

## Cos. Sacrificial prescriptions for tax contractors and public officials

**Description:** Opisthographic stele of white marble, broken at the bottom, adorned with a jutting cymatium; side A erased (dimensions: h: 0.49 m w: 0.565-0.575 m d: 0.065 m )

**Layout:** Single column, left to right, not stoichedon; some letters missing on both margins

**Letters:** h: 0.006 m . Features of Coan (Doric) dialect ('impure'  $\tilde{\alpha}$  retained;  $\epsilon\upsilon < \epsilon\omicron$ ;  $\tau\omicron\iota$  for  $\omicron\iota$ ;  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$  for  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ ; 1st decl. gen. pl.  $\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}$ ; 3rd pl. imperative  $-\nu\tau\omega$  act.,  $-\sigma\theta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  mid.; etymological  $-\nu\tau\iota$  (3rd pl. act.) retained;  $\kappa\alpha$  for  $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ ;  $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\tilde{\nu}$  for  $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\tilde{\nu}$ ; iota parasiticum used in verb forms throughout the text

**Origin:** Cos, unknown location

**Dating:** End of the second century BC (Crowther 2004)

**Findspot:** Platani (formerly Kermete), Cos, 1891

**Current location:** Istanbul, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri (Istanbul Archaeology Museums), inv. no. 3012

**Reference edition:** *IG XII 4.1* 293 (with minor changes)

**Other editions:** ed. pr. Kontoleon 1891, 406-409; Reinach 1891 (*SGDI* III.1 3632; C. Michel, *Recueil* 720; H.Th.A. von Prott, L. Ziehen, *LGS* II, 137; Chatzebasileios 1981, 47-63); W. Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1000; *Tit.Cal.* 25 (Il. 7-8); Chandezon 2003, no. 39 (Il. 6-8)); Vreeken 1953 (H.W. Pleket, *Epigraphica* 23 (Il. 1-16); F. Sokolowski, *LSCG* 168)

**Photographs:** Kontoleon 1891 (facs.); Reinach 1891 (facs.); Vreeken 1953 (phot. of the squeeze); Crowther 2004, fig. 39 (phot. of the squeeze, also available at <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Images/00/Image66.html>)

**Translations:** Chandezon 2003, no. 39 (Il. 6-8; in French)

**Bibliography:** Toepffer 1891; Toepffer 1892; Reinach 1892a, 100-102; Reinach 1892b, 253; Herzog 1899, no. 191; Francotte 1900, 127-129; Andreades 1931, 162-166; Rostovtzeff 1941, 241-243; Nilsson 1961, 75; Sherwin-White 1978, 229-235; Wiemer 2003; Crowther 2004, 25-26, 29, fig. 39; Eich 2006, 110-112; Chankowski 2007, 313; Migeotte 2014, 92-93, 241-242, 266, 271-272, 288-289, and passim

### Face B

- [θ]υέτω δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγείσθω καὶ ὁ τὰν ὦνὰν ἐωνημένος ναύσσου ἔξω καὶ τὰν ἐπ' Ἀ[ρχ-]  
 ἐβίου κατὰ ταῦτά· θυόντω δὲ καὶ τοὶ ἐωνημένοι ὦνὰν ναύσσου, ἄρτων, κάπων κατὰ τα[ύ-]  
 τά· θυόντω δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ ἀγοράξαντες τὰν ὦνὰν τᾶς ὀβελίας κατὰ ταῦτά·  
 [θ]υόντω δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ πριάμενοι τὰν ὦνὰν σίτου κατὰ ταῦτά· θυό<ν>τω δὲ  
 5 [κ]αὶ σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ πριάμενοι ὦνὰν οἴνου ἐπὶ θαλάσσαι, ἑταιρᾶν, ξύλων, ἀλφίτων, ἐ-  
 νοικίων κατὰ ταῦτά· θυόντω δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ ἀγοράξαντες τὰν ὦνὰν τετραπό-  
 δων· θυόντω δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ ἀγοράζοντες τὰν ὦνὰν ἐν Καλύμναι οἴνου  
 [ἐ]ξ οἰνοπέδων, ξευγέων, ἐρίων κατὰ ταῦτά· θυόντω δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ ἀγορά-  
 [ξ]αντες ὦνὰν ἀμπελοστατεύντων καὶ τῶν γυναικείων σωμάτων κατὰ ταῦτά· θυόντω [δὲ]  
 10 [καὶ] σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ ἀγοράξαντες τὰν ὦνὰν σκοπᾶς δαμοσίας· θυέτω δὲ κ[αὶ] σκα-  
 [νο]παγείσθω καὶ ὁ τὰν ἄλλ<α>ν μισθωσάμενος σκοπᾶν τὰν ἐπὶ Ναυτιλέω· θυέτω δὲ [κατὰ]  
 [τα]ύτά καὶ σκανοπαγείσθω καὶ ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ὦνὰν τᾶν Μουσᾶν κατὰ ταῦτά· θ[υέ]τω δὲ  
 [κ]ατὰ ταῦτά καὶ σκανοπαγείσθω καὶ ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ὦνὰν τοῦ Ἀφροδείσιου· θυέτ[ω] δὲ

- καὶ σκανοπαγείσθωι καὶ ὁ πριάμενος τὰν ὦνὰν κύκλου Γᾶς κατὰ ταῦτά· θυόντωι δὲ [κατὰ]  
 15 [ταύ]τά καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων τοὶ ἔχοντες τὰν ὦνὰν λιβανοπωλᾶν, ὁσπρίων, ταρείχων· [θυέ-]  
 [τ]ωι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ σκανοπαγείσθωι καὶ ὁ ἔχων τὰν ὦνὰν τοῦ λατρικοῦ· θυόντωι δὲ  
 [καὶ] σκανοπαγείσθων τοὶ κωποξύσται τῶι Ποτειδᾶνι καὶ Κῶ οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριά-  
 [κον]τα καὶ Ῥόδωι ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα· θυόντωι δὲ κα<τὰ> ταῦτά καὶ ὅσσοι κα σκοπᾶς μίσθω-  
 [σιν] ποιήσωνται ἢ ἔχωντι ἰδιωτικὰν μεμισθωμένοι Ποτειδᾶνι καὶ Κῶ οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τρι[ά-]  
 20 [κον]τα καὶ Ῥόδωι ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα ἐς ὃ κα ἦι συνεστηκυῖα ἅ σκοπά· θυόντωι δὲ κα-  
 [τὰ τ]αῦτά καὶ τοὶ μετάβολοι τοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν Ποτειδᾶνι καὶ Κῶ οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκον[τα]  
 [καὶ] Ῥόδωι οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα· θυόντωι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ τοὶ νεωλκοί, λαμβάνο[ν-]  
 [τε]ς ὁμοίως καὶ οὔτοι παρὰ τῶν ταμιᾶν δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα· θυέτωι δὲ καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος τ[ῶι]  
 [Πο]τειδᾶνι οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα καὶ Κῶι οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα καὶ Ῥόδωι (vac. )  
 25 [οἷν] ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα, διαγραφείσθωι δὲ αὐτῶι παρὰ τῶν ταμιᾶν δραχμὰς ἐνενή-  
 [κο]ντα· θυόντωι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων ἕκαστος τῶν τριηράρχων, θυόν-  
 [τ]ωι δὲ τῶι Ποτειδᾶνι οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα καὶ Κῶι οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντ[α]  
 [κα]ὶ Ῥόδωι οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τριάκοντα, λαμβανόντωι δὲ καὶ τοῦτοι παρὰ τῶν ταμι[ᾶν]  
 [δρ]αχμὰς ἐνενήκοντα· θυόντωι δὲ καὶ τοὶ καρπολογεῦντες τῶι Ποτειδᾶνι οἷν ἀ[πὸ]  
 30 [δρ]αχμᾶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Κῶι οἷν ἀπὸ δραχμᾶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Ῥόδωι οἷν ἀπ[ὸ]  
 [δρ]αχμᾶν τεσσαράκοντα· θυόντωι δὲ καὶ τοὶ ὑπηρέται τᾶν μακρᾶν ναῶν Ποτειδᾶνι καὶ [Κῶι]  
 [οἷν ἀ]πὸ δραχμᾶν τρι[άκοντα κ]αὶ Ῥόδωι οἷ[ν] ἀπὸ [δρ]α[χ]μᾶν τρι[άκ]οντα· θυόντωι δὲ καὶ το[ι]  
 [c. 4.]Οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὑπηρε[τικῶν πλοίων - - - ].[ - - - ἀπὸ] δραχμᾶν τ[ριά-]  
 [κοντα - - - ]  
 [ - - - ]

**Apparatus criticus:** I. 1: *σκανοπαγείσθωι* : -σθων stele, corr. by Vreeken (previous editors have -σθω{ν}); Bechtel (*SGDI*) already suggests -σθωι). II. 1-2: *ἐπ' Ἀ[ρχ] / ἐβίου* : Hallof (*IG XII 4.1 293*); *ἐπα[μοι]βίου, ἐπα[γω]γίου, ἐπ' Ἀ[ναξι]βίου* or *Ἀ[λεξι]βίου* or other similar magistrates' names sugg. by Herzog (in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1000), who read *ΕΠΑ[...]/ΒΙΟΥ*. I. 4: *θυό<ν>τω* : *ΘΥΟΤΩ* stele, read and corr. by current editor. I. 5: *ἀλφίτων* : *ΑΛΦΙΤΟΝ* stele, corr. by Kontoleon. II. 6-8: the underlined letters are only discernible in Kontoleon and Reinach's facss. I. 8: *οἶνοπέδων* : *οἰκοπέδων* stele, corr. by Bechtel (*SGDI*). I. 9: *ἀμπελοστατεύωντων* : *ΑΜΠΕΛΟΣΤΑΥΕΥΝΤΩΝ* stele, corr. by Wilhelm (in Toepffer 1891). I. 11: *ἄλλ<α>ν* : *ΑΛΛΑΝ* stele, corr. by Kontoleon (who read *ΑΛΑΝ*). I. 15: *σκανοπαγείσθων* : -σθων stele, read and corr. by Hallof (*IG XII 4.1 293*); previous eds. all read -σθων. I. 16: *λατρικοῦ* : *ἰατρικοῦ* sugg. by Toepffer 1891. I. 18: *κα<τὰ> ταῦτά* : *ΚΑΤΑΥΤΑ* stele, read and corr. by Reinach 1892a. From *ὅσσοι* to line-end the letters are written in rasura and more tightly packed than elsewhere. II. 18-19: *σκοπᾶς μίσθω / [σιν] ποιήσωνται* : read and suppl. by Hallof (*IG XII 4.1 293*); previous eds. read *σκοπᾶς μισθο / ποιήσωνται*. I. 19: *οἷν ἀπ-* : written in rasura. I. 21: *καὶ τοῖ* : *ΚΑΙ ΙΟΙ* stele, corr. by Kontoleon. I. 28: the underlined letters are only discernible in Kontoleon and Reinach's facss. I. 33: *ὑπηρε[ - - - ]* : not legible in either Kontoleon's or Reinach's facs.; read by Toepffer 1892 on a different facs. (not reproduced). *ὑπηρε[τικῶν πλοίων]* : suppl. by Hiller von Gaertringen (in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1000).

#### Translation:

[ - - - ]

the contractor for the tax *ναύσσου ἔξω* and for that levied under Archebios shall offer sacrifice and pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax of *ναῦσσον*, on bread, on gardens shall offer sacrifice as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax of the *ὀβελία* shall offer sacrifice and pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax on grains shall offer sacrifice and pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax on wine *ἐπὶ θαλάσσαι*, on courtesans, on wood, on barley-groats, on house-rent shall offer sacrifice and pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax on cattle shall offer sacrifice and pitch a tent as well; the contractors for the tax in Calymna on wine from vineyards, on yokes of cattle, on wool shall offer sacrifice and pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax on vineyard-planters and on female slaves shall offer sacrifice

and pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax on the public lookout-place shall offer sacrifice [and] pitch a tent as well; the contractor for the other lookout-place, the one by Nautileon, shall offer sacrifice and pitch a tent as well; the contractor for the tax of the Muses shall offer sacrifice [under] the same conditions and pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractor for the tax of the Aphrodeision shall offer sacrifice under the same conditions and pitch a tent as well; the contractor for the tax of the circle of Earth shall offer sacrifice [and] pitch a tent as well under the same conditions; the contractors for the tax on frankincense-dealers, on pulses, on dried fish shall offer sacrifice [under] the same conditions and pitch a tent; the contractor for the tax on hired labor shall offer sacrifice under the same conditions and pitch a tent as well; the oar-makers shall offer sacrifice [and] pitch a tent, to Poseidon and Cos a sheep worth thirty drachmae and to Rhodos one worth thirty drachmae; anyone who leases out a lookout-place or has rented a private one shall offer sacrifice as well under the same conditions, to Poseidon and Cos a sheep worth thirty drachmae and to Rhodos one worth thirty drachmae as long as the lookout-place subsists; those who deal in fish shall offer sacrifice as well under the same conditions, to Poseidon and Cos a sheep worth thirty drachmae [and] to Rhodos a sheep worth thirty drachmae; the ship-haulers shall offer sacrifice as well under the same conditions, receiving as those do sixty drachmae from the treasurers; the nauarchos shall offer sacrifice as well, to Poseidon a sheep worth thirty drachmae and to Cos a sheep worth thirty drachmae and to Rhodos [a sheep] worth thirty drachmae, and a payment shall be made to him by the treasurers, ninety drachmae; each of the trierarchs, they shall offer sacrifice under the same conditions and pitch a tent, and they shall sacrifice to Poseidon a sheep worth thirty drachmae and to Cos a sheep worth thirty drachmae and to Rhodos a sheep worth thirty drachmae, and these too shall receive ninety drachmae from the treasurers; the καρπολογεῦντες shall offer sacrifice as well, to Poseidon a sheep worth forty drachmae and to Cos a sheep worth forty drachmae and to Rhodos a sheep worth forty drachmae; the crews of the warships shall offer sacrifice as well, to Poseidon and [Cos a sheep] worth thirty drachmae and to Rhodos a sheep [worth] thirty drachmae; the [ - - - ] from the [dispatch-boats] shall offer sacrifice as well [ - - - worth thirty] drachmae [ - - - ]

### Commentary:

The text consists of a long list of sacrificial prescriptions. It is composed of two sections, both heavily formulaic, in which different categories of citizens are instructed to “offer sacrifice and pitch a tent” (on the verb σκανοπαγεῖν, which is only attested in this text and probably refers to the practice of consuming the sacrificial banquet on the spot, see Hallof’s remarks on *IG XII 4.1 293*, l. 1; Vreeken 1953, 25-28). The first section (ll. 1-16) lists sacrificial obligations for tax contractors (on their role, see Migeotte 2014, 92-102). The recipient and size of the sacrifice (unknown) are referred to by the anaphoric κατὰ ταύτά, which refers back to face A of the stele (illegible), where the list must have started. The second section (l. 16-end) contains instructions to a variety of people (part officials of the state, part private citizens) about sacrifices for the cult of Poseidon, Cos and Rhodos; details about the size of each sacrifice are given.

The inscription has been ascribed to the end of the 2nd century BC, for paleographic reasons (Crowther 2004, 25-26, lists several texts by the same stonecutter, one of which can be dated).

In the first part of the inscription, a number of problems arise from single entries in the list of tax contractors. This commentary will only deal with the ones that are necessary in order to understand the text; for a detailed, if sometimes outdated, discussion, the reader should refer to Vreeken’s commentary (Vreeken 1953), as well as Hallof’s notes on *IG XII 4.1 293*. For a discussion of the typologies of tax mentioned in the text, see Migeotte’s remarks (Migeotte 2014, 241-242, 266, 271-272); whenever different taxes are listed together, they were probably contracted to the same individual(s) (*ibid.*, 93). It should be noted that Migeotte understands some of these taxes as examples of direct taxation, contrary to the views of Andreades (1931, 165). Chankowski 2007 provides further references on the typology of taxation in the ancient world.

The meaning of some of the terms denoting taxes is unclear. *Ναῦσσον* (or *ναῦσσος*, ll. 1-2) is only attested in a 6th-century text from Cyzicus (*Nomima* I, no. 32, l. 4), where it also denotes a tax; it has been connected with terms like *ναῦλον*, *ναῦσθλον*, and interpreted as a tax on seafaring or commerce by sea (see Hallof *ad loc.* for references; Vreeken 1953, 28-29, suggested that the tax was to be understood as an ἐλλιμένιον, on which see Chankowski 2007, 313-319). The text mentions two different taxes with this name: an ὥνὰ ναύσσου ἔξω (l. 1; ἔξω is adverbial) and a simple ὥνὰ ναύσσου (l. 2; not to be interpreted as ὥνὰ ναύσσου ἄρτων, as the lack of a comma in the *IG* text suggests, since this would contradict the inscription’s practice of listing taxes paratactically). The ὥνὰ τᾶς ὀβελίας (l. 3) may be either a capitation of one obol per person or a tax on a kind of bread-loaf (Reinach 1891, 366; the use of the ὀβελίας ἄρτος in the cult of Dionysos is attested by Pollux 6, 75); the first option is more plausible, on account of the presence of the article (Vreeken, *De lege quadam sacra Coorum*, 34). The ὥνὰ οἴνου ἐπὶ θαλάσσαι (l. 5) could either refer to the commerce of wine by sea (Reinach, REG, 4, 1891, 367; Sokolowski, *LSCG*, 295) or to the Coan practice of mixing wine with saltwater (Vreeken, *De lege quadam sacra Coorum*, 36-39). The ὥνὰ ἐνοικίω (ll. 5-6) was a tax on rent, but it is unclear what kind of buildings were rented; the fact that it was contracted along with four other taxes suggests that its revenue was

not high (Andreades, *Geschichte der griechischen Staatswirtschaft*, 164, compares it to the Delian *δεκάτη ἐνοικίων*). The *ὠνὰ κύκλου Γᾶς* (l. 14) may refer to a delimited space in the agora, sacred to the Earth (Vreeken, *De lege quadam sacra Coorum*, 76-79); Chankowski (*Les catégories du vocabulaire de la fiscalité*, 313) suggests that this might be a tax on land sales, and that it was named after the space in the agora where it was contracted out.

In the second half of the text, the only obscure word is *καρπολογεῦντες* (l. 29): these were probably state officials, given the context, but their functions are unclear (they may be related to the *καρπολόγοι* mentioned in *IG XII suppl.* 349B, l. 9, from Thasos, and Migeotte, *Souscriptions*, no. 69, l. 37, from Colophon; for further bibliography, see Hallof's commentary ad loc.).

There are remarkably few textual problems. At the end of l. 1, none of the proposed integrations is entirely satisfying, but Hallof's *ἐπ' Ἀ[ρχ] | ἐβίου* may be the only plausible one, given the rarity of the legible sequence. In l. 8, it is preferable to accept Bechtel's (not Dittenberger's) easy correction *οἰνοπέδων*, rather than try to explain the inscribed *οἰκοπέδων* (as Toepffer 1891, 422, and Vreeken 1953, 55-57, choose to do). On the other hand, the *ὠνὰ τοῦ λατρικοῦ* in l. 16 is better understood as a tax on salaried workers (Vreeken 1953, 68-70), rather than corrected in *ιατρικοῦ* (as first suggested by Reinach 1891, 371).

The typology of text to which these sacrificial prescriptions belonged is unclear. While the first editor interpreted it as a list of participants to the cult of Poseidon, Cos and Rhodos (Toepffer 1891, 413), it has been subsequently (von Prott, Ziehen, *LGS II* 340) connected to the typically Coan genre of *διαγραφαί*, i.e., texts stating conditions for the auction of priesthoods (the characteristics of these texts are discussed at length by Parker, Obbink 2000; 2001; Wiemer 2003). *Διαγραφαί* sometimes contained a list of sacrificial prescriptions, which was meant to ensure the cult's income (in the case of sacrifices performed by private citizens) as well as determine the amount of public funds to be assigned to each cult, by way of sacrifices performed by public officials and later reimbursed by the state (Parker, Obbink 2000, 427-429, with examples). This practice of reimbursement is mentioned in the text under consideration here (ll. 22-23, 25-26, 28-29), in reference to ship-haulers (on the role of the *νεωλκοί*, see Wiemer 2003, 120), the nauarchos and the trierarchs.

Wiemer (2003, 121-122), however, argued that the text under consideration here is not in fact a *διαγραφή*, but rather a sacred law regulating the cult of Poseidon, Cos and Rhodos; his argument is based on the unparalleled length and formulaic style of the list of sacrificial prescriptions, as well as on the presence of multiple references to this kind of law in another text, the *διαγραφή* for the cult of Hermes Enagonios (*IG XII* 4.1 298; see e.g. ll. 64-68). In the same article, Wiemer also offered a possible explanation for the high lexical variation in the first part of the text (the verbs used in reference to tax contractors are *ὠνέομαι*, *ἀγοράζω*, *πρίαμαι*, *μισθόω* and *ἔχω*; this lexical variation cannot be rendered in translation): the inscription must have been a compilation of different 'Pflichtenhefte' that defined the obligations of tax contractors (Wiemer 2003, 120). The hypothesis that the text was a compilation also helps explain the puzzling use of *ὁμοίως καὶ οὗτοι* in l. 23, in reference to the reimbursement that shall be paid to ship-haulers (ibid.): rather than refer back to the oar-makers, lessors of lookout-places and fish-dealers that are mentioned immediately before, the expression must have been lifted from a context in which other reimbursements were mentioned.

In conclusion, despite the many problems involved in the interpretation of single items in the list of taxes, this text gives us a picture of the economy of the island of Cos at the end of the 2nd century BC, as well as an interesting testimony on the interplay between *διαγραφαί* and sacred laws.

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