell us what type of contacts, what particular kind of web, the institution of *proxenia* manifests on Kos as compared to other *poleis*. The *poleis* that had a Koan *proxenos* will show us which cities regarded Kos as a polis to have good and reliable contacts in.

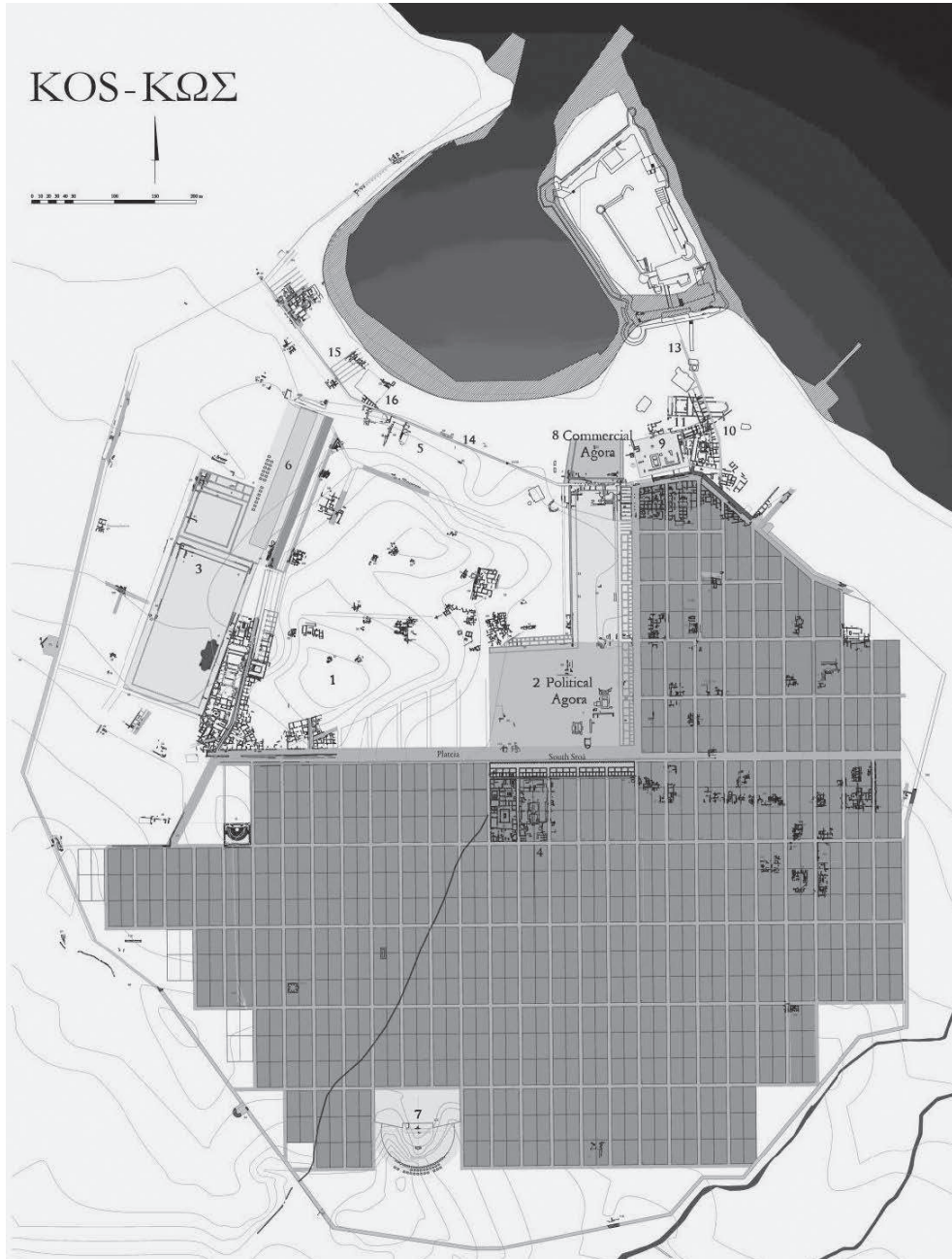


Fig. 3. Plan of Kos town. By courtesy of M. Livadiotti. 1 Akropolis, 2 Political agora, 3 Western gymnasium, 4 Central gymnasium, 5 Northern gymnasium, 6 Stadium, 7 Theatre, 8 Commercial agora, 9 Sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia, 10 Sanctuary of Herakles Kallinikos, 11 Eastern harbour stoa, 12 Sanctuary of unknown divinity, 13 Secondary branch of the harbour fortification, 14 Northern stretch of the town wall, 15 Neoria (shipsheds), 16 Thiasos of Aphrodisiastai(?).

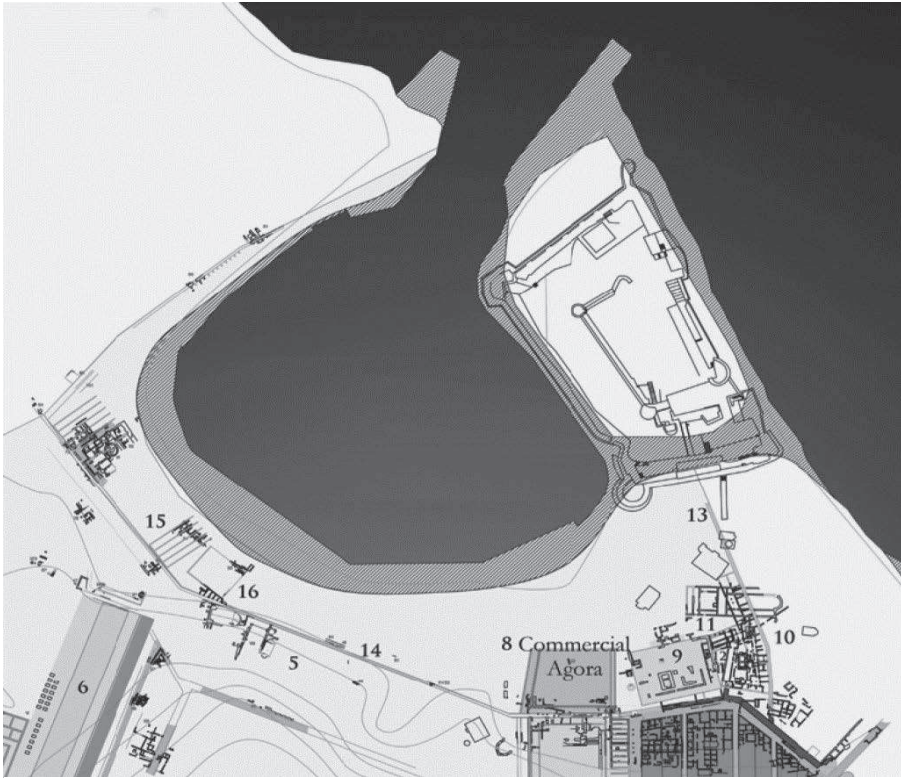


Fig. 4. Plan of Kos harbour and the harbour quarter. By courtesy of M. Livadiotti.

The institution of *proxenia*

To understand what kind of international connection the *proxenoi* represent, in what ways Kos is particular and in what ways adhering to the pan-Greek norm of the institution of *proxenia*, it is necessary to know the general picture. I will therefore give a fairly detailed summary of the conclusions drawn by W. Mack in the most recent (2015) and most thorough presentation we have of the Greek proxeny inscriptions. He bases his discussions and conclusions on over 2500 securely identified texts dating from the Archaic to the beginning of the Imperial period, and promulgated by more than 180 different *poleis* throughout the Greek world from the Black Sea to Sicily.⁷ An earlier excellent presentation of *proxenia* as a general Greek institution was published by Ph. Gauthier in 1985 and a year earlier a detailed analysis of a large number of decrees was presented by Chr. Marek.⁸ Added to these more comprehensive texts are a number of valuable and informative presentations and discussions of *proxenia* in one or a few *poleis*.⁹

According to Mack a *proxenos* was, in *all* periods, normally a local citizen who looked after the interests of the citizens of another state (or several

⁷ Mack 2015, 2, 9. The volume does not include a catalogue or list of the inscriptions, but a catalogue is to be published on the net.

⁸ Gauthier 1985; Marek 1984.

⁹ For an up-to-date bibliography, see Mack 2015.

other states) in his own community.¹⁰ To have a *proxenos* in a foreign state meant that you, as a traveller, had a contact there, a person who was a full member of that society, to whom you could turn in case of need and sometimes one city had several *proxenoi* in a certain polis. In the Hellenistic period a *proxenos* did not always live in his home town: he could have held a high position in the administration of one of the Hellenistic kings or queens, moved from place to place, or, more rarely, lived in the polis which awarded him *proxenia*. His contributions were then often of different character, but always involved proof of his favorable attitude to and in the interest of the awarding community.¹¹

Mack regards *proxenia* as probably “the most widespread and frequently used element of a broader system of interstate institutions”. It kept the same function from the Archaic period until its end, which was brought about by the supremacy of the Romans. The networks of individual *poleis* included hundreds of *proxenoi*, mainly from other *poleis*, and may be viewed as constituting a part of what we understand as the polis “mentality”, these networks were typical for the world of the *poleis*.¹² A concept (and reality) central to *proxenia* was that of utility and “this utility was expected to manifest itself in particular ways, especially in intermediary services performed by *proxenoi* to facilitate interaction between different *poleis*”.¹³

Poleis and other states selected and appointed their own *proxenoi* in order to tie certain already favourably disposed persons closer, and, upon bestowing privileges and honours on them, they expected further good will and/or contributions. The position was often hereditary, though it needed to be renewed by future generations, and the formal awarding of the status was clearly meant to create a more enduring bond with the person/family that was granted this status.¹⁴ It is important to bear in mind that not all foreign well-doers became *proxenoi*. Foreigners could show good will and help a community without becoming officially appointed *proxenoi* or *euergetai*.¹⁵ Being a formally decreed *proxenos* and/or *euergetes* in a polis meant that you enjoyed a privileged status; you had certain acknowledged and publicly known “rights” which other foreigners did not have.¹⁶ An important point made by Mack is that the separate inscribing of a decree was an added honour to those conveyed by the award of *proxenia* and was granted only exceptionally to persons of high status or to those who had performed above the normal standard. The decrees, therefore, are biased in favour of unusual *proxenoi* and thus provide a distorted picture of the institution.¹⁷ The few known extant lists and catalogues of *proxenoi* demonstrate this clearly. In

¹⁰ This conclusion goes against most of the recent research on *proxenia*, but, as it is based on the, as yet, largest data base collected, it seems secure.

¹¹ Gauthier 1985, 141–143. See also Mack 2015, 24.

¹² Mack 2015, 3–4.

¹³ Mack 2015, 13.

¹⁴ Mack 2015, 164.

¹⁵ An officially recognized well-doer.

¹⁶ Gauthier 1985, 20, 21 (for *euergetes* and *proxenos*), 130.

¹⁷ Mack 2015, 15.

c. 360 the small polis of Karthaia on Keos had a network of at least 86 *proxenoi* known from lists, but no decrees are mentioned.¹⁸ In the data set collected by Mack less than 20% of the *poleis* attested are represented by more than 10 proxeny decrees. He thinks that the present number of decrees may represent only 0.2% of the estimated total number of grants for the period covered, c. 500 years.¹⁹

In the awarding polis foreigners were thus treated differently—there was a ladder of privileges and honours, extending from those who were given no awards whatsoever to those who were made *proxenoi* with no or some further privileges and then on again to those few whose honours were also published on stone for all to see. The highest privilege and honour—the highest rung of this ladder—was that of citizenship, *politeia*. It is, in this context, interesting to note that awards of *politeia* are extremely rare in the Koan body of inscriptions. The Hallofs and Habicht discuss this in their commentary on the decree presenting the awarding of Koan citizenship to Diokles the Akarnanian, dated c. 300–250.²⁰ In their commentary they present another two examples, and in 2003 a third was published which means that we know of four all together.²¹ If this figure is indicative, then foreigners were only rarely awarded Koan citizenship.

Most proxeny decrees date from the 4th to the early 2nd century, but there are fewer from the Classical than from the Hellenistic period. Their number decreased rapidly from the middle of the 2nd century onwards.²² The majority are characterized by general formulas, and references to specific, concrete deeds are uncommon.²³

The polis of Kos with its 34 inscriptions which are treated here belongs to the small number of *poleis* (20%) represented by more than 10 decrees.²⁴ If we compare Kos with a large, well-known trading centre such as Rhodes which was situated on the same trade route, we can see that for Rhodes Marek lists 28 places of origin. A search of the PHI database of Greek inscriptions (5 April, 2015) adds another three cities of origin (Berytos, Erythrai, Rome) bringing the number up to 31.²⁵ The corresponding number for Kos is 17.

¹⁸ Mack 2015, 14.

¹⁹ Mack 2015, 14–15.

²⁰ Hallof, Hallof & Habicht 1998, 103–105, no. 5.

²¹ One Kalymnian and one unknown, Hallof, Hallof & Habicht 1998, 104; one unknown Bosnakis & Hallof 2003, 223–225, no. 12A.

²² Mack 2015, 83.

²³ Mack 2015, 12.

²⁴ Marek lists 11 inscriptions and 11 places of origin for *proxenoi* of the Koans as compared to the present number of 34 and 17.

²⁵ Only two of the cities of origin in the Rhodian inscriptions are the same as those of the *proxenoi* of the Koans, viz Athens and Halikarnassos. That so few *proxenoi* of these two (allied) *poleis*, situated on the same trade route and with similar interests, come from the same place of origin is noteworthy, but the small amount of material known to us must be interpreted with caution. The picture of the material which we have presently is probably due to the fortuitous preservation of sources rather than the cities having almost completely different areas of contact. The various interpretations of the data that are possible demonstrate how uncertain our conclusions really are, when they are based on such a small body of material.

Proxenoï for the Koans

The present group of 34 inscriptions (33 Koan and one foreign) informing us of *proxenoï* consists of 31 decrees,²⁶ one extremely fragmentary list of *proxenoï*, one list of donors to a war time collection of money²⁷ and one honorary inscription from Alabanda telling us that a certain Aristolaos, Gorgio's son, was a *proxenos* of the Koans (Table 1).²⁸ This number is far from the several hundred decrees of Athens and the *poleis* with major sanctuaries such as Delphi, and Delos,²⁹ but still large enough to provide us with some provisional information.

Table 1. List of inscriptions. *Poleis/cities/states* with *proxenoï* appointed by the Koans.

<i>No./preservation</i>	<i>City/state No. of proxenoï</i>	<i>No. and date in IG XII 4.1</i>	<i>Earlier publications</i> ³⁰	<i>Appointing body</i>
1 fragmentary	Mytilene 2	2 after c. 350	ED 106	<i>boule & ekklesia</i>
2 fragmentary	Naukratis 1	4 after c. 350	ED 95	not preserved
3 fragmentary	Byzantion(?) 1	6 c. 350–300	ED 40; KFF 3	<i>boule & ekklesia</i>
4 fragmentary	unknown 2(?)	7 c. 350–300	ED 207	<i>ekklesia</i>
5 complete	Kios 1	8 end 4th cent.	PH 2	<i>boule & ekklesia</i>
6 fragmentary	unknown 1	10 end 4th cent.	ED 118	not preserved
7 fragmentary	unknown 1 (or more?)	11 end 4th cent.	ED 157	not preserved
8 fragmentary	unknown 1	13 c. 300	KFF 4	not preserved
9 fragmentary	unknown 1	14 c. 300	ED 108, PH 3	<i>boule & [demos]</i>
10 complete	Tyros 1	15 c. 300	ED 54; PH 1	<i>boule & demos</i>
11 fragmentary	Knidos 1	16 c. 300	ED 34	<i>ekklesia</i>
12 fragmentary	Halikarnassos 1	17 3rd cent.	ED 225	<i>boule & ekklesia</i>
13 complete(?)	Athens 1	20 3rd cent.	ED 9	<i>boule</i>
14 fragmentary	unknown 1	21 3rd cent.	ED 11	[demos]
15 fragmentary	Sinope 1	22 3rd cent.	ED 20	<i>boule & ekklesia</i>

²⁶ One of the decrees, no. 19, just mentions that the honorand was a *proxenos*. The actual decision was taken on an earlier occasion.

²⁷ List of *proxenoï*, no. 16 and list of donors no. 32. The two lists provide us with minimal information, the name of the person, the fact that he is a *proxenos*, and, in no. 16, the place of origin.

²⁸ Diehl & Cousin 1886, 311–314, no. 4, l. 14 and PHI Greek inscriptions, Alabanda, nos. 13–17 (accessed 31 July, 2014).

²⁹ Even the largest and most famous sanctuaries were situated in the territory of a polis (or *ethnos*) and the formal decisions were made by the political entity.

³⁰ For a complete list of previous publications see IG XII 4.1.

Table 1 (cont.).

<i>No./preservation</i>	<i>City/state No. of proxenoi</i>	<i>No. and date in IG XII 4.1</i>	<i>Earlier publications</i>	<i>Appointing body</i>
16 fragmentary catalogue of <i>proxenoi</i> ³¹	Theangela (Karia) 2, + further of unknown provenance	IG XII 4.2, no. 460 3rd cent.	ED 50; PH 4	
17 fragmentary	Amphipolis 1	23 <i>c.</i> 295–280	ED 190	demos
18 fragmentary	unknown 1	24 <i>c.</i> 295–280	ED 70	not preserved
19 fragmentary	Thasos(?) ³² 1	25 <i>c.</i> 295–280	ED 226	
20 complete	Chalkis 1	27 <i>c.</i> 300–250	ED 73; NS 437	<i>boule & ekklesia</i>
21 fragmentary	unknown 1(?)	28 <i>c.</i> 250–200	ED 100	not preserved
22 fragmentary	unknown 1(?)	29 <i>c.</i> 250–200	Hallof, Hallof & Habicht 1998, 112– 113, no. 8	<i>boule & demos</i>
23 fragmentary	Macedonia 1	34 <i>c.</i> 250–200	ED19; KFF 5	not preserved
24 fragmentary	unknown [M-----] 1	35 <i>c.</i> 250–200	ED 94	not preserved
25 fragmentary	unknown 1(?)	36 <i>c.</i> 250–200	Hallof, Hallof & Habicht 1998, 113, no. 9	not preserved
26 fragmentary	unknown 1(?)	38 <i>c.</i> 250–200	ED 120	not preserved
27 fragmentary	unknown 1	39 <i>c.</i> 250–200	ED 208	demos
28 complete	Athen 1	40 <i>c.</i> 250–200	ED 80; KFF 187	<i>boule & demos</i>
29 honorary inscription from Alabanda	Alabanda 1	– just before 227	Diehl & Cousin 1886, 311–312, no. 4, 14–15	
30 fragmentary	unknown 1 (or 2?)	42 end 3rd cent.	Bosnakis & Hallof 2003, 224–225, no. 12B	<i>boule & demos</i>
31 fragmentary	Alexandria 1	43 end 3rd cent.	ED 83 + ED 135; NS 435	not preserved
32 war time subscription list	unknown 1	75B, 143–144 202/201	PH 10 b, ll. 69–70	unknown
33 fragmentary	Aptera (Crete) 1	49 3rd–2nd cent.	SEG 41, 686; SEG 53, 858	<i>ekklesia</i>
34 complete	Halikarnassos 1	50 3rd–2nd cent.	SEG 49, 1118; NS 432	<i>boule & demos</i>

³¹ This catalogue is extremely fragmentary and originally it contained many more entries. Only one polis identity (Theangela) is preserved.

³² See Habicht 2000, 292–293.

The majority (25) of the decrees are more or less fragmentary, but in six the relevant parts are complete or almost complete (only minor parts of words are missing).³³ The information they provide is thus very uneven. Also, they make up what is certainly but a minute part of the once existing proxyen decrees of the Koans. The conclusions based on these decrees in this paper must thus be regarded as provisional and may change with the appearance of new data.

Location of stelai announcing the proxyen award

As was previously mentioned only a few decrees with proxyen awards were published on separate *stelai* and erected in a public place. Not all include a clause specifying the location, five of those listed here leave out this information.³⁴ Another 14 inscriptions are so fragmentary that we cannot see whether the clause was or was not included.³⁵ In nine cases the location is given.³⁶ In three of these decrees the clause is more or less complete,³⁷ in four the reconstruction fits the remaining letters,³⁸ and in two only the beginning of the clause is preserved.³⁹ The same place, the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, is given in all the decrees which provide a location. The exact location of this sanctuary in Kos town is not yet known.⁴⁰ The find-spots of the decrees are spread out and in several cases have been noted as secondary by the excavators. Considering the contents of the decrees a location close to the harbour for this sanctuary is likely.

Chronology

With two possible exceptions the inscriptions date to the period *c.* 350–200.⁴¹ The 31 decrees can be divided into the following chronological groups (*Table 2*).

Table 2. Chronological division of Koan decrees. The inscription from Alabanda and two Koan lists are not included.

<i>Period</i>	<i>c. 350–300</i>	<i>3rd cent.</i>	<i>c. 300–250</i>	<i>c. 250–200</i>	<i>3rd–2nd cent.</i>
No. of decrees	11	4	4	10	2

³³ The six complete ones are nos. 5, 10, 13, 20, 28 and 34. The bottom part of no. 10 is broken off and only the upper part of the last line is extant. This text may be longer but the part concerning the reasons for the *proxenia* and the additional awards are there.

³⁴ Nos. 8, 13, 26, 28, 31. There are another two, nos. 14 and 18, which probably also lacked such a clause.

³⁵ Nos. 1–4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 23, 24, 27, 33.

³⁶ Decrees with location given: nos. 10, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 30, 34.

³⁷ Nos. 10, 22, 34.

³⁸ Nos. 17, 20, 25, 30.

³⁹ Nos. 15, 21.

⁴⁰ The archaeologists M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco who are presently working on the town plan of Kos have not yet located the sanctuary (personal communication with Livadiotti, mail 18 August, 2015).

⁴¹ I follow the dates given in *IG XII 4.1*. Nos. 31 and 32 could be as late as the 2nd century as they are widely dated to the 3rd–2nd century. Most of them have been collected and discussed in different contexts by Sherwin-White 1978, 243–244, and Carlsson 2010, 103 (general discussion).

See also Mack 2015, 83–84 concerning the general reduction in the number of proxyen decrees from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and how this should be interpreted.

As some of the date ranges span more than 50 years in this material, we do not know whether the third century decrees are spread evenly over the course of the century, or, as is more probable, more should be dated to the second half of it. That no decrees can be dated with certainty to the first half of the 2nd century is likely significant, as we have comparatively many inscriptions from that period. One would expect at least a few certain cases in the material, if they were as common as they were in the 4th and early 3rd century from which we have fewer inscriptions overall. One may interpret this to mean that proxeny awards were relatively scarcer in the period c. 200–150 and later.⁴²

Geographical distribution of the proxenoi of the Koans

Table 3 shows the cities of origin of *proxenoi* of the Koans arranged chronologically. As almost all the decrees are fragmentary only just over half of them give us the nationality of the *proxenos*. The inscriptions, including those which are not decrees, leave us with only 17 known cities of origin for the officially appointed *proxenoi*.⁴³

Table 3. *Poleis/cities*⁴⁴/*states of origin of proxenoi* appointed by the Koans. Chronological list.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of known (unknown) cities of origin</i>	<i>Cities (states) of origin</i>
c. 350–300	6 (5)	Mytilene, Naukratis, Byzantion, Kios, Tyros, Knidos
3rd cent.	4 (2)	Athens, Sinope, Theangela (Karia), Halikarnassos
c. 300–250	3 (1)	Amphipolis, Thasos(?), Chalkis
c. 250–200	4 (7)	Macedonia, Athens, Alexandria, Alabanda
3rd–2nd cent.	2 (0)	Aptera (Crete), Halikarnassos

If we divide the period from 366 (the year of the Koan *sympoliteia*) to 30 BC into two parts, both of about the same length, the first covering the period c. 366–200, and the second the period c. 200–30, we can note that all the Koan decrees (with two possible exceptions) date to the first part. In the period c. 366–200 the Koans created a net-work of institutionalized contacts in three areas. The first *proxenoi* in the fourth century appear not (just) in the immediate neighbourhood (Knidos), but mainly in cities on the sea lane to the north (Mytilene, Kios, Byzantion) and in the south-eastern Mediterranean (Tyros, Alexandria, Naukratis). In the third century the net covers the north-western and western Aegean (Thasos(?), Amphipolis, Macedonia, Chalkis, Athens) and the Black Sea⁴⁵ (Sinope). In the same period there are *proxenoi* also from nearby Halikarnassos and inland Alabanda and Theangela in Karia. If Aptera on north-western Crete is viewed as a stopping point

⁴² There are relatively few inscriptions from the period c. 150–30.

⁴³ Two *poleis*, Athens and Halikarnassos, are represented by two decrees each.

⁴⁴ Cities are entities which form part of a larger state. They may have a certain amount of internal independence.

⁴⁵ Reger (2007, 279) refers to a Koan decree promulgating Poside[(i)os ---]jou from Olbia (IOSPE I², 77) *proxenos*. As only the introductory lines are preserved and the decision is missing, we do not know what type of honours or privileges were given to Poside(i)os. Therefore I have not included this inscription.

on the journey west, we should also include western Greece and perhaps Sicily in the area of interest. As the position of a *proxenos* was often hereditary, albeit needing to be renewed in order to function in practice, we may assume that the intention was that most of this network was to be kept in place over a longer period than just the life-time of one man. These links were formally instituted at state level and thus likely reflect a more permanent communal interest. In my view, it is likely that in the case of Kos this interest was, to a large extent, commercial. I will return to this hypothesis later in the text.

Seventeen places are represented as having *proxenoi* for Koans (Fig. 5),⁴⁶ and all but two of them are known through decrees. This is a fairly small number, though not surprisingly small, considering that the only list of *proxenoi* for the Koans which we have consists of a small fragment giving us the name of just one polis. One may note that all but two of these 17 places (if they are correctly identified) are situated on the sea. They range from Sinope on the southern Black Sea coast to Tyros in coastal Syria, Naukratis and Alexandria in Egypt, and to Aptera in NW Crete (perhaps as a stopping place on the way to western Greece and Sicily). The northern Aegean and the Propontis is represented by Amphipolis, Byzantion, Mytilene and Kios. Mainland Greece is represented by Macedonia, Chalkis on Euboia and Athens (2 decrees). In Karia we find the coastal cities of Halikarnassos (2 decrees) and Knidos and the inland *poleis* of Alabanda and Theangela. All the central Aegean islands are missing in this material, but this could be due to chance.

Poleis appointing *proxenoi* on or from Kos

Chronology

Altogether there are 31 inscriptions of different types (decrees, lists and catalogues) from 18 *poleis* and one league naming more than 60 Koans as *proxenoi* for their respective city-states (Table 4). This group presents us with a completely different chronological picture from that of the Koan decrees—about half of these inscriptions date to the second half of the period treated in this text, i.e. c. 200–30 (Tables 5, 6). We can see that three *poleis* along the sea lane north, Miletos, Samos and Gryneion, as well as Sinope in the Black Sea area, had Koan *proxenoi* as early as the 4th century, thus strengthening the impression of early close contacts in that direction. The central Aegean islands had *proxenoi* on Kos during the entire period, from the 4th–1st century, and this is in sharp contrast to the total lack of evidence for *proxenoi* for the Koans in the same area. Only three *poleis* provide evidence of both *proxenoi* for the Koans and Koan *proxenoi* for these *poleis*, viz. Theangela in Karia, Sinope in the Black Sea area and Aptera on NW Crete.

The above 19 states form part of the same web of contacts as the cities with *proxenoi* for the Koans (Figs. 5, 6). Grouping them in the same geographical regions they are as follows: *Caria* – Plataseis, Theangela, Bargylia,

⁴⁶ Some of the *proxenoi* were not active in their home *poleis*.



Fig. 5. Distribution map. *Poleis/cities/states with proxenoi appointed by the Koans.* 1 Knidos, 2 Halikarnassos, 3 Theangela, 4 Alabanda, 5 Mytilene, 6 Kios, 7 Byzantion, 8 Sinope, 9 Thasos(?), 10 Amphipolis, 11 Macedonia, 12 Tyros, 13 Alexandria, 14 Naukratis, 15 Aptera, 16 Athens, 17 Chalkis.

Iasos;⁴⁷ *the sea lane north/the Black Sea area* – Miletos, Samos and Gryneion (Aiolis), Sinope; *the northern Aegean* – Samothrace; *the Greek mainland* – Epidauros, Oropos, Delphi; *the central Aegean islands* – Astypalaia, Delos, Thera, Naxos, Tenos; *Crete* – the *Koinon* of Cretans and

⁴⁷ Following Robert, I consider the inscription Le Bas & Waddington 1870, 599 from Tralles (= Marek 1984, 110) to be a list of mercenaries (Robert 1936, 94–97). I consider another, Rhodian, list, Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954, 287, no. 63, included by Marek, not to be a list of *proxenoi* as it contains only proper names and ethnics. Jones 1992, 132, suggests it might be a list of members of a permanent association or, more likely, an *ad hoc* group of foreign residents on Rhodes.

Aptera. They cover the Greek world in and around the Aegean and Sinope on the Black Sea, but the Greek east and the Greek west are not (yet) represented. In the web consisting of both data groups, two areas along one of the major sea lanes in the Mediterranean stand out as they exhibit early connections: one running north into the Black Sea and the other running south-east towards the Eastern Mediterranean.

Table 4. List of *poleis*/cities/states with a *proxenos/proxenoï* in or from Kos.

No.	City/state	No. of <i>proxenoï</i>	Source	Date ⁴⁸
	Plataseis	1	<i>Labraunda</i> III.2, 42	end 3rd cent. Mack dates the original inscription to the 4th century although the extant text was inscribed in the 3rd (Mack 2015, 229, n. 136).
2	Theangela	1 (physician)	<i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 159	c. 200
3	Bargylia	2+	<i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 178	c. 150–100
4	Iasos	1	<i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 172	c. 150–100
5	Miletos	4	1. <i>Milet</i> VI:3, 1065 2. <i>Milet</i> VI:3, 1066 3. <i>Milet</i> I:3, 119b 4. <i>Milet</i> I:3, 184	c. 320–300 180s c. 138 or just before c. 138 (Hallof, Hallof & Habicht 1998, 133 and n. 107)
6	Samos	5+ (2+ judges) (physician)	1. <i>IG</i> XII 6.1, 18 2. <i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 131 (= Crowther 1999, no. 1 = <i>IG</i> XII 6.1, 150) 3. <i>IG</i> XII 6.1, 130.XXI, l. 14 4. <i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 138 (= <i>IG</i> XII 6.1, 151)	shortly after 322 end 4th cent. 306–301 after 241
7	Gryneion	1	<i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 129B, XI, l. 81	306–301
8	Sinope	1	<i>IKSinope</i> 64, no. 5	4th cent.
9	Samothrace	9+	1. <i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 148 (= Hallof, Hallof & Habicht 1998, 134, no. 20 = Bosnakis & Hallof 2003, 210, 4) 2. <i>IG</i> XII 8, 170, ll. 59–62	c. 250–200, alt. 2nd or 1st cent.
	list	(3 <i>theoroi</i>)	3. <i>IG</i> XII 8, 171, ll. 27–29	c. 150 (Mack 2015, 332, table 11, list 14.5.2)
	list	(2 <i>theoroi</i>)	4. Dimitrova 2008, 40–41, no. 11	2nd cent. (Mack 2015, 332, table 11, list 14.6.2, as Dimitrova 2008)
	list	(2 <i>theoroi</i>)	5. <i>IG</i> XII 8, 168, ll 8–9	2nd cent.(?) (also Mack 2015, 332, table 11, list 14.11)
	list	(1+ <i>theoroi</i>)		2nd–1st cent. (Mack 2015, 331, table 11, list 14.4.2, and n. 56. Dimitrova (no. 4) dates it 1st–2nd cent. AD which is less likely.)
10	Astypalaia catalogue	14	Mack 2015, 293–300	c. 150
11	Thera list	3	<i>IG</i> XII 3 Suppl., 1299/1300, ll. 41, 42, 63, 69	c. 100 (Mack 2015, 336, table 12, list 16.4.3)
12	Naxos	5 (judges)	<i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 135 (= <i>IG</i> XII 5, p. XVI, 1310)	date c. 280

⁴⁸ If the date is taken from a publication not given as a source, this publication is given within brackets.

Table 4 (cont.).

<i>No.</i>	<i>City/state</i>	<i>No. of proxenoi</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>
13	Delos(?)	1	<i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 145 Delos(?)	<i>c.</i> 215–205
14	Tenos list	1	<i>IG</i> XII, Suppl., 304, l. 13	<i>c.</i> 250–200 (Mack 2015, 334, list 15.2)
15	Aptera (physician)	1	<i>IG</i> XII 4.1, 171 (= <i>IC</i> II 3, 3),	2nd cent.
16	The <i>Koinon</i> of Cretans	1	<i>ID</i> 5, 1517	<i>c.</i> 154 (PHI)
17	Epidauros	1	<i>IG</i> IV 2, 96, l. 58	<i>c.</i> 260–240 (PHI)
18	Oropos	3	1. Leonardos 1892, 38, no. 67 2. <i>IG</i> VII, 330 3. <i>IG</i> VII, 333	<i>c.</i> 240–180 (PHI) <i>c.</i> 240–180 (PHI) <i>c.</i> 240–180 (PHI)
19	Delphi list	2	1. <i>FD</i> III 1, 127 2. <i>SIG</i> ³ 585, l. 36	<i>c.</i> 254 (PHI) 194/3 (Mack 2015, 307, table 5)

Table 5. Chronological division of inscriptions showing *proxenoi* in or from Kos for other *poleis*/cities/states.

<i>Period</i>	<i>c.</i> 350–300	<i>c.</i> 300–200	<i>c.</i> 200	<i>c.</i> 200–100	<i>c.</i> 100	<i>250–200 or later/ 2nd or 1st cent.</i>
No. of decrees	5 ⁴⁹	10 ⁵⁰	1	12	1	2

Table 6. Chronological list of *poleis*/cities/states with a *proxenos* in or from Kos.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of cities of origin</i> ⁵¹	<i>Cities of origin</i>
<i>c.</i> 350–300	4	Miletos, Samos, Gryneion, Sinope ⁵²
<i>c.</i> 300–200	8	Plataseis, Samos, Epidauros, Oropos, ⁵³ Delphi, Delos, Naxos, Tenos
<i>c.</i> 200	1	Theangela
<i>c.</i> 200–100	8	Bargylia, Iasos, Miletos, Samothrace, Delphi, Astypalaia, Aptera, <i>Koinon</i> of Cretans
<i>c.</i> 100	1	Thera
250–200 or later/ 2nd–1st cent.	1	Samothrace

⁴⁹ One inscription from Sinope is dated to the 4th century, it could thus be earlier than *c.* 350.

⁵⁰ The three inscriptions from Oropos are dated *c.* 240–180.

⁵¹ Some cities appear twice, thus the total number in this table is larger than the number of known cities.

⁵² One inscription from Sinope is dated to the 4th century, it could thus be earlier than *c.* 350.

⁵³ The three inscriptions from Oropos are dated *c.* 240–180.



Fig. 6. Distribution map. *Poleis/cities/states with a proxenos/proxenoï in or from Kos.* 1 Plataseis, 2 Theangela, 3 Bargylia, 4 Iasos, 5 Miletos, 6 Samos, 7 Gryneion, 8 Sinope, 9 Samothrace, 10 Astypalaia, 11 Thera, 12 Naxos, 13 Delos, 14 Tenos, 15 Aptera, 16 The *Koinon* of Cretans, 17 Epidauros, 18 Oropos, 19 Delphi.

The status of Kos in the inter-polis proxeny web

I will now group and compare the 17 known cities of origin of the *proxenoï* appointed by the Koans (left column in *Table 7*) with the 19 states awarding *proxenia* to Koans (right column in *Table 7*) and the number of known *proxenoï* in both categories.

Table 7. *Poleis/cities/states with proxenoï appointed by the Koans (left column) and states with a proxenos/proxenoï in or from Kos (right column) according to region.*

<i>States with a proxenos/proxenoï appointed by the Koans, no. of proxenoï, (date)</i>	<i>States with a proxenos/proxenoï in or from Kos, no. of proxenoï, (date)</i>
<i>Karia (8 poleis)</i>	
Knidos 1 (350–300)	Plataseis 1 (end 3rd cent.)
Halikarnassos 2 , 1 (3rd cent.), 1 (3rd–2nd cent.)	Theangela 1 (c. 200)
Theangela 2 (3rd cent.)	Bargylia 2+ (c. 150–100)
Alabanda 1 (250–200)	Iasos 1 (c. 150–100)

Table 7 (cont.).

<i>States with a proxenos/proxenoï appointed by the Koans, no. of proxenoï, (date)</i>	<i>States with a proxenos/proxenoï in or from Kos, no. of proxenoï, (date)</i>
<i>Sea lane north and the Black Sea area (7 poleis)</i>	
Mytilene 1 (350–300) Kios 1 (350–300) Byzantion 1 (350–300) Sinope 1 (3rd cent.)	Miletos 4 , 1 (c. 320–300), 1 (180s), 1 (c. 138 or just before), 1 (107–100) Samos 5+ , 4 (end 4th cent.); 1 (after 241) Gryneion (Aiolis) 1 (306–301) Sinope 1 (4th cent.)
<i>Macedonia, Thrace and islands (3 poleis, 1 state)</i>	
Thasos(?) 1 (300–250) Amphipolis 1 (300–250) Macedonia 1 (250–200)	Samothrace 9+ , (1) 1 (c. 250–200 or 2nd or 1st cent.); (2) 3 (c. 150); (3) 2 (2nd cent.); (4) 2 (2nd cent.(?)); (5) 1+ (2nd or 1st cent.)
<i>S-E Mediterranean (3 cities)</i>	
Tyros 1 (350–300) Alexandria 1 (250–200) Naukratis 1 (350–300)	
<i>Central Aegean islands (5 poleis)</i>	
	Astypalaia 14 (c. 150) Thera 3 , (c. 100) Naxos 5 (c. 280) Delos 1 (c. 215–205) Tenos 1 (c. 250–200)
<i>Crete (1 polis, 1 koinon)</i>	
Aptera 1 (3rd–2nd cent.)	Aptera 1 (2nd cent.) The koinon of Cretans 1 (c. 154)
<i>Mainland Greece (5 poleis)</i>	
Athens, 2 , 1 (3rd cent.), 1 (250–200) Chalkis 1 (300–250)	Epidauros 1 (c. 260–240) Oropos 3 (c. 240–180) Delphi 2 , 1 (c. 254); 1 (194/93)
<i>Unknown city of origin (15 places)</i>	
No. 4, 2 (?) (c.350–300) No. 6, 1 (end 4th cent.) No. 7, 1 (?), (end 4th cent.) No. 8, 1 (c.300) No. 9, 1 (c.300) No. 14, 1 (3rd cent.) No. 16, unknown (3rd cent.) No. 18, 1 (c.295–280) No. 21, 1 (?) (c.250–200) No. 22, 1 (?) (c.250–200) No. 24, 1 (c.250–200) No. 26 1 (?) (c.250–200) No. 27, 1 (c.250–200) No. 30, 1 (or ??) (end 3rd cent.) No. 32, 1 (202/1)	

Can we say anything about the status of Kos in the general inter-polis web of proxeny ties? Mack presents two ways to measure the in-centrality of a polis—how important it was for other *poleis* to connect with a certain polis through *proxenia*. The first is to compare the number of *poleis* with a *proxenos* from a certain city (in-centrality) with the number of *poleis* with a *proxenos* for the citizens of the same city (out-centrality). His results show that even small *poleis* have a large out-centrality, but there is a clear difference in the in-centrality of a polis, with large and important *poleis* at the top end of a hierarchy. The second way is to compare the inter-relationship between two *poleis*. Mack uses the example of Athens and Karthaia on Keos. If polis A (Karthaia) has appointed several or many (in this case 15) *proxenoi* in polis B (Athens), and polis B has only one (or perhaps none) in polis A, and if this pattern for the respective polis then is repeated in other reciprocal relations, then one may conclude that polis B is more attractive, has a higher in-centrality, than polis A.⁵⁴

In the case of Kos it is difficult to get a clear picture as data are scarce—a network of several hundred *proxenoi* was probably in place and we have just over 30 decisions—and far from straight-forward. Our present knowledge is based on decrees, a material which is, as previously mentioned, both fragmentary and biased. The inscriptions give us the names of 17 *poleis* that had a *proxenos* for the Koans and there are another 15 decrees with the name of the polis missing. Had they been preserved more *poleis* would be known. As it stands, we have the names of 17 places with a *proxenos* for the Koans (out-centrality) and 19 places having a *proxenos* on/from Kos (in-centrality). Should one include the 15 Koan decrees where the origin of the *proxenos* is unknown the figure change to 32 for out-centrality as compared to the known 19 for in-centrality, though an unknown number of the former may refer to *poleis* already known. These figures indicate a larger out-centrality, but we should ask ourselves how much of this might be due to the strong local epigraphic habit evidenced in the unusually large number of Hellenistic Koan inscriptions.⁵⁵

Some tentative conclusions, contrary to the above, may be reached after an analysis of the relationship of the number of persons appointed *proxenos* (see Table 7). If the number of Koan *proxenoi* for foreign *poleis* is larger than that of foreign *proxenoi* for Koans, this indicates a high in-centrality. The numbers for the respective groups are affected by both group grants of *proxenia* and by the existence of multiple *proxenoi*, i.e. one polis with several contemporary *proxenoi* in another polis. According to Mack the majority of proxeny grants were made to individuals, but a significant minority consisted of group grants, i.e. awards made collectively to groups of individuals, who were normally from the same polis but from different families. The reason given is often their participation in an embassy or mission from their home polis or support for a mission from the granting

⁵⁴ Mack 2015, 180–181.

⁵⁵ The Koans had a strong epigraphic habit and the number of Hellenistic inscriptions from Kos is one of the highest there are. One could thus expect to have many preserved proxeny inscriptions. Generally 60% of the *poleis* that we know published proxeny decrees are represented by fewer than three decrees (Mack 2015, 16). The number of known Koan decrees is thus comparatively high.

polis. Group grants were frequently made to sacred envoys (*theoroi*) and to judges.⁵⁶ Multiple grants of *proxenoi* at one polis in the same period also occurs, for instance at Tenos and at Astypalaia.⁵⁷ There seems to have been a trend for more group grants and sets of multiple *proxenoi* from the late third century onwards, but both practices also occurred earlier.⁵⁸

Among the *poleis* which awarded group and multiple awards to Koans, the Samians made an unknown number of Koan judges their *proxenoi* in the late 4th century and the Naxians made five Koan judges their *proxenoi* in c. 280.⁵⁹ These two decisions were made public on decrees, but if we turn to Samothrace we can see that the many group grants of *proxenia* to *theoroi* visiting a festival, probably the Dionysia—including three of Koans, were published on lists set up year by year.⁶⁰ The decisions were taken at one and the same time but they were not, as far as we know, inscribed on separate decrees. Astypalaia had multiple *proxenoi* on Kos. An inscription from c. 150 gives us the names of 14 Koans, but as it is a catalogue it covers the network which existed at a particular point in time and represents several decisions. In the part of this network that we know (covering nine *poleis*) the number of Koans is the second highest, and six *poleis* are represented with between two and eight *proxenoi* and one polis by 11 *proxenoi*.⁶¹ The high number of Koans demonstrates that Astypalaia regarded the links to Kos as important. We do not know for certain that this was not reciprocal, but it would be highly surprising if it was.

Looking at the Koan decrees we can see that group awards are rare. Only in one decree, no. 1 (Mytilene) was more than one man awarded *proxenia*.⁶² This dataset—small sample though it is—may indicate that the Koans normally did not appoint groups of *proxenoi* as have been the case for, for instance, *theoroi* or judges in other *poleis*. Considering the large number of inscriptions found in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Asklepios just outside Kos town one would expect at least an occasional fragment showing the appointment of foreign *theoroi* as *proxenoi* if this was a common practice, but they are completely missing. This could of course be due to the random preservation of texts, but the total lack of any such inscriptions should be noted. Might this imply that the Koans did *not* use *proxenia* as a mainly honorary/symbolic reward?

⁵⁶ Mack 2015, 157, 168. Mack discusses several *poleis* promulgating *proxenia* to groups of men, i.e. Karthaia, Histiaia, Samothrace, Delphi, Thera, and an unidentified polis in Boiotia; Karthaia, mid 4th century (Mack 2015, 158, 172, 320–324); Histiaia, 264/3 (Mack 2015, 168, 330–332); Samothrace, 30 group grants, 2nd to 1st century (Mack 2015, 330–332); Delphi, 197/6–175/4 (Mack 2015, 169, n. 3); Thera(?), late 2nd–early 1st century (Mack 2015, 168, n. 62, 335); unidentified polis in Boiotia c. 80 B.C. (Mack 2015, 168, 337).

⁵⁷ Mack 2015, 169–170. Tenos c. 250–200 (Mack 2015, 334); Astypalaia c. 150 (Mack 2015, 293).

⁵⁸ Mack 2015, 171–172.

⁵⁹ Samos IG XII 4.1, 131; Naxos IG XII 4.1, 135.

⁶⁰ Mack 2015, 330, Dimitrova 2008, 72–74. The Koans in the inscriptions do not belong to the same family.

⁶¹ Three of the six are represented by two or three *proxenoi* and two by five or six (Mack 2015, 300).

⁶² There was possibly a second, no. 4 (unknown polis), but this inscription is extremely fragmentary and the restoration more uncertain.

If we go on to look at the total number of known *proxenoi*, based on the 34 Koan inscriptions we know of more than 37 for the Koans abroad and, based on the 19 known inscriptions, of more than 60 Koans who were *proxenoi* for foreigners. The Koans had two *proxenoi* at Mytilene (same period?⁶³), at Halikarnassos (different periods?), Theangela (same period), Athens (possibly the same period) and one unknown polis (same period?). The *poleis* which had multiple Koan *proxenoi* were Samothrace which had more than 9 (at least 8 of them were *theoroi*, several from the same period); Samos which had more than 5 (4 from the same period); Miletos which had 4 (different periods); Bargylia which had more than 2 (same period?); Astypalaia which had 14 (same period); Thera which had 3 (same period); Naxos which had 5 (same period); Oropos which had 3 (same period?); and Delphi which had 2 (different periods). None of these *poleis* show up in the Koan decrees or the fragmentary list of *proxenoi* for the Koans, but that is no doubt due to the random preservation of the inscriptions. Samothrace and Astypalaia have an unusually large number of contemporary *proxenoi* on/from Kos.⁶⁴ It is very likely that these three *poleis* had more Koan *proxenoi* in one and the same period than the Koans had in these *poleis*. One reason may be that the Koans do not seem to have promulgated *group* awards. The same relative balance was possibly the case also for the smaller *poleis* of Thera and Oropos, each of which had three Koan *proxenoi* from roughly the same period. We know of four *proxenoi* of Koan origin for Miletos (one from the 4th and three spread out over the 2nd century) and five for Samos, possibly more than the Koans had in/from Miletos and Samos, though this is hypothetical. Together this gives us a picture of a probably dominant in-centrality for Kos in the entire Aegean area. It is larger than the out-central local geographical region which I define as the islands and the coast with the uplands behind lying closest to Kos, in the inscriptions represented by the *poleis* of Alabanda, Halikarnassos, Theangela and Knidos. As there is no well-preserved Koan list of *proxenoi*, the definition of this local region is based purely on geographical proximity.⁶⁵ One may note that no central Aegean islands are represented in the Koan decrees. Of the 17 *poleis* with one or more *proxenoi* for the Koans, 14 are found outside the local region,⁶⁶ especially towards and in the northern Aegean/Propontis area, but also in the Black Sea area, in the south-eastern Mediterranean and in central Greece. This suggests that the sea lane north may have formed part of Kos' primary region of proxeny contacts and that other links were wide-spread. The Koan network should thus belong to Mack's third type which consists of

⁶³ The question-mark indicates that the decrees are dated to the same general period, but that this period covers two human generations and therefore the decrees could belong to different generations.

⁶⁴ The dated lists from Samothrace show that at least three are contemporary. The wide date ranges given for the rest make it possible that all eight belong to the same generation, but they may equally well be spread out in time.

⁶⁵ Should one such list appear, it would probably give us a somewhat different picture of the Koans' "local region of primary interaction" (Mack 2015, 151–152).

⁶⁶ The three *poleis* belonging to it are Knidos, Theangela and Halikarnassos.

local links, but includes a wide geographical range of *poleis*.⁶⁷ Mack suggests that stable long-term relationships with distant *poleis* relate to long-distance trade, an interpretation I agree with as this theory, in the case of Kos, fits with the data on the longstanding and wide-spread export of wine.

Motivations for the award in the Koan decrees

In almost one third of the decrees (nine cases) the reason for the honours is explicitly stated, although, as usual, only in general words.⁶⁸ Almost half of the inscriptions, i.e. seven of the 16 which are fairly complete in this part, leave out the motivating clause and thus do not present any explicit reason for the award.⁶⁹ Approximately half of the inscriptions (15 cases) are so fragmentary that we cannot say whether they included a motivation or not.⁷⁰ This means that we cannot say if the Koans normally included a motivational clause; all we can say is that it appears to have been fairly common. Most of the fourth century decrees (nos. 1–7) are extremely fragmentary,⁷¹ and this means that for those we do not know the reasons for the awards. The first extant motivation appears in no. 8, dating to *c.* 300. This means that no firm conclusions concerning a change over time can be drawn from the present material.

The nine decrees which include a motivation date to the entire third century. If the two widely dated decrees, 3rd–2nd century, belong to the later century, also the second century is represented.

Nos. 8, 10 (both 3rd cent.), 27 (c. 250–200)

“XX is a noble (/generous) man to the demos of the Koans and at all difficult times/crises he continues to provide service to all Koans from his own means”⁷²

No. 9 (c. 300)

“... to all Koans”⁷³

⁶⁷ Mack 2015, 175–178.

⁶⁸ Nos. 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 19, 27, 33, 34.

⁶⁹ Nos. 1, 5, 11, 12, 13, 20, 28. Whether this proportion of exclusion is due to the chance survival of texts or is indicative of the situation on Kos cannot be determined. Mack (2015, 28) mentions this type of concise decrees, but does not inform us of how large a proportion of his entire material they form.

⁷⁰ Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 14, 18, 21–26, 29, 30.

⁷¹ Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7.

⁷² No. 10, ... ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι περὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Κώϊων καὶ ἐμὶ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς χρείας διατελεῖ παρεχόμενος πᾶσι Κώϊοις ...

No. 27 has the phrase, though heavily restored; [ἐμὶ πᾶσι τοῖς / καιρ]οῖς χρ[είας] διετέλεσε / [π]αρεχόμενος [τοῖς Κώϊοις] (*IG* XII 4.1, 39). Considering the fact that, in the other Koan proxy inscriptions, the known word chosen to go with Κώϊοις in this phrase is πᾶσι, I would rather supplement that word also here. It makes no change to the number of letters on the line.

The phrase ἐμὶ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς ... πᾶσι Κώϊοις ... used in inscription nos. 8, 10 and 27 also appears in a fragmentary honorary decree of uncertain type (*IG* XII 4.1, 45). It may well be a proxy decree, but as this cannot be determined with certainty, it is not included in my list of proxy decrees.

⁷³ No. 9, ... πᾶσι Κώϊοις ...

No. 15 (3rd cent.)

“when there was a need among the people ... he contributed gift/s to the polis ... XX should be praised for his benevolence and willingness (to help)”⁷⁴

No. 17 (c. 295–280)

“by his words and deeds he continues to benefit the demos (the people)”

“because of the virtue and benevolence he shows to the polis of the Koans”

“and takes care of the citizens who appeal to him”⁷⁵

No. 19 (c. 295–280)

“he was in the past continuously benevolent to the people”⁷⁶

No. 33 (3rd–2nd cent.)

“XX is benevolent to the people, and he takes care of those (Koan citizens) who arrive (there), and on each occasion he continues to benefit all Koans by his deeds ...”⁷⁷

No. 34 (3rd–2nd cent.)

“[he] is well disposed towards the demos and at all difficult times/crises, by his deeds and words, he continues to benefit all Koans”⁷⁸

Three of the decrees (nos. 8, 10, 27) have the same motivation, “XX is a generous man to the demos of the Koans and at *all difficult times/crises* he continues to be of service to *all Koans* from his own means”. Whether they are exactly or only partly the same cannot be determined, as nos. 8 and 27 are restored.⁷⁹ One further inscription (no. 34) has a similar motivation, but somewhat differently worded, “at *all difficult times/crises* by his words and deeds he continues to benefit *all Koans*”. In no. 9 only the last words of the

⁷⁴ No. 15, ... εἰ δέ τις χρεία ἐστὶ τῷ δάμῳ ... δίδωσι δωρεὰν τῇ πόλει, ... ἐπαινέσαι εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας ἔνεκεν ...

Paschidis gives the translation, “if a certain need presents itself to the people ...”. He offers two alternative translations for the following clause; “he [will continue to] make donations to the city” or “he will offer to the city for free” (Paschidis 2008, 366, n.1).

This honorand from Sinope also received one of the highest honours given, a golden wreath of the highest value. It was also decided that the honours should be announced at the Dionysia, that the decision should be presented on a stele in the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods and that his honours should also be announced at Sinope by an emissary.

⁷⁵ No. 17, ... [τὰ συμφέροντα λέγων καὶ] πράσσω / [τῷ δάμῳ] ...

ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχει πρὸς τὰ πόλιν τὰν Κώϊων ...

... [καὶ τῷ] ἐντυγχανόν-/[τῶν αὐτῷ τῶν] πολιτῶν ἐπιμελε[τῇ]-ται

⁷⁶ No. 19, ... ἐν τε τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις εὖνους ἐὼν διετέλει τῷ δάμῳ ...

⁷⁷ No. 33, ... καὶ τῶν ἀφικνευμένων [ἐπιμέλειαν] ποιεῖται καὶ ἐμ πα[ντὶ καιρῷ] πράσσω διατ[ελεῖ τὰ συμ]φέροντα πᾶσι Κώϊοις ...

The phrase ἐμ πα[ντὶ καιρῷ] is supplied in the *IG* edition. It could, instead, possibly be restored ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς. This would, however, give a line of 27 letters as compared to the 20–23 letters of the other lines. This wording is thus less likely.

The inserted words in the translation are supplemented in *IG* XII 4.1, 49, Τελῶτα, the *IG* digital edition, <http://www.bbaw.de/ig/IG>.

⁷⁸ No. 34, ... εὖνους ἐστὶ τῷ δάμῳ καὶ ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς πράσσει καὶ λέγει τὰ συμ-φέροντα πᾶσι Κώϊοις ...

⁷⁹ Both no. 8 and no. 27 are extremely fragmentary. The restored phrase fits the remaining letters.

phrase “(to) *all Koans*” is preserved, and thus we do not know if one of the above or a different unknown phrase was used.

A general motivation appears in nos. 17 and 19. In these the *proxenos* is praised “because of the virtue and benevolence he shows to the polis of the Koans” (no. 17), and because “he was in the past continuously benevolent to the people” (no. 19). A similar reason is given in no. 15, “XX should be praised for his benevolence and willingness (to help)”. In no. 17 an added motivation, close to the one in no. 34, is also given, “by his words and deeds he continues to benefit the demos (the people)”.

The decrees, as expected, stress the services and benevolence shown by the *proxenoi* to the Koans, sometimes in the past, but normally in the present. Some of the motivations are very general, and it is difficult, often impossible, to say anything about what kind of contribution was made. Here however, this general type of motivation is, in six of seven cases combined with a somewhat more specific reason.⁸⁰ In the seventh case (no. 19) just a general motivation is given.⁸¹ In the two remaining cases we have one (no. 9) where we do not know what type of reason was given and one (no. 33) where a direct act is described.

Specified reasons

In four cases the inscriptions tell us that, at all difficult times/crises, the *proxenos* helps or benefits all Koans, either using his own means (nos. 8, 10, 27), or by his words and deeds (no. 34). This implies that tangible help was given to the Koans on the island. On other occasions (nos. 17, 33, 34) the *proxenos* could have made his contribution on Kos or elsewhere through his deeds and/or somewhere else through his words (presumably arguing on behalf of the Koans). In the first four inscriptions there is also a general statement either that the now formally appointed *proxenos* is a generous man (nos. 8, 10, 27), or that he is benevolent to the people (no. 34).

We are also given a more specific motivation for the *proxenos* from Si-nope in no. 15—he donated gifts to the polis (grain?) when there was a need among the people, as well as a general one—that he should be publicly praised for his benevolence and willingness (to help). The decree no. 17 tells us that the man from Amphipolis continuously benefitted the people of Kos through his words and deeds—a general motivation. We are also told that he took care of the citizens who appealed to him which is a more specific reason. A second general motivation is then given; he was appointed *proxenos* because of his virtue and benevolence to the polis of the Koans. The Cretan from Aptera, no. 33, took care of the Koans who arrived (there) and, each time he, through his deeds, benefitted all Koans. Here a direct reason is given and, again, it is combined with a general one, he was benevolent to the people.

⁸⁰ Nos. 8, 10, 15, 17, 27, 34.

⁸¹ This person, however, received some of the highest awards given and is, in this aspect, similar to no. 15.

Discussion

What were the specific causes for a polis' decision to award *proxenia* to a foreigner? There were a number of different reasons, mostly difficult to discern when expressed in the formulaic language of the decrees. The formulas may cover different causes, but the actual acts or intentions would have been of a certain magnitude/importance to the demos for it to promulgate the award. Also, different *poleis* may have used similar formulas to cover contributions of the same magnitude but of different nature. Mack proposes that the formulaic character of the motivational clause in the decrees converted what was often, or even mostly, a private relationship into a public one. Specific reasons concerning the interactions between individuals were suppressed and instead the affection of the *proxenos* for the entire polis was stressed.⁸² I agree that this may well be the case in many of the inscriptions, but we should be wary to always prioritize it.⁸³ In the case of the Koan decrees I think that the generalizing formulaic language was not mainly used to obfuscate private relationships, rather, short terms were used to denote a reality well-known to all in contemporary society, but difficult for us to access.

To try to glean an understanding of what lies behind the formulas one could, for each polis and each decree, look at the privileges awarded together with the reasons given and see if they together indicate a certain type of contribution.⁸⁴ Considering the formulation in no. 15, the *proxenos* donated gifts to the polis *when there was a need among the people* and the repeated use of the motivation formula expressly mentioning help given to *all* Koans in nos. 8, 10, 27 and 34,⁸⁵ I will, as a first step, look at the possibility of help given at a time of food crisis as one of several recurring motifs the Koans had for awarding *proxenia* to foreigners.

It has been argued that, unless expressly stated that a *proxenos* had helped with grain or money to buy grain, we cannot suggest that this was a reason behind the promulgation of *proxenia* on a foreigner. This is to assume that there was a general norm in the Greek world that this particular act must always be clearly stated when inscribing a proxeny decree. There is no doubt that different *poleis* had different epigraphic habits and one example of this is sculptors' signatures. In many Greek *poleis* (Athens, Delos and Rhodos to mention but a few) there is a large number of signatures and this has led modern scholars to posit local schools of sculptors producing good quality work. These schools are well-known and universally accepted. Other *poleis*, however, had a different habit, and artists' signatures are extremely rare. Kos is one such polis.⁸⁶ If all we had were the inscribed statue bases lacking signatures, a modern observer might believe that the Koans did not produce

⁸² Mack 2015, 103.

⁸³ Ultimately, the way we explain the function of society's institutions depends on what we see as moving factors and to what we give explanatory value. The factors for which scholars tend to look, accept and stress vary. Thus the same data may give rise to different interpretations. For instance, the privileges presented in the proxeny decrees may be seen as mainly honorary, mainly political or mainly trade-related.

⁸⁴ See the discussion of the local epigraphic habit concerning proxeny decrees by Mack (2015, 33–34).

⁸⁵ The wording of no. 33 is slightly different and gives a different meaning.

⁸⁶ Höghammar 1993, 104–105.

any high-quality sculpture as the Koan sculptors did not show pride in their work by advertising their craftsmanship through their names. However, much of the extant Koan sculpture made of local marble is of high quality, and some statues are of absolute top quality. This example shows that we cannot take for granted that Koan proxeny decrees must adhere to a general norm and that there may have been a tendency to be reticent in public inscriptions. We do not know for certain, but it is possible that help at times of food shortages and famines here (and perhaps also in certain other places) was couched in a generalized language. We cannot take for granted that this was impossible or implausible.

Food shortages and the Koan award of proxenia

Most Greek *poleis* suffered intermittent food shortages fairly frequently.⁸⁷ One basic reason for this was, according to Garnsey, a variable climate and erratic rainfall leading to harvest fluctuations and crop failures.⁸⁸ Other reasons were created by humans: war, piracy, civil strife, and economic and non-economic exploitation by those in power.⁸⁹ From honorary inscriptions we know that in *poleis* where a food crisis was at hand both well-to-do citizens and foreigners helped alleviate it time and time again.⁹⁰ Many *poleis* also instituted a position as *sitones*, an official with special responsibility for the grain supply who, in some cities, had at his disposal the means kept in a permanent grain fund. Also the office of *sitophylakes*, a grain warden, is known from a number of *poleis*.⁹¹ There is no doubt that a steady grain supply was a fundamental concern for most Greek *poleis*.

Mack, as do most recent scholars, regards the gifts of a polis to its foreign benefactors as mainly honorific. The relationship between the two was euergetical. He writes:

The services of the honorand were gifts which *poleis* were obliged to respond to, if not in kind – the gifts of the *polis* were above all honorific in character – in due proportion or measure.⁴⁵ At its heart the relationship implied by *proxenia* was thus euergetical in character. It involved individual benefactors (*euergetai*) performing benefactions (*euergesiai*), which were rewarded and encouraged with honours. The benefactions particularly associated with *proxenia* differ from those associated with citizen or royal euergetism, ... in that they were primarily non-financial”.⁹²

⁸⁷ A shortage is, following Garnsey (1988, 6), “... a short-term reduction in the amount of available foodstuffs, as indicated by rising prices, popular discontent, hunger, in the worst cases bordering on starvation”. A “[f]amine is a critical shortage of essential foodstuffs leading through hunger to starvation and a substantially increased mortality rate in a community or region”.

⁸⁸ Data from the modern period show that in Attica, in the period 1931–1960 “[t]he percentage probability of a failure of the wheat crop was 28%, of the barley crop 5%; that is, wheat failed more than one year in four, barley about one year in twenty”. In the early 20th century the main subsistence crops on Samos, due to excessive rainfall, failed once every two years on average. Garnsey (1988, 13) also notes that “... vulnerability to crop failure can in principle be measured in respect of any location [in Greece] for which satisfactory data are available.”.

⁸⁹ Garnsey 1988, 13–14.

⁹⁰ Here I will not discuss the eventual rewards given to the citizens of the afflicted polis.

⁹¹ Garnsey 1988, 15–16.

⁹² Mack 2015, 37.

This picture is one based on the complete data-set, including thousands of inscriptions from the Greek world, and as such it is extremely valuable. What we cannot get from it, however,—and Mack is of course aware of this—is the local variations that existed. It is only through analysing the decrees of individual *poleis*—as has been undertaken for some *poleis* by different scholars showing that variant habits exist⁹³—that we get a picture of the local habit. The prevalent large-scale pattern is thus not dominant in all *poleis*, local deviations occur.

We know a number of decrees where a polis explicitly thanks a foreigner for help at a time of food crisis and awards him proxeny-status. Some Athenian inscriptions from the latter part of the fourth century (c. 340–320) grant men from Sidon, Tyros, Salamis and Akragas proxeny-status for their aid at times of food shortage.⁹⁴ In c. 240–180 Oropos in Boiotia granted proxeny-status to one Sidonian and one man from Tyros for the same reason, as did Chalkis for another Sidonian.⁹⁵ In c. 200–180 the small town of Chorsiai, also in Boiotia, granted the man Kapon from neighbouring Thisbe *proxenia* because of his help at a time of grain shortage.⁹⁶ The motivations were given on separate stelae, i.e. these persons were not just named *proxenoi* together with many others in a list, but were also given the fairly rare added distinction of an individual public inscription. They were thus regarded as highly honoured *xenoi* by the awarding polis. Thus we know that this particular privilege was given to non-citizens for help in this type of situation and that these persons were held in the highest regard by the communities they helped.

That Kos repeatedly suffered from food shortages is apparent from various sources. The famous inscription concerning the sale of grain from Cyrene to a large number of Greek states at a time of wide-spread grain shortage c. 330–320 includes Kos which then imported 10 000 *medimnoi*.⁹⁷ From a fragmentary Koan inscription dated c. 294–288, we learn that at a time of *sitodeia* (food crisis) “the Coans had secured from the [Thessalian] koinon the right to import corn for which they had only partially paid”.⁹⁸ An

⁹³ See, for instance, Knoepfler 2001 for Eretria; Habicht 2002 for Delos, Oropos, Delphi, Samos and Efesos; Reger 1994 for Delos; Culasso Gastaldi 2005 and Engen 2010 for Athens.

⁹⁴ *IG* II³ 379; 468; 367; 432.

There is one Athenian inscription (*IG* II² 416[b] = *IG* II³ 1 454) dated 334/3–321 which honours a Koan. This is a period of severe grain shortages all over the Greek world and in this decree the Koan is honoured for his services in connection with the procurement of grain for the Athenian cleruchs on Samos; “he takes [care] of both the [*emporoi* and] the *naukleroi* in order that grain sail in as pl[entifully as possible] for the [People of Athens] and that no one [of the] Athenians either [is hindered] by [anyone unjustly or] forced into port” (translation by Engen 2010, 298–299). The Koan thus helped the Athenians on Samos to get grain brought by the *emporoi* and the *naukleroi* and this help was important enough for him to be honoured by the demos of Athens with an inscribed honorary decree. As the text specifically mentions him making the latter sail unhindered and without being forced into port, this indicates the action of a marine guard. In this particular case we note a Koan citizen involved in the safe passage of grain to its destination and this type of action clearly shows the weight given to securing enough grain for the citizens of a polis.

⁹⁵ Oropos *IG* VII 4262; Chalkis *IG* XII 9, 900; Knoepfler 1990, 490–491.

⁹⁶ *IG* VII 2383; Migeotte 1984, 41–44, no. 10; *SEG* 22, 410.

⁹⁷ *SEG* 9, 2. For a recent treatment, see Bresson 2011, 66–95. An Attic *medimnos* was equivalent to c. 52 litres, but there was regional variation: a Spartan *medimnos* was equivalent to c. 71 litres.

⁹⁸ *IG* XII 4.1, 133. Quote from Sherwin-White 1978, 110, n. 141.

extremely fragmentary inscription honouring the Koan Philinos and dating to the end of the third century mentions (imports of) grain from Cyprus(?).⁹⁹ Finally, in a mime by Herondas, *Pornoboskos*, *The brothel-keeper* (ll. 16–17), set on Kos and dating to c. 300–250, two foreigners, Battaros, a brothel-keeper and Thales, a trader and ship-owner, oppose one another in a court case before a jury of Koan citizens. Trying to eliminate (or match) the possible positive impact on the jury made by Thales' highly valued help in a crisis (it must be positively valued to be included in this context), Battaros says to the Koan jurors: “[Perhaps he (Thales) will say to you] ‘I have come from Akê with wheat on board and I stopped the dreadful famine’”.¹⁰⁰ Battaros then goes on to explain his own more questionable efforts for the Koans—presumably meant to be humorous. This passage is, of course, not an historical account, but for it to have any meaning for the audience it must be plausible. It is therefore reasonable to assume that food-shortages on Kos could also be alleviated by both citizens and foreigners bringing in grain from abroad and that this was regarded as a highly laudable action by the Koans just as it was in Athens and other places.

Are there any indications in any of the proxeny decrees that the Koans were threatened by food shortages and that these threats were averted through the help of a foreigner? The wording of some of the Koan decrees and the findings of H. Rubinstein concerning the practical advantages of the privileges given to *proxenoi* point to a more tangible aspect of proxeny awards.¹⁰¹ My answer to this question therefore is yes, but they are only indications and as such preclude certainty. A first clue is the phrase “when there was a need among the people (the demos) ... he contributed gifts to the polis” in no. 15.¹⁰² This is a clear statement that there had been a universal need among the citizens. A second hint is the repeated use of the phrase “ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Κώϊων καὶ ἐμὲ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς χρείας διατελεῖ παρεχόμενος πᾶσι Κώϊοις ...” (“XX is a generous man to the demos of the Koans and at all difficult times/crises he continues to give service to all Koans”) in nos. 8, 10 and 27 and the similar phrase used in no. 34 “... εὖνους ἐστὶ τῷ δάμῳ καὶ ἐμὲ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς πράσσει καὶ λέγει τὰ συμφέροντα πᾶσι Κώϊοις ...” (“at all difficult times/crises, by his deeds and words, he continues to benefit all Koans”). The word *καιροῖς*, in plural, can be translated both to the more general “times, opportunities, occasions”, and the more narrow meaning “critical times” or “crises”.¹⁰³ It is often translated

⁹⁹ *IG* XII 4.1, 48. In the part mentioning grain only a few words at the very beginning and the very end of each line remain.

¹⁰⁰ ἐρεῖ ταχὺ ὑμῖν] ἐξ Ἀκῆς ἐλήλουθα
πυρ]σοὺς ἄγων κῆστησα τὴν κακὴν λιμὸν.
Translation by G. Zanker, in Zanker 2009, 43.

¹⁰¹ Rubinstein 2009, 115–143.

¹⁰² This fragmentary decree was considerably longer than most proxeny decrees, and we are told that the activity of the honorand was dependent on the good will of a queen, either Phila, the wife of Demetrios Poliorketes (Segre 1993, ED 20; Habicht 1996, 85), or, possibly Stratonike, the wife of Antigonos the One-eyed (Paschidis 2008, 368).

¹⁰³ LSJ⁹. Searching the PHI database for Greek inscriptions (23 October, 2015) one notices that the plural form of *καιρός* is rare in Koan inscriptions. Apart from the above mentioned ones, there are three examples from the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods. The first is a long honorary inscription (Segre 1993, ED 229 = *IG* XII 4.2, 1036) from the early first century BC where we find the phrase “ἐπὶ πολυωτάτοις καιροῖς” which, whatever its

into the neutral “at all times” or “at every opportunity”, but here, considering that the word refers not just to an individual, a small group of people or Koans in general, but to “all Koans”, *πᾶσι Κώιοις*, I think it is more likely to denote times in a bad sense. A foreigner could and did provide help to individuals or groups of citizens on different occasions and for different reasons and was consequently awarded proxeny-status, but if such was the case here, one would rather expect either a more general phrase or reference—also very common in this type of decree—such as “the Koans”, “the demos”, or wording like “those who came to see/meet him”. One would not expect the expression “all Koans” to be chosen.

There also seems to be a connection between the choice of the phrase *ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς* and *πᾶσι Κώιοις* as they appear together in four motivation clauses. We are given the impression that these “kairois” concern not just those Koans who came to this person or Koans or the demos in general, but, specifically and explicitly, *all* Koans. An event at which all Koans needed help indicates a crisis of some sort. For this reason I prefer the translation “at all difficult times/crises” rather than the vaguer and more general “on all occasions”.

Here I must include some observations on how the Koans awarded the status of *euergetes* to their *proxenoi*. As in other *poleis* the *proxenos* was often, though far from routinely, also appointed *euergetes*. According to Mack the persons appointed *proxenoi* were almost always also named *euergetai* thus demonstrating that the relationship between polis and *proxenos* was euergetical.¹⁰⁴ This, again, is the larger picture, and local variants could be expected to occur. In the Koan decrees the honorific “*euergetes*” can be found in 12 inscriptions spread out over the period c. 350–200, as can the almost as common decrees without it, 10 inscriptions.¹⁰⁵ There is thus, in this respect, no discernible chronological development in the material. Also, none of the Koan decrees where the motivating clause is preserved states that the award of *proxenia* was given because the person “was an *euergetes*”, “for an *euergesia*” or that he should receive “the honours awarded other *euergetai*”. One may note that, as being officially appointed *euergetes* was not a routine matter, it indicates that this status probably held a particular

exact meaning is, has a clear link to war and a situation of critical import. A local honorary decree from the deme of Halasarna (*IG* XII 4.1, 115) dating to the first century BC has the wording “ἐν τοῖς κ]αθήκουσι καιροῖς” – “at a convenient time”. Finally there is a large base from the second century AD (Segre 1993, EV 246, l. 5 = *IG* XII 4.2, 1071) with the phrase “ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς τᾶς πόλιος” – “at times of great need for the polis”. Two of these three inscriptions have an adjective which gives the noun a meaning of crisis, and the third is neutral. There is no inscription where we can see that the Koans use only the word *καιροῖς* with the meaning of difficult times/crisis, but it is twice given this meaning through connection.

One could compare the use and meaning of this word with that of *περιστάσις* having a neutral meaning, “circumstances, situation, state of affairs”, as well as a more special one of “difficult position, crisis, critical times”. J. & L. Robert (1989, 43) write: “Comme d’ordinaire le mot *περιστάσις* signifie des circonstances, une situation, difficiles ou critiques.” I am grateful to Riet van Bremen for this reference.

¹⁰⁴ Mack 2015, 38.

¹⁰⁵ There are nine certain and three probable decrees awarding the title of *euergetes* (certain nos. 2, 3, 11, 14, 15, 18, 20, 28, 34; probable nos. 4, 12, 27). There are eight certain and two probable decrees where this award was not given (certain nos. 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 17, 23, 30; probable nos. 8, 24).

meaning to the Koans and not even the most highly honoured *proxenoi* were guaranteed this status. The relationship between a *proxenos* and the polis of Kos may thus have had a less purely euergetical character than was generally the case in the Greek world.

Conclusions

My interpretation of the more specific reason stated in nos. 8, 10, 15 and 27 is that these *proxenoi* helped with money or with grain (they either gave it away or sold it at a reasonable or low price) at a time when the Koans had acute problems. In no. 33 concerning a man from Aptera in western Crete the help given all Koans occurs in a different combination and a more specific reason is added. He was awarded proxeny status also because he helped Koan travellers coming to Aptera.¹⁰⁶ As for the Halikarnassean mentioned in no. 34, he, likewise in difficult times, helped through his deeds, presumably similar to those suggested above for nos. 8, 10 and 27, but also through his words. Exactly what is meant by this we do not know, but it is likely that he used what influence he had to ameliorate a difficult situation for the Koans.

The Amphipolitean in no. 17, an Antigonid official,¹⁰⁷ not only helped through words and deeds, he also took care of the citizens who appealed to him. He thus had a position of some power and/or influence in the early third century.

In the above seven inscriptions¹⁰⁸ we can see that the men who were appointed *proxenoi* of the Koans had repeatedly given tangible help to them. It is, in five cases (nos. 8, 10, 15, 27 and 34), said that this help, according to my interpretation of the texts, was given at times of general need. In my view, this indicates that the persons in those five inscriptions were helping with the food supply,¹⁰⁹ and very possibly had an interest in trade (see Herondas' mime). If this is correct, in the majority of the inscriptions where we have motivations, it may indicate that the *proxenoi* had a mercantile background.

When comparing the Koan decrees with those of other *poleis* with a famous sanctuary, one comment must be made. The Panhellenic sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos was both well-known and prestigious.¹¹⁰ The fact that not one single proxeny decree or list referring to Asklepios or his festival has as yet been noted for Kos is somewhat surprising, considering the renown of the Asklepieion and the considerable number of inscriptions found there.

¹⁰⁶ The Apterans, in their turn, had a Koan *proxenos*, the doctor Kallippos, son of Aristokritos who was thanked for his medical work at Aptera, *IC* II.3, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Paschidis 2008, 366.

¹⁰⁸ Nos. 8, 10, 15, 17, 27, 33, 34.

¹⁰⁹ Rich Koans selling grain at a low rate or giving it away on such occasions would, if honoured, be given other types of awards.

¹¹⁰ Sherwin-White 1978, 357.

The privileges awarded with *proxenia*

In only seven decrees do we have a complete or nearly complete award clause.¹¹¹ In the rest, owing to their fragmentary state, it is completely (4 cases¹¹²) or partly (19 cases¹¹³) missing. In the majority of the inscriptions which are partly preserved enough remains, however, for us to understand at least part of the clause. The *asylia* award is by far the most frequent, and all others are rare.

During the whole period, 4th–1st century BC, the standard privilege awarded to *proxenoi* in the Greek world consisted of the right of *asylia*, and this was commonly formulated approximately as: “free entry and exit in war and in peace with no forcible seizure of person/s”. The Koan variant reads: [the right] ‘to sail to and from [the polis] in peace and in war, not needing a formal treaty and not liable for seizure’.¹¹⁴ This particular privilege is connected to *proxenia* as an institution and Mack tells us that it occurs almost exclusively in proxeny decrees.¹¹⁵ Its direct meaning is that the *proxenos*, in contrast to other foreigners, had something resembling diplomatic status, and he did not risk being seized in the granting polis and was also free to travel to and from it even when his own city-state was openly at war with it. Mack rightly stresses the intermediary role a *proxenos* with this privilege could play:¹¹⁶ for instance carrying out informal contacts and negotiations during a conflict. The standard formula can be found in at least 17, but probably 22 of the 31 Koan decrees.¹¹⁷ In the remaining eight decrees the relevant lines are not preserved and nothing can be said about the clause, but it is possible that they contained the same formula. The Koans, however, added a further privilege to the one generally granted, i.e. they explicitly stated that a *proxenos* had the right to freely bring in and out property/merchandise (χρήματα) with no risk of seizure.¹¹⁸ This means that the *proxenos*, even when he was in the granting polis, did not risk having his possessions seized by a citizen or by the polis itself (*syle*), even when (private) conflicts between citizens of the two *poleis* led to such measures being taken. The property clause is present in ten of the Koan decrees and in another two it is a probable reconstruction.¹¹⁹ There is no decree where it clearly is *not* included, but the

¹¹¹ Nos. 5, 10, 13, 15, 20, 28, 34. In no. 19 it is complete, but as this is not the original *proxenos* decree, whatever awards were being added to that of *proxenia* is unknown.

¹¹² Nos. 3, 4, 12, 33.

¹¹³ Nos. 1, 2, 6–9, 11, 14, 17, 18, 21–27, 30, 31.

¹¹⁴ “... αὐτοῖς ἔσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ”.

¹¹⁵ Mack 2015, 128, 246.

¹¹⁶ Mack 2015, 128.

¹¹⁷ Five of the clauses are complete, the reconstruction of 13 are certain or probable (several of the key words can be identified) and five are possible (the existing letters fit such a reconstruction). The complete ones are nos. 5, 10, 13, 28, 34. Certain or probable reconstructions are nos. 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 30, 31. Possible reconstructions are nos. 2, 7, 21, 23, 27.

¹¹⁸ “... αὐτοῖς ἔσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήμασι”.

Τό χρήμα in plural may mean not just “goods, property” or “sum of money”, but also “merchandise” (LSJ⁹).

¹¹⁹ Certain nos. 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 22, 25, 26, 30 31; probable nos. 17, 21.

fragmentary state of the majority of the remaining decrees means that certain knowledge of its standard inclusion is precluded.¹²⁰

Another privilege frequently given by other *poleis*, *ateleia* (ἀτέλεια), freedom from taxes which non-citizens were expected to pay, was rare on Kos. It appears in two decrees, nos. 11 and 20, and in a third, no. 7, it may have been included.¹²¹ In no. 20 the *proxenos* was to pay no taxes/customs on anything whatsoever (ἀτέλειαν πάντων). There are thus very few clear or possible cases of this privilege, but how certain can we be that it really was rare, first of all in this particular sample, and then more generally for Kos, considering the fragmentary state of most decrees in this small sample of 31 texts? In 18 (almost 60%) of the decrees we know either definitely or fairly certainly whether it was included or not, three positive and 15 negative cases.¹²² In 13 cases we do not know whether it was given or not as the relevant lines are missing.¹²³ There is thus no certain answer to the question, but present data indicates that it was quite rare.

Only in one decree (no. 20) can we find the privilege of *proedria* (honorary seating at performances) and *politeia* (citizenship). Like *ateleia* they seem to have been given only in rare cases. In two cases the award of *proxenia* was combined with another award of clearly honorary character. It is in nos. 15 and 19 that the *proxenoi* were also given a golden wreath of the highest value and it is decided that the award should be proclaimed publicly at the choragic festival/Dionysia.

In 18 of the 22 decrees with the standard formula the privileges were also granted to the honorand's descendants.¹²⁴ As was previously mentioned, the awarding of the formal proxeny status was a state decision¹²⁵ and as such it could be the beginning of a firmer and more long-term relationship with the appointed persons and their families.

¹²⁰ The editors of *IG XII 4.1* have supplied this clause in several of the fragmentary decrees.

¹²¹ The editors of no. 25 (= *IG XII 4.1*, 36) have emended [ἀ]τέ[λειαν πάντων καὶ ἔσ]- on l. 4 of this inscription. As this would be a unique case of this particular privilege being placed before the asylon clause and as only two letters partially remain this emendation is very uncertain. I prefer to place the decree with those for which we do not know whether *ateleia* was included or not.

¹²² In 11 cases it is clear from the inscription that it was not conferred, nos. 5, 9, 10, 13, 17, 22, 26, 28, 30, 31, 34). In another four cases it is fairly certain that it was not conferred (nos. 8, 14, 15, 21). In no. 15 *ateleia* could possibly belong to “the other honours conferred on all Sinopeans” mentioned on ll. 12–13. However, considering that *ateleia* does not seem to be a common award, this seems less likely. I have therefore placed this decree with those who probably did not include it.

¹²³ Nos. 1–4, 6, 12, 18, 19, 23–25, 27, 33. The honours in no. 19 were awarded some time after the honorand was made *proxenos*. The awarding of *ateleia* may have been included in the original *proxenos* decree.

¹²⁴ In the remaining five inscriptions the relevant line is missing, and thus there is the possibility that this stipulation was included.

¹²⁵ In the polis of Kos the *proxenoi* were awarded their status by the *boule* and the *demos/ekklesia*. The main deciding organ was the *demos/ekklesia* as it could confer the status by itself (nos. 4, 11, 14(?), 17, 27, 31). With one exception (no. 13) this was not the case for the *boule* which is thus almost always combined with the *demos/ekklesia* (nos. 1, 3, 5, 9(?), 10, 12, 15, 20, 22, 28, 29, 32). For ten of the decrees we do not have information on the appointing organ owing to their fragmentary state (nos. 2, 6, 8, 18, 21, 23, 23–26, 30).

Discussion

Aside from the right to safely enter and exit the territory of the polis, the privileges awarded together with *proxenia* could vary greatly between cities. Mack distinguishes between a “standard” set of privileges regularly granted by most *poleis*: *enktesis* (the right to buy land within polis territory), *prosodos* or *ephodos* (the right to present oneself/one’s case before the polis authorities), *ateleia* (freedom from taxes which non-citizens were expected to pay), *isoteleia* (the right to pay the same taxes as citizens do) and, lastly, *politeia* (citizenship): the exceptional ones which were awarded only rarely were crowns, especially of gold, statues, public maintenance (free meals) and gifts of real property. In Mack’s opinion the “standard” privileges conferred by a polis mainly had a symbolic value which, to the city, was more important than any economic advantages the privileges might confer.¹²⁶

The large proportion, ten or 12 decrees which mention the right of *asylia* not just for the person, but also for his property or merchandise, in the Koan *asylia* clause, makes it likely that this addition was a common privilege conferred by the Koans. This means that, apart from the political aspect stressed by Mack, another function must be considered for the *proxenoi* with privileges on Kos—the potential economic advantage, as not only the person but also his property/merchandise was protected. Bresson noted the importance that the *poleis*’ right of *syle* played for traders. In pseudo-Demosthenes’ speech *Against Lakritos* the contract between the Athenian lender of money and the foreign (Phaselite) traders stipulates that they should not “disembark their goods at a port where the Athenians have no right of reprisals”.¹²⁷ Bresson considers this to mean that the traders could not—according to the contract—unload their merchandise at a port where it could be seized as a measure of reprisal against the Athenians.¹²⁸ This passage concerns the *syle* rights of a polis, but, as was just noted, *asylia* for the person was the generic privilege accorded to *proxenoi*. *Asylia* for both person and goods at a certain port would protect the traders from having their merchandise seized there and thus it had a central and practical function for those receiving it.

It may be that this particular privilege was regularly sought and given to *proxenoi* of the Koans as it would be a distinct advantage to any shipper or trader (regularly) buying and/or selling his wares on Kos. But why would it have been an advantage if the *proxenos* normally lived and was active in his home polis as Mack has shown? In a number of inscriptions we can see that it was not necessary for the *proxenos* himself to accompany his goods. There were, in the form of written documents, ways of ascertaining that the wares belonged to him and thus could not be seized. In his article on Philip II’s attack on Hieron¹²⁹ and Greek trade Bresson argues convincingly that shippers normally carried ship’s documents when travelling. These papers demonstrate the nature and port of origin of the cargo and also say who the

¹²⁶ Mack 2015, 122–123.

¹²⁷ ... ἐξελόμενοι ὅπου ἂν μὴ σῶλαι ᾖσιν Ἀθηναίους. Demosthenes, *Against Lakritus* 13. Translation A.T. Murray (Loeb) 1939.

¹²⁸ Bresson 2000, 138–139.

¹²⁹ A sanctuary on the Asian side of the Bosphoros close to the Black Sea.

owner was.¹³⁰ Also Rubinstein stresses that written documentation on the cargo of a ship, its origin and owners was much more important in ancient international trade than is normally presumed today.¹³¹ She discusses five *ateleia* decrees from Olbia from the 5th and 4th centuries which offer exemption from taxes on imports and exports.¹³² What is special about these decrees is that they allow others to act as representatives for the actual holders of the grants. Consequently these others must have been able to show that the merchandise was to be imported into a certain polis without having to pay customs dues. She concludes, “these *ateleia* grants almost certainly were not intended as symbolic only, but as providing tangible financial benefits to the honorand and his personal estate. As such they reflect the realities of a trading environment where several individuals of free and unfree status belonging to the same household were involved in joint commercial enterprises.”. Also some other *poleis* (Delos, Pherai, Delphi) framed their *ateleia* grants in such a way that it is clear to us the trade they encouraged was based on households rather than single individuals.¹³³ This means that trade could be carried out with the *proxenos* remaining in his home polis. If we regard the merchants as heads of shipping and trading houses who had been granted *asylia* and/or *ateleia*, they could have stayed home and sent their representatives, whether family members, slaves,¹³⁴ or others to the destination port with papers showing *asylia* and/or *ateleia* rights. The safe passage clause for person and goods and the further privilege of paying no customs dues were, as I see it, valuable assets in inter-polis trade, not just symbolic honours.

The extant decrees indicate that, as was the case everywhere, the granting of free entry and exit without danger of being seized was standard on Kos. It is highly probable that the same safety was commonly given to a *proxenos*’ property/merchandise. Other privileges seem, in contrast, to have been rare, or even extremely rare. Should this reflect the normal practice of the Koans, the deviation from the polis norm needs to be examined. The question is then, why did the Koans not give the, as in most *poleis*, regularly granted set of privileges to their *proxenoi* as one would expect? What factors could have influenced the Koans in shaping their particular variant of *proxenia* and its adhering privileges?

The people who were proclaimed *proxenoi* were men with a high standing in their own communities. Does this preclude citizens with an interest in trade and export? Land was a valuable asset in the ancient world and land-owners a respected part of the citizen population. The basic Mediterranean trade consisted of agricultural products, grain, oil and wine and (large) land-owners with an occasional surplus production would have a strong interest in selling it at a good price.¹³⁵ A considerable number of these landowners

¹³⁰ He argues that the βίβλοι γεγραμμένοι mentioned by Xenophon in *Anabasis* 7.5.14 should be translated “ship’s documents”. Bresson 2000, 131–149, esp. 143.

¹³¹ Rubinstein 2009, 123.

¹³² *IOSPE* I² 20; *IOSPE* I² 21, cf. *IOlbiae* 15; *IOlbiae* 5–7.

¹³³ Rubinstein 2009, 123.

¹³⁴ A slave would legally be part of the *proxenos*’ property.

¹³⁵ The high volume of agricultural products constantly sold internationally indicates the importance of this trade also to the producers.

would also constitute part of the political and economic elite of their own polis. In the polis world they probably formed the major part of the group awarding and being awarded *proxenia*, with the attendant privileges. If we consider these privileges mainly honorary and/or symbolic in character, the implication is that this group had no interest in having as good a material basis as possible for themselves and for their *oikos*. As I see it, not only traders and shippers (*emporoi* and *naukleroi*), but also large landowners had an interest in the trading/economic advantages provided by proxeny status and the privileges that accompanied it, either when used directly by themselves, or when they benefitted indirectly as sellers of agricultural products. The right to safely enter a market with your merchandise and safely bring away your profits was a valuable asset, and the larger, more popular and stable the market, the more valuable was the privilege.

This reasoning leads to the hypothesis that not all *poleis* were equally attractive to those with an interest in trade. An affluent polis situated on one of the large Mediterranean trade-routes, providing good harbour facilities, highly valued products for export and a strong market would be more attractive to presumptive *proxenoi* than off-the-beaten-track city-states with few products of their own to offer. Mack discusses the asymmetrical relationships witnessed in the proxeny networks, pointing out the “likelihood that *poleis* would appoint *proxenoi* – and more *proxenoi* – at *poleis* they deemed more important ...”. This would result in hierarchies in the connectivity with certain *poleis* being more popular than others.¹³⁶

To sum up: In contrast to the normal awarding of free passage for persons and the frequent awarding of the same for property, the other privileges in the general “standard” package are rare in the extant Koan proxeny decrees. Either they do not occur at all (*enktesis*, *isoteleia*, *prosodos* or *ephodos*), occur just the once (*proedria* and *politeia*), or occur only occasionally (*ateleia*). The last three are just about as rare in the Koan material as the exceptional honours of a golden wreath and the public proclamation of the awarded privileges at a religious festival. It seems as if the Koans, instead of the, to the polis, costly privilege of *ateleia*,¹³⁷ granted *asylon* for the goods/merchandise (of traders) and that this was regarded a valuable asset even for the *proxenoi* who received the extraordinary honour of a separately inscribed decree. The rare occurrence of extra awards, apart from the basic one of *asylia*, indicates that the privileges actually given were regarded as valuable and that the polis had a strong position vis-à-vis the foreigners wanting proxeny status.

¹³⁶ Mack 2015, 180–181.

¹³⁷ Normally a 2% tax, *pentekoste*, was levied on all incoming and outgoing goods carried by foreigners. See, for instance, Bresson 2016, 308. This formed an important income for the polis (see quote from Diodoros Siculus in n. 138).

Kos as a port city

According to Diodoros Siculus, who wrote in the 1st century B.C., Kos was an affluent polis and a good place to live.¹³⁸ Several factors made Kos an attractive polis to traders. The island produced an abundance of wine which was exported in large quantities both to the Black Sea area and around the Mediterranean. Other exports were silk garments, dye and perfume. Traders could not only sell their wares at Kos, they could also invest their proceeds in local products to sell on for a further profit elsewhere. Added to that, the city of Kos was situated on one of the most important trade-routes of the Mediterranean, and it had a well-protected harbour with an adjacent large commercial agora (see *Fig. 4*). The presently known north–south length of this agora is *c.* 50 m. and the total east–west length is *c.* 57 m.¹³⁹ Its northern side is not yet known, but the three other sides were lined with stoas. The importance of mariners and marine affairs is demonstrated in the harbour quarter. Here, next to and just east of the commercial agora there was a walled-in sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite Pandemos and Pontia with twin temples and an entrance towards the harbour. Aphrodite Pontia was the protector of people at sea and in this sanctuary her temple was the same size and form as that dedicated to Aphrodite Pandemos, protector of the Koan people. This is a clear sign of the importance of the marine aspects of Aphrodite on Kos.

The harbour quarter where the commercial agora and the sanctuary was located is situated on a markedly lower level, *c.* 2.5 m, than the civic agora.¹⁴⁰ The two parts of the agora, commercial and civic, were in the Hellenistic period, although separated by different ground levels and a wall, connected by a staircase in an earlier phase and a ramp in a later phase. The length of the entire agora complex, commercial and civic, is *c.* 350 m, making it one of the largest in the Greek world.¹⁴¹

Some of the inscriptions also provide us with a glimpse of the importance of shipping to Kos. Merchants, shipowners and skippers travelling to and from Kos town appear in them. A bilingual (Greek and Phoenician) dedication to Aphrodite, dated to after 306 and found in the town, has the Greek text: “Erected to Aphrodite/ [---]timos, son of Abdalonymos,/ king of Sidon/ for the protection of those travelling by sea”.¹⁴² Approximately half a century later, king Ziaelas of Bithynia in *c.* 242 B.C. wrote to the Koans:

¹³⁸ “From this time on [from the foundation of the *asty* of Kos in 366] it grew greater both through *the public revenues* and through *the wealth of private individuals* and soon became a match for leading cities”. Diodoros Siculus 15.76.2. Auhor’s italics.

¹³⁹ The measurements are taken from a combination of the plan in Livadiotti 2010, fig. 1 and Rocco & Livadiotti 2011, fig. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Rocco & Livadiotti (2011, 383–400) suggest that it may have been a fish agora as a 4th-century inscription found in the general area refers to “ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ τῇ ἰχθυοπω[λίδι]” (Segre 1993, ED 128). The text is written in the Ionic alphabet and the inscription is not included in the recently published IG Kos volumes. It is probably a “wandering” stone taken from its original location and context. That the fish agora should be close to the harbour is reasonable and it may have been part of this large complex. The wider designation “commercial agora” for it is probably more appropriate.

¹⁴¹ Rocco & Livadiotti 2011, 383–400.

¹⁴² IG XII 4.2, 546; Kantzia 1980 (1986), 1–16.

[Ἀφρ]οδίτῃ ἰδρύσατο

[Διό]τιμος Ἀβδαλωνύμου

In the future, as you may request, we shall try for each one individually and for all in common to favour you as much as lies in our power, and as for your seafaring citizens to take thought for all those who happen to enter territory under our control, so that their safety may be assured, and in the same also for those who are cast up on our coast because of an accident in the course of their voyage, we shall try to exercise every care that they are injured by no one.¹⁴³

These inscriptions evidence the involvement of both Koans and others in long-distance overseas activities, both to the north towards the Black Sea and in the Eastern Mediterranean. Other inscriptions mention *emporoi* and *naukleroi* directly. One text, regulating the conditions of tenure of a priesthood and dating to just after 198, concerns the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos and Pontia situated in the sanctuary described above. It tells us that the traders and shippers who had the port of Kos as the point of departure should make sacrifice to Aphrodite.¹⁴⁴ In another inscription from the end of the 2nd century we are told that the “shipowners who sail around the country [i.e. Kos] shall also give as an offering five drachmai annually per ship” to Aphrodite.¹⁴⁵ A base from the time of Julius Caesar has “the Roman citizens who conduct trade on Kos” honouring the Koan polis/demos for, among other things, its benevolence towards them.¹⁴⁶

The *emporion*, where the bulk of trade in imported goods took place, is mentioned in an inscription on a base(?) from the 1st century B.C., which was found in the demolition of the medieval town.¹⁴⁷ The users honour the acting *agoranomos* for his virtue and other, unknown to us, positive traits. As the commercial agora was situated under the northern part of the medieval town it is plausible that the stone was found in this neighbourhood. That the *emporion* of Kos was situated next to the harbour is to be expected, and it was probably housed somewhere within or near the commercial agora.

[Σιδ]ῶνος βασιλέως
[ὕπ]ερ τῶν πλεόντων

Kantzia (1980 [1986], 1) writes that the stone was found by chance among a mass of earth tipped by a lorry on a plot at the corner of Amerikis and Navarino Street. The original find spot is thus unknown.

¹⁴³ Translation and comments in Welles 1934, no. 25 (= *Syll*³, 456). See also Sherwin-White 1978, 243.

¹⁴⁴ *IG* XII 4.1, 302.

¹⁴⁵ *IG* XII 4.1, 319. Also the crews of warships and fishermen are to make offerings to Aphrodite at stated intervals (Parker 2002, 146).

¹⁴⁶ *IG* XII 4.2, 1026.

¹⁴⁷ *IG* XII 4.2, 1028

τοὶ χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπ[ορίῳ]
[Ἀρ]ιστοκλῆν Χαρμίπ[του]
[ἀγορα]νομήσαντα
[ἀρετᾶς ἐν]εκα κα[ι - - -]

Segre (1993) supplies εὐνοίας and Hallof δικαιο/σύνας at the end. The latter seems more likely.

Translation: “The users of the trading-station/ [honoured] Aristokles, son of Charmippos,/ while being agoranomos (market-overseer)/ for [his] virtue and [(sense of) justice?]”.

I thank K. Hallof for assistance with the meaning of χρώμενοι.

In short: Taken together the archaeological remains and the inscriptions concerning mariners and traders indicate that Kos was an attractive *emporion*. This means that foreign traders would have been eager to use the Koan market and to have a good relationship with the Koan demos, and that normally no economic incentives were needed to bring them there.¹⁴⁸ The apparent rare privilege of *ateleia* even among the most highly honoured *proxenoi*, combined with the common award of *asylia* not only for the person, but also for his goods/merchandise, is probably a sign of this.

Summary and conclusion

Almost all the 34 Koan inscriptions are decrees, and, as such, they represent exceptional cases. The promulgated awards cannot be regarded as typical for the majority of the *proxenoi* for the Koans, their privileges and honours were extra-ordinary. The *stelai* with the decrees, were, whenever we know it, placed in the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, probably close to the harbour, though its location is as yet unknown.

We can see that all, or just about all, decrees date to the period *c.* 350–200. This probably means that *proxenia* was promulgated more scarcely in the later Hellenistic period, and, in this, the Koans formed part of the general trend in the Greek world. The small sample shows that, as early as the second half of the 4th century, the Koans had appointed *proxenoi* in cities on the sea-route to the north and in Phoenicia. As for the cities appointing *proxenoi* on or from Kos, they, in general, cover the Greek world in and around the Aegean, but also Sinope in the Black Sea.

Considering the wording of the motivation given in five of the decrees, ‘at all difficult times/crises he [the *proxenos*] continues to give service to / benefit all Koans’ and ‘when there was a need among the people ... he contributed gift/s to the polis’, I argue that many of the *proxenoi* appointed by the Koans helped at times of food-shortages or famines and may have had mercantile interests.

The privileges given are, in the vast majority of the inscriptions presented here, of an economic and mercantile nature. The basic ones are right to free entry and exit in peace and war, *asylia* for persons and goods; others, frequently occurring in most *poleis*, are rare. We can note a grading of privileges: *ateleia* was granted only rarely, even to the most highly honoured *proxenoi*. The archaeological, literary and other epigraphic sources show that Kos was an attractive *emporion*. It is thus possible that this grading reflects the fact that the material advantages and the status of being a formal *proxenos* of the Koans were highly desirable for the category of people who actually became *proxenoi*. That, and the character of the privileges, the safety for the person and goods/merchandise, indicates that it was people involved in trade and shipping who, on Kos, formed a considerable part of the recipients of this status.

¹⁴⁸ They were willing to pay the 2% tax on imports and exports and, as Diodoros Siculus (15.76,2) states, “Kos grew greater through public revenues”.

The bronze coins

As bronze coins from independent Greek *poleis* were not legal tender outside polis territory, they did not circulate as the internationally used silver coins did.¹⁴⁹ Instead they were—presumably—brought and kept the same way that many of us keep small change from countries we have visited in case we should ever return there (or maybe because one does not throw away money).¹⁵⁰ Frequent visitors would, I think, be more likely to keep base metal coins. These pieces therefore, most likely, reflect direct contacts with the *poleis* or areas represented by the coins. In this case they were brought to and from Kos by persons who, almost certainly, came from or had visited the city or area where the coins in *Table 8* had been minted and this makes them suitable for an analysis of the international contact patterns of the polis. As this source consists of money we can say nothing about the type of contact the coins signify, e.g. whether economic, political, religious or private etc, nor of the origin of the persons who carried the money. The finds do, however, tell us something about the routes which travellers, whether Koan or non-Koan, used, and they may indicate the varying intensity of contact between Kos and other *poleis*.

The recent seminal work, defining and dating the bronze issues from Kos, first by H. Ingvaldsen and then by V. Stefanaki, has made this material easily available to researchers.¹⁵¹ As part of this major endeavour A. Giannikouri and V. Stefanaki presented and discussed the foreign bronze coins found on Kos and the Koan bronze coins found outside the polis of Kos, and also provided some statistics and distribution maps.¹⁵² The text which follows is, on the whole, based on their data. In this text I will present the coins in the same type of table as for the proxeny decrees (based on geographical groupings) and undertake a comparative analysis of the two groups of material.

The foreign coins found on Kos (*Tables 8, 9 and Figs. 7a–b, 8*)

As the foreign coins found on Kos were collected and investigated with the specific purpose of making them known to the scholarly world, this body of material is just about complete. The total number of bronze coins is not given in the two publications, but adding together the numbers given in one

¹⁴⁹ The cities integrated into the Hellenistic kingdoms were an exception to this rule as bronze coins minted in them could be used in different cities within the kingdom, but also in this case the coins most likely originated in the minting city or in the region where it was situated.

¹⁵⁰ The silver coins cannot be said to represent direct contact in the same way as the high value of silver was the same everywhere. Apart from the many international silver issues (legal tender in many countries, as is the case with the Euros), any silver coins could be kept and exchanged for their silver value. The base metal coins held no intrinsic value outside their polis of origin.

¹⁵¹ Ingvaldsen published a fundamental study in English in 2002 and Stefanaki later refined his datings and added previously unknown issues in her monograph on Koan coinage from the pre-Imperial era from 2012 (in Greek). A second volume on the Koan imperial issues is being prepared by Stefanaki and P. Requier.

¹⁵² Both silver and bronze coins are treated in Giannikouri & Stefanaki 2011. In Stefanaki 2012, 136–151 more data is published and a comparison is made with other source materials.

of Stefanaki's tables, one arrives at 255 coins from 68 cities/states.¹⁵³ The number of unidentified coins of foreign origin is not given. Giannikouri and Stefanaki write that it is not possible to give a close date for most of the foreign coins and thus only a very general chronological division is made.¹⁵⁴ For two of the largest groups, the material from the western Asia Minor area and the Ptolemaic kingdom, we are told that they contain coins from the Late Classical and/or the entire Hellenistic period, whereas the material from the northern Aegean and northern Greek area mainly date to the period *c.* 350–200.¹⁵⁵

Looking at the foreign coins found on Kos one is, as already noted by Giannikouri and Stefanaki, struck by the overwhelmingly large body of material from western Asia Minor and the off-shore islands (*Table 8*). In fact 155 of the 255 coins, i.e. just over 60%, are from this area. The majority of these, 99 coins, come from 13 *poleis* in the region closest to Kos, the Karian cities and islands off Karia (including Rhodes), but as many as 56 are from 19 *poleis* situated on the sea lane north and the river valleys of western Asia Minor.¹⁵⁶ This presents a sharp contrast to the number from the central, south-western and southern parts of Asia Minor, as only seven coins from three *poleis* and one league in these areas (Phrygia 1, Lycia 3, Pamphylia 1, Kilikia 2) were found on Koan soil.

As there are no dates for the coins which came from individual *poleis* we cannot say anything about the chronological development in or between cities, but as coins from both the Late Classical and the entire Hellenistic period are represented in the western Asia Minor material as a whole, they constitute evidence of contacts with this area over a long period of time. The material from the southern parts of Asia Minor dates to the 2nd and 1st centuries.

In Karia it is the coastal *poleis* which dominate in the material, Knidos 17, Halikarnassos 14 and Myndos 14 coins (*Table 9*). All three lie close to Kos on the coast opposite the island and are easily reached by boat. Other coastal cities are Kaunos 1, Keramos 1, Bargylia 2 and Iasos 4 coins. Altogether these *poleis* contributed 53 of the 58 coins from the area. Only two inland *poleis* are represented, Mylasa with 3 coins and Stratonikeia with 2 coins. As can be expected, the *poleis* closest to Kos show up strongly and bear witness to intense and lively connections. South of Kos, though not in the immediate neighbourhood, there is Rhodes, represented by 32 coins,¹⁵⁷ the highest number for any individual city. Other islands, closer to Kos, represented in this material are Telos with 5, Nisyros with 1 and Kalymnos (independent for most of the third century) with 3 coins.

¹⁵³ Stefanaki 2012, 147, table I. The number of bronze coins from Knidos is 17 and from Miletos 16 (personal correspondence with Stefanaki (22 March, 2016)). The number of Pergamene coins given in Stefanaki's table (16) includes the silver coins (10 in the case of Pergamon), and this is also the case for Knidos and Rhodes (Stefanaki 2012, 147, table I).

¹⁵⁴ Giannikouri & Stefanaki 2011, 355.

¹⁵⁵ Stefanaki 2012, 150.

¹⁵⁶ Another two placed in the same section of *Table 8* are from the Black Sea area, bringing the total up to 58.

¹⁵⁷ Thirteen of these may have come from a hoard (Stefanaki 2012, 145)

Table 8. *Poleis*/cities/states (mints) issuing bronze coins found on Kos (left column) and finding-places of Koan bronze coins abroad (right column) according to region.

<i>Foreign bronze coins found on Kos</i> <i>Mint, no. of coins, (date)</i>	<i>Koan bronze coins found abroad</i> <i>Place, no. of coins,¹⁵⁸ (date), Stefanaki issue no.</i>
<i>Karia and islands (13 poleis¹⁵⁹)</i>	
99 coins, 13 poleis Kaunos 1, Knidos 17, ¹⁶⁰ Keramos 1, Halikarnassos 14, Myndos 14, Bargylia 2, Iasos 4, Mylasa 3, Stratonikeia 2, Rhodes 32, Telos 5, Nisyros 1, Kalymnos 3, (Late Classical–Hellenistic periods)	
<i>Sea lane north, river valleys in western Asia Minor / the Black Sea (24 poleis)</i>	
58 coins, 21 poleis Ionian 38, 11 poleis Miletos 16, ¹⁶¹ Herakleia by Latmos 1, Priene 1, Samos 3, Phygelaia 1, Magnesia on the Maeander 2, Tralleis 1, Efesos 7, Kolophon 3, Teos 2, Metropolis 1, Aiolis 5, 2 poleis Kyme 2, Mytilene on Lesbos 3 Mysia 9, 2 poleis Pergamon 6, Kyzikos 3 Troas 3, 3 poleis Assos 1, Skepsis 1, Abydos 1 Bithynia 1, 1 polis Nikomedia 1 the Black Sea area 2, 2 poleis Amisos 1, Phanagoreia 1 (Late Classical–Hellenistic periods)	Ionian Miletos–Didyma x, (c. 260–230; c. 75, hoard), Stefanaki, no. 23 Agathonisi x, (undated) Samos x, (c. 250–200, hoard; 180–170), Stefanaki, nos. 24, 26, 37(?) Priene x, (c. 250–180), Stefanaki, nos. 24, 26, 35 Afrodisias x, (c. 250–end 3rd cent.), Stefanaki, no. 24 Metropolis x, (c. 250–180), Stefanaki, nos. 24, 35 Smyrna x, (c. 200, hoard)
<i>Macedonia, Thrace and islands (5 poleis, Macedonian kings¹⁶²)</i>	
28 coins, 4 poleis and the Macedonian kings Thrace 7¹⁶³ Samothrace, Lysimacheia, Perinthos, Byzantion (mainly c. 350–200) The Macedonian kings 21 Alexander III, post-Alexander & post- Philip, Macedonian anonymous from north- western Asia Minor, Kassander, Ptolemaios Keraunos (all mainly c. 350–200)	Thrace Zone–Mesembria x, (c. 210–180), Stefanaki, no. 35

¹⁵⁸ In this table the sign x means that the number of coins is unknown to me.¹⁵⁹ By “poleis” I mean (more or less) independent Greek “old” city-states.¹⁶⁰ This number is confirmed by Stefanaki in an e-mail of 22 March, 2016.¹⁶¹ This number is confirmed by Stefanaki in an e-mail of 22 March, 2016.¹⁶² Mints in what at different times formed part of the Macedonian kingdom.¹⁶³ Numbers for the respective poleis are not given.

Table 8 (cont.).

<i>Foreign bronze coins found on Kos</i> <i>Mint, no. of coins, (date)</i>	<i>Koan bronze coins found abroad</i> <i>Place, no. of coins, (date), Stefanaki issue no.</i>
<i>Central and southern Asia Minor (5 poleis, 1 koinon)</i>	
7 coins, 4 poleis/cities, 1 koinon Phrygia: Peltaï 1 Lycia: the <i>Koinon</i> of the Lycians 2, Phaselis 1 Pamphylia: Perge 1, (3rd cent.) Kilikia: Kelenderis 2 (mainly 2nd–1st cent.)	
<i>S-E Mediterranean (8 poleis/cities, Hellenistic kings)</i>	
40 coins, 6 poleis/cities, Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings Syria 1 Antiochia on the Orontes 1 Phoenician cities 3 both autonomous (Arados 2, Ptolemaïs 1) and royal coins (mainly 2nd–1st cent.) the Seleucid kings 9 Antiochos II – Alexander II Sabina (from mints in Ionia, Lydia, Phoenicia and Syria) (mainly 3rd–2nd cent.) The Ptolemaic kingdom 27 Alexandria, Paphos (Cyprus), Kyrene (entire Hellenistic period)	Phoenician cities Berytos 1 Askalon 5, (c. 210–190, hoard) The Ptolemaic kingdom Alexandria 6+, (4th cent.–c. 150), Stefanaki, nos. 16, 23, 42
<i>Central Aegean islands (5 poleis)</i>	
4 coins, 4 poleis Astypalaia 1, Amorgos 1, Kythnos 1, Tenos 1 (mainly 3rd–2nd c.)	Amorgos 1, (undated) Delos 3+, (210s–170), Stefanaki, nos. 26, 36, 37
<i>Crete (2+ poleis)</i>	
2 coins, 2 poleis Kydonia 1, Lyttos 1 (mainly 3rd–2nd cent.)	unidentified <i>poleis</i> , coins , (c. 260–end 3rd cent.), Stefanaki, nos. 23, 24, 36
<i>Mainland Greece (8 poleis, 1 koinon)</i>	
13 coins, 6 poleis, 1 koinon Elis 1, Phlious 1, Megara 1, Athens 7, the <i>Koinon</i> of Boiotians 1, Chalkis 1, Histiaia 1 (mainly 3rd–2nd cent.)	Messene 1, (undated) Nemea 2, (c. 350–240/30), Stefanaki, nos. 16, 23 Athens 5, (c. 210–190), Stefanaki, no. 35
<i>The Central Mediterranean (4 poleis/cities, 1 state)</i>	
4 coins, 2 poleis, 1 state Rhegion 2, Metapont 1, Rome 1 (mainly 3rd–2nd cent.)	Kaulonia x, (undated), Stefanaki, no. 26 Minturnae 26 (c. 210–180, Augustan), Stefanaki, nos. 35, 36 Rome 13 (c. 210–190), Stefanaki, no. 35
<i>The Western Mediterranean (1 city)</i>	
	Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence) x, (c. 210–180), Stefanaki, no. 35

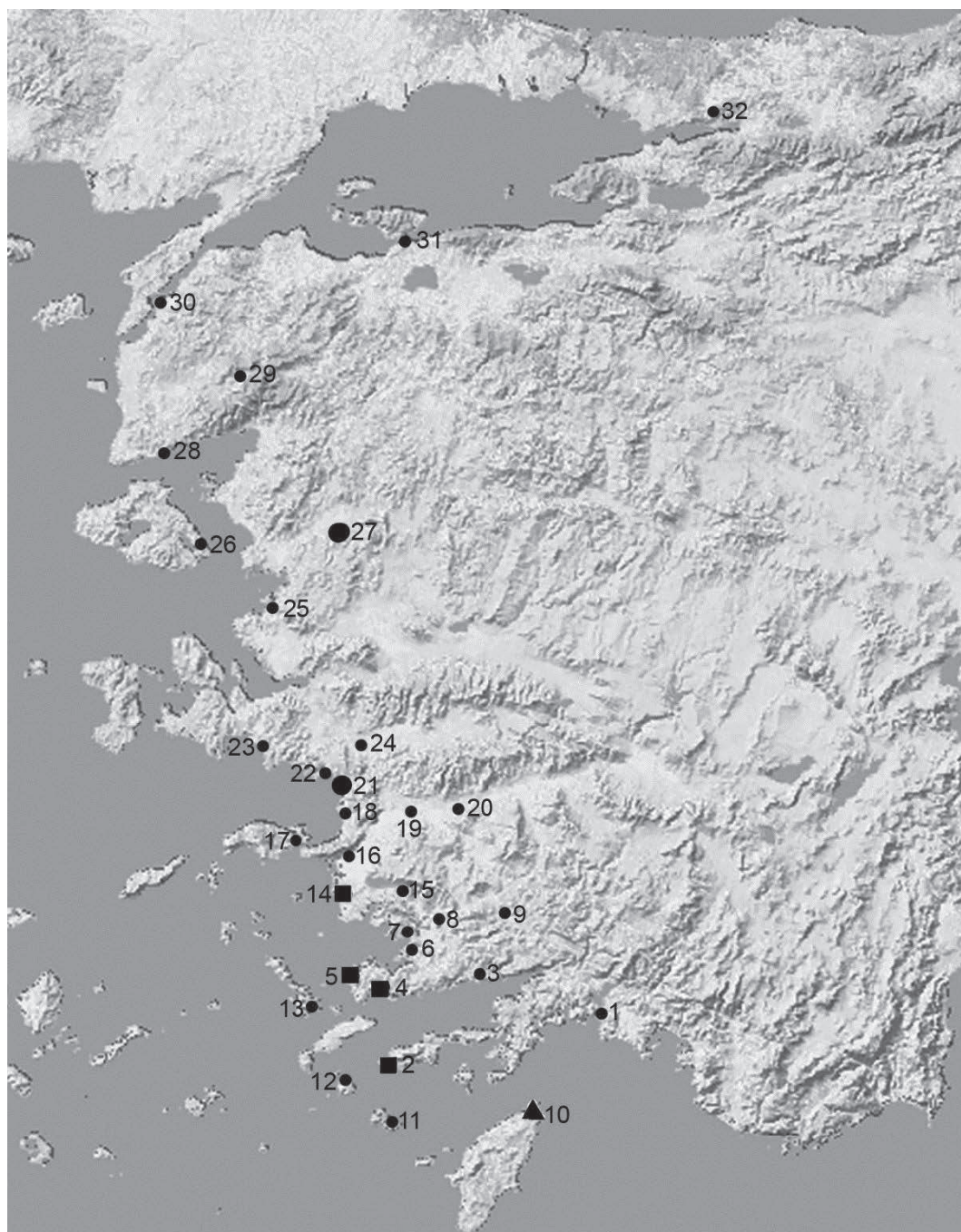


Fig. 7a. Mint places of foreign bronze coins found on Kos (after Giannikouri & Stefanaki 2011). 1 Kaunos, 2 Knidos, 3 Keramos, 4 Halikarnassos, 5 Myndos, 6 Bargylia, 7 Iasos, 8 Mylasa, 9 Stratonikeia, 10 Rhodos, 11 Telos, 12 Nisyros, 13 Kalymnos, 14 Miletos, 15 Herakleia by Latmos, 16 Priene, 17 Samos, 18 Phygelai, 19 Magnesia on the Maeander, 20 Tralleis, 21 Efesos, 22 Kolofon, 23 Teos, 24 Metropolis, 25 Kyme, 26 Mytilene, 27 Pergamon, 28 Assos, 29 Skepsis, 30 Abydos, 31 Kyzikos, 32 Nikomedia.

Number of coins	Symbol
1–5	●
6–10	●
11–20	■
Over 20	▲

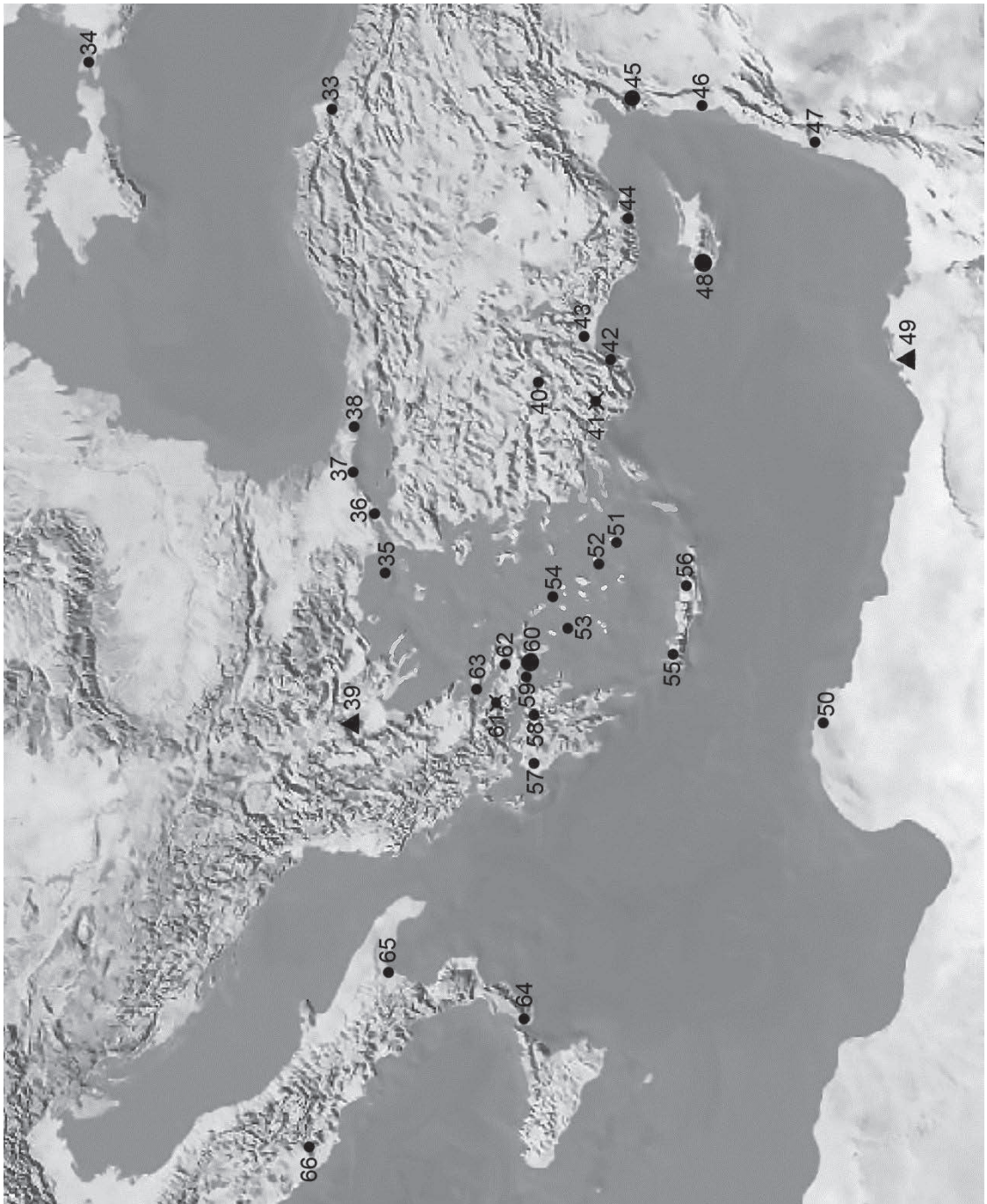


Fig. 7b. Mint places (cont.). 33 Amisos, 34 Phanagoreia, 35 Samothrace, 36 Lysimachea, 37 Perinthos, 38 Byzantion, 39 Macedonia(n kings), 40 Peltai (Phrygia), 41 the *Koinon* of Lycians, 42 Phaselis (Lycia), 43 Perge (Pamphylia), 44 Kelenderis (Kilikia), 45 Antiocheia on the Orontes/Seleucid kings, 46 Arados (Phoenicia), 47 Ptolemaïs (Phoenicia), 48 Paphos (Cyprus), 49 Alexandria/Ptolemaic kings, 50 Kyrene, 51 Astypalaia, 52 Amorgos, 53 Kythnos, 54 Tenos, 55 Kydonia, 56 Lyttos, 57 Elis, 58 Phlious, 59 Megara, 60 Athens, 61 the *Koinon* of Boiotians, 62 Chalkis, 63 Histiaia, 64 Rhegion, 65 Metapont, 66 Rome. Map adapted from U.S. National Park Service.

Table 9. *Poleis* represented by more than 5 bronze coins on Kos.¹⁶⁴

<i>Polis/mint</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>	<i>Date</i>
Knidos	17	Late Classical and Hellenistic
Halikarnassos	14	Late Classical and Hellenistic
Myndos	14	Late Classical and Hellenistic
Rhodos	32	c. 350–2nd century
Miletos	16	c. 350–2nd century
Efesos	7	4th–1st century
Pergamon	6	Hellenistic
Thrace	7	4th–3rd century
Macedonian kings	21 (–2 = 19)	after 320 (Early Hellenistic)
Seleucid kings	9 (–3 = 6)	c. 250–c. 100
Phoenicia ¹⁶⁵ (Alexander III, 2; Seleucids, Sidon, Tyre 3; autonomous cities 3)	8	mainly 2nd–1st century
Cyprus (Paphos, Ptolemaic issues) ¹⁶⁶	6	Hellenistic
The Ptolemaic kingdom	27 (–6 = 21)	Hellenistic

To the north we have some cities represented by more than just occasional coins, along the coast there is Miletos with 16 and Efesos with 7 coins. These figures indicate frequent contacts northwards, even more so as a string of coastal and island city-states even further up are represented by one or a few coins: Samos, Kolofon, Teos, Kyme, Mytilene and Assos. East of the straits and the Marmaris we have Abydos, Kyzikos and Nikomedia, and, in Thrace on the European side, Perinthos and Byzantion. The difference in the distribution patterns of the coins from mainland Karia and those from the sea lane north indicates that the marine connections were more developed than those with inland Karia. The number of coins from Miletos is comparable to that of Kos' closest neighbours, and the number of Efesian coins is also notable. Those from Rhodos are the most numerous, and people in at least two of these three *poleis* were, to judge from this material, in frequent contact with Kos, and Rhodos and Miletos may be said to have formed an extended neighbourhood.

Inland Pergamon produced 6 of the bronze coins found on Kos. The strong political connections with the kingdom in the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries, when they formed part of the same military alliance and fought together in the same wars,¹⁶⁷ may explain this relatively high figure (high for an inland settlement), but until we have the dates for these coins this remains hypothetical.

Stefanaki tells us that a considerable number of coins come from the area of Phoenicia, 8 coins, and Cyprus, 6 coins, if one includes those issued by Alexander III (the Great) and the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kings. The Ptolemaic kingdom, excluding Cyprus (Paphos with 6 coins), is represented by 21 coins from mints in Alexandria and Kyrene.¹⁶⁸ Just as *poleis* along the route

¹⁶⁴ The subtracted coins are given in the rows for "Phoenicia" and "Cyprus" as they are from these geographical areas irrespective of who ruled there.

¹⁶⁵ Giannikouri & Stefanaki 2011, 355.

¹⁶⁶ Giannikouri & Stefanaki 2011, 355.

¹⁶⁷ The Second Macedonian war (201–197) and the war against Antiochos III (192–189).

¹⁶⁸ Giannikouri & Stefanaki 2011, 355; Stefanaki 2012, 146, 149.

north are strongly represented over centuries, the south-eastern Mediterranean also presents marked, centuries-long, contacts with Kos.

The 28 coins from the northern Aegean west of the Hellespont, i.e. Thrace and the Macedonian kings,¹⁶⁹ mainly date to the period *c.* 350–200. Coins from the central Aegean, Crete and mainland Greece are comparatively rare, only 18 coins, and Athens contributed seven of these. Further west Italy and Sicily are represented by four coins. It is notable that coins from northern Greece appear in higher numbers than those of the central and southern mainland, excepting Athens. The very small number from the Aegean islands and Crete, only 5 coins, is surprising.

Koan coins found abroad

Our knowledge of Koan coins found outside Kos is patchy. Only a small number of places are reported as having Koan bronze, and often there is little or no information on the number of coins, but their minimum total number is 74 (*Table 8*). However, in contrast to the foreign coins found on Kos, the Koan pieces are identified and closely dated.¹⁷⁰

Some of the results are unexpected. No Koan bronze coins (as far as was known to Giannikouri and Stefanaki) have been found in Karia or the islands off Karia.¹⁷¹ The Ionian region is, on the other hand, well represented. Coins appear in Miletos/Didyma, Priene, Metropolis, Agathonisi, Samos, Smyrna, and, far inland, Afrosdias, all coastal or river valley *poleis*. None have, as yet, been reported from central or southern Asia Minor.

In the south-east Koan bronze appears along the Phoenician sea-board and in Alexandria. A small number have been found on the Greek mainland, on two Aegean islands, on Crete and in Thrace.

A surprisingly large number, 39 coins, have been found in central Italy, i.e. in Rome and at Minturnae where part of them were used for local re-strikes.¹⁷² In both places the Koan coins dominate in the imported Greek material. Almost all belong to the same issue, Ingvaldsen 2002, issue XIX/Stefanaki 2012, issue 35 (head of Herakles $\frac{3}{4}$ *en face*/club, bow-in-case), dated to *c.* 210–190,¹⁷³ and exhibit little wear. These two find groups are highly unusual and their appearance in this area has not yet been explained.

¹⁶⁹ Some of the royal mints were situated east of the Hellespont.

¹⁷⁰ Stefanaki has in her monograph on Koan coins from 2012, *KQΣ* I, listed all known Koan issues, both in silver and bronze and given them a date.

¹⁷¹ Giannikouri and Stefanaki have reported finds from Kalymnos, but they should be excluded unless from the 4th or the very early 3rd centuries. The hoard from Kalymnos, *IGCH* 1320, dates to after 200 and we know that Kalymnos then was part of the polis of Kos. This hoard was thus found on Koan territory. The same goes for other Koan coins, possibly those from the second half of the third century, and certainly those from the second century, found there.

¹⁷² Stannard & Frey-Kupper 2008, 351–404, esp. 385–391. Another four are now in Paris and one in the Kestner collection. As they are overstruck with local Italic dies, we know they were brought to central Italy.

¹⁷³ Dating in Höghammar 2013, 283–285. Ingvaldsen and Stefanaki provide a slightly later end date, *c.* 180 and the 180s or 170s respectively. Stannard and Frey-Kupper (2008, 390) state that the late overstrikes on the Koan coins may suggest a later date for this issue, but the context of the Athens agora finds makes a late dating impossible.

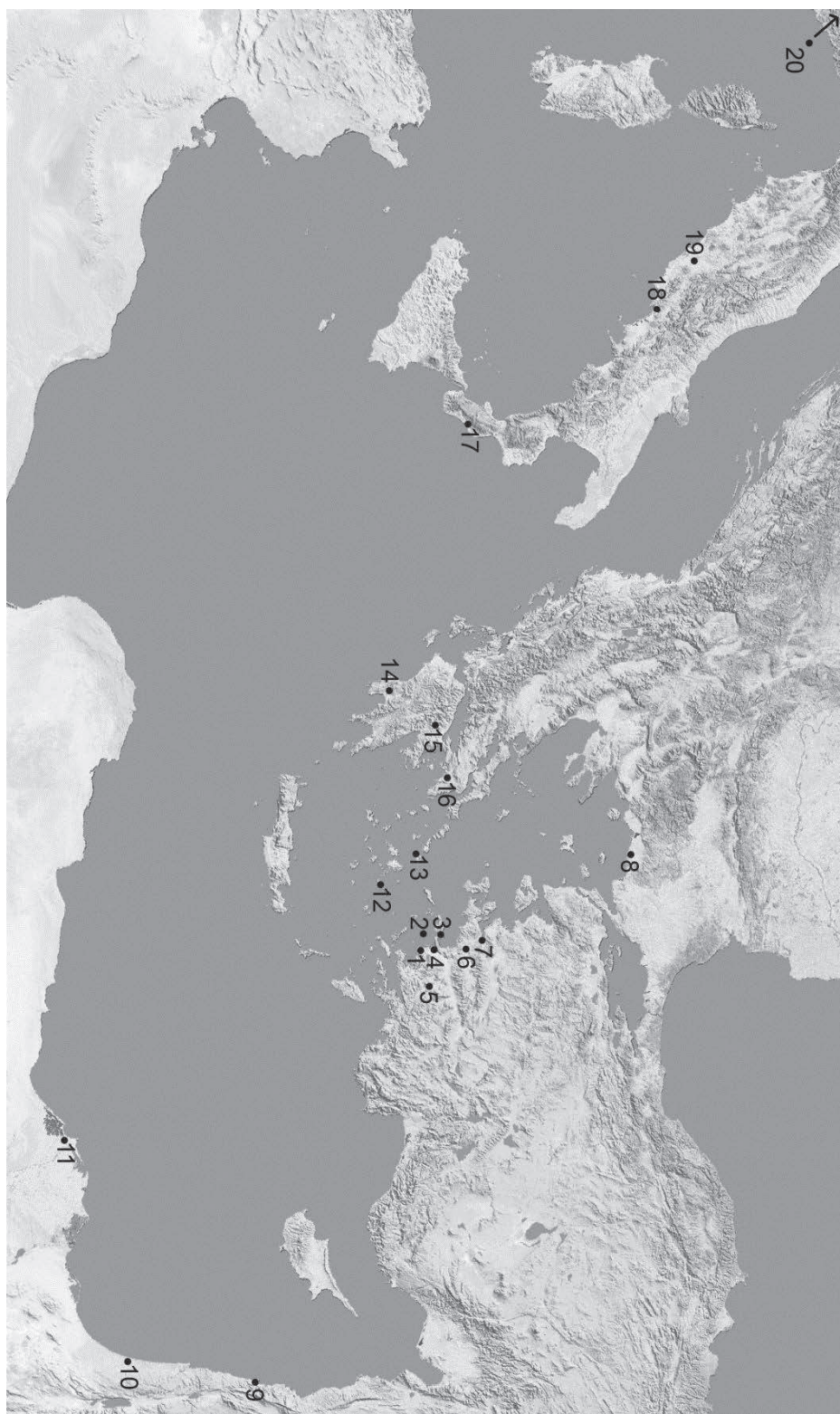


Fig. 8. Distribution map of Koan bronze coins found abroad. 1. Miletos-Didyma, 2 Agathonisi, 3 Samos, 4 Priene, 5 Afrodissias, 6 Metropolis, 7 Smyrna, 8 Zone-Mesembria, 9 Berytos, 10 Askalon, 11 Alexandria, 12 Amorgos, 13 Delos, 14 Messene, 15 Nemea, 16 Athens, 17 Kaulonia, 18 Minturnae, 19 Rome, 20 Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence).

It is also striking that this particular issue is found in double the number of places, i.e. eight, as compared to the issue found in the next highest number of places. It is also the most widely spread, with finds from the Eastern to the Western Mediterranean, and aside from Rome and Minturnae, also Askalon, Priene, Metropolis, Zone-Mesembria in Thrace, Athens and the area of Aquae Sextiae in Gallia Transalpina. The impression is that the area of distribution is markedly different to the other Koan bronze issues which can be found mainly in Ionia.

Discussion

A first observation on these two groups is that the 68 *poleis*/states represented by coins found on Kos are much more numerous than the 21 *poleis*/states where Koan coins have been found. This may, however, be related to the fact that it was only recently that major studies were undertaken on the Koan bronze output and detailed presentations of the material were published. Another possibility is that Kos had a closed economy for its national issues. This would not make the export of bronze coins impossible, but presumably lower their overall number.

A direct comparison between the two groups of bronze coins is not possible owing to the large differences in our knowledge of them. However, it is possible to see that there are both some similarities and a few sharp differences. The area represented by the by far largest number of coins found on Kos—Karia and the islands—did not yield a single Koan coin. This is remarkable, and even though it may in part be owing to the non-recognition of Koan bronze in older excavations on the mainland, this cannot be the case for the Dodecanese. It is therefore possible that fewer Koan coins were brought to this area than to Ionia and the south-east Mediterranean for instance, or, alternatively, that any Koan coins brought to Karia were carefully kept and, on the next trip to Kos, brought there to be used.¹⁷⁴

The comparatively large number of *poleis* in Ionia, 7, mainly along the coast, but also inland, with finds of Koan coins is on par with the large number of Ionian coins found on Kos. The sea lane north is thus marked out also in this material. The same parallels can be noted in the south-eastern Mediterranean area with Koan coins found along the Phoenician coast and in Alexandria. Very few Koan coins have been reported from Macedonia and Thrace and this contrasts with the considerable number of coins from these areas found on Kos. Mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and Crete present a similar picture in both coin groups with, excepting Athens, rather few coins.

Another major difference is formed by the large number of bronze coins belonging to one particular issue that was found in central Italy. This issue also seems to be more widely spread around the Mediterranean than any of the other Koan bronze issues. As it dates to c. 210–190, this unusual pattern may be related to the wars that occurred in this period when Kos was allied to several other states and, together with them, fought, first against Mace-

¹⁷⁴ However, even if this was the case, one would expect that some coins would have been forgotten or lost.

donia and then against the Seleukid empire. The most important allies in these wars were Rhodos, Pergamon and Rome, but a number of smaller *poleis* also formed part of these alliances. The co-ordination of the fleets that moved about in the Aegean stopping at different places may have led to shipmates and soldiers bringing home small coins from different *poleis*, although this does not explain the exceptionally high number in Italy (if individual soldiers brought them, they would most likely be fewer in number).

The campaign for the Koan Great Asklepieia in 242 and the *poleis* appearing in the victors' lists from 241–169(?)

This part treats the *poleis*/states that officially recognized the festival of Asklepios on Kos as Panhellenic and the sanctuary as *asylōs*, inviolable. Either of the two requests could be asked for separately, but like many others, the Koans wanted both.¹⁷⁵ All inscriptions concerning the campaign are from the same year, 242, and were set up in the Asklepieion just outside Kos town.

The granting of *asylia* for a sanctuary or a city was a Hellenistic phenomenon as was the request to have the games in honour of a god declared Panhellenic, both claims normally backed by an oracle.¹⁷⁶ Inscriptions which refer to the international recognition of games are known from the late 280s onwards and continue well into the Roman Imperial period; also, there are requests for and answering grants of *asylia* dating from the 260s B.C. to the 20s AD.¹⁷⁷

The campaign to achieve *asylia* for the sanctuary and Panhellenic status for the games involved a major diplomatic effort on behalf of the Koan state and the degree of success is evidenced by the number, the distribution and the character of the states which answered the request positively. A small number of granting communities, polities only from the surrounding region, and no major power granting the requests would have led to a smaller impact than wide-spread and numerous grants provided by all types of states. After a brief presentation of the Koan inscriptions I will provide some background on the Panhellenic games and the granting of *asylia* and then discuss the relative standing of the Asklepieia in their contemporary world.

The Koan inscriptions

The Koan dossier now consists of 38 inscriptions presented in *IG XII 4.1*, 207–245, published in 2010. This is the latest thoroughly researched edition of these texts, and also includes 19 previously unpublished inscriptions,¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Parker 2004, 10, n. 4.

¹⁷⁶ For Kos, see *IG XII 4.1*, 212.8–9.

¹⁷⁷ For games, see Parker 2004, 18–19; for *asylia*, see Rigsby 1996, 3.

¹⁷⁸ Nos. 210 *b*, 211, 218 *b*, 219, 226 *c*, 227 *e*, 229, 232–234, 236–243 and 245.

Table 10. *Poleis/cities/states recognizing the Panhellenic status of the Asklepieia and the sanctuary of Asklepios as asylos (inviolable).*

All numbers refer to *IG XII 4.1*, and Roman numerals to the section within the inscription.

Poleis and leagues

Western Asia Minor and islands

Rhodos(?) (232 I)
Knidos (226 V, 232 II)
Chios (207)
Kios (226 IV)
Chalkedon (226 II)

12 listed unidentified communities (Ionian 226 II, VI, VII; 227 IV; 228 II; 229: Dorian 226 I; 227 I; 228 I: Aeolian 226 XI, XII; 227 II)

Macedonia, Thrace and islands

Pella (221 I)
Kassandreia (220 I)
Amphipolis (220 II)
Philippi (220 III)
Maroneia (224 I)
Ainos (224 III)
[Samothece (207)]

1(?) listed unidentified community (225, perhaps Thrace?)

Central Aegean islands

Minoa on Amorgos (230 III)

2 listed communities with unknown names (230 I, II)

Crete

Istron (214 I)
Faistos (214 II)
Hierapytna (214 III)

The Greek mainland

The Peloponnese

Lakedaimon (215 I)
Messene (215 II)
Thelfusa (215 III)
Elis (215 IV)
Aigeira (215 V)

Central Greece and Thessaly

Megara (216 IV)
The Delphic Amphictyony (212)
[Itonos (207)]
Thebes in Achaia Phthiotis (216 III)
Gonnoi (216 I)
Homolion in Thessaly (216 III)
[Argos (in Amphilochos?) (207)]

5 listed unidentified communities (219; 221 II; Thessaly 217; 218 I, II)

The Adriatic Sea

Leukas (220 V)
Korkyra (220 IV)

Sicily

Kamarina (222)
Gela (223)

Italy

Elea (221 IV)
Neapolis (221 III)

Unidentified communities from unknown regions

15 listed communities (231-245)

Hellenistic kings

Unknown king, possibly Antigonos
Gonatas (208)
Ziaelas of Bithynia (209)
Seleukos II(?) (210)
Ptolemaios III (212)
Unknown king (211)
Barbarian king (213)

and my list of polities which granted the Koan request is based on it (*Table 10*). The inscriptions consist of one regulation concerning the sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*), seven letters and 31 decrees, some of which are extremely fragmentary. They show the responses of six kings, 33 *poleis* the names of which are preserved, one amphictyony and 35 unidentified communities (*poleis*), altogether 75 replies from the Greek world and its fringes.

The original number of granting states is unknown, but in the letter from Ptolemaios III, the king writes that the Koan request had also been sent to “the other kings, the nations (*ethne*), and the *poleis*”, and thus we may assume that the net was cast very wide.¹⁷⁹

Thirty-five of the 75 states are thus unidentified, but for 20 of them we know from which general region they came. This is because several inscriptions provide the answers of states from the same area. The unidentified ones are positioned together with named *poleis*, and thus we know the region of those whose names are unknown. For the texts from western Asia Minor, the dialect has been analysed to decide from which linguistic area the text comes.¹⁸⁰ Within this region three decisions belong to Doric speaking *poleis* and should thus be situated in the vicinity of Kos, which was also Doric speaking. Nine of the 12 unidentified places are (most likely) situated north of Kos: six in an Ionic speaking area and three in an Aeolic speaking area.

Looking at the different regions (*Tables 10, 11* and *Fig. 9*) we see that, in western Asia Minor and the off-shore islands, there are five named *poleis*, all situated on the sea, and 12 unidentified *poleis*. Almost all the states which recognized the new status of the Koan games must have been inscribed in the now lost parts of the texts. In the victors’ lists this area is the dominating one (see below). Macedonia, Thrace and islands is represented by seven named *poleis* and, possibly, one unidentified polis in Thrace.

Table 11. Number of *poleis*/states recognizing the Panhellenic games and the sanctuary of Asklepios as *asylos* (inviolable) according to region.

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of identified states/kings</i>	<i>Number of unidentified states</i>	<i>Total number of states/kings</i>
Western Asia Minor and islands	5	12 (Doric 3, Ionic 6 Aeolic 3)	17
Macedonia, Thrace and islands	7	1	8
The central Aegean	1	2	3
Crete	3	–	3
The Greek mainland	12	5	17
The Adriatic Sea	2	–	2
Sicily, Italy	4	–	4
Unidentified, region unknown	–	15	15
Kings (Ptolemaios III, Seleukos II(?), Antigonos II(?), Ziaelas)	4(?)	2	6
Total	38	37	75

We have only one named and two unidentified *poleis* from the central Aegean. Crete is represented by three *poleis* and the Greek mainland by 11 *poleis*, the Delphic Amphictyony and five unidentified communities, three of which lie in Thessaly. In the Adriatic, Leukas and Korkyra granted the request and further west Kamarina and Gela on Sicily and Elea and Neapolis in Italy did the same.

¹⁷⁹ *IG* XII 4.1, 212, ll.10–12.

¹⁸⁰ Commentaries in *IG* XII 4.1.

Both Ptolemaios III and (probably) Seleukos II supported the request, as did (possibly) Antigonos Gonatas. This would mean that the rulers of all the three large Hellenistic kingdoms supported the Koan initiative. We know the name of only one of the other three kings, Ziaelas of Bithynia, the other two are unknown although one is defined as a barbarian ruler.

Including also those *poleis* which are unidentified, but where we know the region in which they were located, the best represented regions are western Asia Minor and mainland Greece, each with 17 states in the extant inscriptions. Almost all the identified states in these inscriptions belong to the “old” Greek world of *poleis* (Archaic period onwards) mainly situated in and around the Aegean basin, and the kingdoms that had become more powerful later (4th century onwards); although some more recently founded cities also occur. At present, the material does not include any *poleis* or cities from the south-eastern Mediterranean or the Black Sea area, but the positive answers from possibly all the major Hellenistic kings and also several minor ones meant that also these areas, the first certainly and the second probably, were successfully included in the Koan campaign. This means that recognition came from places in and around the Aegean, as well as from more distant areas, western Greece, Sicily, southern Italy and the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms.

The Panhellenic games

When a polis accepted a festival as Panhellenic it committed its support through the sending of official representatives, *theoroi*, to attend the games. Another common commitment was that the victors in these games received free communal meals, honorary seating and/or cash rewards from their home city.¹⁸¹ Before each festival the polis hosting the games sent out *theoroi* to invite the Greek cities and states to participate officially and send competitors to the games.¹⁸² The connection was reciprocal with *theoroi* being sent regularly from and to the polis giving the games. Officially appointed hosts (*theorodokoi*) took care of the guests during their stay. This system led to continuing contacts over long periods of time, many decades, even centuries.

All the Panhellenic games before *c.* 300 took place on the Greek mainland. They consisted of the four big festivals (Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Olympia), the Eleusinian games, the Asklepieia of Epidauros and the Hekatombaia/Heraia of Argos, seven games in total. In the early 3rd century two new international games were established, the Ptolemaia at Alexandria and, though little known, the Eleuthereia at Plataia on the Greek mainland, both in *c.* 280. Approximately 35 to 40 years later, in the 240s, another two

¹⁸¹ Parker 2004, 12; Pleket 2014, 367.

¹⁸² Parker 2004, 9.

Van Nijf & Williamson (2012, 6–7) provide a clear description of this particular task of the *theoroi*; they were “the official spectators who were sent out to and from Greek cities and festival sites to observe and participate in religious celebrations, including watching the games. ... The job of the *theoroi* was to generate ‘common knowledge’ of these festivals in this [Hellenistic] expanded world.”



Fig. 9. Distribution map. *Poleis*/cities/states recognizing the Panhellenic status of the Asklepieia and the sanctuary of Asklepios as *asylos* (inviolable). For identification of numbers, see the following page.

were recognized, the Aetolian Delphic Soteria and the Great Asklepieia on Kos. Ten to twenty years after these two, from the 220s to just before 200, there was a veritable explosion of Panhellenic games with ten new festivals proclaimed, (though at least four and possibly six of them may have been regional rather than “global”¹⁸³), many of them in the eastern Aegean.¹⁸⁴ This rush for internationally recognized games continued in the early second century with another nine known cases. Later in the 2nd and the 1st centuries even more places hosted such festivals.¹⁸⁵

We also know of the origin of a fairly large number of the victors and seconds in the Koan games. Some of the victors’ lists from the Koan *Great Asklepieia* remain and they have recently been republished in *IG XII 4.2*, 453–454. They cover 19 games between 241 and 169(?); the text for 13 of the games is more or less preserved, but the lines for six of them are completely missing.¹⁸⁶ The wide field of competitors signals the continued interest in the games and their international high status with many nationalities taking part. In the lists we have, not counting the Koans, 149 winners and seconds from 54 different *poleis* and cities. We can see boys and men in different competitions coming from the regions and states given below. The number of winners/seconds from each state is given within brackets after the polis/city name.

Karia, 10 *poleis*, 71 listed winners/seconds:

Kaunos (4), Knidos (8), Halikarnassos (18), Myndos (4), Bargylia (1), Iasos (6), Mylasa (3), Stratonikeia (4), Herakleia by Latmos (1), Rhodos (22).

The sea lane north and river valleys, 21 *poleis*, 45 listed winners/seconds:

Ionia, Aiolis, Mysia; Miletos (7), Samos (2), Magnesia on the Maeander (4), Tralleis (3), Efesos (7), Kolofon (1), Teos (1), Chios (2), Erythrai (1), Smyrna (2), Fokaia (1), Kyme (1), Mytilene (4), Pergamon (1), Assos (1).

Troas, the Hellespont; Alexandria Troas (2), Skepsis (1), Ilion (1), Lampsakos (1), Kyzikos (1).

Myrina (1), is either the one in Aiolis or the one on Lemnos.

The Black Sea area

—

Macedonia, Thrace and islands

—

Fig. 9. 1 Rhodos(?), 2 Knidos, 3 Chios, 4 Kios, 5 Chalkedon, 6 Samothrace, 7 Ainos, 8 Maroneia, 9 Philippi, 10 Amphipolis, 11 Kassandreia, 12 Pella, 13 Minoa on Amorgos, 14 Faistos, 15 Istron, 16 Hierapytna, 17 Lakadaimon/Sparta, 18 Messene, 19 Thelfusa, 20 Elis, 21 Aigeira, 22 Megara, 23 The Delphic Amphictyony, 24 Itonos, 25 Thebes in Achaia Phthiotis, 26 Gonnoi, 27 Homolion in Thessaly, 28 Leukas, 29 Argos (in Amphilochoi?), 30 Korkyra, 31 Kamarina, 32 Gela, 33 Elea, 34 Neapolis, 35 Antigonos Doson(?), 36 Ziaelas of Bithynia, 37 Seleukos II(?), 38 Ptolemaios II.

¹⁸³ Parker 2004, 12, n. 11.

¹⁸⁴ Parker 2004, 18–20.

¹⁸⁵ Parker 2004, 18–22.

¹⁸⁶ See the commentaries for the respective section in *IG XII 4.2*, 453–454.

Central and southern Asia Minor, 8 *poleis*, 13 listed winners/seconds:
Sardes (4), Laodikeia on the Lykos (1), Patara (2), Tlos(?) (1),¹⁸⁷ Antifellos
(2), Phaselis (1), Synnada (1), Antiocheia on the Kydnos (= Tarsos) (1).

The S-E Mediterranean, 5 *poleis/cities*, 9 listed winners/seconds:
Syria, Phoenicia; Antiocheia on the Orontes (2), Laodikeia in Phoenicia/
Berytos (2), Sidon (2).

The Ptolemaic kingdom; Alexandria (2), Ptolemaïs-Barka (Kyrenaika) (1).

Babylonia, 1 city, 1 listed winner/second; Seleukeia on the Tigris (1).

Central Aegean islands, 2 *poleis*, 2 listed winners/seconds:
Paros (1), Naxos¹⁸⁸ (1).

Crete:

—

Mainland Greece, 5 *poleis/states*, 6 listed winners/seconds:
Peloponnese; Messene (1), Elis (1), Sikyon (1).
Central Greece; Athens (2), the *Koinon* of Boiotians (1).

The Adriatic Sea, 1 polis, 1 listed winner/second:
Korkyra (1).

Unknown location, 1 polis, 1 listed winner/second:
Apollonia (1).

Table 12. Number of winners/seconds and number of *poleis* in the Koan victors' lists from the Great Asklepieia according to region.

<i>Region</i>	<i>No. of winners/seconds</i>	<i>No. of poleis</i>
Karia	71	10
Sea lane north + river valleys	45	21
The Black Sea area	0	0
Macedonia, Thrace and islands	0	0
Central and southern Asia Minor	13	8
S-E Mediterranean	9	5
Babylonia	1	1
Central Aegean islands	2	2
Crete	0	0
The Greek mainland	6	5
The Adriatic Sea	1	1
Unknown location	1	1
Total	149	54

¹⁸⁷ This name is given by Sherwin-White (1978, 114, n. 164), but not in *IG XII 4.2*. It could be the same as *IG XII 4.2*, 454, l. 293 which is not fully read.

¹⁸⁸ Sherwin-White has Sicily in her list of regions represented by these place names (Sherwin-White 1978, 114, n. 164). As none of the other names can refer to Sicily I think she located Naxos there, but I rather think it should be the island in the Aegean.

The men came from the geographical regions of Karia, the sea lane north and the river valleys of western Asia Minor (Ionia, Aiolis, the Troad, Mysia), central and southern Asia Minor, the south-eastern Mediterranean, Babylonia, the Aegean islands, the Greek mainland and the Adriatic Sea (Fig. 10a–b, Table 12). As the above list only covers the nationalities of the victors and seconds we can be confident that the complete field of participants covered an even larger number of *poleis*, cities and states. As is the case for the proxeny decrees and the coins, we may also in this material see more distant regions represented, here western Greece, central and southern Asia Minor, the south-eastern Mediterranean and Babylonia. No polis in the Black Sea appears, nor is there anyone from Macedonia, Thrace and the off-shore islands, or from Crete in these lists dating to c. 240–170. In contrast to the other data groups, the south-western coastal area of Asia Minor is, with 5 *poleis*, fairly well represented in this one.

Over half of the states, 28, are represented by just one name and 19 by 2–5 names.¹⁸⁹ Four of them have 6–8 names each, Knidos 8, Iasos 6, Miletos 7 and Efesos 7 names. Halikarnassos with 18 names and Rhodos with 22 names stand out.¹⁹⁰ I will not, in this paper, contextualize the dominant presence of certain *poleis* in certain years and the absence of others, but I think it is probable that when war raged in the area, there were fewer participants from foreign *poleis* despite the *asylia* of the games.

Asylia for the Asklepieion and the games

Similar to the recognition of the Panhellenic status of games in the honour of a god or goddess, the grants of *asylia* were comparatively rare during most of the 3rd century, but became more common in the late 3rd, the 2nd and 1st centuries. How many tried to gain this status but failed is unknown. Many scholars regard a first attempt by Magnesia on the Maeander to have the games of Artemis Leukophryene declared Panhellenic and the sanctuary *asylos* in 221 as a failure.¹⁹¹ If this is correct, it shows that despite support from Delphi, the initiative of a polis in this regard was not always successful. Failed attempts were presumably normally not memorized and thus remain unknown. The Koan Asklepios sanctuary and its games were granted *asylia* by a large part of the Greek world in 242.¹⁹² Whether this status was primarily of an honorific or an economic-political character will not be discussed here. As the two spheres were intimately intertwined, both elements were, in my view, present.

¹⁸⁹ Six of the latter had four winners/seconds, Kaunos, Myndos, Stratonikeia, Magnesia, Mytilene and Sardes. None is represented by five names.

¹⁹⁰ The by far largest single national group is formed by the Koans, listed both with and without ethnic. They are not treated here.

¹⁹¹ Buraselis 2003, 150; Slater & Summa 2006, 276; Thonemann 2007, 151–160; van Nijf & Williamson 2015, 100.

¹⁹² See for instance *IG* XII 4.1, 214–216, 220.



Fig. 10a. *Poleis*/cities/states in the victory lists of the Asklepieia. 1 Kaunos, 2 Knidos, 3 Halikarnassos, 4 Myndos, 5 Bargylia, 6 Iasos, 7 Mylasa, 8 Stratonikeia, 9 Herakleia by Latmos, 10 Rhodes, 11 Miletos, 12 Samos, 13 Magnesia on the Maeander, 14 Tralleis, 15 Efesos, 16 Kolofon, 17 Teos, 18 Chios, 19 Erythrai, 20 Smyrna, 21 Fokaia, 22 Kyme, 23 Mytilene, 24 Pergamon, 25 Assos, 26 Alexandria Troas, 27 Skepsis, 28 Ilion, 29 Lampsakos, 30 Kyzikos, 31 Sardes, 32 Laodikeia on the Lykos, 33 Patara, 34 Tlos(?), 35 Antifellos, 36 Phaselis, 37 Synnada.

Discussion

The *poleis* and states with well-respected sanctuaries had, or wanted to have, wide recognition of their status. There is one not fully preserved inscription from the second half of the 3rd century that lists the *theorodokoi* of Delphi. It contains 330 official hosts ranging from Sicily to Syria.¹⁹³ In 208, over 160 cities from Sicily to Iran, as shown in the 60 extant decrees and letters,¹⁹⁴ recognized Magnesia on the Maeander as *asylos* and the games of

¹⁹³ Parker 2004, 10.

¹⁹⁴ Rigsby (1996, 180) estimates that they make up just over two thirds of the original number of texts at Magnesia.

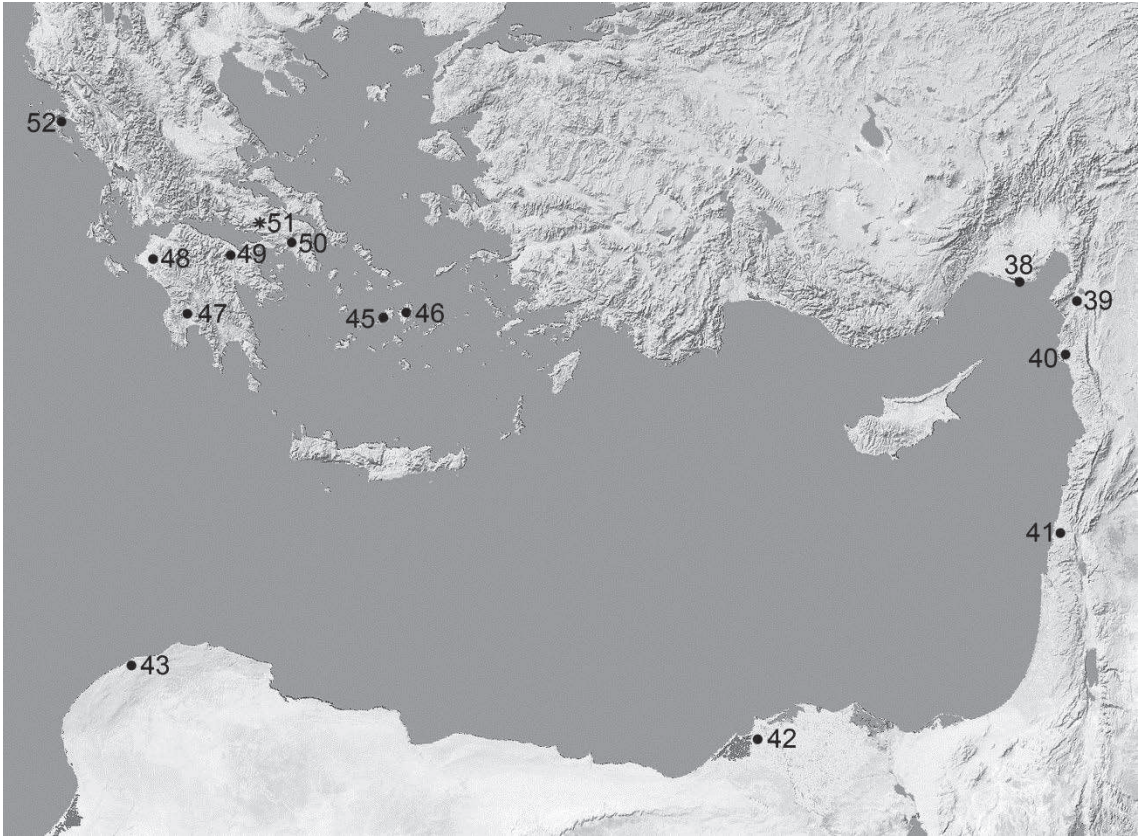


Fig. 10b. *Poleis*/cities/states in the victory lists of the Asklepieia. 38 Antiocheia on the Kydnos (= Tarsos), 39 Antiocheia on the Orontes, 40 Laodikeia in Phoenicia, 41 Sidon, 42 Alexandria, 43 Ptolemais Barca (Kyrenaika), 44 Seleukeia on the Tigris, 45 Paros, 46 Naxos, 47 Messene, 48 Elis, 49 Sikyon, 50 Athens, 51 Boiotia, 52 Korkyra.

Artemis Leukophryene as stephanitic and thus also Panhellenic.¹⁹⁵ The Panhellenic status of the games and the *asylia* of the sanctuary (and polis of Magnesia) were in these two cases demonstrably recognized by hundreds of states from various parts of the Mediterranean. The 75 *poleis*/states recorded for Kos do not provide the complete picture; the majority have probably been lost. Looking at the later lists of victors at the Koan games, dated to 241–169(?), it is likely that the number of states that recognised the Koan festival was as numerous, and certain that it was as widespread, from Italy and Sicily to Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria and Babylonia (letters from Ptolemaios III and Seleukos II, victors' lists) as those recognizing the Magnesians games.

To be the first to introduce a new successful phenomenon was regarded as important, and Kos was the first polis we know of in the eastern Aegean/western Asia Minor area to have the previously local and annual festival recognized as international and penteteric. The initiative shows the confidence of the polis; the Koans did not feel the need to gain the backing of their close ally Ptolemaios III before asking wide and far for the desired status. Their success proves the positive attitude of other states towards the Koans and it meant that the games were attended by official representatives from a large number of places situated around the Mediterranean.

¹⁹⁵ Rigsby 1996, 180.

Most of the hosts of these “new” games were situated along the coast of western Asia Minor or on islands off the coast, and Parker stresses the vitality of this area in the 3rd and 2nd centuries.¹⁹⁶ The *poleis* granting the requests seem to mainly belong to the traditional “old” Greek world.

The Koans used existing good relations or managed to establish a positive relationship to ascertain the Panhellenic status of the penteteric games of Asklepios and *asylia* for the sanctuary. The initiative was conceived of and implemented by the polis, which also reaped the rewards of its success. That the *asylia* was respected in reality even far later can be seen from a passage in Tacitus’ *Annales* 4.14.

This year also brought delegations from two Greek communities, the Samians and Coans desiring the confirmation of an old right of asylum to the temples of Juno and Aesculapius respectively. The Samians appealed to a decree of the Amphictyonic Council, the principal tribunal for all questions in the period when the Greeks had already founded their city-states in Asia and were dominant upon the sea-coast. The Coans had equal antiquity on their side, and, in addition, a claim associated with the place itself: for they had sheltered Roman citizens in the temple of Aesculapius at a time when, by order of King Mithridates, they were being butchered in every island and town of Asia.¹⁹⁷

The claim demonstrates that the Romans were protected in the Asklepieion during the First Mithradatic war, and that even when Mithradates himself came to the island in 88. In this war, when a large number of Romans were killed in many Asian communities, the *asylia* of the Asklepieion held and the Romans survived even the immediate presence of Mithradates, mortal enemy of Rome.

To sum up: Looking at the number (at least 75, but probably many more), distribution (from Italy to Babylonia) and character (amphictyony, *poleis*, kingdoms) of the states that recognized the *asylia* of the Asklepieion and the penteteric games as Panhellenic, the campaign must be seen as a great success. It enhanced the international standing and prestige of both Asklepios on Kos and the polis of the Koans. It also served to protect people at times of war.

An overview of the different regions

Karia and islands: In the first two networks a fairly high proportion of all *poleis* that demonstrate contacts with Kos come from this region, *proxenoi* 8/34, coins 14/78, but within the two webs they are grouped differently. The eight *poleis* from the decrees are equally divided between *proxenoi* for foreigners on Kos and *proxenoi* elsewhere for the Koans, whereas all 14 *poleis* in the second network derive from coins minted elsewhere and found on Kos. The fact that no Koan bronze coins have been found in the immediate

¹⁹⁶ Parker 2004, 16.

¹⁹⁷ Tacitus, *The Annals*. Translation J. Jackson (Loeb) 1970.

region is noteworthy, even more so considering that as many as *c.* 100 coins from the region were found on the island.¹⁹⁸ The inscriptions date to the 4th and 3rd centuries and the coins to the 4th to 1st centuries. In the *asylia* inscriptions from 241 we have the names of only two *poleis*. We know that there are more *poleis* from this region in the inscriptions, but their names cannot be read. The victors' lists from 240–169(?) give us ten *poleis*, eight of which were situated on the coast and two inland. Almost half of the listed winners/seconds, 71 of 149, come from this area, which thus dominated the Asklepieia.¹⁹⁹

The sea lane north, the Black Sea area: Looking at the sea lane north and the Black Sea area, the picture from the first two categories reinforce one another. Eight *poleis* known from the proxeny texts are almost evenly divided between the first two data groups. A comparatively large number of *poleis*, 25, are known from the coin material, but the number of coins is smaller than from the Karian area, 80 coins or more.²⁰⁰ Thus, on Kos we have fewer coins from a larger number of *poleis* along the sea lane compared to Karia, and most of these *poleis* lie in Ionia. Also, it is only in Ionian *poleis* that we find Koan coins. Taken together, these results indicate a strong connection between Kos and the Ionian area, in particular Miletos with its 16 coins found on Kos. In the inland, Pergamon appears to be a special case with six coins found on Kos. We know only three identified *poleis* from this area from the *asylia* inscriptions, but there are more unidentified ones. The victors' lists give us 21 *poleis* with 45 winners/seconds. Again, most of the *poleis* lie in Ionia. As in the coin material, the number of *poleis* represented in the data is larger than for Karia, but it is also a geographically larger area. However, the number of winners/seconds is smaller. The pattern here is the same as in the coin material.

Both proxeny decrees and coins give evidence of comparatively few contacts with the Black Sea area, although it should be noted that Sinope has both a *proxenos* on Kos and a *proxenos* for the Koans arriving at Sinope, and there is, on Kos, one coin each from two other *poleis* in this region.

Macedonia, Thrace and islands: Judging from this material, the contacts with Macedonia, Thrace and islands are not as strong as those with the *poleis* along the sea lane north. Three *poleis* and Macedonia are represented in the proxeny inscriptions and five *poleis* and some Macedonian kings in the coin material that consists of 28 coins. Excluding the later inscriptions from Samothrace, both decrees and coins date to the period *c.* 350–200. Seven *poleis* in the sphere of the Macedonian kings and possibly also Antigonos Gonatas recognized the *asylia* of the Asklepieia, but there are no winners/seconds from these parts in the victors' lists.

¹⁹⁸ This is by far the highest number for any of the regions despite it being smaller than the others.

¹⁹⁹ If we include the Koans, the Karian region provides us with the absolute majority of winners/seconds.

²⁰⁰ As the number of Koan coins found outside Kos is not given, I have counted a minimum of one for each polis and issue, but as several hoards are represented in the finds the number is surely higher.

Central and southern Asia Minor: In the first two source categories, evidence for contacts with central and southern Asia Minor is rare. There are no proxeny decrees, and only seven coins from these two regions have been found on Kos, three of which come from nearby Lycia. No Koan coins have been reported from the two regions. There are no individual *poleis* from this area in the dossier recognizing the Koan Panhellenic games, but as Ptolemaios III and probably also Seleukos II recognized the new status of the Koan games, *poleis* and cities within their kingdoms were covered by this decision. Eight *poleis*, five of them in the south-eastern coastal area, have 13 listed winners/seconds in the Koan lists. Thus, there is a comparatively strong presence for the area in this last data group. Together with the three coins from Lycia, they indicate more frequent contacts with the south-western part of Asia Minor.

The south-eastern Mediterranean: Only two cities in the south-eastern Mediterranean appear in the proxeny decrees, but 40 coins from there were found on Kos. Should this be indicative, one could interpret this to mean that the polis structure forming the basis for proxeny-networks was not strong in the east, but that contacts with this area were frequent. As mentioned above, the kings of both the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Seleukid empire(?) recognized the Panhellenic status of the Asklepieia and persons from five *poleis*/cities are listed among the victors/seconds. All three capitals, Antiocheia on the Orontes, Seleukia on the Tigris and Alexandria, are represented in the Koan lists. This can be contrasted with the lack of winners/seconds from Macedonia and Thrace.

The central Aegean, Crete and the Greek mainland: Looking at these three areas the situation for the two first webs is reversed. Twelve *poleis* form part of the Koan proxeny network, five of them from the Aegean islands, whereas just 18 coins from these areas have been found on Kos.²⁰¹ Athens is an exception with both *proxenoi* for the Koans and Koan coins found in Athens and Athenian coins found on Kos. Here we can see evidence both of formal state-sanctioned contacts in the form of decrees and of private(?) contacts as evidenced by the coins. In the extant Asklepieion inscriptions, one island polis in the central Aegean and three on Crete recognized the enhanced status of the games. The number of *poleis* on the Greek mainland is higher, i.e. 14 (including Leukas and Korkyra). The presence of all three areas in the victors' lists is weaker. Eight *poleis*/states have nine winners/seconds in the lists, none of them from Crete.

Italy and Sicily: Further west we know of no proxeny decrees for or by *poleis* or cities in Sicily and Italy, but the number of Koan coins, mainly from one issue, in central Italy is astonishingly high. Two *poleis* on Sicily and two in south Italy recognized the Panhellenic games, but no winners/seconds appear in the victors' lists.

²⁰¹ It is also interesting that so far, no *proxenoi* from the central Aegean islands appear in the decrees, whereas five island *poleis* have one or several *proxenoi* on Kos.

Overall, the picture is one of close contacts with the immediate neighbourhood (Karia), along the sea lane north, especially to Miletos, and also south to Rhodos. In these areas, the contacts are long lasting, from the 4th to the 1st century, but it should be stressed that the complete lack of Koan bronze coins in Karia and the islands adjacent to Kos is remarkable. Furthermore, during the Hellenistic period, the south-eastern Mediterranean was strongly represented in the coin material, but not in the proxeny inscriptions or in the winners' lists. In the "old" Greek world, Athens seems to have had good connections with Kos and several of the Aegean islands had multiple *proxenoi* on Kos in the Hellenistic period.

A comparative analysis of the different groups and webs

The three source categories, proxeny decrees, bronze coins and the inscriptions concerning the Great Asklepieia are of different character and testament to differing phenomena and different types of network. The *proxenia* decisions were initiated by individuals, but decided by the state, and the campaign for *asylia* for the Asklepieion and the games to be Panhellenic was initiated and carried out by the state. The decisions were inscribed on stone and erected in public places. The bronze coins were brought to and from Kos by travellers whose names, origins and motivations we do not know—the latter could be both private and public. As is to be expected, the total number of *poleis* represented in the three webs differs markedly: a total of 34 different *poleis*/states are known from the 64 proxeny texts and more than 78 *poleis*/cities/states are known as mints or find places for the more than 350 coins. The third network presents us with a minimum number of 75 *poleis*/cities/states that answered the Koan request regarding the Asklepieia, and then we have, excepting the Koans, 54 *poleis*/cities/states represented in the extant victors' lists containing 149 winners and seconds.

Comparing the three networks one can note both similarities and differences. Some results stand out and, if significant, require explanation. Whether or not the different groups are likely to be representative must be judged separately for each group.²⁰²

A large number of *poleis* from almost the entire Greek world show up in the three webs formed by the six data groups. The data for each group consists of only a small part of the once existing material and is thus difficult to interpret. A strong presence in the original data is, however, more likely to also have left a strong mark in the extant material, but the absence of such a strong presence cannot be regarded as indicating its non-existence in the original data. I will therefore just comment on the 54 *poleis* which are present in two or more of the data groups (*Table 13*). The three Koan network systems, when including the 76 places appearing in just one data group, were thus considerably larger than their appearance in this table.

²⁰² The total lack of Koan coins found in Karia and islands could plausibly, if this had been decrees, have been explained by the random preservation of sources, but, as coins are a much more common material, this explanation is less credible.

Table 13. *Poleis*/cities/states with presence in two or more data groups. The number within a parenthesis after an 'X' shows the number of cases when more than 1. When there are more cases than the minimum number known, but unknown how many more, this is marked with a '+' after the number. Places with a presence in just one data group are not included in this table.

Polis/state	<i>Proxeno</i> i appointed by the Koans	<i>Proxeno</i> i on/from Kos	Foreign bronze coins found on Kos (no. of coins)	Koan bronze coins found abroad	Asklepieion, states recognizing <i>asylia</i> and Panhellenic status	Origin of winners in the Great Asklepieia (no. of winners)
Karia and islands						
Kaunos	–	–	X	–	–	X (4)
Knidos	X	–	X (17)	–	X	X (8)
Halikarnassos	X (2)	–	X (14)	–	–	X (18)
Theangela	X (2)	X	–	–	–	–
Myndos	–	–	X (14)	–	–	X (4)
Bargylia	–	X (2+)	X (2)	–	–	X
Iasos	–	X	X (4)	–	–	X (6)
Mylasa	–		X (3)	–	–	X (3)
Stratonikeia	–	–	X (2)	–	–	X (4)
Herakleia by Latmos	–	–	X	–	–	X
Rhodos	–	–	X (32)	–	X(?)	X (22)
Sea lane north						
Miletos	–	X (4)	X (16)	X	–	X (9)
Priene	–	–	X	X	–	–
Samos	–	X (5+)	X (3)	X	–	X (2)
Magnesia M.	–	–	X (2)	–	–	X (5)
Tralleis	–	–	X	–	–	X (3)
Efesos	–	–	X (7)	–	–	X (7)
Kolofon	–	–	X (3)	–	–	X
Teos	–	–	X (2)	–	–	X
Chios	–	–	–	–	X	X (2)
Metropolis	–	–	X	X	–	–
Smyrna	–	–	–	X	–	X (2)
Kyme	–	–	X (2)	–	–	X
Mytilene	X	–	X (3)	–	–	X (4)
Pergamon	–	–	X (6)	–	–	X
Assos	–	–	X	–	–	X
Skepsis	–	–	X	–	–	X
Kyzikos	–	–	X	–	–	X
Kios	X	–	–	–	X	–
Nikomedia/Ziaelas of Bithynia	–	–	X	–	X	–
Black Sea area						
Sinope	X	X	–	–	–	–
Macedonia, Thrace and islands						
Byzantion	X	–	X (1–5)	–	–	–
Samothrace	–	X (9+)	X (1–5)	–	X?	–
Amphipolis	X	–	–	–	X	–
Macedonia, Macedonian kings	X	–	X	–	X?	–

Table 13 (cont.).

Polis/state	<i>Proxenoi</i> appointed by the Koans	<i>Proxenoi</i> on/from Kos	Foreign bronze coins found on Kos (no. of coins)	Koan bronze coins found abroad	Asklepieion, states recognizing <i>asylia</i> and Panhellenic status	Origin of winners in the Great Asklepieia (no. of winners)
Southern Asia Minor						
Phaselis	–	–	X	–	–	X
S-E Mediterranean						
Antiocheia on the Orontes/Seleukid kings	–	–	X (1+)	–	X?	X (2)
Berytos/Laodikeia in Phoenicia	–	–		X		X (2)
Alexandria/Ptolemaic kings	X	–	X (many)	X (6+)	X	X (2)
Central Aegean islands						
Astypalaia	–	X (14)	X	–	–	–
Amorgos	–	–	X	X	X	–
Naxos	–	X (5)	–	–	–	X
Delos	–	X	–	X (3+)	–	–
Tenos	–	X	X	–	–	–
Crete						
Aptera	X	X	–	–	–	–
Mainland Greece						
Messene	–	–	–	X	X	X
Elis	–	–	X	–	X	X
Megara	–	–	X	–	X	–
Athens	X (2)	–	X (7)	X (5)	–	X (2)
Delphi/the Delphic Amphictyony	–	X (2)	–	–	X	–
<i>Koinon</i> of the Boiotians	–	–	X	–	–	X
Chalkis	X	–	X	–	–	–
The Adriatic Sea						
Korkyra	–	–	–	–	X	X (1)
Italy						
Rome	–	–	X	X (13)	–	–

No polis shows up in all six data groups, one city, Alexandria, appears in five and another four in four groups. They are Knidos, Miletos, Samos and Athens. Two of these five, Athens and Alexandria, are situated outside the surrounding area of Kos. Another 11 *poleis*/states are present in three of the data groups. They are Rhodos, Halikarnassos, Bargylia, Iasos, Mytilene, Samothrace, Macedonia/Macedonian kings, Amorgos, Antiocheia on the Orontes/Seleukid kings, Elis and Messene. At least half of these are situated outside the surrounding area.

The region with the highest number of most frequently occurring *poleis* (appearing in three or four of the groups) is Karia with islands (5 *poleis*), then Ionia and Aiolis (3 *poleis*) and mainland Greece (3 *poleis*), followed by the south-eastern Mediterranean (2 *poleis*), the central Aegean islands (2 *poleis*) and Macedonia/Macedonian kings, Thrace and islands (2 *poleis*). The *poleis* in Ionia are well represented in all three webs, an indication of what were probably strong private and public contacts with this area. In this material, the evidence for Koan contacts northwards along the coast is stronger than that for contacts with the central Aegean and the Greek mainland, excepting Athens.

In two of the data groups, foreign coins found on Kos and winners/seconds in the Asklepieia, four *poleis* stand out with a particularly strong presence: Rhodos, Knidos, Halikarnassos and Miletos. In these sources they have the most varied (a presence in three to four data groups) and the most frequent (a high number of occurrences in a group) contacts with Kos. Knidos and Halikarnassos are geographically close and their presence in this group is not surprising. Furthermore, the close connections between Rhodos and Kos are long known, but the fact that Miletos was as closely connected as this material indicates is new to us. A second group of six *poleis*/cities with the same variety, but with not quite as high a frequency is formed by Iasos, Samos, Efesos,²⁰³ Mytilene, Alexandria and Athens. As could be expected, several of these ten *poleis* are found in the close neighbourhood: Knidos, Halikarnassos and Iasos. Somewhat further away, we have Rhodos, Miletos, Samos and Efesos. Still in the Aegean basin, but at quite a distance from Kos, we find Mytilene and Athens. The final city is Alexandria in far-off Egypt.

Conclusion

Over the last four centuries B.C., in all three networks investigated here (proxeny decrees, bronze coins, Asklepieion and Panhellenic games), Kos had contacts all over the Greek world. They were thus far wider than the immediate region. From the limited material at hand it seems as if the (main) areas for the three webs were partially different. The proxeny inscriptions come mostly from the Aegean basin and the Greek mainland. The bronze coins indicate close contacts along the northward sea lane up and into the Marmara Sea, to Rhodos and to the south-eastern Mediterranean. States from practically the entire Greek world recognized the Panhellenic status of the Asklepieia and the *asylia* of the Asklepieion, but, to judge from the victors' list, it was the *poleis* in the coastal area of western Asia Minor and the nearby islands that seem to have participated in the games more regularly.

Generally one can say that the majority of the contacts were with other *poleis* in western Asia Minor, particularly along the coast with its off-shore islands and they existed for the entire period. It is also here that we find most

²⁰³ Efesos only occurs in two groups, but as there is a comparatively high number of both Efesian coins found on Kos and winners/seconds in the Asklepieia, I included it here.

of the cities with close contacts to Kos. Apart from the coastal *poleis* in Karia, Rhodos and Miletos can also be regarded as forming an extended neighbourhood to Kos. Outside this area, Athens and Alexandria show particularly strong connections to Kos. A large number of *poleis* in and north of the Aegean, as well as in mainland Greece, also formed part of the Koans' contact web, appearing in at least two of the six data groups. Furthermore, distant places in Italy, Sicily, the Adriatic Sea, the Black Sea area, southern Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia and the Ptolemaic kingdom had more or less frequent contacts with Kos. Judging by this material, Kos was from several aspects a significant actor in the Greek world, not only in the immediate neighbourhood, but also in more distant areas.

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Abbreviations

(All abbreviations not listed are found in AJA ON LINE Abbreviations)

ED	see Segre 1993.
KFF	R. Herzog, <i>Koische Forschungen und Funde</i> , Leipzig 1899 (repr. 1983).
NS	A. Maiuri, <i>Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos</i> , Firenze 1925.
PHI	Searchable Greek inscriptions. A scholarly tool in progress. The Packard Humanities Institute. http://epigraphy.packhum.org/
PH	W.R. Paton & E.L. Hicks, <i>The inscriptions of Cos</i> , Oxford 1891.

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Appendix

Island ports

Were there any advantages to being an island port as compared to a mainland port? I became interested in this question when I considered the frequent wars in both mainland Greece and Asia Minor. These wars affected both mainland and island ports, but being situated on the mainland meant that not only hostile fleets, but also whatever large armies were in the area, threatened war and invasion.

To see if there were any differences I have compared the situation of the port of Kos to that of three port towns in mainland Karia within a limited period of time. The period is the end of the third century and the very beginning of the second century when this area was subjected to several major wars. Was there a difference in the risk of invasion and capture for mainland and island ports? If the answer is positive, then this has certain implications for the commercial strength and well-being of a port town, not only in, but also after times of war. This group is really too small to draw any conclusions from, and differences may be due to particular circumstances of the time, but a more thorough study (taking into account the various sizes and fortification strength of cities) may lead to an answer—positive or negative.

I base the discussion on John Ma's volume *Antiochos III and the cities of western Asia Minor* from 2000, as he looked at not only the historical literary sources, but also undertook a close reading of the epigraphic material. The *poleis* that I will mention are those for which we have ancient sources: they are Herakleia by Latmos, Iasos and Bargylia. A brief comparison of the fate of these mainland Karian coastal *poleis* with that of Kos in the period c. 220–190 gives us at least a glimpse of what happened to them in this period of numerous wars. In 205–204 we have the First Cretan War. Then, in 201, this area was the scene of what turned into the Second Macedonian War involving Philip V of Macedonia, and in 197/6 it was hit by Antiochos III's campaign in Asia Minor.

I will begin with the situation on Kos. The polis was formally allied to Rhodes in this period. In 205 Cretan so-called "pirates" attacked both Kos and Kalymnos which was then constitutionally a part of Kos. These attacks were fended off. In 201 Philip led an assault on Halasarna on the south coast

of Kos and even landed troops there, but this attack was also repelled. As far as we know, the heavily fortified town and harbour of Kos was never assaulted. Antiochos III did not take action against the Koans in his campaign in 197/6. Kos thus remained free and independent throughout these troubled years. This situation can be contrasted with that of the three mainland ports.

The first port is Herakleia by Latmos in northern Karia, a well-fortified place which was taken by Philip V in 201 BC. Some years later, in 197/6, it was “recovered for the king”, i.e. Antiochos III, by Zeuxis who led a Seleukid land army.

The lands of the second polis, Iasos were attacked by a local dynast in inland Karia, Olympichos, at some point in the period 221–214. He was, however, warned off by the Rhodians and withdrew. In 201 Iasos was conquered by Philip who had continued his campaign southwards. Philip also situated a garrison there. This did not suffice to preserve the town in Philip’s hands. Just as at Herakleia, Antiochos conquered Iasos in 197/6. Ma believes that also here it was the land army, led by Zeuxis, which fought and defeated the Macedonian garrison.

Also Bargylia was conquered by Philip in 201 who put a garrison in place. It remained there until 196 when the city was “freed” by the Romans.

Ma writes that “the general pattern of Antiochos’ campaign in 197/6 consisted of a coastal sweep, from Antioch in Syria all the way to Thrace, followed by, or coordinated with, a series of campaigns on land”. That Philip V had also brought land forces is clear from the placement of garrisons in Iasos and Bargylia. Both kings thus used a combination of land and sea-forces when conquering mainland coastal *poleis*. I think this brief overview shows that mainland ports were far more vulnerable to hostile forces than were those of the island *poleis*. Surely island ports could be and *were* also conquered, as for instance Samos during this period, but they were normally not threatened by *both* land- and sea-forces. This may have given island ports a distinctive advantage in times of war.

Contents

<i>Kerstin Höghammar and Adam Lindhagen, Preface</i>	7
<i>Gary Reger, Nodes of sea and sand. Ports, human geography and networks of trade</i>	9
<i>Zosia H. Archibald, Moving upcountry: ancient travel from coastal ports to inland harbours</i>	37
<i>Anton Bonnier, Harbours and hinterland networks by the Corinthian Gulf, from the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic period</i>	65
<i>Kerstin Höghammar, International networks of an island port in the Hellenistic period—the case of Kos</i>	95
<i>Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras, Dimitris Grigoropoulos, Charikleia Diamanti and Maria Koutsoumpou, Maritime connections of Halasarna on Cos from prehistory to Late Antiquity: a view based on the pottery and other finds</i>	167
<i>Catherine Bouras, The geography of connections: a harbour network in the Aegean Sea during the Roman Imperial period?</i>	201
<i>Adam Lindhagen, Naronia in Dalmatia—the rise and fall of a “gateway settlement”</i>	225
<i>Maria Costanza Lentini, David Blackman and Jari Pakkanen, The port in the urban system of Sicilian Naxos (5th century BC)</i>	253
<i>Giulia Boetto, Portus, Ostia and Rome: a transport zone in the maritime/land interface</i>	269
<i>Simon Keay, Portus in its Mediterranean context</i>	291
<i>Simon Malmberg, Ravenna: naval base, commercial hub, capital city</i>	323