Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese during the First Millennium BC



Editors

Manolis I. Stefanakis,
Georgios Mavroudis
and Fani K. Seroglou

Co-Editor: Maria Achiola

ARCHAEOPRESS

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Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference

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Archaeopress Archaeology



Archaeopress Publishing Ltd
Summertown Pavilion
18-24 Middle Way
Summertown
Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-80327-451-5
ISBN 978-1-80327-452-2 (e-Pdf)

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Cover: Acropolis of Lindos. The temple of Athena, showing the cave of Panagia Spiliotissa below, with four grottoes (photo by A. Louizidis).
The columns of the temple of Apollo, Rhodes, by permission of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese – design: Mihalis Papanousis (*visual arts* | *web design* | *desktop publishing*).



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Editorial Note

Until today, quite a portion of the archaeological community has virtually neglected the archaeological frame of research of religion on a theoretical, as well as a methodological basis. Although in recent years, the importance of archaeological evidence has been recognised for the understanding of the ancient Greek religion, more intensive study of the contribution of archaeological research to the better understanding of the ancient Greek religion has yet to be carried out.

Indeed, building upon a renewed interest in archaeological explorations of ancient religion and sacred ritual, new understandings of the material forms of religion have been constructed through the combination of multiple perspectives and differing methodological approaches. By using a variety of strategies applied to widely divergent regions and time periods, scholars have tried to demonstrate how the archaeological study of ancient religion and ritual is methodologically and theoretically valid.

Contemporary archaeological research on religion could be based on three axes: man's timeless need for the depiction and realisation of the divine, or spirituality in general, for which there is clear evidence in the archaeological archive; the comprehension of the ritual activity which has left its trail in the archaeological horizon, either in ruins, such as temples and altars, or in artefacts, such as offerings; the sites in forms of buildings intended for religious ritual activities or unbuilt, ideal sacred spaces integrated methodologically in the archaeology of landscape.

However, the archaeological understanding of such complex cultural phenomena as religion and ritual, and the formation of 'sacred spaces' in different cultural systems, is not complete and cannot be applied in a general interpretation frame in theoretical constructions. From this point of view, archaeological research of religion should initially become directly associated with the research of a specific culture or area. The local cultural framework is a key factor for archaeological interpretation.

In this context, the understanding of the local archaeological archive is of the utmost importance, as is also archaeological research in areas with apparent similarities of worship practice, before coming to conclusions and producing generalised theoretical interpreted structures.

The Dodecanese constitute such an area, with apparent similarities in religious and cult practices formed during thousands of years. Their strategic geographic position, at a point in the Mediterranean where sea-routes connect the Aegean Sea with the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus, Near East and Egypt, played a decisive role in its historical, cultural and religious evolution during antiquity. The limited geographic and compact ethnographic environment of the islands has preserved historical memories of pre-Hellenic ancient cults, either preserved in their own right, or incorporated into the worship of the classical Greek gods. Significant archaeological evidence leads us to explore also the introduction of cults associated with the cultures of Cyprus, the Near East and Egypt.

With these in mind the Department of Mediterranean Studies of the University of the Aegean and the Postgraduate Programme of Studies 'Archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean from the Prehistoric Era to Late Antiquity: Greece, Egypt, Near East', with the collaboration and support of the Region of South Aegean, organised the international scientific conference *Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese During the First Millennium BC*, on Rhodes, from 18th – 21st October 2018.

A good number of participants were hosted, from all regions of Greece and from twelve other countries: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Turkey.

Through the sessions of *Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese International Conference* new and old data concerning the religious landscape of the Dodecanesian area were sought, constituted by architectural remains, votive offerings, inscriptions, coins, and literary sources.

The planning of the Conference and its outcome would have been next to impossible were it not for the substantial contribution of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, which offered its support, valuable advice, and significant participation in the presentations of the Conference. A number of organisational matters were resolved thanks to the contribution of the Municipality of Rhodes, DERMAE, Melissokomiki Dodecanisou, Mr Michalis Papanousis, and the printer, Mr Nikos Chatzikalimeris, to all of whom I am deeply grateful.

I would also like to extend my warmest thanks to the members of the Scientific and Organising Committee of the Conference, as well as to the undergraduate students of Archaeology of the Department of Mediterranean Studies, who volunteered to help: Ms Despoina Nikolaki, Ms Ioanna Polyzoaki, Ms Dioni Sourasi, Ms Seva Dramountani, Mr Dimitri Katsioula, Ms Anna Mavraki, and Ms Stavroula Spathaki, who assisted throughout the conference. I also thank Mr Takis Angouras and Mr Nikos Lykos of the School of Humanities, The University of the Aegean, for technical support in terms the imaging, sound, and Internet connectivity.

Finally, my special thanks must go to my dear colleagues and friends, Dr Georgios Mavroudis, and Ms Fani Seroglou, originally members of the Organising Committee of the Conference, and to Ms Maria Achiola, for joining me in the painstaking labour of editing this volume. To Ms Georgia Papagrigoriou and Mr Ioulianos Panotopoulos, for their supporting role as assistants to the editors, and to Ms Vicky Chatzipetrou for saving the volume from many language lapses.

The volume contains most of the papers presented at the Conference, touching on various aspects of religion and cult in the ancient Dodecanese. It is our hope that it contributes not only to the evolution of the Dodecanesian archaeology and history, but also, in general, to the theoretical and applied scientific knowledge on ancient religion and cult:

What was the context of religion and worship practice in the Dodecanese during the 1st millennium BC, and *how* does this shift and evolve from the early Iron Age until the Roman era?

Apart from the known gods of the ancient Greek pantheon, are there other lesser-known gods from the rest of the Greek world, or 'borrowed' gods from other cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, who were worshipped?

What new data has occurred over the past years through archaeological research, mainly excavations, in terms of shrines and worship in the Dodecanese?

By combining works of ancient Greek literature with the inscriptions and archaeological evidence from excavations of sacred places, as well as the remains of worshipping practices, shall new and inadequately researched areas of religion and worship in the Dodecanese during ancient antiquity be revealed?

In general, this current work aspires to the renewal of interest in the research of the 'archaeology of religion' and hopes that it will contribute to the development of new archaeological theoretical structures for the study of ancient religion and cult.

Professor Manolis I. Stefanakis
Editor-in-Chief

Religion and cult in the Dodecanese during the 1st Millennium BC: A summary

Fani K. Seroglou

Abstract

Religion constitutes an aspect of one of the most prominent manifestations of culture, the human need to connect with the divine. Therefore, all possible ways of expressing this need can be detected almost everywhere. An area of great importance for the study of Greek religious landscapes is the complex of the Dodecanese islands, located in the south-east fringe of the Aegean Sea, in close proximity to the coast of Asia Minor. This paper aims to present briefly the mythical background and the material culture of the Dodecanesian religious landscape during the 1st millennium BC, which has been moulded through a thousand years of interaction between the human factor and nature.

Key words: Dodecanese, religious landscape, cults, myths, material culture

The close relationship existing between environment and society affects the areas of worship, as elements of the environment, which then constitute a reflection of the socio-political-economic dynamics and, ultimately, expresses a variety of broader processes. The transformation of each place of worship is approached on different and complementary analytical levels that relate both to the material culture of these places and their role in their surroundings. It is therefore no coincidence that among the basic conditions for the worship in sanctuaries one finds the natural environment, their proximity to ancient settlements, as well as the presence of roads connecting them with the settlements.

The Dodecanesian cultural landscape was formed during thousand years of interaction between human activities and the forces of nature. Its strategic geographical location, at a point in the Mediterranean where the sea routes connect the Aegean with Crete, Cyprus, Egypt and the Near East, but also with the Central and Western Mediterranean, played a decisive role in its historical and cultural evolution in prehistoric and, especially, in historical times.[1] These islands of the southeastern Aegean have interacted with different cultures over the centuries and are interconnected by historical events and similar historical experiences.

The arrival of the Dorians from Argos to Rhodes, which according to Homer (*Iliad*, 2, 653–670) was led by Tlepolemos, marks the foundation of the three city-states of the island – Lindos, Ialyssos, and Kamiros. From the 9th century BC, a new historical era of gradual recovery begins, in which the reopening of the well-known, since the Mycenaean era, trade routes to the Near East and Egypt, contribute to it decisively. Rhodes became an important station in the maritime networks and the three city-states of the island, based on both agricultural production and commercial activity, with Lindos as a pioneer in this field, experienced a long period of prosperity, as evidenced by the highly important archaeological remains. This period ended with the Synoecism, the unification of the three city-states into a single state in 408 BC.

According to the myth, after occupying the Peloponnese, the Megarid, and Crete at the end of the Bronze Age, the Dorians, led by the Heracleids, conquered the islands of the southeastern Aegean, Rhodes, Kos, as well as Cnidus and Halicarnassus on the opposite coast of Asia Minor (Strabo 14, 653), where they founded the Dorian Hexapolis (Herodotus 1, 144), an amphictyony with the temple of Apollo Triopius on the Cnidus peninsula as a religious centre. Founding members of the Hexapolis were Lindos, Kamiros, Ialyssos in Rhodes, Kos, Knidos, and Halicarnassus, while the islands of Nisyros, Kalymnos, Symi, Tilos, Halki, Karpathos, and Kasos were probably also part of it. The Dorians would gather in the sanctuary of Apollo, they would offer votive offerings, hold equestrian and athletic competitions and settle their disputes.[2] The existence of the architectural remains of the temple of Apollo Triopius or Apollo Megisteus in Cape Krios in Kastellorizo (Megisti), whose worship was widespread on the island,[3] may indicate

[1] Kanta 2003: 20; Melas 1985: 170, with bibliography; Patton 1996: 160. For relations since the Neolithic era, see Sampson 1987.

[2] For the Dorian Hexapolis, see indicatively Gabrielsen 2000: 181; Papachristodoulou 1994: 57, 60; van Gelder 1900: 64.

[3] Fraser and Bean 1954: 54; van Gelder 1900: 307. For the name of the island, see Zervaki and Papavasileiou 2011: 27. For the epithet

that other areas participated in this religious and political union.

The oldest cult remains hitherto known from historical times on the island of Rhodes date to the end of the 10th/early 9th century BC and come from the deposits of the sanctuaries of Athena and from tombs in Ialyssos and Kamiros. Among them are pots/vases imported from Attica and Cyprus, or their local imitations, as well as a few small objects from the Near East and Egypt, which testify that Rhodes was a strategic station on the trade routes from the very beginning.

The temple of Athena Ialyssia, probably a sanctuary of a pre-Greek deity, has been found on Filerimos Hill, within the acropolis of ancient Ialyssos, since the earliest finds in the area date back to the Bronze Age. In the highly rich deposit of the sanctuary more than 5000 votive offerings, dating from the first half of the 8th – second half of the 4th century BC were found, which derived from mainland Greece, Crete, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria-Palestine, Egypt, as well as the Italian peninsula, thus demonstrating the crucial position of Rhodes on the Mediterranean sea routes.[4]

In Kamiros, to which the western and central part of the island belonged, pottery of the Late Protogeometric period (900–850 BC) has been found in the deposit of the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus in the acropolis of the ancient city, while numerous finds of the following Geometric period (850–680 BC) from the same area testify to the existence of a sanctuary in this place. The building activity continues during the archaic era (680–480 BC), a period of great prosperity for the city of Kamiros, when the first temple of Athena, a cistern, as well as the so-called Temple A, a short distance north of the archaeological site, were erected on the acropolis.[5]

In ancient times southern Rhodes belonged to Lindos. The sanctuary of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus on the acropolis of the ancient city inaugurated the scientific archaeological research on the island.[6] It should be noted that one of the most distinguished scholars of Greek and Roman religious systems, the Swede Martin Nilsson, participated in the first excavations that took place in 1902. The great Lindian sanctuary, which was formed during the archaic times by the tyrant Cleobulus (6th century BC), one of the 'Seven Sages' of antiquity, and the rich finds from the deposit of the sanctuary are irrefutable proof of the importance and significance of the safe mooring offered by Lindos to the ships that sailed in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Further south, in an early archaic temple located at the foot of the hill where the archaic settlement of Vroulia is located,[7] also an excellent sheltered port for the facilitation of sea routes, the find of a Cypriot figurine of a sphinx with a Phoenician inscription suggests the presence of Phoenicians and Cypriots in the area.[8]

At the borders of ancient Kamiros at the highest peak of Mount Atavyros one finds the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios[9] known from ancient sources (Pindar VII [Olympionikos], 159–160; Strabo, 14.2). This important pan-Rhodian sanctuary, which in prehistoric times may have functioned as a peak sanctuary,[10] is associated with the well-known myth of Althaimenes, son of king Katreas and grandson of the legendary King Minos, who found protection in the area as an exile after leaving Crete to avoid killing his father, according to the prophecy he received from an oracle (Diod. V. 59).[11] In the sanctuary important architectural remains, such as the sacred precinct with the large rectangular altar, the portico or sacristy, and two houses or 'thesaurus' dating to classical times (5th century BC) have been unearthed; scattered pits with rich deposits dated earlier than classical times have yielded metal, bronze and lead votive offerings, mainly solid figurines of various types depicting cattle (buffalo, bison, bulls), reptiles (lizards, snakes), insects (grasshoppers) and small animals (tortoises, rodents), but also cut-out figurines of hammered metal sheet in the form of cattle, dating to the 9th and 8th centuries BC, as well as bronze sceptres or votive vessels.[12] The survival of the worship of Zeus during Hellenistic and Roman times on the top of the mountain is confirmed by numerous inscriptions, the bases of marble and bronze statuettes of the iconographic type of Zeus Atabyrios and of marble monumental votive offerings.[13]

One of the most important sanctuaries of the island is the pan-Rhodian sanctuary of Erethimios Apollo at the foot of the modern village of Theologos, which must have received a monumental formation shortly after 400 BC for the first time, and flourished during

Μεγιστεύς, attributed to Apollo and possibly also to Zeus, see Lala 2015: 309; Zervaki and Papavasileiou 2011: 29.

[4] For the sanctuary and the cults, see indicatively Lala 2015: 172–178; Maiuri 1928: 72–79; Martelli 1988; Martelli 1997; Papachristodoulou 1989: 83, 92.

[5] For the sanctuary and the cults, see indicatively Caliò 2001; Higgins 1954: 21–23; Jacopi 1932–1933; Lala 2015: 126–136; Morelli 1959: 3, 80.

[6] For the sanctuary and the cults, see indicatively Blinkenberg 1931; Blinkenberg 1941; Dyggve 1960; Hiller von Gaertringen 1930: 829; Lala 2015: 52–86, with bibliography; Laurenzi 1938; Lippolis 1988–1989.

[7] Kinch 1914.

[8] National Museum of Denmark inv. no. 11328. Blinkenberg 1931: 402, 446; Bourogiannis 2014: 163–164, figs 4–5; Kinch 1914: 11, 16, no. 3, table 14.4; Kourou 2003: 255, fig. 4.

[9] For the worship of Zeus Atabyrios, see Lala 2015: 156–159; Morelli 1959: 140–142.

[10] Triantafyllidis 2017.

[11] Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1973: 131) report that this myth may reflect the memory of a Minoan colony on Rhodes. For Althaimenes, see Morelli 1959: 92–93; van Gelder 1900: 27–31, 352.

[12] Jacopi 1928: 90–91. Triantafyllidis 2017, 558, 560, 563 and fig. 8.

[13] Jacopi 1928: 90.

the Hellenistic era.[14] The epithet Apollo is associated with the disease of cereals *Claviceps purpurea*, thus echoing the rural character of the ancient cult. The Great Erethimia were held in honor of the god, with music and athletic competitions, and the participation of competitors from both the Dodecanese and the Rhodian Peraia.[15]

After the Synoecism (408/407 BC) and the foundation of the city of Rhodes, the 'official cult' of the Rhodian state was that of Helios'.[16] However, the importance of the three significant sanctuaries of the island, Athena Lindia, Athena Kameiras, and Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, was not degraded, as evidenced by the archaeological record and literary sources testifying that in the office of the priest of Helios, each year, one aristocrat was elected successively as a representative of each of the three old cities (Lindos, Kamiros, Ialyssos).[17] It is worth noting the importance of the eponymous officials of the island, whose names are attested both on coins as well as on the stamps of the Rhodian commercial amphorae, bearing witness, in this eloquent way, to the interaction of political power with religion.[18]

In addition to the temple of Apollo Pythius in the city of Rhodes, the sanctuaries worth mentioning are those of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus,[19] of All Gods,[20] of Aphrodite,[21] of Demeter,[22] the Asclepieion,[23] the Dionysion,[24] the Ptolemaion,[25] and the sanctuary of Isis, which was known from ancient sources as one of the earliest Greek sanctuaries of the Egyptian deities with a significant role in the spread of Egyptian worship in Greece, the findings of which certify that there was a parallel worship of Sarapis and Horus.[26]

Important sanctuaries and evidence of cults have also been found in the rest of the Dodecanese.

Excavations on **Kos** have unearthed the Asclepieion, famous since antiquity (Strabo 14.2.19), as the science of medicine was developed there thanks to the school founded by Hippocrates on the island. The earliest use of the site dates to the Mycenaean and Geometric eras, indications of which are also found in the literary testimonies (*Ilias parva*, Fragm. 30. Paus. III, 26.9–10). In the following centuries, the cult of the demon healer Paeon (Homer, *Iliad*, 5, 363–415, 899), and of Apollo, father of Asclepius, existed in the area. Apollo, in fact, bore the epithet Kyparissios, because he was the owner of the sacred grove of cypress trees which surrounded the temenos and was protected by a sacred law.[27] Other gods worshipped in the area were Zeus Ikesios, Zeus Patroos, Zeus Michaneus, Athena Fatria, Apollo Karneios and Moirai,[28] while in the 4th century BC, during the foundation of the city of Kos, the cult of Asclepius was also integrated, becoming one of the most important public cults of the island during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. At that time, the sanctuary was designed and developed as a single complex of buildings to promote the cult of Asclepius and gradually expanded to three terraces. The abundance of architectural elements, inscriptions and other votive offerings testify to the uninterrupted use of the sanctuary, which was functioning continuously until Late Antiquity (5th century AD).[29]

In the city of Kos, on a narrow strip of land on the east side in the Harbour Quarter stood the city's most important sanctuaries, such as the twin sanctuary of Aphrodite (Pontia and Pandemos),[30] the sanctuary of Heracles Kallinikos,[31] and a small temple of the port dedicated to an unknown deity. Furthermore, the temple of the Attalids, with its so-called 'altar of Dionysus',[32]

[14] For the history of the excavations in the sanctuary, as well as the philological sources related to it and the cult of Erethimius Apollo, see the study of Ch. Papachristodoulou 1989: 107–116 and Lala 2015: 179–188. For the project 'Formation and promotion of the sanctuary of Erethimios Apollo at the village Theologos of Rhodes' implemented by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, see *Erethimia* 2015.

[15] Kontorini 1975; Papachristodoulou 1989: 114, 186, no. 30.

[16] Diod., 5.56.4. Pindar, Ode 7.54k; Morelli 1959: 15–20, 94–99. Although it does not apply to Rhodes, there is the direct testimony of a large-scale reorganisation of the cult, and the scholars agree that the Synoecism led to the establishment of Helios (Dor. *Halios*) as a protector deity of the city, cf. Morelli 1959; Papachristodoulou 1992. For the feast of *Haleia*, see Morelli 1959: 17–20, 97–98; Zervoudaki 1978.

[17] Blinkenberg 1941: 61, 96; Dignas 2003: 37; Fraser 1953: 23–24; Papachristodoulou 1989: 57; Papachristodoulou 1999.

[18] The priest of Helios was appointed alternately from the three cities of the island, Ialyssos, Kamiros and Lindos, and was also the eponymous archon appearing on the Rhodian amphora stamps, cf. Habicht 2003. For the priests of Rhodes, see Dignas 2003. For the dating of Rhodian inscriptions, Morricone 1949–1951: Gabrielsen 2000 and, more recently, Badoud 2015. For Rhodian coins, see Stefanakis and Dimitriou 2015. The new coinage with the head of Helios and the rose makes its appearance with the foundation of the city in 408 BC and is used continuously until its occupation by Cassius in 43 BC, see on BMC Caria and Islands, c–cxvii, 223–270, 272, p. XXXIV 6 – XLIII. Ashton 1986; Ashton 2001.

[19] Lala 2015: 227–232, with bibliography; Maiuri 1924–1925: 335.

[20] Zimmer and Bairami 2008; Heilmeyr 1999; Kantzia 1999; Lala 2015: 243–248.

[21] Bairami 2017; Lala 2015: 206–207; Livadiotti and Rocco 1996: 31–33; Livadiotti and Rocco 1999; Maiuri 1924: 238–239.

[22] Giannikouri 1999; Lala 2015: 281–289; Zervoudaki 1988.

[23] Fantaoutsaki 2004; Lala 2015: 249–257; Papachristodoulou 1999.

[24] Konstantinopoulos 1998: 78–79; Lala 2015: 258–263.

[25] Dreliosi-Irakleidou and Filimonos 1998; Filimonos and Kontorini 1989; Lala 2015: 264–268.

[26] Bosnakis 1998; Fantaoutsaki 2011; Lala 2015: 269–278.

[27] IG XII4, 284. Bosnakis 2014: 23, 94 no. 17; Sherwin-White 1978: 212.

[28] Bosnakis 2014: 105; Sherwin-White 1978: 296, 341, n. 437.

[29] For the sanctuary, the cults and the archaeological research, see indicatively Bosnakis 2014; Ehrhardt 2017; Herzog 1903; Herzog and Schatzmann 1932; Livadiotti and Rocco 1996: 163–171, with bibliography; Zarraftis 1912.

[30] Livadiotti and Rocco 1996: 112–116, with bibliography; Paul 2013: 79–95, with bibliography.

[31] De Matteis 2001: 115–119; De Matteis 2004: 103–106, 191–196; Livadiotti and Rocco 1996: 116–119, with bibliography; Malacrino 2003.

[32] Laurenzi 1936–1937: 129–148; Livadiotti and Rocco 1996; 122–125, with bibliography; Stampolidis 1991: 133–147; Stampolidis 1987; Stampolidis 1992: 129–162.

and the sanctuary of Demeter were also found in the south and west parts of the city respectively.[33]

We have remarkable archaeological data from Kardamaina (ancient Halasarna), where the ancient Deme of the Halasarnitae in Kos was found, the second most important deme of the island. The finds from the site demonstrate, in addition to the continuous habitation from the Bronze Age onwards, extensive commercial activity. Epigraphic testimonies preserve the information that in this deme there was a sanctuary of Apollo, a temple of Asclepius, the cult of Herakles, and a cult of Artemis. About a century later, the remains of the famous sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios/Pythaeus (3rd century BC – 4th century AD), under the acropolis of ancient Halasarna, has been brought to light.[34]

The excavations in the area of Limniotissa on **Kalymnos** unearthed the most important religious and political centre of the island in antiquity, the sanctuary of Apollo Dalios.[35]

On **Tilos**, on top of Aghios Stefanos, where the ancient fortified settlement of the island was located,[36] partially covered today by the church of Taxiarches, the architectural remains of the temple of Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias are preserved. The images of these two gods were depicted on the Telian coins.[37] Epigraphic testimonia inform us that Poseidon[38] and Apollo Pythios[39] were worshipped on the island, while at the same time the religious Association of the Pythaists is attested.[40]

On **Halki** there is a temple dedicated to Apollo (Strabo X.V.14–15), which, however, has not been identified with certainty.[41]

On **Nisyros** the sanctuary of Poseidon Argeios has been excavated. According to the legend, the island emerged during the battle of the Giants, when Poseidon hurled part of Kos at Polyvotis (Pausanias 1.2.4; Strabo 10.5.16; Pseudo-Apollodorus 1.38).[42] There are also testimonies to the worship of Apollo,[43] Zeus Meilichius,[44] and Hermes.[45]

On the hill of Kylindra, on **Astypalea**, a unique infant cemetery has been found, one which was used continuously from the Geometric to the Hellenistic era. According to one of the most prevalent views on the interpretation of space, dead infants were offered by their parents to Artemis Lochia and Eileithyia, in the hope of having strong and healthy babies in the future.[46] These two goddesses and their sanctuaries are also witnessed in inscriptions, along with Zeus, Asclepius, and Isis.[47]

In Steno, the strait that separates **Karpathos** from the island of **Saria**, some scholars place the location where, according to epigraphic sources, one of the most important Pankarpathian sanctuaries, the sanctuary of Poseidon Porthmios existed. According to others, this sanctuary is located north of Vrykounta, at Tristomo.[48] The temple of Athena Lindia, testified by inscriptions, is probably located in the acropolis of Pigadia (ancient Potideon or Posideon),[49] where the Dioscuri[50] and the Egyptian gods[51] were also worshipped. An open-air sanctuary of Artemis has probably been located on the rocky slopes in the southeastern part of Karpathos, at Vathypotamos.[52] This sanctuary is very similar to the other open-air sanctuary of Aphrodite or Artemis in Istia, 2 km further north.[53] A place of worship since prehistoric times has also been found in a cave that in more recent times was dedicated to Hagios Minas. Finally, it is worth noting the sanctuary of Apollo in Aperi, from the grove of which cypress wood was donated for the construction of the temple of Athena Polias at Athens.[54]

Kasos has indications for the existence of at least two sanctuaries in antiquity. One is located at Grammata, on the steep northwestern coast of the island, where excerpts from inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC invoking the Samothrace gods and the nymphs, patrons of sailors, are still preserved.[55] The

[33] Herzog 1901: 134–137; Skerlou and Grigoriadou 2014. See also Sherwin-White 1978: 305–312, for Demeter sanctuaries on the island.
[34] For the research in the sanctuary of Apollo in Halasarna, see indicatively Kokkorou-Alevra 2001; Kokkorou-Alevra 2004; Kokkorou-Alevra 2009; Kokkorou-Alevra 2017; Kokkorou-Alevra, Kalopisi-Verti and Panagiotidi-Kesisoglou 2010.
[35] Bosnakis, Dreliosi-Irakleidou and Marketou 2012; Koutellas 1997; Newton 1856: 17, 24–30; Newton 1865: 304–315; Ross 1843: 96–98; Segre 1938: 33–35; Segre 1944–1945: 37, n. 1.
[36] Lala 2015: 322, with bibliography.
[37] Filimonos-Tsopotou 2001: 693–695; Lala 2015: 324, with bibliography. See also Reger 2004: 776, with bibliography.
[38] IG XII 3, 37. Lala 2015: 325.
[39] IG XII 3, 38. Lala 2015: 325.
[40] Lala 2015: 325 with bibliography.
[41] Apart from the sanctuary, a settlement and a port are also witnessed in the same village. Antoniou 1976: 109, 111–125; Bairami 2005: 372; Lala 2015: 303, 304–305.
[42] Chaviaras 1913: 8, AK 6. Lala 2015: 327–328, with bibliography.
[43] Lala 2015: 328, n. 1752–1753.
[44] Lala 2015: 328, n. 1757.
[45] Lala 2015: 329, n. 1760.
[46] Michalaki-Kollia 2005: 353. Michalaki-Kollia 2010. Fantaoutsaki 2021: 41–42, with bibliography.
[47] Michalaki-Kollia 2005: 352.
[48] For the sanctuary and its location, see Lala 2015: 316–317; Moutsopoulos 1973–1975: 259–262. Papachristodoulou 1997: 7; Susini 1963–1964: 31; Zervaki 2005: 378.
[49] Lala 2015: 320; Melas 1991: 28–29; Moutsopoulos 1973–1975: 140.
[50] Kollias 1974; Kollias 1975: 253. See also Lala 2015: 320; Melas 1991: 30, 49, AK 7; Papachristodoulou 1989: 160–161, AK 7.
[51] Segre 1933: 580–581, AK 2. See also Lala 2015: 320; Melas 1991: 31, 49, AK 6.
[52] Melas 1991: 32.
[53] Lala 2015: 320; Melas 1991: 31–32; Moutsopoulos 1973–1975: 162–168; Zervaki 2005: 377.
[54] IG XII 1, 977. SEG 34: 847. Lala 2015: 319; Patsiada 2006.
[55] Giannikouri and Zervaki 2007: 112; Giannikouri and Zervaki 2009:

second sanctuary, dedicated to Apollo Temenites,[56] is known only from epigraphic testimonies, while other inscriptions also refer to the worship of Asclepius,[57] Sarapis, and Isis.[58] In addition, the ancient sanctuaries of the island probably include the cave of Ellinokamara, one of the most important monuments of Kasos. The cave is essentially a rock shelter, with uninterrupted use from prehistoric to early Christian times.[59]

Archaeological finds on **Leros**, and ancient writers, indicate that a sanctuary of Asclepius may be located on the slope of Merovigli hill, while the temple of Artemis Parthenos, who protected the island, should have been located in Partheni.[60]

Patmos has archaeological evidence and literary sources that testify that in the place of the current Monastery of Hagios Ioannis Theologos, there was a temple of Artemis Patnias (Patmias), patron goddess of the island.[61]

A similar continuous use of an area of worship may be observed on **Symi**, where in the area of the current Monastery of the Archangel Michael in Panormitis there may have been a temple of Poseidon, parts of the columns of which have been used in the Christian basilica.[62]

Finally, on the island of **Agathonisi**, indications of the Milesian sanctuary of Didymaios Apollo have been found in Kastraki, the fortified port of ancient Tragaia.[63] According to the excavator, the sanctuary must/could have been located in the area between the port and the entrance of the fortified settlement, the reorganisation of which dates back to the second quarter of the 1st century BC, from the year 84/83 BC onwards.[64]

All this information offered by the archaeological finds and the literary sources constitute just a brief glimpse of our topic, 'Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese'. The Dodecanesian islands, as an important and vital part of the large interaction networks operating in the Aegean and East Mediterranean, provide a wide variety of data to be further investigated. We hope that this conference will generate further studies and research about the religious landscape of this important southeastern part of the Aegean.

20–22; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 71; Lala 2015: 334; Susini 1963–1964: 208, 213–216; Zervaki 2005: 379.

[56] Giannikouri and Zervaki 2009: 15; Susini 1963–1964: 205. See also Lala 2015: 332.

[57] IG XII 1, 1041.

[58] For a possible cult of the Nymphs in the settlement of Panagia, see Giannikouri and Zervaki 2009: 28; Lala 2015: 333, n. 1780.

[59] Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 70 figs 14–15, 71; Lala 2015: 333; Melas 1985: 82; Sakellarakis 1992; Sakellarakis 1993; Susini 1963–1964: 206–208, figs 3–6; Zervaki 2005: 378–379.

[60] Dreliosi-Irakleidou 2005: 335.

[61] Dreliosi-Irakleidou 2005: 332.

[62] Farmakidou 2005: 358; Farmakidou 2011: 90; Lala 2015: 308.

[63] Apollo Didimeus was the main deity of Miletus, on which the ancient Tragaia depended politically, see Triantafyllidis 2010: 36; Triantafyllidis 2015: 100. For the cult of the god, see Dreliosi-Irakleidou and Michailidou 2006: 38; Ehrhardt 1988: 133.

[64] Three fragmentary stamped clay tiles found in a deposit on the fort of Kastraki indicate a dating to the early 1st century BC, see indicatively Triantafyllidis 2010: 36; Triantafyllidis 2014: 578; Triantafyllidis 2015.

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Ancient Greek religion and cult: A theoretical framework

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Abstract

A very brief overview of the research and the different schools for the study of the ancient Greek religion is provided and a proposal on how this study should be related to the archaeological research using the data from different sources.

Key words: Archaeology and ancient Greek religion, mythology and ancient Greek religion, archaeological records and ancient Greek religion

Religion is one of the main components of peoples' lives, contributing to the formation of their culture and history. A pre-requisite for the study of this subject is the investigation of various expressions of religious experience, as religion is an integral part of the social, economic, cultural, and political environment for the people who adopt it.

The study of ancient Greek religion presents difficulties which are mainly due to the considerable period of time which separates us, but also to the lack of relevant texts from ancient Greek writers. We have references to works that dealt with the religious life and perceptions of the Greeks, as well as mythology, but these works have only survived in fragments in the works of other authors. This has created and continues to create difficulties in understanding the religious perceptions of the ancient Greeks.

Until the end of the 19th century, no special attention was given to the study of the various rituals and acts of worship for a better understanding of the religious beliefs of the ancient Greeks. Scholars initially tried to reconstruct ancient Greek religion based on mythology and at the same time wanted to attribute the myths to individual Greek tribes and connect them with their history.[1]

At the end of the 19th century, the first studies of the so-called Cambridge School,[2] the 'School of Myth and Worship Practice', appeared. The characteristic of the followers of this school is the emphasis they put on the acts of worship which they consider as the generative cause of the myths.

In the 20th century, under the influence of Durkheim's sociology[3] and the psychoanalytic interpretation of myths,[4] various schools of thought emerged on the interpretation of myths and rituals[5] and the importance of these rituals for the study of ancient Greek religion.

One of the first attempts at a comprehensive view of the ceremonies associated with ancient Greek religion was that of Martin Nilsson, who combined, for the first time, all the known data up to that time (works of ancient Greek writers, inscriptions, archaeological excavations, linguistic interpretations), in his work *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*[6] in order to present the religious festivals in honour of the gods, giving special emphasis to the festivals of the Athenians.

Emphasis on ceremonies and worship practices as an important part of the study of ancient Greek religion can be found in the monumental work of Farnell, *The cults of the Greek States*,[7] in which the author dedicates a chapter to each god worshipped by the ancient Greeks and also deals with the ceremonies and examines the religious practices of each city-state regarding the deity he studies. Archaeological and sporadic data and representations of the gods in sculpture, pottery, etc. are also used in this study.

An equally holistic approach is the work of Arthur Cook, *Zeus*,[8] where the data from ancient Greek writers is correlated with that of archaeological excavations and depictions of Zeus in art (while combining Zeus with the other deities).

[1] Indicatively, we mention the works of Müller 1820, 1824 and 1825. For the first attempts to study Greek religion refer to the introduction in Burkert 1987.

[2] The contribution of Jane Harrison is very important (Harrison 1890).

[3] For a general understanding of the interpretation of religion as a social phenomenon, see Durkheim 1912.

[4] See, e.g., Freud 1913.

[5] See e.g. Vernant 1974 and Detienne 1981.

[6] Nilsson 1906.

[7] Farnell 1896–1909.

[8] Cook 1914–1940.

In the second half of the 20th century important works appeared, such as those of Louis Gernet,[9] who was the first to study ancient civilisations with a sociological-anthropological approach.[10] His student was Jean-Pierre Vernant,[11] founder of the Paris School of the Study of Ancient Greek Religion. Vernant collaborated with Marcel Detienne[12] on the study of sacrifices[13] in ancient Greece. The Paris School under the influence of Gernet and the construction of Claude Levi-Strauss'[14] social sciences led to a structuralism with formalistic standards combining myths with ceremonies in the city-state.

At the same time, W. Burkert's first works[15] were published, which he considered to be a structural link between myths and rituals and the social organisation of city-states, following Jane Ellen Harrison's[16] views on the social dimension of the ancient Greek religion. Using structuralism, he tried to create a theology of the Greek religion and thus show its social dimension.

The simultaneous 'discovery' of ancient Greek blood sacrifices by Walter Burkert and Jean-Pierre Vernant inaugurated a much broader 'realistic turn' for the study of ancient Greek religion, focusing mainly on religious practices and specifically, rituals. Most importantly, both Burkert and the Vernant circle explained the principles and practices of the ancient Greek religion, by referring to an internally compact cultural system, on the basis of which the Greek archaic and classical city was formed.

These studies led Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood[17] to invent the term 'city religion' to describe the 'integration' of Greek religion in the city as a key unit of social and political life. Greek religion operates on three levels: in the city, in the 'global system of cities' and in a pan-Hellenic dimension. These views contributed decisively to the study of ancient Greek religion.[18]

Apart from the objections that can be made, it should be recognised that these studies gave another impetus to the research on the ancient Greek religion. The scientific world has realised that the study of rituals has much to offer for the complete understanding of the religious beliefs of the ancient Greeks and that for the study of the ancient Greek religion, along with the study of mythology and the analysis of various myths, it is imperative that one explores issues related to the various religious celebrations, the location of the various temples, and the relationship between political power and deities.

The importance of archaeological evidence for the better understanding of ancient Greek religion has been further acknowledged, as proven by the organisation of relevant conferences (such as the 12th CIERGA International Symposium on 'Archaeology and Ancient Greek Religion: New Findings, New Perspectives and its Dissemination information' that took place in Dion in 2009), as well as the establishment of, small, academic/research bodies that systematically include special approaches to mythology and the religion of antiquity in the core of their activities (Center Louis Gernet d'études comparées sur les sociétés anciennes in Paris, Centre international d'étude de la religion grecque antique in Liege.)[19] Although there are several studies on individual issues on the ancient Greek religion, no systematic study has been made on the contribution of archaeological research to a better understanding of the ancient Greek religion.[20]

This systematic study with the contribution of archaeological research to a more complete understanding of the ancient Greek religion should include: 1) a study of temples and shrines, 2) a grouping and analysis of movable finds related to religious practices (especially votive offerings in shrines), 3) a thorough investigation of various aspects of the worship of heroes, 4) burial practices of the dead, and 5) a study of the iconography of the gods and religious ceremonies, in order to mention the most important issues, as a whole and not as separate issues.

Over the centuries, the islands of the Dodecanese have hosted different cultures which bonded to each other through historical events and similar historical experiences. The geographically limited and compact ethnographic environment has preserved the memory of pre-Hellenic ancient cults which were either preserved intact or incorporated into the worship of the famous Olympian gods, in historical times. Significant archaeological evidence also attests the admission of cults associated with the cultures of the Near East and Egypt.

I therefore suggest that religious life be explored in the Dodecanese during the first millennium BC

[9] Gernet and Boulanger 1970.
[10] Gernet 1968.
[11] Vernant 1962; 1974.
[12] His characteristic works are: Detienne 1973; 1981, and for an overview of Greek polytheism, see Detienne 1998.
[13] Detienne and Vernant 1979.
[14] Lévi-Strauss 1958; 1964–1971; 1973; 1983.
[15] Burkert 1977; 1982; 2011.
[16] These are more fully formulated in Harrison 1912.
[17] Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; 1990.
[18] A thorough analysis of the 'Paris School of Interpretation of Myth and Ancient Greek Religion' can be found in: Champagne 2015.

[19] This Centre publishes the scientific journal *Kernos* with its Supplements series, which are dedicated to various aspects of ancient Greek religion with several references to the data of the archaeological research.
[20] We should emphasise the contribution of THESCRA – Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum in the study of the ceremonies of ancient Greek religion and their connection with archaeological finds (sanctuaries and temples, ideas and objects associated with the religious practices of the ancient Greeks).

through the archaeological testimony in combination with literary sources in order to answer the following questions:

1. What was the context of religion and worship practice in the Dodecanese during the 1st millennium BC and *how* does this shift and evolve from the early Iron Age until the Roman era?
2. Apart from the known gods of the ancient Greek pantheon, are there other lesser-known gods in the rest of the Greek world, or 'borrowed' gods from other cultures of the eastern Mediterranean worshipped?
3. What new data has occurred over the past years through archaeological research, and mainly excavations, for the shrines and worship in the Dodecanese?

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Religion and cult in the archaeological context

Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos

Abstract

The archaeology of cult and religion is a vast subject, encompassing material from diverse contexts, periods, and areas. This article discusses archaeological approach to religion and cult, focusing on human need of materialising the Divine. Within the framework of exploring materiality, archaeologists should give greater consideration to the 'agency' of objects. When objects come to the foreground, agency and materiality are vital, as material forms enter into new frameworks, explored usually within the archaeological context. Another significant aspect is the locality of religious phenomena. Local cultural contexts are key factors in archaeological interpretation. In some cases, the local cultural context is interpreted through sacred texts, sometimes through well-known shamanic or ecstatic experiences, sometimes through worship practices, sometimes through our understanding of the specialised use of artefacts, especially for the worship practices of prehistory. Consequently, it is of particular importance the understanding of the local archaeological archive and the archaeological research in areas with obvious similarities of worship practice, before drawing conclusions and producing generalised theoretical interpretive frameworks.

Key words: Archaeological context, archaeological archive, materiality of the divine, agency, sacred space, cultural systems, middle range theory

Introduction

According to Rowan,[1] study of religion and ritual in the archaeological context is usually related to research into the 'world religions' especially those with sacred texts and iconographic framework. A new form of archaeological approach focuses on the understanding of the material forms of religion, through the combination of multiple perspectives and different methodological approaches. Modern archaeological research on religion can be based on three factors. One is the timeless human need for imaging and materialising the Divine. The second relates to ritual activity, which has left its traces in the archaeological archive. The third relates to space and refers to buildings intended for religious ritual activity or uncreated, ideological sacred spaces that are methodologically integrated in landscape archaeology. Archaeological understanding of complex cultural phenomena, such as religion and ritual and the formation of 'sacred sites' in different cultural systems is directly related to the research of a particular culture or region and depends on locality. Using a variety of strategies applied in different regions and time periods, archaeologists can show that archaeological study of religion and ritual is possible, methodologically and theoretically.

Modern archaeological research

Modern archaeological research on religion can be based on three factors. The first is the timeless human need to portray and implement the 'divine', for which there is clear evidence in the archaeological archive. The second is related to ritual activity, which has also left its mark on archaeological evidence. The third is related to space and concerns buildings intended for religious ritual activity or ideal sacred spaces, methodologically integrated into landscape archaeology. The critical evaluation of the relevant literature and the increasing frequency of scientific conferences, the publication of volumes and commentary on the subject in recent archaeological literature indicate a tendency for renewed critical research and re-examination of the question of religion from the perspective of archaeological evidence.[2]

Therefore, it is necessary that archaeologists develop strong archaeological theoretical frameworks, applied to any study of religion. Many elements of everyday life are probably intertwined with religion, in addition to the typically recognised burial framework and the framework of the sacred places. The disposal of human remains, for example, involves some kind of ritual, often a 'passage rite', such as the preparation of the body for burial, a subject for which several publications are available. Burial beliefs and practices, however, do not correspond to the totality of religious practice, nor is the only reason for the existence of religions the human need to deal with death. Also, different places where rituals take place do not preclude further secular activities and vice versa,[3]

[1] Rowan 2012.

[2] See Barrowclough and Malone 2007; Fogelin 2007; Insoll 2004a and b; Kyriakidis 2007; Whitley and Hays-Gilpin 2008.

[3] Kyriakidis 2007: 17.

leaving much space for archaeological research and interpretation.

Review of the archaeological literature

A bibliographic assessment of the archaeologists' view reveals, at least until the end of the 20th century, a relative negligence of the topic of religion.

In his book *The Origins of Human Society*,[4] Bogucki develops the perspective of self-interest as a mediating factor behind prehistory, 'that is history as driven by individuals seeking prosperity and security under conditions of competition and scarcity'.[5] Religion is presented as a subcategory of ideology, while ritual is presented as a distinct category. Social organisation, inequality, elites and power systems are adequately presented, but religion is degraded to a seemingly small and relatively uninteresting ideological element, in archaeological research of 'ritual'.

In the same context Wenke,[6] while acknowledging that we should explore 'the highest level of social, economic and political relations between peoples and social entities',[7] except for one brief examination of the effects of Darwinism on religion, he does not really deal with religion, ideas, or even ideologies, as factors that shape the past. Again, priority is given to technology, to environment, to demographics and economy.

Kevin Greene[8] in *Archeology: An Introduction* does not attempt any analysis of ritual and religion – an obvious gap in the archaeological research framework. In his discussion of archaeological theory, he values gender as a variable of vital importance to identity, but he does not refer to religion. His overall work simply includes some elements,[9] for example, a summary of the discussion surrounding the interpretation of henge-type Neolithic monuments, where he raises the question of the philosophical, anthropological, and sociological approaches that archaeologists employ to investigate 'otherness'. However, he remains reluctant to involve any archaeological research on the Neolithic religion.[10]

A similar case is Clive Gamble's[11] *Archeology: The Basics*. Prefacing his book, of course, Gamble states that he does not make an effort to fully cover all the issues,[12] but he could suggest religion as a key element of research by archaeologists. The scholar expresses the different aspects of the interpretation of the past, but the absence of religion is evident in the context of archaeological research on 'identity'. He believes that identity should be perceived as a 'set of overlapping fields',[13] but religion is still absent, as is the general context, within which identity variables can be defined, along with nationality or gender.

The archaeological research of religion in the context of procedural archaeology is, however, included in D.H. Thomas'[14] *Archaeology*. Thomas incorporates religion into the archaeology of the human mind (cognitive approach). Although the basic premise of the cognitive process has been criticised, the emphasis on the analysis of 'ritual behaviour of the past' as 'an important contribution of archaeology to the study of religion' is not generally accepted, likewise its definition of religion. In this case though at least religion is recognised in the context of archaeological research.

Similarly, Renfrew and Bahn[15] in *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice* fully recognise that religion is accessible within the archaeological archive. The context remains the cognitive archaeological perspective and in this case is shaped mainly from Renfrew's approach to the archaeology of worship and religion,[16] though it has also been criticised.[17] However, once again, religion is present.

At this point we need to note for ethical reasons that critical evaluation of the literature does not focus solely on Gamble, Wenke, Bogucki, or Greene, and it is probably not possible to fully investigate the subject in their introductory texts. However, in this brief review it is self-evident that the archaeological community has almost neglected the archaeological framework for the study of religion, both theoretically and methodologically. Therefore, a dialogue is necessary on the theory and methodology of the archaeology of religion.

In recent years, however, the importance of archaeological evidence for a better understanding of the ancient Greek religion tends to be recognised. The 12th CIERGA International Symposium on 'Archaeology and Ancient Greek Religion: New Findings, New Perspectives and Dissemination of Information', that took place at Dion in 2009, also aimed at this direction.[18] Towards the same theoretical direction, there are publications, such as Keane's, in which it is suggested that the relationship between the materiality of

[4] Bogucki 1999.
[5] Bodley 2001: 447–450.
[6] Wenke 1990.
[7] Wenke 1990: 311.
[8] Greene 2002.
[9] Greene 2002: 255.
[10] Greene 2002: 53–59.
[11] Gamble 2001.
[12] Gamble 2001: xiii.
[13] Gamble 2001: 206.
[14] Thomas 1998.
[15] Renfrew and Bahn 2000.
[16] See particularly Renfrew 2007: 109–122.
[17] Insoll 2004a: 96–97; Kindt 2011: 699.
[18] Quantin *et al.* 2009.

religious activity and the idea of religion *per se* should be renegotiated.[19] Insoll[20] identifies the shift towards the materiality of religious activity,[21] as does Rowan,[22] who discovers a renewed interest in the archaeological investigation of religion, while pointing out that the archaeological study of ancient religion and ritual is methodologically and theoretically valid.[23] Of particular interest in relation to the archaeological investigation of religion is the collective volume *Cult Material: From Archaeological Deposits to Interpretation of Early Greek Religion*, edited by Pakkanen and Bocher,[24] on understanding ritual, worship and religion in the archaeological context.

Research: Theoretical and methodological tools

Based on the above, one could say that the research interest in the archaeology of religion needs to be renewed, as the initial approaches of procedural archaeology did not generally investigate how archaeology could promote the understanding of archaeological evidence in research on religion. The first representatives of procedural archaeology ignored religion as a phenomenon, turning to the ideological framework of Paleopsychology.[25] Processualists demonstrated little research on ancient religion, focusing on cultures, degraded religion's ability to shape society.[26]

Despite the initial omission of religion and ritual, the more comprehensive theoretical perspectives of post-processual archaeology, such as the recognition of the archaeologist's subjective role and the role of agency, have encouraged the formation of new archaeological contexts.[27] The 'humanistic' orientation of post-processualists produced more research on ancient symbolism, ideology, and religion.[28] Recently, the shift in focus has been apparent, and religion, like ritual, is often incorporated into archaeological research.

Issues related to the 'materialisation of spirituality' are fundamental to modern academic research in general.[29] The established study of material culture is not equivalent to the understanding of materiality. Research on 'materiality', starting with empirical analyses of the form of artefacts, materials and construction, focuses on the relationship between social and material, thus forming a new methodological tool. The primary goal here is to explore the cultural relationships behind material objects and the traditional notion that humans are active subjects and artefacts are passive objects.[30]

Material culture is now recognised as fundamental to the research of 'agency' – that is meaningful action. Any understanding of our past, be it social power, ideology or religion, must be based on the 'materiality' of human life and activity. Ethnographically, we cannot observe the systems of kinship, economic relations or religion, that is, theoretical constructions, without their connection with material culture. It is the material culture that creates social relations and allows the production of meaning.[31]

Ritual and religion are not separated, nor is ritual more tangible or explorable than religion. Fogelin[32] describes this dialectical tension between traditional and modern notions of religion and ritual. He notes that, while scholars emphasising the structural elements of religion highlight the symbolic aspects of the ritual, those interested in ritual practice focus on understanding the ritual experiences and actions of the past through the archaeological archive.[33] Archaeologists emphasising in 'action', formulate an approach that stresses human action in ritual. Undoubtedly, the emphasis on ritual performance and practice instead of theoretical structures, combined with the emphasis on active 'meaningful action', is a positive methodological step, commonly referred to as the 'material approach to ritual practice'.[34]

Issues of specific research interest

A. Of particular research interest in this case is the formation of a public dialogue through scientific conferences with an emphasis on the connection of archaeological evidence with broader theoretical structures, a 'middle-range theory' that connects material culture with the broader theory, or theories of religion and ritual. Pointing out the 'materiality' of local beliefs and practices, conclusions are drawn, that are accessible to a larger audience in the scientific community, creating thus an opportunity for open dialogue and criticism.

B. The 'materialisation of the spiritual' focuses on the understanding of religion and ritual practice through material culture. The analysis of ritual artefacts, their correlation with hidden knowledge (archaeology of secrecy), the role of metals in ritual practice, their correlation with religious and political power, indicates the need to understand the importance of technology – local or regional – for religion and ritual practice.

[19] Keane 2008a: 110–127.
[20] Insoll 2011.
[21] Insoll 2011: 1–7.
[22] Rowan 2012.
[23] Rowan 2012: 1–10.
[24] Pakkanen and Bocher 2015.
[25] Fritz 1978: 38.
[26] Insoll 2004a: 46–51.
[27] Hodder 1992: 245.
[28] Preucel and Hodder 1996: 299–412.
[29] Appadurai 1986; Keane 2008a; Kopytoff 1986; Miller 2005.
[30] Gosden 2005: 194.
[31] Keane 2008b: 230.
[32] Fogelin 2007.
[33] Fogelin 2007: 56.
[34] Mitchell 2007: 336.

C. Research on sacred place – built or ideal – is necessary to understand its complexity when dealing with public artistic performances. The structure of the sanctuary was closely linked to the natural world, and the structured sacred environment reflected an effort to ensure the involvement and participation of primordial forces in the formation of ancient civilisations. From this point of view, study and research at the local level becomes important for sacred places, as they are depicted in monumental constructions or ideal sacred places, as depicted on vase paintings or sculptural decorations.

The above-mentioned issues of special, as well as of general interest, properly presented in scientific conferences for the production of public dialogue, offer unquestionably more material, for understanding religion and ritual in a modern academic perspective.

Conclusions

The archaeological understanding of complex cultural phenomena, such as religion and ritual and the formation of 'sacred places' in different cultural systems remains incomplete and cannot be applied as a general interpretive framework in theoretical constructions. From this point of view, archaeological research on religion is directly related to the research of a particular culture or region.

Local cultural contexts are key factors in archaeological interpretation. In some cases, the local cultural context is interpreted through sacred texts, sometimes through well-known shamanic or ecstatic experiences, sometimes through worship practices, sometimes through our understanding of the specialised use of artefacts, especially for the worship practices of prehistory. In this context, of particular importance is the understanding of the local archaeological archive and the archaeological research in areas with obvious similarities of worship practice, before drawing conclusions and producing generalised theoretical interpretive frameworks.

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From Helios to Asklepios: Contrasting and complementary perceptions of divinity

Richard Buxton

Abstract

Helios and Asklepios are contrasting yet complementary figures of worship in Rhodes and Kos, and in Greek cult and myth more generally. Helios is the supreme, all-seeing source of light; Asklepios can be associated with limit and transgression. Yet the power of Helios has its limits too (for example, it is constrained by Zeus), while Asklepios' medical skills are life-enhancing. Within Greek polytheism, no god or hero has all the answers. Rhodes and Kos made different choices about which divinity should be their emblem. Each of their two patron deities embodies a part, but only a part, of what human beings need in order to cope with their mortality.

Key words: Helios, Asklepios, Rhodes, Kos, Pindar, transgression, limit

In this article I shall discuss two contrasting figures of religious worship from what must be, from the political and cultural point of view, the two most significant islands of the Dodecanese in the period under investigation in this volume. The islands are Kos and Rhodes; the figures of worship are Asklepios and Helios. Drawing my evidence first from cult and then from myth, I shall aim to demonstrate that the pattern of contrasts and complementarity between these two divinities can be seen as highlighting characteristics of Greek religious experience which go far beyond the Dodecanese.

Cult

In the second half of the 1st millennium BC, Asklepios and Helios became emblematic of, respectively, Kos and Rhodes; they became, so to speak, the outward-looking faces of these two islands. How did they attain such symbolic prominence?

By the 1st century AD the international prestige of the cult of Asklepios on Kos was taken for granted.[1] Strabo called the Koan Asklepieion 'exceedingly famous'.[2] Pliny the Elder observed that Hippokrates, who brought medicine back 'into the light', was born in Kos, an island which was 'particularly renowned and powerful and dedicated to Asklepios'.[3] Tacitus reported that in AD 53 the Emperor Claudius proposed granting the inhabitants of Kos exemption from all tribute for the future, and allowing them to tenant their island as 'a sanctified place subservient only to its god'.[4] Inscriptions of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries AD refer to the god as the *prokathēgemōn*, 'foremost leader' of the *polis*.[5] How far back can we trace this pre-eminence of the Koan Asklepios? It is unlikely to predate the founding of his sanctuary in a *temenos* in a grove of cypress trees some 4 km southwest of Kos town. However, in the absence of documentary evidence for the founding of this sanctuary, the question of dating remains open. One scenario puts it around 350 BC, in the wake of the synoikism of 366 BC; but some scholars would push the foundation back much earlier, even to the 5th century BC.[6] The question is tied up with the no less difficult problem of the origin of the Koan cult, whether founded from Thessaly or from Epidauros, and with the related question of whether the cult to Asklepios replaced one to Apollo, or whether an earlier healing divinity, perhaps Paian, had preceded both.[7] What is beyond speculation is that the mid 3rd century BC witnessed the climax of the monumentalisation of the Koan sanctuary, culminating in the inauguration of the penteteric Asklepieia festival in 242 BC, complete with procession and musical, gymnastic and equestrian competitions.[8] In due course Asklepios' celebrity would receive further corroboration when, on Koan coins in the 2nd century BC, the combination of the head of Asklepios on the obverse and a coiled snake on the reverse gradually replaces Herakles and the crab as the island's monetary emblem.[9]

[1] Edelstein and Edelstein 1945, vol. i: 401–404.
[2] Strabo 14.2.19.
[3] Pliny *HN* 29.2.4.
[4] Tac. *Ann.* 12.61.
[5] *Inscriptiones Graecae* XII, 4: 268, 352, 1080, 1187; cf. Paul 2013: 172, with n. 35.
[6] Herzog and Schatzmann 1932: 72; cf. Paul 2013: 175; Riethmüller 2005, vol. i: 218–219.
[7] Aston 2004.
[8] Paul 2013: 179.
[9] Coins: Paul 2013: 172; Sherwin-White 1978: 345, 348.

The pre-eminence of Helios in Rhodes is earlier.[10] From the late 5th century BC onwards, Rhodian coins show the god's face on one side and the rose on the other. The decision to make the priesthood of Helios the eponymous magistracy of Rhodes might conceivably go back to the synoikism of 408/7, though Vincent Gabrielsen has argued that a date *c.* 358 BC may be more likely.[11] Then there is Helios' festival, the Halieia,[12] many features of which echo – and thus implicitly claim comparability with – the great festivals of the Greek mainland. Among such features are the prize amphoras (similar to Panathenaic amphoras, but decorated with images of Helios on the body or handle of the vase, the handles being stamped with the names of the priests of Helios),[13] and the victor's crown made from silvery-green leaves (similar to the Olympic wreath, but in this case made from white poplar rather than olive).[14] The choice of Helios as an icon of the newly synoikised polis may be a deliberate break with existing tradition, and also a way of asserting a distance from Athens, which would not have been the case had Athene been chosen as the island's emblem. In any case, the pre-eminence of Helios' worship on Rhodes is clear. As Diodoros puts it, 'the island was considered to be sacred to Helios, and the Rhodians... made it their practice to honour Helios above all the other gods, as the ancestor and founder from whom they were descended.'[15] Of course, that pre-eminence is not exclusive – it does not rule out the worship of Athene, Zeus, or any of the other Olympians or lesser deities and heroes, just as the prominence of Asklepios on Kos did not negate the presence of a varied religious life involving numerous divinities.[16] Stéphanie Paul has reminded us of the symbolic proximity, rather than the symbolic distance, between the worship of Athene, Zeus, and Helios on Rhodes, a proximity symbolised by a 4th-century BC coin showing Athene Promachos on one side and Helios on the other.[17] Nevertheless, on Rhodes Helios did emphatically become *primus inter pares*. After all, what else, if not a statement of that primacy, was the Kolossos? Completed in the early 3rd century BC, its huge size and prominent location (wherever that was) was a powerful assertion of identity between island and god, not only for the Rhodians themselves but also for the countless traders and other visitors who sailed to the island. Of course, all that came to an end with the earthquake 66 years later – a short life for a statue, even if its afterlife continued for centuries in the eyes and minds of all who came to gaze at its ruins. It still lay in pieces in Strabo's time, yet even then was regarded 'by common agreement' as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.[18]

So much for the cultic status of Asklepios and Helios on the two islands. Looking at their cults further afield, we find major differences both in quantity and in the manner of worship. In the Greek world as a whole, cults to Helios are extremely rare. Pausanias reports a sacrifice of horses to the god on a peak of Taygetos,[19] and also mentions altars to him on the Akrocorinth, at Sikyon, and in the Argolid, where the Hermionians also had a temple to the god; the same author makes sporadic references to the worship of Helios in Arkadia; inscriptions widen the field a little, for example to Athens.[20] But these were exceptions. In according such prominence to Helios, the Rhodians were doing something which was, in panhellenic terms, bold and unusual. Contrast this with cults to Asklepios. In the 4th century BC alone, around 200 temples to him were founded.[21] As calculated by Jürgen Riethmüller, there were 159 cult sites of Asklepios on the Greek mainland – one, or more than one, in every decent-sized *polis* – to which must be added numerous images or altars in the sanctuaries of other divinities. In addition, there were 192 certain and 44 possible examples from outside the Greek mainland or in the Greek colonies. Most come from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, though around 30 Asklepieia can be pushed back as early as the 5th century BC or arguably even earlier.[22] The broader religious context of Asklepios on Kos, then – quite opposite to the case of Helios on Rhodes – is that of the appropriation of an already well-established international cult, but a cult which on Kos was given special relevance by the presence of the radically innovative medical school associated with the enigmatic figure of Hippokrates (allegedly descended from both Herakles and Asklepios).[23]

Two more contrasts differentiate the worship of Helios from that of Asklepios. The first concerns animals. Helios is a charioteer, and his chariot is drawn by horses, those embodiments of restless, natural energy. Helios is, of course, far from being the only charioteer in Greek religion and myth: one thinks of Achilles, Pelops, and Hades. What gives the chariot of Helios particular significance is its expression of his perpetual, energetic motion, complemented by the golden cup in which he makes his nightly return journey from west to east (that is one version of what happened; another, as Alain Ballabriga has brilliantly argued, involves a symbolic equivalence between

[10] Paul 2015: 4.
[11] Gabrielsen 2000: 187, with 202, n. 49.
[12] Ringwood Arnold 1936; Zervoudaki 1978.
[13] Habicht 2003; Hoepfner 2003: 30–31, figs 43 and 45.
[14] Hoepfner 2003: 32.
[15] Diod. Sic. 5.56.4, trans. C.H. Oldfather.
[16] Sherwin-White 1978: 290–373.
[17] Ashton 2001: no. 83; Paul 2015: 10.
[18] Strabo 14.2.5.
[19] Paus. 3.20.4.
[20] Paus. 2.4.6; 2.11.1; 2.18.3; 2.31.5; 2.34.10; 8.9.4; 8.31.7; 10.11.5. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XXXIII: 115.12.
[21] King 1998: 100.
[22] Riethmüller 2005, vol. i: 75–77.
[23] Jouanna 1992: 25–26.

East and West in archaic thought, so that Helios rises and sets *in the same place*).[24] Given Helios' role as charioteer, it is appropriate that three different sorts of chariot racing are inscriptionally recorded for the Rhodian Halieia, not to mention the statement of the grammarian Festus that every year a *quadriga* was thrown into the sea for Helios.[25] Asklepios, for his part, is linked with two animals: the snake and the dog. In the association with dogs (sacred dogs at Epidauros, for instance) Fritz Graf has seen a possible hint of a Near Eastern origin for Asklepios, noting the presence of dogs in the worship of the Mesopotamian goddess of healing Gula.[26] But the more persistent image is that of the snake, typically coiled around Asklepios' sacred staff. Asklepios came to Sikyon in the form of a snake, Pausanias tells us, and was accompanied by his sacred snake when he arrived in Athens, probably in 422/1 BC.[27] Asklepios' anguiform migrations are fascinatingly explored in the recent book on the *drakōn* by Daniel Ogden, who also discusses the presence of snakes in Asklepios' shrines, and their involvement in healing by licking and biting.[28] Mediators between above and below ground,[29] guardians of well-being but also bringers of death, snakes embodied for the Greeks an ambiguous power which spanned the worlds of life and death, a boundary which they were apparently able to cross when they regenerated their skin.[30] What better emblem for the miraculous power of the divine physician?

A second contrast between cults of Asklepios and Helios involves another opposition: not life and death, but day and night. The central ritual procedure in Asklepios' sanctuaries was incubation. After preliminary sacrifices and purification, the patient lay on a bed and went to sleep, a process followed by the possibility of discussing his eventual dream next morning with a servant of the temple or dream interpreter.[31] The night dream was the centrepiece of the ritual; it was, as Philostratos put it, the kind of context in which 'the god reveals himself in person to man'.[32] From the 2nd century AD we have the detailed accounts of Asklepios' revelations in dreams to the best known hypochondriac in antiquity, Publius Aelius Aristides.[33] In a real sense Asklepios is a god of the night: night is his time. While we cannot match this data with comparable information about the timing of the worship of Helios in or outside Rhodes, it is difficult to imagine that there was not a contrast, on this point too, with the worship of Asklepios.

[24] Ballabriga 1986: 103–107.
[25] Ringwood Arnold 1936: 435, n. 8. Festus, *De verborum significatu* s.v. '*October equus*'.
[26] Graf 2009: 140. Dog on chryselephantine statue of Asklepios at Epidauros: Paus. 2.27.2; Aston 2004: 28.
[27] Paus. 2.10.3; *Inscriptiones Graecae* II^2 4960, with Garland 1992: 116–135.
[28] Ogden 2013: 310–317.
[29] Aston 2004: 28–29.
[30] Garland 1992: 121.
[31] Riethmüller 2005, vol. i: 385.
[32] Philostr. *VA* 1.7; Riethmüller 2005, vol. i: 390–392.
[33] Petsalis-Diomidis 2010.

Myth

Greek religious cults did not exist in a vacuum. They were situated within a context of narrative, of competing explanations, of intellectual and emotional exploration: in a word, a context of myth. In order to contextualise our data from cult, we now turn to the evidence from this explanatory and exploratory world of narrative.

Whereas most of the evidence about cult comes from the 4th century BC and later, narrative awareness of our two figures of worship goes much further back. Although I do not have the space here to review all the myths relating to Helios and Asklepios, there is one great myth-teller who has highly significant comments to make about each of them, comments which will allow us to investigate not only the contrasts but also the complementarity between the two. This myth-teller is Pindar, who composed his victory odes for panhellenic settings and with a panhellenic audience in mind, even if, in the case of each of his praise-poems, there is usually a strong grounding in local circumstances – both the locality of the victory, and the home of the victor. The two poems I shall discuss are *Olympian* 7, which celebrates a victory at Olympia in 464 BC by the great Rhodian boxer Diagoras, and *Pythian* 3, which may belong a decade earlier, and which, exceptionally for Pindar, does not celebrate a victory by anybody.

Olympian 7 is a paradigmatic Pindaric ode: a glorious celebration of athletic prowess, expressed in rich linguistic imagery, against a vividly evoked mythical background. It begins like this:

> '*As one who takes from a generous hand a cup, bubbling with the dew of the grape, presenting it to his young son-in-law, pledging a toast from home to home, all-gold (panchruson) summit of possessions ... so I, bringing poured nectar of victory... offer it up to the victors at Olympia and Pytho*'.

Gold is everywhere: in a reference to a prophecy by the golden-haired ('*Chrusokomas*') Delphic god Apollo; in the golden snowflakes (*chruseais niphadessi*), also described as a rain of gold (*polun huse chruson*), which once fell on Rhodes; in golden-veiled (*chrusampuka*) Lachesis who ratified an oath sworn by the gods. Appropriate enough, then, that, as a scholiast on the poem reported, a text of *Olympian* 7 was dedicated in gold letters in the temple of Athene at Lindos.[34] As Barbara Kowalzig has argued, whoever made that

[34] Gorgon *FGrH* 515 F 18.

dedication was anticipating, with true political and cultural prescience, a sense of collective Rhodian identity which only achieved political reality years later in the island's synoikism.[35] And presiding over it all is Helios. Helios was, Pindar tells us, absent when the gods divided up the earth among them – being in perpetual motion in his chariot, he was far too busy to attend departmental meetings – but the matter was soon put right. Helios had espied, rising from the ocean floor, a new, fertile land. This land, this island, this 'my land', would indeed be his, and the solemn oath of the other gods confirmed it:

> '*Out of the waters of the sea the island grew, held by the father of piercing rays, ruler of horses that breathe fire*'.

Helios' appropriation of the island is an act which brings stability. It is an act of anchoring, as Rhodes leaves behind for ever that state of impermanence, of floating and mobility, which characterises certain islands – not least Delos – in the Greek mythical imagination.[36]

We shall return to *Olympian* 7 in a moment. But for now, what a beginning it is; what an inauguration; what a celebration; and what a contrast with the atmosphere of *Pythian* 3.

'I would have wished,' Pindar begins that poem, 'that Cheiron were still alive' – Cheiron, the kindly centaur who reared and educated any number of heroes, including Asklepios, teaching him how to heal sickness. Why does Pindar wish that Cheiron were still alive? So that he could help Pindar find a skilled doctor whom he could have taken with him across the sea to Syracuse, thus enabling Pindar to bring two things to his patron Hieron: praise for Hieron's past exploits as owner of chariot teams victorious at the Pythian Games, and healing from his sickness (scholia on *Pythian* 3 identify the illness as kidney stones). But Hieron will have to make do with praise only, rather than healing – because Cheiron *is not* alive. As other myth-tellers report, the centaur had originally been immortal, but had been shot by one of Herakles' poisoned arrows; he begged to be allowed to escape from his agony by dying. But this could only happen if he could find a surrogate, someone to make the transition in the other direction, from mortality to immortality, to keep the balance (as it were) between the two states. According to the mythographer Apollodoros, Cheiron found such a surrogate in the person of Prometheus, who agreed to become immortal having previously been mortal – perhaps the most puzzling statement in the whole of Greek mythology.[37] Fortunately it is not a statement that we have to decode here; all *we* need to register is a more general point, that the demise of Cheiron raises the issue of the significance of the boundary between mortality and immortality.

And so too does the story of Asklepios, which Pindar also tells in *Pythian* 3. Asklepios' mother Koronis had coupled with Apollo, but afterwards, while already pregnant with Apollo's child, had sex with another, a mortal. In fury, Apollo sent his sister Artemis to kill Koronis with her arrows. But Apollo could not bear to see his child die, so he snatched it from its mother's womb as she lay on the already burning funeral pyre and gave it to Cheiron to look after. Under Cheiron's tutelage the child grew up to become a great healer. But one day things changed. Asklepios was bribed with gold to bring a dead man back to life: in *Pythian* 3 gold operates as a negative counterpart to all the golden positives in *Olympian* 7. As punishment, Zeus thunderbolted not only the resurrected man but also Asklepios, a fiery death to parallel the fiery birth which had brought him into the world. Asklepios had infringed the crucial boundary between mortality and immortality, and paid the ultimate price.

The tone of *Pythian* 3 is subdued and measured; the poem is about limitations. As Pindar goes on to say, the happiness of even the greatest heroes is limited; only poetry can confer immortality. Human life is, at best, a mixture of good fortune and bad, achievement and disaster – just look at Asklepios.

The contrast between the shining glory of Helios in *Olympian* 7, and the destruction of Asklepios in *Pythian* 3, could, it seems, hardly be greater. But is the contrast really so complete? We need to look again at *Olympian* 7.

In *Olympian* 7, the mythical past of Rhodes is not single, but triple. Helios' claim of ownership of the newly emerging island is preceded by two other aetiological myths, each of them a foundation story for Rhodes, just like the story of Helios' claim.

The first of the three myths in the order in which Pindar tells it, though the most recent in mythological time, concerns Herakles' son Tlepolemos, who killed his father's uncle Likymnios and had to leave his home in the Argolid, on the urging of Apollo's oracle at Delphi, to found a settlement on Rhodes. This episode casts a shadow over Rhodes' past: nowhere, not even Rhodes, is perfect. As Pindar puts it: 'Disturbances of the mind have driven even the wise man out of his course.'

The second myth in the order in which Pindar tells it takes us one stage further back in Rhodes' mythical history. It occurs at the moment when Athene was released from Zeus' head by Hephaistos' hammer. In the scramble to offer honours to the new arrival, Helios urges his sons to raise an altar to her. They do so but forget to take fire with them when they go to

[35] Kowalzig 2007: 225.
[36] Constantakopoulou 2007: 117.
[37] Apollod. 2.5.4, 11; discussion at Fowler 2013: 21–23.

make sacrifice. As Pindar says, 'an unpredictable cloud of forgetfulness stalks us.' So, a ritual of sacrifice without fire is established on the Rhodian acropolis (Pindar does not tell us which acropolis it is out of the possible three – Lindos, Kamiros, Ialysos – in this pre-synoikism world). Even without fire, the sacrifice was accepted, and Zeus sent a shower of golden snowflakes (or raindrops) to signify his approval.

The third myth in the order in which Pindar tells it, but the earliest in mythological time, is the one about Helios' claiming of the newly emerging island. Why does Pindar mention the earliest event last? The reason is clear: the poem moves from an event with a dark shadow over it (Tlepolemos' murder of Likymnios) via a *semi*-glorious event, but one marred by forgetfulness (the sacrifice to Athene from which fire was omitted) to an event of wondrous celebration, Helios' primordial claiming of the island as his own. This upward poetic trajectory, towards a glorious, Heliocentric celebration, perfectly illustrates the contrast in tone between *Pythian* 3 and *Olympian* 7. In *Olympian* 7 there is, along the way, murder and forgetfulness; but in the end all the negatives are transcended.

How does what Pindar tells us in these two odes correspond to the wider mythological picture relating to Asklepios and Helios?

Asklepios' mythical career focuses almost exclusively on his birth and his death.[38] According to the tradition about his birth which Pindar draws on, Asklepios' mother was Thessalian. But this was not the only version of his genealogy.[39] Variants gave Asklepios a different mother, a woman from Messenia or Lakonia. Arkadians too got in on the act by claiming Arkadian parentage for the great healer.[40] The people of Epidauros, for their part, developed a rival and more positive version compared with that told by Pindar. According to this version, retold by Pausanias, Asklepios' mother Koronis was the daughter of a Thessalian warrior who came to the Peloponnese on a reconnaissance mission. While he was there, Koronis gave birth to a son on Mount Titthion ('Mount Nipple'). Why did it have that name? The unmarried Koronis, pregnant by Apollo, exposed the baby on the mountain, where it was found and suckled by a she-goat. When the goatherd approached, the baby gave off a flash of lightning.[41] This is the Romulus and Remus motif – just the kind of tale which the local guides must have told to patients and visitors to the sanctuary at Epidauros. We do not know the version which guides on Kos repeated, but it must surely have presented the origin of the healer god in a favourable light.

As significant as Asklepios' beginning is his end – which was also, in a sense, a new beginning. Our sources give various identities for the man whom Asklepios rashly raised from the dead, but they all agree that Asklepios' punishment for resurrecting him was to be thunderbolted by Zeus (that he should receive such drastic castigation is no surprise: to reanimate a corpse is a transgressive and wicked act, to be entirely distinguished from the religiously *acceptable* prolongation of life via apotheosis or heroisation).[42] Thunderbolting means death; and death means a grave, whether in Delphi or Sparta or Arkadia or Epidauros, all of which claimed to be the site of Asklepios' burial.[43] Yet how could one account for Asklepios' continuing post-mortem existence as a healer, benign and friendly to humanity?[44] Was his new status that of a god or a hero? At Epidauros, certainly, he was known as 'the god', and in later antiquity he could even be referred to as 'Zeus Asklepios'.[45] That a god could die is a concept at home in the ancient Near East,[46] and on Crete they would even show you the grave of Zeus.[47] But about Asklepios there was a concomitant story, that he was a mortal who underwent apotheosis, perhaps on the model of Herakles, for his good deeds on behalf of humanity: a *hērōs theos*, or one of those described by Cicero as '*ex hominibus deos*'.[48] What is certain from the whole mythical tradition is that Asklepios' career turns on the pivotal boundary between life and death. His birth is a life plucked from the midst of death. His crime involves turning the death of another man into life. His own death constitutes a point of transition to a new, post-mortem power. What more effective symbol could there be of this state of being poised on the boundary between life and death than the story told about *how it came to be* that Asklepios could bring a man back from the dead? According to Apollodoros, Athene gave Asklepios two types of Gorgon's blood. From the veins on the left side of the Gorgon's body, the power to destroy; from the veins on the right side, the power to save, even from death.[49] All Greek heroes who are the object of post-mortem worship call into question the boundary between death and life, and Asklepios is no exception. But also, like *some* Greek heroes, he could himself be thought of as a god – one more example of his ontological ambiguity.

When we turn to the placing of Helios in Greek myth, there is no trace of such ambiguity. His power is

[38] Riethmüller 2005, vol. i: 32–54.
[39] See Aston 2004.
[40] Riethmüller 2005, vol. i: 39–42.
[41] Paus. 2.26.3–5.
[42] I am indebted to Mercedes Aguirre for stressing this distinction to me.
[43] Riethmüller 2005, vol. i: 48–49, though note the caveats of Aston 2004: 31, according to whom claims to be Asklepios' *birthplace* were more common.
[44] Ogden 2013: 316–317.
[45] Graf 2009: 96.
[46] Xella 2001.
[47] Verbruggen 1981: 55–70.
[48] Cic. *DND* 3.39. See testimonies on 'Deification and Divine Nature', in Edelstein and Edelstein 1945, vol. i: nos 232–336.
[49] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3.

undisputed, his death unthinkable. Unlike what we find in many religious traditions elsewhere, the Sun is not primarily celebrated in Greece as a god who brings warmth. Nor, except occasionally, is he revered as one who brings light, in the literal sense (though there are exceptions such as the *Homeric Hymn to Helios*, where he shines on mortals and immortals alike, and his gaze is piercing from his golden helmet).[50] Much more often, though, he is celebrated as a bringer of light in a metaphorical sense – the light of truth and knowledge, since, from his privileged position, he sees (and indeed hears) all. This makes him the god of choice to swear an oath by, since he knows when anyone breaks the terms of the oath. So Agamemnon, in Book 3 of the *Iliad*, invokes Helios to back the oath he swears to respect the outcome of the combat between Menelaos and Paris; in Book 19, it is again Agamemnon who swears, concerning Briseis, 'I never laid a hand on her.'[51] Not only does Helios see everything: he can report what he sees. So in Book 8 of the *Odyssey* he reports to Hephaistos the news of Aphrodite's adultery. And in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, it is to Helios that Demeter turns to ask about her daughter's disappearance: 'Helios, since from the brilliant sky you look down on all earth and sea... tell me the truth...' And Helios does so: 'It was Zeus who gave Persephone to Hades to be his bride.'[52]

That mention of Zeus is worth thinking about. Because, before we get carried away into positing an absolute disjunction between Asklepios, whose mythical persona is constantly hedged about with a sense of limit, and Helios, whose power is total and whose vision is limit*less* – before we do *that*, we have to bring Zeus into the equation. For there are several occasions when, in spite of Helios' cosmic power, he has to defer to the will of Zeus. Once, for example, Zeus persuaded Helios not to rise for three days (or, according to different sources, two or even five days), to enable him to enjoy Alkmene for longer.[53] Then there was the famous occasion when, on Zeus' insistence, Helios reversed his direction of travel: this was when Zeus sent Hermes to Atreus, telling him to persuade Thyestes to agree that Atreus should be king if the Sun rose in the West and set in the East; Thyestes agreed, and Zeus persuaded Helios to put his chariot into reverse gear.[54] Then again there were those oaths that Agamemnon swore. Before swearing by Helios, Agamemnon invoked Zeus first: the priority is clear.

So the general opposition between Asklepios, who in myth is inextricably bound up with a sense of limitation, and Helios, the unlimited cosmic power, is less absolute than it might seem at first sight. And not only that. There are aspects of Helios which bring him closer to Asklepios in a more specific way, aspects which concern both myth and cult.

As regards myth, the clearest case is that of a story which has been indelibly stamped by Ovid for subsequent European literature and art, but which certainly goes back at least as early as Aischylos: the myth of Helios' son Phaethon. Plato gives a brief summary of it in his *Timaios*: 'he harnessed his father's chariot, but was unable to guide it along his father's course, and so burnt up the things on the earth, and was himself destroyed by a thunderbolt.'[55] There is a close analogy between the fates of Phaethon and Asklepios: both overreached themselves, rashly going beyond what was permitted and lawful, and both were thunderbolted as a consequence. Phaethon's father was Helios; Asklepios' father was Apollo. Apollo thus constitutes a link between the two figures of worship whom we are investigating. The link would be even closer if Apollo and the Sun were to be closely associated or even identical, as was regularly assumed by scholars of mythology in the 19th century. In later antiquity the identification of Apollo with the Sun becomes frequent; in Fulgentius, for instance, Phaethon is the son of Apollo.[56] One can trace something similar back as early as the 5th century BC, although Apollo and Helios are normally kept distinct, and in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic times Apollo is a far more complex divinity than any such equation would imply.

When it comes to cult, what we often find is, not an identity between Apollo and Helios, but an association between them. This is an idea which Plato drew on in his *Laws*, where a prospective joint cult of Helios and Apollo is discussed at length.[57] One of the relatively few shrines to Helios in the Greek world was the one he occupied jointly at Athens with Apollo Pythios.[58] Nor is this the only time Helios appears in cultic proximity to Apollo. At Megalopolis, in the precinct of the Megaloi Theoi, there were stelae representing, among other divinities, Apollo and Helios.[59] In Elis, north of Olympia, there were stone images of Helios and Selene near the temple of Apollo Akesios ('the Healer').[60] For the most powerful logic which linked father and son, Apollo and Asklepios, was, it goes without saying, precisely a shared interest in medicine.

Let me draw together the threads of my argument. I started from the similarity in status of Helios and Asklepios as emblems of their respective islands. I went on to suggest that, despite this similar status, there are

[50] *HHHelios* 9–10.
[51] *Il.* 3.277; 19.259.
[52] *HHDem* 62–89.
[53] Refs in Fowler 2013: 266, with n. 21.
[54] Apollod. *Epit.* 2.12.
[55] Pl. *Tim.* 22c; see the introduction to Diggle 1970: 4–32.
[56] Fulg. *Myth.* 1.16; Graf 2009: 152.
[57] Pl. *Laws* 945–947.
[58] Hoepfner 2003: 26.
[59] Paus. 8.31.7.
[60] Paus. 6.24.6.

strong contrasts between them, above all in myth. In myth, indeed, the contrast might almost be regarded as constituting two quite different perceptions of human experience, and of the role of divine power within that experience. On the one hand, power, light, all-seeing supremacy; on the other hand, limitation, defeat, acknowledgement of the ultimate frailty of the human condition, and the inability of the skill of even the greatest ingenuity to remedy that condition. And yet, as I went on to argue, we should not push this contrast too far. The light and the vision of Helios are not infinite – they too have their limitations, in the shape of other divine powers which may constrain them, especially the power of Zeus. Conversely, although the power of a great healer like Asklepios may be limited, the ability to heal is still one of the great triumphs of human ingenuity. To that extent, I suggested, we need to modify the opposition between infinite power and inevitable limitation. I went on to highlight some other links between Asklepios and Helios, especially via the mediating figures of Apollo and another of his sons, Phaethon. Putting all this together, I argued that there is a considerable degree of complementarity and overlap between Asklepios and Helios, to counterbalance the contrasts between them.

I must emphasise that I am *not* seeking to elevate the pairing of Asklepios and Helios into some kind of overarching duality through which to explain Greek religion – an equivalent, perhaps, of the Nietzschean opposition between Apollo and Dionysos, or, to take a more recent example, Jean-Pierre Vernant's structuralist analysis of Hermes and Hestia as divinities opposed at the levels of gender and space.[61] One can look productively (and again with eyes informed by structuralism) at both Asklepios and Helios from a wide range of perspectives different from that which I have adopted. For instance, one can situate Helios in relation to other cosmic phenomena, like Selene, or Nux, or Eos, or Tartaros; and one can position Asklepios either in relation to other divine healers like Amphiaraos, or in relation to hero(in)es such as Herakles or Orpheus or Medea, who, in various ways, call into question the boundary between life and death. My aim has simply been to ask what is at stake in the decision by the people of two neighbouring islands to select Helios and Asklepios as their emblems. My answer is that the choice has in each case its logic and its justification: clearly the cosmic authority of Helios, and Asklepios' gift of healing, conferred prestige on their respective islands, prestige mediated through religious cult. Yet neither divinity – indeed no divinity within the Greek polytheistic system – has all the answers. The power of any one god or hero is always going to be insufficient, since it can express only a part of what is needed by human beings to think with and feel with, as they try to cope with their mortality – which is, I take it, one of the principal functions, perhaps *the* principal function of religion. That partial fulfilment of a need must always be supplemented by what other gods and heroes represent. We need healing as well as light, snakes as well as horses, Kos as well as Rhodes.

[61] Vernant 1965, vol. i: 124–170.

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The formation and evolution of the 'pantheons' of the Rhodian cities after the synoecism

Dimitra-Maria Lala

Abstract

This contribution focuses on the Rhodian pantheons after the synoecism of 408/7 BC, based on the dedicatory inscriptions of the co-priests of the old cities of Lindos, Kamiros and Ialysos, and of the new capital, the city of Rhodes. The analysis of those inscriptions proves that specific criteria have been used for the formation of the pantheon of the new capital of the island, while the pantheons of the old cities (at least of Lindos and Kamiros) were independent of the capital's pantheon. Furthermore, all those pantheons were not static, but evolved in the course of time, since phenomena such as the introduction, the abolition and the unification of certain cults can be detected.

Key words: Rhodes, Lindos, Kamiros, Ialysos, religion, pantheons, cults, inscriptions

Rhodes, the largest island in the southeastern Aegean Sea, played a highly significant role in the political affairs of the Eastern Mediterranean in antiquity, and most particularly during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. A major milestone in the history of the island was the synoecism of 408/407 BC, the unification of its three city-states, Lindos, Kamiros and Ialysos, into a single state, and the founding of the new capital, the city of Rhodes.[1] Nevertheless, this did not signify the abandonment of the old cities,[2] which proceeded to function as semi-autonomous administrative centres in charge of local affairs, among these religious issues; this is proved by the existence of various local officials in the old cities, most of which were priests.[3] Furthermore, as will later be established, the differences among the worshipped gods in the three old cities and the new capital, prove that each city had its own, independent ensemble of worshipped gods, which will henceforth be referred to as 'pantheon'.[4]

The aim of this contribution is a partial reconstruction and analysis of each city's pantheon, based solely on a particular category of inscriptions found at Lindos, Kamiros, and the city of Rhodes: the collective votive offerings on behalf of each year's co-officials. Given that the latter were chiefly comprised of priests, needless to say, they attest to the existence of the corresponding cults, as well as the cult's official recognition by the city. What is, however, of greater importance, is the order of the mentioning of each priest, which helps determine the internal, formal or informal, evaluation system of each city's priests and cults.[5] Moreover, the differentiations appearing in the above inscriptions with the passage of each period provide evidence as to the evolution of these pantheons.

Lindos, and especially the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, has provided us with 25 relevant inscriptions, which span the longest period of time, since they are to be found sporadically from the 3rd century BC (and, more frequently, from the mid 2nd century BC) until 38 BC.[6] In those inscriptions, the number of the co-officials mentioned is seen to gradually increase with the passage of time, while the order in which these officials are recorded, is not always consistent, but does in fact follow certain trends.

[1] Diodorus 13.75.1; Strabo 14.2.10. Indicatively see Gabrielsen 2000, with bibliography.

[2] Even though the 'city' (*ἄστυ* or πόλις) was officially identified with the capital city of the Rhodian state, the same term (πόλις) is also applied to the old cities of the island (Lindos, Kamiros, Ialysos). In fact, the old Rhodian cities are regarded as a characteristic example of 'dependant poleis', that is, cities included in a broader political scheme, within which they enjoyed a large degree of autonomy (see indicatively Reger 1997: 478).

[3] On the annual priesthoods and the Rhodian *cursus honorum*, see Dignas 2003 and Badoud 2015.

[4] For a more detailed analysis of each of the deities and cults of Rhodes mentioned, one can also refer to the pioneering synthetic works by van Gelder (1900) and Morelli (1959).

[5] It must, however, be stressed that these evaluation systems do not necessarily denote a cult's dissemination. Though naturally they do often reflect the actual religious value of a cult for the population, at certain times, various reasons, i.e. political, led to the 'officialisation' of cults which may, in fact, never have been widely disseminated. By contrast, certain other cults must have been widespread, without this however being verifiable by the inscriptions under examination.

[6] *I.Lindos* 70 (296 BC); *I.Lindos* 103 (250 BC); *I.Lindos* 102 (220 BC); *I.Lindos* 166 (184 BC); *I.Lindos* 167 (175 BC); *I.Lindos* 223 (170–160 BC); *I.Lindos* 224 (148 BC); *I.Lindos* 228 (138 BC); *I.Lindos* 229 (137 BC); *I.Lindos* 247 (121 BC); *I.Lindos* 248 (118 BC); *I.Lindos* 270 (110 BC); *I.Lindos* 282 (98 BC); *I.Lindos* 286 (91 BC); *I.Lindos* 293c (86 BC); *I.Lindos* 294 (85 BC); *I.Lindos* 299c (74 BC); *I.Lindos* 308b (65 BC); *I.Lindos* 317 (63 BC); *I.Lindos* 324 (55 BC); *I.Lindos* 343 (49 BC); *I.Lindos* 344 (47 BC); *I.Lindos* 346 (43 BC); *I.Lindos* 347 (42 BC); *I.Lindos* 349 (38 BC). For the dating of these inscriptions, also see Badoud 2015: 227–234.

In all these inscriptions, the first name to be cited was that of the *archon eponymous* of Lindos, the priest of Athena Lindia, the main deity and protector of the city. The title of the priest, however, changed after the early 3rd century BC; he was henceforth usually mentioned as 'priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus'. As yet uncertain are the reasons for the introduction of the cult of Zeus Polieus, a god often associated with synoecisms, as well as its association with the worship of Athena, this being observed not only in Lindos, but also in the rest of the Rhodian cities and on Kos.[7]

The priest of Athena Lindia is followed in the earliest records by the priest of Apollo Pythios and the body of *hierothytai*, presided by the *archierothytes*. These officials unquestionably enjoyed great prestige in the city, further demonstrated by the fact that they are not omitted from any of the relevant inscribed bases.[8]

From the 2nd century BC, evidence is also found concerning other priests, who we can divide into three groups: the first group includes the priests of Artemis Kekoia (a local deity), Dionysos and Sarapis; the second the priests of Poseidon Hippios and Apollo Olios (a god of medicine, worshipped in Lindos in lieu of Asklepios); and the third group, present only in the inscriptions of the 1st century BC, includes the priests of Apollo Karneios, Apollo in Kamyndos and Lindus, and the other heroes.

While all these priests are, on different occasions, omitted or seemingly registered in a different order, in fact, the priests of the first group consistently precede those of the second group and those of the second group precede those of the third, thus clearly suggesting a fluctuating difference in the order of the power of the priests and the importance of the respective cults for the city.

In conclusion, based on the votive offerings of the annual magistrates of Lindos and using as a criterion their ranking in importance for the city, the public cults of Lindos may be summarised as follows:

Athena Lindia (and Zeus Polieus)
Apollo Pythios
Artemis Kekoia Dionysos Sarapis
Poseidon Hippios Apollo Olios
Apollo Karneios Apollo in Kamyndos Lindus and the other heroes

[7] For the cult of Zeus Polieus on Kos, see Paul 2013: 270–273, 368, with bibliography.

[8] Nevertheless, after 184 BC, the *archierothytes* and the *hierothytai* are almost always mentioned after all the city's priests.

An even greater number of inscriptions (48 in total) citing the names of the various co-officials of the city has been found in Kamiros, in this case, however, covering a much shorter period than the Lindian ones, i.e. from the early 3rd century BC until the mid 2nd century BC.[9]

In the Kamirian inscriptions, first cited – and never omitted – is the *archon eponymous* of the city, the *damiourgos*, followed by the *hieropoioi* and the *archieristes* or *exieristes*.

From 277 BC, although mainly from the mid 3rd century BC, in the listing follow the main cults of the city. Nevertheless, before a more detailed analysis, it should be noted that an administrative merger of related cults took place shortly before 219 BC. First, while prior to 219 BC one separate priest is recorded for the cults of Apollo Pythios, of Apollo Karneios and of Apollo Mylantios, henceforth there is the recording of a joint priest of Apollo Pythios and Karneios (and in two cases the priest of Apollo Pythios and Karneios and Mylantios and Digenes). Second, before 219 BC we find the priest of Dionysos and the priest of the Muses, but subsequently one joint priest of Dionysos and the Muses. Possibly something analogous took place concerning the priests of Poseidon: prior to 219 BC only the priest of Poseidon Kyreteios is cited, while afterwards the official title became 'priest of Poseidon Kyreteios and Hippios'. It is probable that the abovementioned alterations formed part of general sociopolitical transformations that were enacted in Kamiros shortly after the earthquake of 227/6 BC.

In the sequence of the recording of the priests, greater 'disorder' is observed than in the case of Lindos: first, and almost invariably, is recorded the priest of Athena Polias (and of Zeus Polieus),[10] then followed – with different variations in the sequence and several omissions – by the priests of Apollo

[9] *Tit. Cam.* 9 (290 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 10 (290–284 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 11 (before 283 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 12 (before 283 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 13 (293–284 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 14 (*c.* 285 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 14bis (*c.* 285 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 15 (277 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 16 (276 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 17 (272 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 18 (71 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 19 (268 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 20 (267 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 21 (266 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 22 (265 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 23 (262 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 24 (259 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 25 (258 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 26 (258 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 27 (257 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 28 (256 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 29 (255 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 30 (253 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 31 (251 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 32 (246 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 33 (245 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 34 (243 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 35 (239 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 36 (235 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 38 (227 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 39 (225 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 39a (before 219 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 40 (219 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 41 (214 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 42 (211 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 43 (208 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 44 (203 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 44a (200 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 45 (194 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 46 (193 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 50b (192–186 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 47 (196–190 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 48 (196–190 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 49 (196–188 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 50 (187 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 51 (176 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 52 (165 BC); *Tit. Cam.* 53 (162 BC). For the dating of these inscriptions, also see Badoud 2015: 220–221.

[10] The title 'priest of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus' is mentioned for the first time in 277 BC (*Tit. Cam.* 15), but in consistency after 253 BC.

(Pythios-Karneios-Mylantios-Digenes), of Dionysos (and the Muses) of Poseidon (Kyreteios-Hippios), of Asklepios, of Aphrodite and of Herakles, whereas in the early 2nd century BC the priests of Apollo Dalios and Althaemenes are added. Moreover, the priest of Sarapis is usually recorded, and almost always last among the priests.[11]

Therefore, the pantheon of Kamiros may be summarised as follows:

Before 219 BC	**After 219 BC**
Athena Polias (and Zeus Polieus)	
Apollo Pythios Apollo Karneios Apollo Mylantios	Apollo Pythios and Karneios (and Mylantios and Digenes)
Dionysos Muses	Dionysos and the Muses
Poseidon Kyreteios	Poseidon Kyreteios and Hippios
Afrodite	
Asklepios	
Herakles	
	Apollo Dalios
	Althaimenes
Sarapis	

In contrast to Lindos and Kamiros, in the case of Ialysos, the lack of votive offerings of the annual co-officials, and, in general, the paucity of evidence clearly connected to its local administration system does not allow the exploration of the city's pantheon. This fact may reinforce the opinion that Ialysos, the city most closely situated to the city of Rhodes, was the most dependent on the capital, this accounting for its gradual decline, up to the Roman period.[12]

Passing now to the capital of the island, only a small number of inscriptions bearing records of the annual co-magistrates has been found so far,[13] according to which the pantheon of the new capital can be summarised as follows:

Helios Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus Poseidon Hippios Apollo Pythios Aphrodite Muses Dionysos Asklepios	
Alexander Ptolemy (I) Ptolemy (III) and Berenice (II)	Herakles Dioscuri Samothracian Gods Sarapis Aristomenes Corybantes Rome Hyetos

More analytically, the first priest mentioned is the priest of Helios (Ἅλιος), the *archon eponymous* of the city. Although the cult of Helios does not appear to have been widespread in the old cities, he was already cited by Pindar as the tutelary god of the island[14] and he harked back to the common mythological past of the three cities, in a period when Rhodes was united and not divided into three city-states. Furthermore, Lindus, Kamirus and Ialysus, the founders of the old cities, were the grandsons of Helios, a factor strongly symbolising the equality of the three old cities within the newly constituted state. It was thus then that Helios was selected and advanced as a pan-Rhodian deity and as the symbol of the unity of the island and of the new political formation.[15]

In the two inscriptions, where the beginning of the catalogue has survived,[16] the following priests are mentioned in the same order: the priests of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, Poseidon Hippios, Apollo Pythios, Afrodite,[17] the Muses, Dionysos and Asklepios. Those must have been the prime deities composing the pantheon of the new capital, selected by virtue of their common acceptance by the totality of the population: as analysed above, most of those 'traditional' deities, were worshipped in Lindos and Kamiros, and probably also in Ialysos, in most likelihood even prior to the synoecism.[18] Therefore, for example, the prominence of the cult of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus in the city of Rhodes, a cult so broadly disseminated on the entire island, is not surprising. What is, however, noteworthy is the fact that, while Apollo Pythios was a deity ranked

[11] The only exception is the inscription *Tit.Cam.* 50 (187 BC).

[12] It is indicative that Ialysos is characterised by Strabo (14.2.12) as a *kome*.

[13] The earliest dated inscription must be Segre 1941: 29–39, which has been dated by Segre shortly after 221 BC and by Badoud (2015: 229) in 190–180 BC. The four following inscriptions are *I.Lindos* 134 (215 BC according to Blinkenberg and 192 or 189 or 186 BC according to Badoud 2015: 119, 212); Maiuri 1925–1926: 320–321, no. 3 (towards the end of the 3rd century BC and definitely before 180 BC); *IG* XII 1, 8 = *SIRIS* 174 (2nd/1st century BC); Segre 1949: 73–77 (probably after 76 BC). For the dating of the latter three inscriptions, also see Badoud 2015: 119, 406–407.

[14] Pindar *O.* 7.54–60. See also Diodorus 5.56.

[15] In the literature, the view is often stated that the choice of the cult of Helios was linked to the reinforcement of the prestige of the Eratides family, the lineage to whom Dorieus, son of Diagoras and leader of the synoecism, belonged (see indicatively Morelli 1959: 95–97; Zervoudaki 1978: 1).

[16] Segre 1941: 29–39; *I.Lindos* 134.

[17] The priest of Afrodite is only mentioned in *I.Lindos* 134.

[18] The main exception is the absence of the cult of Asklepios in Lindos, where, instead, the healing god Apollo Olios was worshipped.

second in importance – at least – in Lindos and Kamiros, within the city of Rhodes preference was given to Poseidon Hippios, a god of the sea, possibly because of the primacy of the maritime and commercial character of the new capital.

Additionally, a large role in the selection of these deities will have been played by their urban character: Rhodes was a city without surrounding countryside and, therefore, there was no sense in adopting rural deities, regardless of their prevalence in the rest of the island. The above will account for the, inter alia, absence of the cult of Apollo as a rural god (i.e. Karneios) in the city.

Passing now to the rest of the priests mentioned in the inscriptions from the city of Rhodes, it seems probable that administrative changes transpired in the capital at the end of the 3rd century or at the beginning of the 2nd century BC.

In the chronologically first inscription,[19] priests of Alexander, Ptolemy (I) and Ptolemy (III) and Berenice (II) are cited, this being undoubtedly connected with the political orientation of the Rhodians towards Ptolemaic Egypt in the second half of the 3rd century BC.

However, according to the later inscriptions, cults of new deities were established, which also display a clear influence from Ptolemaic Egypt, together with impacts of the predominant religious trends of the Hellenistic age: the cult of the Dioscuri, the cult of the Samothracian Gods, and, most notably, the cult of Sarapis, while even the cult of Herakles was perhaps connected to the donation of the superb gymnasium by Ptolemy II to the city of Rhodes.[20] Secondly, it is observed that the cults of Alexander and the Ptolemies are eliminated. However, it is probable that the cults of the Ptolemies were merged with the cult of Sarapis, while the cult of Alexander was likely fused with the cult of Dionysos, as this appears from the conducting of the contests of *Alexandreia and Dionysia* (Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ Διονύσια) in their honour.[21] Furthermore, it seems that the dynamic and constantly changing pantheon of the city of Rhodes continued to incorporate new cults until the 1st century BC, such as the Corybantes, Aristomenes, Hyetos and Rome, the latter also showing the political orientation of the Rhodians in that period. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although amongst themselves the ordering of their recording differed in the catalogues, all these new cults always followed the old, traditional cults of Rhodes.

[19] Segre 1941: 29–39. On the dating, see above, n. 12.
[20] Diodorus 20.100.3–4. On the cult of Herakles and the gymnasia, see Aneziri-Damaskos 2007: 248–251.
[21] Habicht 1970: 26–28; Kontorini 1989: 57; Morelli 1959: 91–92; Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954: 251; Segre 1941: 35.

Summing up, it is hoped that, even during this brief account of the pantheons of the Rhodian cities, the following have been established:

- The pantheon of the new capital seems to have been formulated following very specific criteria, which, although it definitely had a religious base and responded to the traditions and needs of the population, also showed a clear political motivation.
- The pantheons and the respective evaluation systems of Lindos and Kamiros were independent of the pantheon of the city of Rhodes, this proving without a doubt the old cities' religious autonomy.
- The pantheons of the Rhodian cities were not static, but they evolved in the course of time, adjusting in the social and political changes. In this process, several phenomena can be identified, such as the introduction of new cults, the abolition of certain cults, the incorporation of new cults in old, traditional ones, and, finally, the unification of cults.

Acknowledgments

This article constitutes a brief presentation of certain conclusions that resulted from my PhD dissertation (Lala 2015). I would therefore like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Em. G. Kokkorou-Alevra, P. Valavanis, and E. Peppa-Papaioannou for their encouragement and guidance, as well as to the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation for supporting financially my postgraduate studies.

Abbreviations

IG XII 1: Hiller von Gaertringen, Fr. (ed.) 1895. *Inscriptiones Graecae, XII. Inscriptiones insularum maris Aegaei praeter Delum, 1. Inscriptiones Rhodi, Chalces, Carpathi cum Saro, Casi*. Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Berlin.

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Sacrifice, synoikism, and local epigraphic habits: A reconsideration of Rhodian sacrificial inscriptions

Juliane Zachhuber

Abstract

Marking out shared time was of great importance to newly founded or synoikised states in the Greek world. The fact that this often happened on a religious level is clear from examples of newly drafted sacrificial calendars in the wake of synoikisms on Kos and Mykonos. In Rhodes, the establishment of a new eponymous priesthood of Helios indicates a similar concern; yet the evidence for a revision of the synoikised state's sacrificial calendar is much more elusive. Instead of a single document, our epigraphic evidence has provided us with a number of short and unusual inscriptions, which list sacrifices to specific deities on specific dates. Their precise nature and meaning has long been contested, but new evidence from nearby Kos strengthens the theory that these were extracts from a newly drawn-up sacrificial calendar for the Rhodian communities in the wake of the synoikism. In view of this new evidence, I propose a fresh look at these documents and what they can tell us about the religious life, identity, and organisation of post-synoikism Rhodes.

Key words: Sacrificial calendar, epigraphy, local religion, synoecism, Lindos, Kameiros, Rhodes

What do we know about sacrifice and the sacrificial calendar in post-synoikism Rhodes? If we visit the invaluable new website containing the *Corpus of Greek Ritual Norms*,[1] and search for Rhodian sacrificial inscriptions, we are rewarded with a substantial list: some 17 texts appear as excerpts from sacrificial calendars, discovered in the territories of the three old Rhodian cities, Ialysos, Lindos, and Kameiros.

The sheer number of these documents suggests that they formed part of a religious (and epigraphic) development, a codification of sacrifices on the island of Rhodes, following which extracts of the calendar were disseminated. And indeed, *CGRN* describes them as 'a large number of extracts from a sacrificial calendar inscribed or recodified in the late classical or early Hellenistic period and disseminated at various local sanctuaries, presumably as punctual reminders and short regulations in and of themselves.'[2]

What this paper aims to do is discern the contexts in which these texts were inscribed, and show a fresh and more nuanced understanding of how these affect our analysis of the documents themselves. Initially we explore the overarching political developments that might explain this particular activity in the island's epigraphic culture, then move on to suggest that this set of texts highlights regional variations and responses to, rather than mere reflections of, political and religious realities in Hellenistic Rhodes.

The connection between political or social developments and religious changes in the Greek *polis* has been commonly observed in scholarship, most clearly defined in Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's seminal article, 'What is *Polis* Religion?'. In this, she lays out how '[each] significant grouping within the *polis* was articulated and given identity through cult', and consequently that 'the creation of new *polis* subdivisions entailed cultic changes.'[3] Although there has been a backlash against Sourvinou-Inwood's model of '*polis* religion' in more recent years, with scholars pointing out the limitations of her approach,[4] the basic truth of the premise outlined above has not been, and should not be, doubted. Even if there were other arenas in which religion and religious experience took place, civic organisation played a significant role in defining cultic communities and the religious activities that occurred in a Greek *polis*.

Thus it comes as no surprise that an event like a *synoikismos*, in which a new state was created through a unification of two or more civic entities, would result in major cultic changes.[5] The *polis* created by these mechanisms, like any new *polis*, would need to

[1] <http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/> (last accessed 10/05/2021).

[2] E.g. <http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/110/> (last accessed 31/03/19). For earlier publications of the texts in question, see Blinkenberg 1939; Segre 1951. Most were also included in *LSCG* and *LSS*.

[3] Sourvinou-Inwood 2000: 27.

[4] See in particular Kindt 2009; Naiden 2017 raises some much more specific objections.

[5] On this political phenomenon see Reger 2004; on the religious and cultic ramifications of such a process see Parker 2009.

define its communal *hiera*, through the establishment of sanctuaries, of priesthoods, and the organisation of sacrifices. This final aspect is expressed nowhere as clearly as in the sacrificial calendar inscribed on Mykonos in the late 3rd century BC. It begins by stating:

> ἐπ᾽ αρχόντων Κρατίνου, Πολυζήλου, Φιλόφρονος, ὅτε
> συνωικίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, τάδε ἔδοξεν Μυκονίοις ἱερ[ὰ]
> θύειν πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον καὶ ἐπηνορθώθη περὶ τῶν προτέ-
> ρων.[6]

Under the archons Kratinos, Polyzelos, Philophron, when the poleis were synoikicised, it pleased the Mykonians to make the following sacrifices in addition to the old ones and corrections were carried out concerning the old ones.[7]

In explicit terms, the document refers to the specific situation of the island's synoikism –which we, however, know very little else about.[8] This means that it is near impossible to discern which of the sacrifices listed in the text are modified and which are new.[9] Nonetheless, it provides unambiguous evidence for the sort of religious reorganisation we might expect to follow such a political unification. The detailed 4th century BC sacrificial calendar that survives from Kos probably provides another example. This island also underwent a synoikism around 366 BC[10] and the document in question was discovered at the newly founded town.[11] Consequently, it is tempting to attribute it to the years following the synoikism, a similar measure to the one instigated by the Mykonians, listing the sacrifices that were added and revised with the formation of the new state.

These documents demonstrate some of the central religious reorganisation that took place; setting out sacrifices for the new political community was fundamental, as was the emphasis on communal, shared time that sacrificial calendars simultaneously exhibit.[12]

At Rhodes, where the three old cities of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos synoikised in 408 BC, we can detect some similar signs of centralised cultic organisation. On a cultic level, the new state of Rhodes was represented by the worship and iconography of Helios. His image was found on the *polis* coinage, and his priests acted as eponyms for the new state, dating decrees and also stamped onto exported amphorae, their names thus dispersed throughout the Mediterranean.[13] As Nathan Badoud has demonstrated, the 'eponymic' year, marked by each year's new priest of Helios taking office, was the result of a calendar reform of the new *polis* following the synoikism.[14] In this way, shared time between the previously separate cities was formalised through the new priesthood.

In addition, the triennial cycle that determined this same priesthood, with membership rotating between members of the three tribal divisions of the new *polis*, symbolised and reflected the tripartite origins of the Rhodian state.[15]

In these respects, the religious developments following 408 BC can be seen to follow a similar pattern to those sketched above, conforming to the expectations raised by the '*polis* religion' model.

This is the case for Rhodian 'state' cults – most significantly that of Helios – and the organisation and epigraphic recording of annual priesthoods, which certainly appear to attest to a centralised Rhodian habit or reform. However, when we compare Lindian and Kameiran material from the later classical and Hellenistic periods we also notice some striking differences, both from the overarching '*polis* religion', and from each other.

In particular this concerns access to 'traditional' religious offices by the 'Lindians', but also preservation of 'their' ancient cult of Athena (most famously and impressively attested in the so-called 'Lindian Chronicle' of 99 BC),[16] an obsession not detectable in our Kameiran evidence. The difference appears most starkly in the context of the Rhodian incorporation of the Peraia into their citizenship body, with two decrees both dated by Badoud to 304.[17]

In the first, we find the Lindians honouring a long list of men, on the grounds that:

> ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο συνδιαφυλάξαντες Λινδίοις ὅπως
> ταὶ αἱρέσιες γίνωνται ἐν Λίνδωι τῶν ἱερέων κ[αὶ] ἱεροθυτᾶν κα[ὶ]
> ἱεροποιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τασσομέν[ω]ν ἐξ

[6] *LSCG* 96.2–5.
[7] Trans. Reger 2001: 159.
[8] Reger 2001.
[9] See Carbon 2015: 540–542 on an interpretation of this document within a seasonal context.
[10] Diod. Sic. 15.76.2. Moggi 1976: 325–341.
[11] RO 62 and commentary; *IG* XII 4, 274–278. Sherwin-White 1978: 292.
[12] See Schipporeit 2016.
[13] On the priests of Helios and amphora stamps, see in particular Badoud 2015; also, Habicht 2003 and Finkielsztejn 2001.
[14] Badoud 2015: 18.
[15] Badoud 2015; Morricone 1952.
[16] First published: Blinkenberg 1915; republished with an English translation and commentary: Higbie 2003; see also Bresson 2006.
[17] Badoud 2011.

> αὐτῶν Λινδίων καθ' ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις γέγραπται κα[ὶ μ]ὴ μετέ-
> χων τι τῶν ἐν Λίνδωι ἱερῶν οἳ μὴ καὶ πρότερον μετεῖχον...
>
> *They were good men, in that they safeguarded for the Lindians that the elections of the priests, hierothytai, hieropoioi and others carrying out the affairs of the community take place in Lindos and are done from the Lindians themselves, as prescribed by the laws, and that no one participate in the cults in Lindos who did not participate before...* (*IG* XII 1, 761, ll.38–42).

This should be compared to the document of the same year, inscribed at Kameiros and beginning:

> ἔδοξε Καμιρεῦσι· τὰς κτοίνας τὰς Καμιρέων τὰς
> ἐν τᾶι νάσωι καὶ τὰς ἐν τᾶι ἀπείρωι ἀναγράψαι πάσας
> καὶ ἐχθέμειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθαναίας ἐστάλαι
> λιθίναι χωρὶς Χαλκῆς·
>
> *The Kameirans decided: to inscribe all the ktoinai of the Kameirans, those on the island and those on the mainland, and to place it into the sanctuary of Athena on a stone stele, except for Chalkis.* (*Tit.Cam.* 109, ll.1–4).

Both appear to be a direct response to the incorporation of new territories and new citizens into the Rhodian state in this year and demonstrate radically different approaches and concerns. While the Lindians are fighting what appears to be a centralising *polis* policy, the Kameirans are setting out ways to include the new regions in their religious administration.[18]

The perspective gained from these observations, that there might be substantial differences in the ways in which Lindians and Kameirans, whose religious identity was based, to a certain extent, in the cults and sites of the ancient cities, engaged with synoikised Rhodian religion can, I believe, cast a valuable new light on the group of inscriptions that inform us on sacrificial rituals.

As stated above, this is a body of 17–18 (depending on classification) short inscriptions. They date from *c.* 400 BC to the 1st cent BC and stipulate sacrifices on particular dates to specific deities. Their format and content have led to them being defined as extracts from a sacrificial calendar, inscribed on small stelae and set up at the relevant altar or sanctuary, as a reminder. Almost all were found within the territory of either Lindos or Kameiros, with only one from a Ialysian deme, and none from the *asty*, Rhodes-town.

Since (as of yet) no sacrificial *fasti* from Rhodes have been discovered, these inscriptions provide us with highly valuable and much-needed evidence for ritual practice on the island; it is tempting to use them in an attempt to reconstruct the Rhodian sacrificial calendar, and we might postulate that they reflect a centralised policy of disseminating significant, altered, or new sacrificial prescriptions. Given the examples of sacrificial calendars inscribed after the synoikisms at Mykonos and Kos, cited above, we might well speculate that a similar document was drafted at Rhodes in the final years of the 5th or early 4th century. Dissemination of new sacrificial regulations could be a useful tool in creating the new Rhodian worshipping community throughout the island and its habitation and cult sites.[19]

Nevertheless, we should refrain from drawing too direct a link between the group of texts that *do* survive and a conceivable but (at present) unknowable *polis* sacrificial calendar. Even if all these documents are taken together, they provide only a very piecemeal, bitty picture of sacrificial activity, much of it to rather obscure deities.

In fact, the texts in question are too often grouped together; an unhelpful emphasis on their similarities thus risks obscuring the information that their variances and differences can reveal.

The most obvious differences are location and date; these stelae were discovered in locations scattered all over the island, a substantial chunk in the city of Kameiros, some on the Lindian acropolis, others outside these urban centres. There are similar variations in date: although none of the texts can be precisely dated, they cover a chronological scope of at least 300 years. These two basic factors of location and date alone, make it extremely unlikely that we are dealing with a straightforward, top-down policy of a dissemination of sacrificial regulations by the new *polis*; in addition, further variations in content and wording suggest that we should perhaps look at different ways to explain these stelae.

One such approach is to consider regional epigraphic cultures and the extent to which the material from Kameiros and Lindos fits into the general religious developments and variations in these cities' engagement with the *polis*. Breaking the material down by (approximate) date, we find the highest concentration in the 3rd century BC and, within this group, some interesting differences between the Kameiran and the Lindian material.

Seven texts from Kameiros belong to the 3rd century BC, listing sacrifices to Athena Polias, Helios, Phama,

[18] Zachhuber forthcoming.

[19] The recent discovery and publication of an inscription from Kos, which features a deity-specific extract of the Koan sacrificial calendar (listing only the offerings made to Rhea) strengthens this theory: Bosnakis and Hallof 2018: 143–150.

the Muses and Mnemosyne, Apollo Pedageitnyos, Poseidon, and one that is too fragmentary to restore.[20] These stelae are, in fact, all remarkably similar in form and content. In terms of form, all are around 20 cm wide (so rather narrow), have similar depth (*c.* 6–7 cm), and most are, in their current state, around 20 cm high, although the only complete example is 45 cm tall (*CGRN* 130; Poseidon), and includes a socket at the bottom, evidently an indication of how it was intended to be set up.

It is tempting to assume that the other stelae in this group, all broken at the bottom, included a similar feature, giving us a good and very uniform visual indication of what these inscriptions looked like *in situ* and how they were intended to be set up.

In terms of content, these Kameiran texts are also very alike; they all give, without fail, the date of the offering, the deity (aside from *CGRN* 111, which is fragmentary, and where this information is therefore lost), the officiant and the offering; in a few instances, some brief, minimal extra details are provided, such as that the sacrificial meat was to be consumed on the spot.[21]

These seven inscriptions, then, do seem to conform to one type, and are conceivably products of the same policy at Kameiros. If we consider other religious epigraphy from 3rd century BC Kameiros, we find a similar picture of uniformity. In this very same period, the 3rd century BC, we also find the beginnings and highest concentration of the inscribed annual dedications by the *damiourgos* and the *hieropoioi*, increasingly accompanied by other priests, but astonishingly consistent and invariable in their general form.[22]

Exactly why this took place is not entirely clear, but we might postulate a period of codifying and clarifying religious structures at this sub-*polis* level, perhaps with particular vigour following the incorporation of new territories and citizens in the final years of the 4th century BC.

As regards the engagement with the *polis* of Rhodes and its 'synoikised' state religion, the sacrifice by the *damiourgos* to Helios on the first day of Dalios, the beginning of the new civic calendar (as calculated by Badoud) is a particularly clear ritual enactment of the new 'shared time' of Rhodes – symbolised by the date, the deity, and the eponymous official, whose duties would begin on this very same date:

Δαλίου νευμηνίαι
Ἁλίωι βοῦν λευκὸν
ἢ πυρρόν, ἰκάδι βοῦν
λευκὸν ἢ πυρρὸν
δαμιουργὸς θύει.
Πανάμου ἔσω ἰκά-
δος αἴγας τρεῖς
ἱεροποιοὶ θύον[τι]
καὶ ἱερ[..?..]
[..?..]

On the 1st of the month Dalios, to Helios, an ox, white or tawny; the damiourgos sacrifices it; on the 20th, an ox, white or tawny.
Within (i.e. before) the 20th of Panamos, three goats; the hieropoioi sacrifice them; and [...] (*CGRN* 110)

The picture offered by the Lindian texts is rather different. Although the sacrificial calendar texts are broadly similar in style and content, they form a much less neat and uniform category than the Kameiran examples. The most significant differences are that the Lindian sample is far more spread out, chronologically (only three survive from the 3rd century)[23] but also geographically. The majority appear to relate to more 'rural' than 'urban' cults. In fact, all three texts that are dated to the 3rd century BC were discovered in the countryside, outside the urban centres of the island: *CGRN* 115 and 116 come from Gennadi; 117 from Netteia.

In addition, and perhaps in consequence, a striking number of the Lindian texts seem to deal with non-civic or sub-civic groupings. *CGRN* 141, if it should be included among this group at all (see n. 24), mentions as the officiant the 'eldest of the tribesmen' (ο γεραίτατος). *CGRN* 117, specifying a sacrifice to Helios on the 14th of Hyakinthios, appears to relate to a sub-civic group, perhaps calling itself 'Lakoi' (the inscription begins 'Λάκων').[24] All are lacking the rigorous order that we saw in the Kameiran sample, and many do not provide basic information such as the officiant.[25]

Although these differences in the material might just be a coincidence of survival or preservation, they are, in the opinion of the present author, more likely to be indicative of the alternative approach that the Lindians in their tribal division took to religious organisation in this period, in line with what has been discussed above. Rather than advertising their close engagement with the overarching level of *polis* religion and cultic organisation, the Lindian epigraphy appears more

[20] *CGRN* 109 (Athena Polias), 110 (Helios), 112 (Phama), 113 (Muses and Mnemosyne); 114 (Apollo Pedageitnyos); 130 (Poseidon); 111 (unknown deity).
[21] E.g. *CGRN* 130 to Poseidon, *ll.*13–14: '*κρῆ αὐτεῖ/ ἀναλοῦται*'.
[22] *Tit.Cam.* 9–44.
[23] *CGRN* 115 (to Poseidon Phytalmios); 116 (to Dionysus); 117 (to Helios); *CGRN* 141, prescribing a sacrifice to Apollo, but the text includes no date (see the commentary *ad loc.*).
[24] The editors of *CGRN* plausibly suggest this group might be a Rhodian 'patra'; see *CGRN* 117.
[25] It is telling that the one 'rural' example we have from Kameiros (*CGRN* 149, dated 50 BC – AD 50, prescribing a sacrifice to the Damateres) also gives no officiant.

idiosyncratic and ad hoc. Even if both Lindos and Kameiros used a similar method for setting up small and localised *aides de memoire* at altars and sanctuaries, the Lindian sample does not appear centralised, and shows little evidence for cultic emulation of major *polis* cults.

Perhaps the best case in point is the sacrificial prescription for Helios found in Lindian territory (compared with that from Kameiros, cited above):

> Λάκων·
> Ὑακινθίου
> τετράδι ἐπὶ δέ-
> κα Ἁλίωι ἔριφον
> λευκὸν ἢ πυρ-
> ρὸν· αὐ{Σ}τεῖ κα-
> ταχροῦνται·
> θύεται ΠΑΤΡΕ-
> ΩΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ. Vacat
>
> *Of the Lakoi (?). On the 14th of Hyakinthios, to Helios a white or tawny kid; consumed on the spot. It is sacrificed by (unclear).* (*CGRN* 117)

Instead of the strong civic message delivered by the specific date and sacrificer at Kameiros (the newly appointed eponym, sacrificing on the first day of the Rhodian eponymic year), the Lindian text relates to a group calling itself 'Lakoi' who, despite their worship of the Rhodian god *par excellence*, appear to be doing so in a non-civic context. The differences apparent between the Lindian and Kameiran documents highlight the various functions that could be served by similar inscriptions within different strands of the same epigraphic culture.

It is difficult to determine the origin of this epigraphic phenomenon, and the extent to which it might relate to an original drafting of new sacrificial calendars following the synoikism. The evidence of two texts from Lindos dated to *c.* 400 BC[26] suggests that there might have been an early attempt at dissemination using this epigraphic method. Meanwhile, the prominence of *hieropoioi* as officiants in the Kameiran examples, elected annually at a relatively young age, suggests a practical role in informing short-term and presumably inexperienced or untrained officials of their duties. These functions fit in rather well with the idea of a top-down dissemination of sacrificial information.

Yet these inscriptions could also be employed in a different way, to preserve traditional or perhaps familial cults, that were perhaps feared to be at risk of being eroded by the religion of the new *polis*. Following the example of these 'official' calendar inscriptions, we might consider several of the examples from 3rd century BC and later Lindian territory to be indicative of such fears and attempts of preservation. Conversely, as the example of the Lakoi might indicate, they could offer a way for sub-civic groups to align themselves with *polis* cults.

Many questions remain to be answered with regard to this tricky body of evidence. What I have hoped to show is that some fruitful observations can be made if we consider that the variations between the Kameiran and Lindian material might be indicative of greater differences between the policies and religious identities of these two civic divisions, particularly from the 3rd century BC onwards.

Thinking about *why* individual documents were inscribed in the way they were, and an acceptance of different contexts and attitudes throws up new ways of thinking about the significance and function of these texts and demonstrates the importance of considering regional epigraphic habits – at different levels – when using these kinds of sources.

[26] *CGRN* 62 (to Athena Apotropaia) and 63 (to Zeus Amalos).

Abbreviations

In addition to standard abbreviations, for which see Brill's *New Pauly*, note:

CGRN: Carbon, J.-M., S. Peels and V. Pirenne-Delforge 2016. *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (*CGRN*), Liège (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>, last accessed September 2017).

RO: Rhodes, P.J. and R. Osborne (eds) 2003. *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC*. Oxford University Press.

Tit.Cam.: Segre, M. and G. Pugliese Carratelli 1949–1951. Tituli Camirenses, *ASAtene* 27–29: 141–318.

TRI: Badoud, N. 2015. Catalogue des inscriptions. *Le Temps de Rhodes*: 305–453. Munich, C.H. Beck.

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The cult of Enyalios: Epigraphic evidence on military organisation and taxation in Lindos

Vincent Gabrielsen

Abstract

One of the principal pieces of evidence of the cult of the god Enyalios is an inscription carrying a decree of the *polis* of Lindos, discovered in Selimiye (near ancient Tymnos) in Asia Minor. Dated to the period 440 –420 BC, this inscription is the earliest surviving public document from a Rhodian *polis*. Its nearly fully-preserved, 58-line text contains specifications for the payment of a special tax for financing the cult of Enyalios in Lindos. In this paper, I give a new interpretation of some crucial parts of the inscription. This interpretation leads to new insights into (a) the place of the Enyalios cult in Lindian military organisation, (b) the nature of that organisation, and (c) the purpose as well as the consequences of levying a cult-tax on military activity.

Key words: Taxation, god Enyalios, Rhodian cult, military organisation in Lindos, Lindian democracy

Introduction

In 1928, Amadeo Maiuri published an inscription discovered in Selimiye (which he identified as ancient Tymnos) in Turkey, where it had been reused for building the hearth of a house.[1] In 1938, Silvio Accame offered a fuller publication of the inscription, which by then had been transported from its find place to the Museum of Rhodes.[2] Accame believed that the stone, though it was found in Selimiye/Tymnos, actually originated from Lindos on Rhodes. He therefore classified it among the *pierres errantes* (*pietre vaganti*).[3] In 1991, Wolfang Blümel republished Accame's improved Greek text, but, giving due consideration to the inscription's find place, he classified the document as an inscription from the Rhodian Peraia.[4] Subsequently, relatively few scholars have revisited this text, the latest one to offer extensive commentary being Matthew Gonzales in 2008.[5]

The inscription is on a rectangular block of grey stone that consists of two joining fragments, E6979 and E6987 (Figures 1a–c). The text, which is quasi-*stoichedon*, occupies the front face with 47 lines, and then continues on the lateral right face for a further 11 lines. Mainly on palaeographic grounds, Accame dated the text to the period between circa 440 and 420 BC.[6] That it definitely dates from *before* the Rhodian synoicism of 408/7 BC is confirmed by the fact that Lindos, in this document, acts as a *polis* in its own right and possesses pre-synoicism political institutions.

This is a decree passed by the Lindian People (*damos*) and Council (*bola*).[7] Thus, our inscription is one of – perhaps *the* – earliest surviving public document from Rhodes and its three *poleis*. The inscription's importance is further enhanced by the fact that its almost fully preserved text elucidates a number of historical matters. Additionally, it possibly sheds crucial light on the broader issue of the geopolitical position of Lindos (and Rhodes) at a time when the dominant power in the Aegean was the Athenian Empire. The latter topic, however, though eminently important, will not be our concern here. Three other topics are on the foreground: (1) the military organisation of 5th-century BC Lindos; (2) the city's introduction of a tax to finance the cult of the god Enyalios, and (3) the political institutions of pre-synoicism Lindos. The Greek text used here is that of Accame; it is reprinted with a few critical notes in Appendix 1. I begin with summarising the contents of the decree.

The Lindians resolved that all those who go on military campaign shall pay 1/60th of their pay (*misthos*) towards the cult of the god Enyalios. Accordingly, the greatest part of the decree lays down the procedure to be followed regarding:

(a) the payment of the tax by those liable to tax-collectors;
(b) the handing of the money by the tax-collectors over to the priest of the cult of Enyalios;

[1] Maiuri 1921–1922: 483, no. 37 and Maiuri 1928: 122; *SEG* 4.171.
[2] Accame 1938: 211–229; cf. J. and L. Robert, BE (1939) no. 377 and (1946–1947), no. 159.
[3] Accame 1938: 219. On such stones, see Robert 1966.
[4] Blümel 1991: no. 251.
[5] Gonzales 2008 (with a different numeration of the lines of the text), cf. *SEG* 58.812. Previous commentaries: Launey 1950/1987, II: 930; Méndez Dosuna 2005; Morelli 1959: 43–44, 132–133; Pritchett 1979: 325–326; Sokolowski 1968: no. 85.
[6] Accame 1938: 222.
[7] After the synoicism the *bola* was replaced by the *mastroi*: *I.Lindos* II, nos 15–16 and App. to no. 16, with Blinkenberg's commentary cols. 209–211; van Gelder 1900: 236–237.



Figure 1a. **E6979** (upper front face). Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Rhodes.



Figure 1b. **E6987** (lower front face). Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Rhodes.



Figure 1c. **E6979** (upper back face). Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Rhodes.

(c) the surrender of a year's collection by the current priest of Enyalios to his successor; and
(d) the responsibility of the Council and the *epistatai* to supervise (line 16: *ἀ]ποφαινέτω*) and keep a record of (line 19: *γρα[φ]όντω*) the incoming sums.

Additional instructions are given about two other matters. First, in the month of Artamitios the *prytaneis* shall sacrifice to Enyalios a boar, a dog, and a kid.[8] The Council shall dispatch the sacrificial procession (we are told neither wherefrom nor whereto), while a contingent of hoplites, their number to be decided by the Council, are to escort the sacrificial victims (*ta hiara*: lines 23–35). Second, an *oikos* (a sanctuary or shrine)[9] for Enyalios is to be constructed.[10] Finally, it is stipulated that the decree shall be inscribed on a stone stele and placed beside the altar of Enyalios. Even though one may well envisage this altar as being situated in the town of Lindos (i.e. the urban centre of the *polis* of Lindos), its precise location need not, as Gonzales surmises,[11] have been somewhere on the slopes of the Lindian acropolis.

The only other document with a similar content known to the present author is an Athenian decree, dated approximately to the same period as our Lindian decree, which establishes the liability of hoplites, cavalrymen and archers to pay a tax with which to finance the cult of Apollo (possibly Apollo Lykeios).[12]

Various views have been expressed on the questions of *who was liable* to this cult tax and *how the sums were collected and then reached* their final destination, the priest of Enyalios. As the remainder of this paper will demonstrate, however, these views are founded on some untenable interpretations. To fully appreciate this unique piece of evidence on the military and fiscal

[8] Although Artamitios is also found in the calendar of post-synoicism Rhodes, it is not certain that the 5th-century Lindian Artamitios stood in the same sequence as its pan-Rhodian homonym. On the latter, see Börker 1978: 218. Cf. Badoud 2015: 19.

[9] For *oikos* in the sense sanctuary/shrine, see Barton and Horsley 1981: 15–16.

[10] Lines 35–39: [ο|ἶ]κον δὲ ποιῆσαι τῶι [Ἐ|ν]υαλίωι ἐπ[εί] κα [τ]ὸ ἀρ[γ|ύ]ριον ἰδ̣ί̣α[ι Λιν]δοῖ ἦι συ|νλελέχθαι τὰν β[ω]λάν. Since a crucial part of the text in line 38 is missing, it is not possible to say how the construction of this *oikos* was to be financed. Accame (1938: 218) translates: '(...) che il consiglio abbia raccolto privatamente in Lindo il denaro', i.e. to be financed through a separate voluntary *epidosis* made by the Lindians ('privatamente in Lindo', see also ibid. Accame 1938: 222, 228). But in Gonzales (2008: 122), 'in Lindos', while present in the Greek text, is absent from the translation: 'Build an *oikos* for Enyalios, whenever it is possible for the Boule to collect the money privately'. See Appendix 1, commentary on line 38.

[11] Gonzales 2008: 131.

[12] *IG* I^3 138 (from before 434 BC). See Schlaifer 1940. See also Jameson 2014: 41–61 (identification of the cult as that of Apollo Lykeios).

organisation of 5th-century BC Lindos, a fresh analysis of the text needs to be undertaken. Before doing that, a brief outline of our current knowledge about the god Enyalios seems convenient.

The god Enyalios

Full historical treatment of the cult of Enyalios (and that of Ares) is competently given in Matthew Gonzales' doctoral dissertation.[13] Therefore, only a few of the salient points established by Gonzales' work shall be mentioned here. To begin with, Enyalios is attested as a god of war, separate from Ares, already in the Linear B Tablets. In Homer, Enyalios is both another name for Ares and the name of an independent god.[14] But in the world of the Greek *poleis*, Enyalios has his own cult and festivals, and he is frequently associated with the fearsome war-goddess Enyo.[15] The cult's centrality in the religious life of a Classical *polis* is exemplified by evidence from Athens. During their annual festival of Enyalios, the Athenians commemorated their capture of Salamis and the foundation of the god's sanctuary on that island, while Enyalios was one of the central deities in the Athenian ephebic oath.[16]

A peculiarity which Enyalios shares with some other gods is that in some instances his statue is bound in fetters or chains. Pausanias (3.15.7) says that this was also the case with the god's statue in the Spartan district of Pitane, and explains this by saying that the Lacedaemonians think that *that* way they make sure that Enyalios will never run away from them. Some scholars doubt Pausanias' explanation and replace it with their own, e.g. cities wanted to protect themselves against the god's aggressiveness and savage power.[17] Yet consideration of Enyalios' divine qualities and function in war (to be mentioned presently) strongly suggest that it would indeed have been in the interest of a city to ensure that the god did not abandon it. Besides, Pausanias' explanation makes good sense when seen against the background of the fearsome consequences to follow from a besieged city's or an army's exposure to an *epitheiasmos*, the ritual through which an attacking enemy made that city's or army's protective gods abandon it.[18] We have no evidence that the Lindians bound their Enyalios. But their decision to build an *oikos* especially for him may be seen as another way of their making sure that the god stayed with them permanently.

Why was it so important for Lindos or any other city to have Enyalios on its side? As shown by Gonzales, an answer is suggested by passages in Xenophon's works that describe the prominence of the god in the battlefield.[19] Right after the *paian* was sung, and immediately before their final, deadly closing with the enemy, the charging soldiers invoked the god with a haunting ululation – probably something like el-el-el-el-el (*ἐλελίζω*) or al-al-al-al-al (*ἀλαλάζω, ἀλαλαγμός*) – which no doubt helped inspire them with the courage, rage, and physical strength they needed to meet their enemies head-on.[20] In short, Enyalios was the inspirer of martial fury.

Finally, it should be stressed that Enyalios was not only the War Cry god of land soldiers, but of naval crews as well. In a 2nd-century BC dedication put up on Delos by the crews of Rhodian warships, Enyalios stands alongside his martial associates, Ares and Enyo.[21] We can now return to our main questions.

Who was liable to the tax for Enyalios?

All agree that the cult tax was to be paid by those active on military campaign. There is, however, disagreement about how we should understand the text's division of that group into those campaigning 'publicly' (*δαμοσίαι*) and those campaigning 'privately' (*ἰδίαι*). Some scholars take *δαμοσίαι* to refer to Lindians participating in campaigns launched by the *polis* of Lindos, and *ἰδίαι* to Lindians who hired themselves as mercenaries abroad.[22] Others, in contrast, argue that the inscription divides campaigning Lindians into those who received public pay and those who did not receive such pay. This latter view exists in two versions, both of which rely heavily on *λωώντων* (line 13), a word correctly translated 'volunteers':[23] for Pritchett *ἰδίαι* refers to self-paid volunteers;[24] for Gonzales, in contrast, it refers to the circumstance that certain wealthy Lindian citizens, uniting the principles of a voluntary contribution (*epidosis*) with those of a liturgy, undertook to pay the wages of Lindian soldiers on campaign from their own

[13] Gonzales 2004.
[14] Gonzales 2004: 4–6, 9, 129, 250–252; Parker 2017: 29, n. 79.
[15] Gonzales 2004: 32, 125–253. See also Burkert 1985: 171.
[16] Gonzales 2004: 33, 210–221. Ephebic oath: Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* no. 88, line 17.
[17] Steiner (2001: 160–61) believes that Pausanias' report is a later-date misconstruction of the original impetus behind Enyalios' binding, the original impetus being, in Steiner's view, the one surmised by Faraone (1991: 166–172, and 2002: 319–343) with reference to the ritual binding of Ares: to control directly the potentially dangerous activities of powerful deities of an arbitrary and malicious disposition. But see the objections and different view of Gonzales (2004: 38–44, esp. 38–39): 'the binding of Ares in myth and cult, far from reflecting the desire of the ancients to protect themselves from a demonic, bloodthirsty god, was probably meant to insure that the god and his powers remained tied to the city and its land.'
[18] Thuc. 2.74–75; cf. Polinskaya 2012; Pritchett 1979: 322–323.
[19] Xen. *Hell*. 2.4.16; Xen. *Anab*. 1.8.17–18; 5.2.14. Gonzales 2004: 53.
[20] Gonzales 2004: 55.
[21] *IG* XII.5 913. Singing the *paian* in naval engagements as the start of battle: e.g. Thuc. 50.3.5.
[22] Accame 1938: 223; Gomme *et al.* 1981: 91; Launey 1950/1987, II: 930; Sokolowski 1968: 148.
[23] For the reading of the participle *λωώντων* and its meaning ('volunteers'), see Accame 1938: 215, cf. *SEG* 58.812, *contra* Maiuri 1921–1922: 488: *τῶ Ἀπόλλω[νος]*, cf. *SEG* 4.171; Sokolowski 1968: no. 85: *ἀπὸ λαῶν*. See Appendix 1, commentary on line 13.
[24] Pritchett 1979: 325–326, and Pritchett 1991: 168, n. 228.

means.[25] Each of these views, however, founders on a number of objections.

First, there is nothing in the decree to support the common assumption that its provisions apply only to Lindian citizens and to mercenaries hired *by* Lindos. The principal criterion defining the group of those liable is a territorial one, expressed with the phrase 'from Lindos' (*ἐκ Λίνδο*, line 6). Accordingly, while in practice many, or even most, tax-payers may have been Lindians, the decree ordains that the tax had to be paid by *all those who used the Lindian territory as the starting point of a military campaign*, Lindians as well as non-Lindians. This circumstance alone invalidates the view that *στρατεύωνται ἰδίαι* refers particularly to mercenaries. Mercenaries were definitely included among those liable, yet the inscription does not define the group of mercenaries in any specific way: they would have been Lindians and non-Lindians; foreign soldiers hired by the *polis* of Lindos and soldiers (of Lindian or other ethnic origin) hired by someone else. The feature that all these subgroups share in common, and indeed the prime determinant of their eligibility to the tax, is that they started out from the *polis* of Lindos.[26]

A Rhodian decree from the 3rd century BC introduces a list of soldiers, apparently all honoured by the Rhodian people for having served on a naval squadron sent to Aigila (mod. Antikythera), with the following expression: *ἐπειδὴ τα|χθέντες δαμοσίαι ποτὶ | τὰν στρατείαν τὰν ἐς Αἴ|γιλα*.[27] Here, *δαμοσίαι* indisputably designates a military campaign of the *polis* of Rhodes, yet the titles of some of the commanders mentioned, as well as their ethnics, reveal that that force included 'foreigners' (*τῶν ξένων*, line 6), who are here also called 'those foreigners who are wage-bearing' (*τῶγ ξένων τῶμ μισθοφ[ό]|ρων*, lines 14–15).[28] Thus, contrary to Accame and others, *δαμοσίαι* in such contexts does not necessarily stand in contrast to mercenary service. In this Rhodian decree, as probably also in our Lindian decree, *δαμοσίαι* seems to mean state *organised* campaigns; by implication, *ἰδίαι* must refer to privately organised and conducted campaigns.

Pritchett, however, dismisses that possibility on the grounds that *δαμοσίαι* and *ἰδίαι* here presumably describe something more specific, namely, 'expense' (*δαπάνη*). In support of his view Pritchett cites 5th- and 4th-century BC evidence attesting to individuals who had volunteered for service (*ethelontai*), or had served at their own expense or, again, had made a voluntary contribution (*epidosis*), in money or in kind, to a war effort.[29] What makes it difficult to accept this proposal is, though, that many of the instances of private war expenses adduced by Pritchett stand in opposition to *misthos*.[30] In our inscription, the contrary is the case. Furthermore, while several of Pritchett's instances use phrases such as *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*, *τὴν ἰδίαν* or something similar (but never *ἰδίαι*), in nearly all of them the context, or the presence of the word *δαπάνη* itself (e.g. Dem. 19.84), makes it clear or indicates that specifically private *outlay* is in question. No such indications or specifications are present in the Lindian decree, and even though *δαμοσίαι* and *ἰδίαι* can perfectly well accommodate the financial aspect of military expeditions (i.e. publicly or privately *paid*), these words cannot be shown here to have the restricted meaning that Pritchett attributes to them. In fact, the provision of the decree that both those serving *δαμοσίαι* and those serving *ἰδίαι* are to pay 1/60th of their *misthos* as a tax renders Pritchett's interpretation implausible: it requires us to believe that those campaigning *ἰδίαι*, besides defraying their own expenses, were liable to pay an additional amount (the tax), which they calculated as 1/60th of a fictive *misthos* they gave to themselves.

Gonzales, too, finds that the receipt of *misthos* by those serving *ἰδίαι* creates problems for Pritchett's view.[31] But in proposing a new interpretation of *ἰδίαι*, Gonzales, besides adopting Pritchett's emphasis on voluntarism, broadens the meaning Pritchett attributes to *στρατεύωνται ἰδίαι* so as to include the institution of *epidosis*.[32] The expression *τὸ ἀπὸ λωώντων* (line 13), Gonzales argues, refers to money (*τὸ ἀργύριον*, lines 10–11) provided by wealthy Lindians voluntarily, as an *epidosis* or as a liturgy, to those soldiers who in lines 5–7 are described as *στρατεύωνται ἰδίαι*, but who in line 14 are called *ἰδιῶται*.[33] However, there are objections to this view as well.[34] First, since the word *epidosis* (in its technical and non-technical senses), was already in use at that time,[35] as was also the word *leitourgia*, one

[25] Gonzales 2008: 125–131.

[26] Lindos here cannot refer to simply the town of Lindos on the island of Rhodes, for in that case all a soldier had to do in order to be legally freed from the tax was to start a campaign from some other part of the Lindian territory.

[27] Segre 1932: 452, no. II, dated to 260–250 BC, but redated by Bresson (2007) to not much after 280 or as early as circa 306 BC.

[28] Probably to be distinguished from 'wage-bearing citizens': see *I.Priene* 17 (= *OGIS* 765), 278/7 BC, lines 17: *μισθοφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν*.

[29] Pritchett 1974: 110–112, with Pritchett 1971: 27.

[30] See also Gabrielsen 2007: 257, n. 38.

[31] Gonzales 2008: 124–125.

[32] Pritchett 1974: 110, n. 286, cf. Pritchett 1979: 325. On the institution of *epidosis*: Kuenzi 1923; Migeotte 1992.

[33] Gonzales 2008: 128, drawing on Strabo's testimony (14.2.5) to an old custom maintained in Hellenistic Rhodes, by means of which wealthy citizens, through some liturgies, provided nourishment to the poor citizens, who manned the Rhodian warships. Gonzales takes Strabo's *opsoniazomenoi*, usually understood as the provision of nourishment, to mean the provision of pay, *misthos*.

[34] See also A. Chaniotis in *EBGR* (2008) no. 73: 'The aim of the decree was to make sure that all soldiers paid a due to Enyalios; for its proposer, it was irrelevant who sponsored their salary: the state or a benefactor. On the contrary, what was relevant was that soldiers employed by others than the Lindian community would not evade this taxation. This is why I prefer the traditional interpretation: 'whoever participates in a public or private military expedition setting out from Lindos."

[35] Non-technical sense: Thuc. 4.11.4–4.12.1 (425 BC: τριηραρχῶν γὰρ καὶ ὁρῶν τοῦ χωρίου χαλεποῦ ὄντος τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ

might ask why the less specific *λωώντων* ('volunteers', 'those who wish') is used here, if specifically *epidoseis* or *leitourgiai* were meant. Second, Gonzales' sharp separation of the individuals represented by *λωώντων* (in his view, those who pay the *misthos* of others) from those represented by *ἰδιῶται* (those who receive *mithos*) is arbitrary – in fact, it assumes what it claims to prove, i.e. the exact meaning of the phrase *τὸ ἀπὸ λωώντων*. Third, two elements of the text in combination allow for a different, and perhaps better, interpretation: for one, *τὸ δ̣ὲ̣ λ[οιπὸ]ν* ('the remaining part') unquestionably refers back *το τ̣ὸ̣ ἀ̣ρ̣[γύρ]ιον* and therefore is to be understood as 'the remaining part of the total tax revenue'; for another, *τὸ δ̣ὲ̣ λ[οιπὸ]ν* is also unquestionably identical with the money specified in the appositional phrase 'that which derives from volunteers/those who wish' (*τὸ ἀπὸ λ̣ωώντ[ων]*). From this it follows that the money said here to have been provided by volunteers is nothing other than the *tax* paid to Enyalios by those campaigning in private (*ἰδίαι*). These, in contrast to those serving in state organised campaigns, could only be asked to pay the tax of their own free will.

In short, payment of the tax by those campaigning *δαμοσίαι* seems to have been viewed as a quite uncomplicated matter, since the appointed commanders, besides conducting and supervising the collection procedure (on which see section about the tax collection procedure below), also acted as the state's paymasters in the field and thus they would have been able to withhold the tax from the *misthos* of recalcitrant soldiers. A similar procedure is laid down by the near-contemporary Athenian decree which is concerned with a tax to be paid by various types of soldiers to the cult of Apollo (Lykeios?).[36]

By contrast, collection of the tax to Enyalios from those campaigning *ἰδίαι* would not have been seen as a wholly uncomplicated matter: both because this group was situated outside the formal structure of *polis*-military command;[37] and because this same group often would have included foreigners who had not a special attachment to Lindos. Payment of the tax by those campaigning *ἰδίαι* had thus necessarily to rely on voluntarism. The phrase *τὸ ἀπὸ λωώντων* ('the amount of money which derives from volunteers/those who wish') indicates just that. Where voluntarism failed to produce the desirable result, the payers' fear of the consequences – i.e. having to fight without the divine support of Enyalios – stepped in to assist the tax-collection process.

To sum up, liability to the Enyalios tax fell on all those who started out on a campaign from Lindian territory, whatever the geographical extent of that entity might have been at the time of the decree. As regards the participants in these campaigns, the decree does not distinguish between (or make its provisions applicable to only certain) legal or ethnic categories or types of soldiers. Nor does it differentiate between kinds of warfare: the god Enyalios, we saw above (p. 39), was evoked equally by men fighting at sea and by men fighting on land. Only one distinction is made, which in turn is of prime importance, as it shows that 5th-century BC Lindos formally recognised two kinds of military activity: that which it itself organised; and that which was organised by private individuals, whether Lindians or others.

The tax-collection procedure

It is precisely that distinction – privately *vs.* publicly organised campaigns – that determines the method of collecting the tax. Consequently, the ensuing procedure consists of two strands, which, even though they run in parallel, have separate tax-collecting/money-surrendering agencies, one for *δαμοσίαι* and one for *ἰδίαι*. The key to understanding the whole procedure lies in the duties assigned to these agencies. The *stratagos* leading a campaign is entrusted with the collection (*eispraxis*) of the tax *and* with the deposition of the incoming money with the priest (*paradosis*: lines 9–12, *katathesis*: lines 46–52). Those labelled *idiotai*, in contrast, have only one task: to surrender the tax revenue to the priest (*paradosis*: lines 12–15, *katathesis*: lines 48–52). A money collection proper is thus to be undertaken only by the *stratagos* from the category of soldiers for whom he is responsible. We can now turn to the two strands.

First, the *δαμοσίαι* strand. In campaigns organised by the *polis* of Lindos, the tax of 1/60th of the soldiers'

κυβερνήτας, εἴ που καὶ δοκοίη δυνατὸν εἶναι σχεῖν, ἀποκνοῦντας καὶ φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν, ἐβόα λέγων ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη ξύλων φειδομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιιδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους, ἀλλὰ τάς τε σφετέρας ναῦς βιαζομένους τὴν ἀπόβασιν καταγνύναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἀποκνῆσαι ἀντὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς ναῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιδοῦναι, ὀκείλαντας δὲ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀποβάντας τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ χωρίου κρατῆσαι); see also Ar. *Pax* 333 (421 BC). Technical sense: Plut. *Alc.* 10.1 (in the context of *c.* 425 BC): πρώτην δ' αὐτῷ πάροδον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γενέσθαι λέγουσι μετὰ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεως, οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἀλλὰ παριόντα θορυβούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐρέσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θορύβου, πυθόμενον δὲ χρημάτων ἐπίδοσιν γίνεσθαι, παρελθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι. Cf. Migeotte 1992: 10–11, no. 1.

[36] *IG* I^3 138 (cf. note 12 above). Among other things, the Athenian decree stipulates the following: the tax payable by those written on the deme registers (i.e. the *citizens* among the soldiers, who serve as hoplites and cavalrymen) is to be collected by the *demarchoi*; the tax to be paid by the archers (a group that includes foreigners), on the other hand, is to be collected by the *toxarchoi* (lines 5–7); the provision to follow (lines 7–9) ordains that, if anyone fails to pay, the officials who act as paymasters shall withhold the relevant amount from the defaulter's *misthos*: ἐὰν δέ τινες μὲ ἀπ]|οδιδῶσι, ἐκπράττ<ε>ν καὶ [τὰς ἀρχὰς αἵ τὸς μισθὸς ἀ|ποδιδόασιν παρὰ τούτον ἐκ [τῶν μισθῶν. See also Jameson 2014: 49–50. Clearly, the campaigns envisaged in this Athenian decree were all publicly organised.

[37] No *stratagos* or any other official is made responsible for the collection of the tax from this group (more on this below).

misthos is to be collected from payers by the *stratagos* leading a campaign. He is also personally responsible for handing the amount collected over to the priest of Enyalios within thirty days of his return to Lindos, almost certainly after the end of campaign.[38] Upon this final surrender of the monies, the *epistatai* shall write up the sums that had been in the possession of the *stratagoi* in charge of various expeditions,[39] while the priest, having received the entire year's collection, shall make the money visible to the Council and shall deliver it to his successor of the next year.[40] Failure of a *stratagos* to collect the tax from the soldiers makes him guilty of sacrilege towards Enyalios (*ἀ]νόσιον ἔστω ποτὶ τõ | [θε]ō*), and 'liable' or 'accountable' (*ὑπεύθυνος*) to the *polis* of Lindos, meaning either liable to a fine or, as in Athens, liable to prosecution through the procedure of *euthyna* (lines 40–45).[41]

Next, the *ἰδίαι* strand. Since this part of the collection procedure is mostly a duplication of the *δαμοσίαι* strand (which is being detailed throughout), the text of the inscription here is so structured as to define the obligations of the persons to whom it applies simply by means of brachylogy: twice are these obligations introduced with the phrase 'as for the remaining part' (*τὸ δὲ λοιπόν* [sc. *ἀργύριον*]: lines 12–13; 22–23) and once with the phrase 'and the same applies to' (*κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ*, line 45). In a different instance, the assignment of the same duty on the two tax-collecting/money-surrendering agencies is expressed through juxtaposition: 'the *stratagos* and the *idiotai*' (*ὁ στραταγὸς καὶ τοὶ ἰδιῶται*, lines 47–49).[42]

As noted above, the decree makes these *idiotai* only responsible for the surrender to the priest of the tax from those serving *ἰδίαι* (lines 13–15, 48–52, esp. *παρδιδόντω*, *καταθέμεν*). Gonzales is correct to identify the *idiotai* with those who *στρατεύωνται ἰδίαι*. Proof of that identity is provided by the fact that the *στρατεύωνται ἰδίαι* are held directly accountable for the surrender of the tax-money to the priest (lines 45–46), a task which elsewhere in the decree falls on the *idiotai*. In our inscription, *idiotai* seems to mean 'individuals acting unofficially and in private', that is, not on behalf of the *polis*.[43]

It is time to summarise our interpretation of the collection procedure applying to the *ἰδίαι* strand. The part of the tax accruing from privately organised campaigns was paid by participants voluntarily (*τὸ ἀπὸ λωώντων*). Moreover, these payers, rather than using an intermediary as a collector, *themselves* (*αὐτοὶ ἰδιῶται* and *ὅσσοι ἰδίαι στρατεύωνται*, lines 13–14, 46, 48–49) handed the money directly over to the priest of Enyalios on their return to Lindos. And since they would have been returning at different points of time, the *epistatai* would have been able to record the relevant sums only *after* the year's receipt by the priest.[44] From all this it follows that, while the decree begins with a rather broad definition of those liable to the tax (i.e. persons campaigning in private and starting out from Lindian territory), it soon, and in an indirect manner, narrows the group of *de facto* payers down to (1) those *wishing* to pay and (2) who actually are going to *return* to Lindos, either because they were Lindian citizens, or because they were foreigners living in Lindos. Possession of citizenship and/or permanent residence in the *polis* of Lindos are indeed necessary preconditions for the view taken by the decree that also a defaulter from *this* group was accountable, *hypeuthynos* (lines 44–46).[45]

Historical significance: concluding remarks

I conclude the study of this Lindian inscription by drawing attention to three general points that it supports.

Enyalios and cult finance. Our decree did not introduce the cult of Enyalios in Lindos, but it certainly enhanced that cult's significance in several ways. One novelty

[38] The central clauses are in lines 9–11 (*ἐσ[π]ράτεν δὲ [τ|ὸ]ν στραταγὸ[ν] τὸ ἀρ[γύ|ρ]ιον καὶ παρδιδ[όμεν | τ]ῶι ἰαρῆι*) and in lines 47–52: [τὸ] *δὲ ἀργύριον ὁ στρατα|[γὸς κα]ὶ τοὶ ἰδ[ιῶτ|αι ἐ]πεί κα ἐλ[θῶ]|[ν]τι καταθέ[με|ν] ἐμ μηνὶ πὰ[ρ τ|ὸ]ν ἰαρέα.*

[39] I understand lines 19–23 as detailing what is to happen *after* the priest of Enyalios has received the entire year's tax revenue: since the *stratagoi* were returning from expeditions (and delivering their sums) at various points of time, the best source of information available to the *epistatai* for the total amount of money brought in by army commanders would have been the priest of Enyalios. The same applies to the priest's making the year's revenue visible to the Council.

[40] Lines 15–23.

[41] G. Thür, s.v. *hypeuthynos*, in *Brill's New Pauly*. For *hypeuthynos* and *euthyna* in Attic law: Aesch. 3.11; Dem. 18.111, with MacDowell 2009: 384. More generally: Harrison 1971: 208–211; MacDowell 1978: 170–172; Scafuro 2014.

[42] The parallelism between the two strands seems partial in just one instance: κατὰ ταὐτα δὲ (in line 45) refers back, not to ἐσπράξοντι (lines 41–42), but only to ἀνόσιον ἔστω ... καὶ ὑπεύθυνος. That is, the ἰδίαι στρατεύωνται (line 46) are, in case of infraction, to be held culpable in the same manner as the *stratagoi*.

[43] Athenian usages of the word *idiotes*: Rubinstein 1998: 128–130, esp. 129: *idiotes* used about the volunteering citizen in contexts where one would expect to find *ho boulomenos* used as a technical term: *IG* I^3 63.[2]; Dem.23.62. Ar.*Ran*. 458–459 has περὶ τοὺς ξένους / καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας (quoted in a second century BC inscription on a small round base of white marble from Rhodes: Pugliese Carratelli 1940–1941: 3–7). Ancient scholiasts, as well as some modern commentators, take *idiotes* here to mean 'citizen' (*polites*), and this is also the opinion of some modern commentators and translators: Dübner 1969: 289. However, more recent works prefer instead 'ordinary folk': Dover 1997: 139; Sommerstein 1996: 75, 197.

[44] Lines 22–23: καὶ τὸ λοιπ[ὸν οἵ κ]|ᾳ στρατεύωντ[αι], see Accame (1938: 216), who on p. 218 translates: 'Registrino i presidenti quello che abbiano percepito gli strateghi stessi e, in futuro, (quello che abbiano percepito) quelli che militano'. Gonzales' translation (2008: 122) is, though, to be preferred: 'The *epistatai* are to record what the generals themselves got and the rest (that) whoever campaigns (got)'. See Appendix 1, commentary on lines 22–23.

[45] Those returning to Lindos after a campaign were also likely to bring with them (and hand over to the priest) monies that might have been voluntarily paid by individuals who, while recruited from Lindos, had no special attachment to that city-state.

was the construction of a sanctuary or a shrine for the god, who so far only possessed an altar; as suggested above, through this new building the Lindians might have given concrete expression to their wish that the god settled with them for good. Another novelty might relate to the sacrifice offered to Enyalios. However, the truly new elements here perhaps were neither the time of the sacrifice (yearly in the month of Artamitios), nor the specific animals to be sacrificed (a boar, a dog, a kid), but the following two: (a) henceforward the sacrifice was to be performed by the *prytaneis*; and (b) the ritual was expanded to include a procession, at which a contingent of hoplites was to escort the sacrificial victims (*ta hiara*), and which was to be dispatched by the Lindian Council (*bola*). Almost certainly, the procession ended at the altar of Enyalios, and it is possible – given the central role of the *prytaneis* and the *bouleutai* – that it started at the place where either one of these bodies usually met to conduct its business. Still another novelty, moreover, was the solid financial basis that this decree established for the cult. How solid that basis was is suggested from the following comparison with the Athenian tax to Apollo, attested in *IG* I^3 138.

Using Thucydides' figures for the number of men deployed in war in 431 BC, and the sums of money restored in *IG* I^3 138, a modern estimate sets the proceeds from the Athenian tax to Apollo at 16,200 drachmas a year, an amount of money which is said to have been 'of no help for the building of a fourth century BC temple'.[46] The cult tax for Apollo, in short, yielded a rather modest amount per year. However, the same cannot be said of the tax to Enyalios, which differed from the Athenian example in at least two important respects. First, whereas the Athenian tax-payers, according to *IG* I^3 138, had to pay from their *misthos* a fixed and relatively small amount of money *per year* (cavalryman two dr., hoplite one dr. and archer three obols), the tax-payers of the Lindian example had to pay 1/60th of whatever *misthos* one received *per campaign* (note that the tax is collected by a *stratagos* in the field and surrendered to the priest of Enyalios after a campaign). Second, whereas liability for the Athenian tax was carried by definite groups of soldiers in state service, the Lindian tax had to be paid by the far larger group of 'those campaigning from Lindos' (*στρατε[ύω]νται ἐκ Λίνδο*). Therefore, the area in which this latter tax was effective, in theory at least, extended beyond the fiscal purview of the *polis* of Lindos.

To sum up, with our Lindian decree the cult of Enyalios was augmented considerably. It had its physical space expanded. It was enriched with further decorum and officialdom, both of which would have made it rise to a special position among the Lindian *damotele hiera*.[47] Last but not least, it was supplied with a fiscal base capable of turning it into a fairly wealthy cult. Considering the warlike character of the deity concerned, one may therefore ask: is this a moment, in the 5th century BC, at which the Lindians were raising their bellicose involvement, public as well as private, a notch or two higher?

Military organisation and statehood. This 5th-century BC Lindian decree provides irrefutable evidence that the *polis* of Lindos, not only formally recognised the existence of privately organised military activity, but also treated that activity – particularly as regards the obligations of participants vis-à-vis the Lindian state and Lindian cult – on a par with publicly organised military activity. We should furthermore note that, together with a few specimens from Athens and elsewhere,[48] the Lindian inscription constitutes our earliest epigraphic evidence for the institution of military *misthos*, and that, in addition, it situates that institution equally within the public and the private spheres. Such formal acceptance of the legitimacy of military activity conducted for private purposes puts 5th-century BC Lindos squarely within the group of ancient states which elsewhere I have called *oligopolistic* states, i.e. states recognising the right of individuals to engage in violent pursuits of a private character.[49] The primacy of private enrichment as a motive for fostering that attitude to organised violence is emphasised by Thucydides (1.5.1–3).

Political institutions. From the introductory formula of our Lindian decree (*[ἔδοξε τᾶι βωλᾶι καὶ | τῶ]ι δάμωι*, lines 1–2) it can be inferred that this was a probouleumatic decree, meaning that the proposal was originally made in the Council (*bola*) as a 'concrete' *probouleuma*, which was subsequently ratified by the Lindian People in assembly (*ho damos*).[50] The proposer of the resolution, one Agatharchos, must therefore have been a member of the Council (*bouleutes*). In contrast, another Lindian enactment, this time a proxeny decree, is passed by the Council only (line 1: *Ἔδοξε ταῖ βολαῖ*).[51] Furthermore, since our Lindian decree is being dated with reference to a named *epistatas* and a named *grammateus*, we can safely infer that offices in 5th-century BC Lindos were filled by rotation. The same principle is seen applied with the priesthood of Enyalios, which was an annual appointment.[52] Another significant feature of the

[46] Jameson 2014: 49.

[47] See *Tit.Cam.* 109 (Kamiros, post 325 BC), lines 18–19: δαμοτελῆ ἱερά. On the word *demotele*: Parker 1996: 5–6; Pirenne-Delforge 2005.

[48] E.g. *IG* I^3 1 (Attica, *c.* 510–500 BC); *SEG* 41.725 (Eretria, *c.* 525–500 BC). Cf. Gabrielsen 2007: 257.

[49] The opposite of the *oligopolistic* states are the violent *monopolistic* states: see Gabrielsen 2007 and Gabrielsen 2013.

[50] Hansen 1991: 138–139; Rhodes 1972: 52–81; Rhodes and Lewis 1997: 20–22.

[51] *I.Lindos* II, App. to no. 16, 411–408 BC. In Athens, too, most proxeny decrees are decrees of the *boule*: Rhodes 1972: 82–87, esp. 83.

[52] The expression 'the *prytanies* who are in office in the month of Artamitios' (lines 25–27) might imply half-yearly tenure (a winter and a summer *hexaminos*) for these officials.

Lindian constitution is that the Council, besides sharing decision-making powers with the Assembly, seems also to have executive powers: our decree makes the Council responsible for inspecting every year the tax-revenue received by the priest to Enyalios. Since the *epistatai* are to keep a record of that revenue, we may suppose that one of their duties (perhaps a duty falling on other officials, too) was to keep yearly accounts. Be that as it may, the decree indicates the use of the *paradosis/paralabe* procedure, which is characteristic of office-holding in other *poleis*. Finally, it seems certain that officials in Lindos were subject to accountability (*euthyma*).[53]

Until now, our evidence about the constitution of pre-synoicism Lindos had been only indirect and consisted of a few passages in the literary sources: (a) Thucydides' report of a probable oligarchic take-over (with Sparta's help) in 411 BC;[54] and (b) a dubious assertion – to be found in a letter quoted by Diogenes Laertius in the 3rd century AD – to the effect that under the tyrant Kleoboulos, in the 6th century BC, Lindos was a democracy.[55] The decree concerning the tax for the cult of the god Enyalios offers now specific, epigraphic evidence which strongly indicates that the political institutions of Lindos *c.* 440–420 BC were those characteristic of a democratic constitution.

Appendix 1

THE LINDIAN DECREE (*c.* 440–420 BC)

Ed.pr. Maiuri 1921–1922: 483, no. 37, with Maiuri 1928: 122; *SEG* 4.171.
Accame 1938: 211–229; J. and L. Robert, BE (1939) no. 377, 1946–1947, no. 159.
Sokolowski 1968: no. 85.
Blümel 1991: no. 251.
Gonzales 2008: 121–134; *SEG* 58.812.

Autopsy by author: June 2017 and July 2018.
See also:
Morelli 1959: 43–44, 132–133.
Launey 1950/1987: 930.
Pritchett 1979: 325–326.
Méndez Dosuna 2005: 1–10.

Height: 0.76 m. Thickness: 0.19 m (face A), *c.* 0.73 (face B). Width: 0.26 m. Letter height: 0.01 m, *quasi-stoichedon*.

face A [ἔδοξε τᾶι βωλᾶι καὶ]
1 [τῶ]ι δάμωι, Ο̣ι
[ἐ]πεστάτει, Σ.....
[.] ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἀγ[ά]-
[θ]αρχος εἶπε· τῶι Ἐ[νυ]-
5 [α]λίωι ο[ἵ κα] στρατε[ύ]-
[ω]νται ἐκ Λίνδο [ἦ] δ[α]μ[ο]-
[σ]ίαι ἢ ἰδίαι [κατα]θ[έ]-
[μ]εν τὰν ἐξ̣α[κοστ]ὰν [τ]-
[ῶ] μισθῶ· ἐ̣σ̣[π]ράτ̣εν δὲ [τ]-
10 [ὸ]ν στραταγὸ[ν] τ̣ὸ̣ ἀ̣ρ̣[γύ]-
[ρ]ιον καὶ π̣α̣ρδιδ[όμεν]
[τ]ῶι ἰαρῆι· τὸ δ̣ὲ̣ λ̣[οιπὸ]-
ν τὸ ἀπὸ λ̣ω̣ώντ[ων] α[ὐτο]-
[ὶ] ἰδιῶται πα[ρδ]ι[δ]ό[ντ]-
15 [ω] τῶι ἰαρῆι· ὁ δ̣ὲ̣ [ἰ]αρε[ὺ]-
[ς ἀ]ποφαινέτω τ̣ᾶ̣ι β̣ω̣λ̣-
[ᾶι] κ̣ατ' ἐνιαυτὸ[ν] κ̣αὶ [π]-
[α]ρδιδότω τῶι ἰ̣α̣ρ̣ῆι τ-
ῶι ἐσιόντι· γρα[φ]όντω
20 δὲ τοὶ ἐπιστάται [ὅ κα ἔ]-
σ̣χον τοὶ στρατα[γοὶ αὐ]-
[τ]οὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπ̣[ὸν οἵ κ]-
Ạ στρατεύωντ[αι· θυσία]-
ν̣ δὲ ποιησάντ[ω τῶι Ἐν]-
25 [υ]αλίωι τοὶ πρυ[τάνιες]
[τ]οὶ τὸν [Ἀρ]ταμί[τιον μῆ]-
[ν]α πρυτ̣α̣νεύον[τες· θύ]-
[ε]ν δὲ τῶι Ἐνυαλ[ίωι κά]-
[π]ρον, κύνα, ἔριφον· [αἴ κα]
30 [β]ώλεται κ̣ατα.....
....ιυ̣..... [ἀ]πο[σ]τ̣ε̣λ̣[λ]-
[έ]τω δὲ ἁ βωλὰ τ[ὰ]ν π[ο]μ[π]-
[ά]ν· ἐπέ̣σ[θ]ω [δ]ὲ̣ ὁπλῖται
[τ]οῖς ἰαροῖς ὁπόσσο[ς]
35 [χ'] ἁ βωλὰ καταστ[άσ]ει· [ο]-
[ἶ]κον̣ δὲ ποιῆσαι τῶι [Ἐ]-
[ν]υαλίωι ἐπ̣[εί] κ̣α [τ]ὸ ἀρ[γ]-
[ύ]ριον ἰδ̣ί̣α[ι Λιν]δοῖ ἦι συ-
νλελέχθαι τὰν β[ω]λάν·
40 [τ]οὶ δὲ στραταγοὶ αἴ κ-
[α] τὸ ἀργύριον μὴ ἐσπ᾽ρ΄ά-
[ξ]οντι πὰρ τῶν στ[ρ]ατιωτᾶ-
[ν ἀ]νό̣σιον ἔστω ποτὶ τ̣ὸ̣
[θε]ῖ̣ καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ἔστ-
45 [ω· κ]ατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὅσσ-
[οι] ἰδίαι στρατεύωνται·
[τὸ] δὲ ἀργύριον ὁ στρατα-
face B.48 [γὸς κα]ὶ τοὶ ἰδ[ιῶτ]-
[αι ἐ]πεί κα ἐλ[θῶ]-
50 [ν]τι καταθέ[με]-
[ν] ἐμ μηνὶ πὰ[ρ τ]-
[ὸ]ν ἰαρέα· τὸ δ[ὲ]
[ψ]άπιγμα {ψάφισμα} ἀγγ-
[ρ]άψαι ἐς στάλ-
55 α̣ν λιθίναν καὶ
κ̣αταθέμεν πὰρ
τὸν βωμὸν τῶ Ἐν-
υαλίο.

[53] In addition to the works cited in n. 41 above, see Roberts 1983. See also Hansen 1991: 220–224.
[54] Thuc. 8.35.1, 43.2, 44.1–3. See van Gelder 1900: 81. Cf. Berthold 1984: 20.
[55] Diog.Laert. 1.89: τὰν Λίνδον δαμοκρατεομέναν. See Konstantinopoulos 1972: 61–66.

Line 13: Autopsy confirms that (*pace* Gonzales 2008: 123), the first *omega* after the *lamda* is clearly visible, whereas the second one is less so, thus *λωώντ[ων]*, not *λῳώντ[ων]*, should be the correct restoration. See also note 23 above.

Lines 22–23: The lacuna at the end of line 22 (right after the letter *pi*), which is due to damage on the surface of the stone, measures 7.8 cm, which space, to judge from the measurement of letter space averages in this inscription, can easily accommodate six letters. In Accame's text, however, that space is filled by only five letters. In view of the decree's contents (esp. line 46), what one would expect in lines 22–23 is, e.g., *καὶ τὸ λοιπ̣[ὸν οἷ ἰδία|ι] στρατεύωντ[αι]*, but this requires filling the lacuna of line 22 with eight letters, and also having line 23 begin with an *iota* instead of an *alpha*. Autopsy reveals that the restoration of this *alpha* (resulting in the supplement *οἷ κ]|ᾳ*) relies on a short diagonal line that is taken to be (the lower) part of the right leg of an *alpha*. However, not only is that line on a surface that is fairly worn, but also has about half the depth of legible letter-strokes. That shallower line seems therefore to have been added later onto an already worn-out spot, which, when still intact, was occupied by some other letter. If that missing letter was an *iota*, then lines 22–23 would read: *καὶ τὸ λοιπ̣[ὸν οἷ ἰδία|ι] στρατεύωντ[αι]*. The *ed.pr.* was justified in putting the *alpha* introducing line 23 within brackets. Now, squeezing eight letters inside the lacuna of line 22 (to produce *καὶ τὸ λοιπ̣[ὸν οἷ ἰδία|ι]*) is *prima facie* prohibited by the letter space averages in this inscription. However, that seems to be less of an obstacle, as three of the eight letters proposed here (*ΟΝΟΙΙΔΙΑ*) are less space demanding *iotas*.

Line 38: The preserved part of what is printed *as ἰδία[ι]* – printed with sub-dots by Accame (1938, line 38, with p. 217), but appearing without sub-dots in Gonzales (2008, his line 39, with p. 123) – can indeed still be seen on the stone, even if with some difficulty. But it is far from certain that the letter traces to follow make up Gonzales' *[Λι]ν̣δ̣ῖ*.

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The multifunctional Athana Lindia: Discussing the aspects of a goddess through sanctuary setting and votive offerings

Sanne Hoffmann

Abstract

This paper will discuss the multiple aspects and functions of the cult of Athana Lindia in Lindos. A large spectrum of cultic aspects of the deity can be identified through studies of the votive offerings, in particular the terracottas. The cultic aspects are indicative of the functions and roles played by the deity and the cult in the community. An analysis of both the central and prominent location of the sanctuary, its interaction with the landscape, as well as the design, further adds to the knowledge of the use and understanding of the primary cult in Lindos. The finds from the Athana Lindia sanctuary are greatly revealing of not only the cult practices in Lindos and Rhodes, but also of the ancient Greek understanding of the deities and their use.

Key words: Lindos, Athana Lindia, votive offerings, figurines, cultic aspects, landscape

The modern perceptions of the ancient Greek deities are dominated by how they are presented and understood in the written sources. Although the myths are multiple, diverse, and intertwined, the understanding of the roles and areas of expertise of the gods tend to be more narrowly defined. This seems to be mostly driven by a need for a clear-cut division when identifying the deities and their functions in the sacred sites. The problem arises when these rather rigid understandings of the deities colour the interpretations of the circumstances and archaeological finds in the ancient cults. As in the myths and stories, in the everyday use and worship in the sanctuaries the lines were blurred and flexible.[1] The sanctuaries and their deities were shaped by the circumstances and needs of the local communities and their settings. My aim in this article is to address the perception of the Greek deities, and how they and their cults functioned in the communities, through a case study of Athana Lindia and her sanctuary in Lindos on Rhodes. The intent is to analyse how the deity Athana Lindia was perceived and worshipped through the votive offerings and the setting of the sanctuary.

The conceptual Athena contains a certain dogmatic aspect that influences our expectations of the worship of the sanctuaries under her various names. In a very simplified description, she is a warrior goddess – the strategic one – a goddess of crafts, wisdom, and protector of cities. She is born from her father's head fully grown, untouched by man, and is as such a maiden warrior.[2] But who then was Athana Lindia? The Lindian sanctuary has provided a broad collection of votive offerings and inscriptions which allow us a glimpse into her worshippers' views of her and the function of the cult. The intention here is not to do a full analysis of the finds, but to focus on a selection of the finds that might characterise the deity.

Unfortunately, the cult image itself is not preserved, but a few of the votives presumably depict the image of the deity.[3] A small headless marble sculpture, dated to the 5th century BC and *c.* 33 cm high, portrays Athena in a Parthenon-type (Figure 1).[4] Approximately 2740 terracotta figurines were found in the sanctuary, but only about 12 of these might represent the deity (see for example Figures 2–4).[5] Interestingly, there are *c.* 40 terracottas that supposedly portray Zeus dated to the late Classical period, 400–330 BC.[6] This is the period just before Zeus Polieus officially joins the sanctuary, as the first inscription mentioning him is dated to 313 BC.[7] With his introduction Athana also acquires the epitaph *Polias*, although *Lindia* remains in use.

The smaller offerings from sacred sites may present characteristics that can indicate the perceptions and functions of the gods. It can be difficult, however, to distinguish which objects were simply used as ritual

[1] Burkert 2008: 119–125.
[2] Burkert 2008: 139–143; Simon 1985: 179–212.
[3] In his attempt to reconstruct a cult image, Blinkenberg (1917) chose to use the so-called 'Athana Lindia'-types of terracottas (named only as such due to his specific comparison) as these are found in Gela, which is considered a daughter-city of Lindos. However, none of these figurines have been found in Lindos and there is no connection between these types of figurines and the Athana Lindia cult. See for example Albertocchi 2004.
[4] Inv. no. 12200, the National Museum of Denmark.
[5] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2332–2336, 2866–2869.
[6] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2872–2883.
[7] Blinkenberg 1941: cat. no. 57.



Figure 1. Marble statuette of Athena from the Lindos sanctuary. Inv. no. 12200. Photograph from the Rhodes expedition 1902-1914 (Courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark).



Figure 3. Greek terracotta figurine from Lindos, portraying Athena. In the National Museum of Denmark, inv. no. 10713. (Photograph by the author).



Figure 2. Greek terracotta figurine from Lindos, possibly portraying Athena. Inv. no. 10712. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark).



Figure 4. Drawing of a Greek terracotta figurine from Lindos, possibly portraying Athena (Blinkenberg 1931: cat. no. 2332).

paraphernalia, which may reflect general votive practice, and which may reflect the specific cult aspects and functions. The largest find-groups of votives from the Lindian sanctuary that may reflect the cult are the Greek terracottas with *c.* 2740 published figurines, *c.* 1600 fibulae, and *c.* 700 Cypriote limestone figurines.[8] A selection of the small finds are exhibited in the National Museum of Denmark (Figure 5). The votives have three primary findspots to which some of the types are attributed in the publication of the small finds by C.S. Blinkenberg (1931). These only account for part of the finds but serve as a chronological marker for the finds in general.

[8] See Blinkenberg 1931.



Figure 5. Part of the exhibition of the Lindian votive offerings in the National Museum of Denmark (Photograph by John Lee).



Figure 6. Plans of the Lindian acropolis. The left plan showing the acropolis *c.* 550-300 BC, right plan showing the acropolis *c.* 100 BC (Left plan by E. Dyggve 1960: fig. III, 4. Right plan by H. Rasmussen, Blinkenberg 1931: pl. 1).

The three find-contexts are the Archaic layers underneath the archaic stairs, and two deposits, the so-called Large and Small Deposits. The Large Deposit was situated in a natural crevice in the bedrock.[9] This deposit contained a selection of small votives dated within the time frame of 525–400 BC. Most likely it contained objects cleaned away after a fire in the Temple in 392/1 BC.[10] The Small Deposit was placed in a trench made for this purpose, and the contents are almost entirely terracotta figurines, with no Hellenistic figurines.[11] As the new temple that was built after the fire is believed to have been built at the end of the 4th century BC, this might have been the occasion for another clean-up and deposition. The map on the left in Figure 6 illustrates the state of the sanctuary *c.* 550–300 BC, at the time when the find contexts were created or deposited. The map on the right of Figure 6 indicates the three find spots within the context of the later more expanded and monumentalised sanctuary as it was *c.* 100 BC, marked by F, G, and H. Table 1 presents the primary finds noted by Blinkenberg as being from these three spots.[12] However, as the publication deals with types rather than specific numbers for each find an indication of the spot in connection with a type, does not mean that all of the examples of each type were

[9] Blinkenberg 1931: 17.
[10] Blinkenberg 1931: 7, 44–55, 503; Higbie 2003: 9.
[11] As dated by Higgins 1967: 61; Thompson *et al.* 1987: 201 no. 13c.

[12] This table is part of a larger study carried out for the present author's PhD. thesis: *Between Deity and Dedicator: The Life and Agency of Greek Votive Terracotta Figurines*. The content of the table is based on Blinkenberg 1931.

Sites	Terracotta figurines	Other figurines	Ceramics, Miniatures	Ceramics, Cups	Ceramics, Other	Lamps	Textile objects	Metals	Other finds
Lindos, Athena sanctuary, The Archaic Layers	4	*c. 110 Cypriote limestones* *c. 20 Cypriote terracottas* *c. 20 Egyptian faience figurines*		*Cups*	*Craters* *c. 5 Perfume bottles* *c. 20 Aryballoi* *1 Plate*		*87 Fibulae*	*Pendants in bronze and silver*	*Scarab seals* *1 Stone chisel* *46 Glass pearls* *1 Amethyst pearl* *Pendants in bone* *2 Bone tubes* *2 Seals*
Lindos, Athena sanctuary, The Large Deposit	207 ≤ 1400	*c. 15 Cypriote limestones* *2 Cypriote terracottas* *c. 30 Egyptian faience figurines*	*c. 200 Miniature skyphoi* *Kylikes* *Miniature amphorae*	*Kylikes* *Skyphoi*	*Oinochoai* *Hydriai* *Pitchers* *Craters* *Pots* *c. 60 Lekythoi* *Alabastra* *Aryballoi* *Pyxides* *2 Epinetra*	*115*	*c. 30 Fibulae* *1 Amber needle* *1 Sewing needle* *1 Spindle whorl* *2 Whorl weights*	*1 Phiale* *23 Fragments of bronze vessels* *2 Mirrors* *6 Helmets* *1 Spearhead* *2 Arrow heads* *Fragments of harnesses, thymiateria, and applications* *1 Bronze pendant* *1 Weight*	*10 Clay pearls* *1 Clay pendant* *2 Pieces of amber jewellery, earrings, a button, a few ivory or bone appliques* *c. 70 fragments of sea-shells and tridacna* *Fragments of flutes*
Lindos, Athena sanctuary, The Small Deposit	149 ≤ 1240							*A small bronze tube*	*Fragments of a marble pyxis* *2 Astragals* *Fragments of flutes*

Table 1. The three principal find contexts on the Lindian Acropolis.



Figure 7. Examples of the votive Cypriote limestone figurines from Lindos in the National Museum of Denmark (Photograph by John Lee).

from this spot. Consequently, the numbers of finds have a broad margin, especially for the terracotta figurines.

The small votives are dated only to 330 BC at the latest, based on the figurines. The sanctuary itself, however, continued on past this date and was particularly flourishing in the Hellenistic period, when it was monumentalised with grand staircases and stoas.[13] The Lindian Chronicle is a testament to a continued practice of dedications in the cult, as its last listed dedication is from Philip V, although these dedications might have been on a somewhat grander scale.[14] The lack of smaller votive offerings may be due to a lack of preservation. However, while Table 1 only lists the content of the three principal find contexts, it reflects the general finds and indicates changes in the votive practice. One of the changes seems to be in line with what Anthony Snodgrass has defined as a switch from the so-called 'raw' dedications, i.e. those understood as unmodified objects, with a real secular function, such as jewellery and weapons, into the so-called 'converted' votives, those produced specifically for this purpose, and so the change might reflect a conversion of the wealth of the dedicator.[15] Such a shift seems to be present in the Lindian votives, as there is a decrease in the use of 'practical' objects, especially the fibulae, and an apparent increase in the use of figurines. This may indicate the lack of votives past *c.* 330 BC to be a consequence of both a lack of preservation and changes in the votive practice in the sanctuary. A change in votive practice indicates a development in the worship, which may again indicate transformations in the perception of the deity. However, that is beyond the scope of this particular study, which is limited to the period from which the small votive offerings are dated.

The Greek votive figurines are the primary focus of this brief survey, as these are often used as means of identifiers for the deities in sacred areas and so considered to be attributable to specific deities based on their symbolism. However, the *c.* 700 Cypriote limestone and terracotta figurines should also be mentioned (for examples see Figure 7).[16] These are primarily found in the Archaic and early Classical periods and their iconography does, perhaps not surprisingly, separate them from the Greek figurines. The gender portrayal is mostly male, and the animals are more dominant. Most noticeable of the animal figurines are the *c.* 150 lion figurines as well as the *c.* 90 predatory birds, such as falcons or hawks, while rams are also seen as common attributes.

For the Greek terracottas the female protomai are the most dominant group (for examples see Figure 8a–b). These are primarily from the Archaic period and early Classical, with *c.* 700 examples out of the total of *c.*

[13] Blinkenberg 1931: 14; Dyggve 1960: 126.
[14] Higbie 2003: 6.
[15] Snodgrass 2006: 263–265.
[16] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 1584–1857.



Figure 8a. Examples of protomai from Lindos in the National Museum of Denmark. (Photograph by John Lee).



Figure 8b. Examples of protomai from Lindos (Drawings from Blinkenberg 1931: pl. 147).

2740 Greek figurines.[17] The majority of the protomai are depicted wearing a veil, as only *c.* 30 protomai are shown without.[18] Some 600 of the protomai are also wearing a diadem.[19] The veil carries a matronly quality and a diadem may symbolise status.[20] The terracotta protomai are examples of figurine types, which have been heavily used as identification markers. The female protomai have for a long time been considered connected to Demeter and Kore/Persephone and often given a chthonic meaning. This is mainly due to circular arguments that rest on the early finds of protomai in burials; their shape, which could be interpreted as an *anodos* (rising from the ground); or the popularity of the types in Magna Graecia, where there is a large presence of sanctuaries dedicated to these goddesses and thus an overlap between the popularity of the protomai as votive offerings and the popularity of Demeter and Persephone.[21] However, these interpretations have been thoroughly disproven by J.P. Uhlenbrock and R.M. Ammerman.[22] In Lindos specifically, these interconnected interpretations of the terracottas, the chthonic correlation, and Demeter has led to an argument that the terracotta figurines were not really dedicated to Athana Lindia, but to Demeter.[23] In this interpretation the Large Deposit should be understood as an offering pit dedicated to Demeter. The argument for a Demeter cult also includes a small stele dated to 200–170 BC, found not far from the Large Deposit, which mentions the 'Damatares' and 'Damatrios', believed to refer to Demeter and Kore, and Zeus Damatrios.[24] However, the stele and the latest dated terracottas are *c.* 130 years apart, as the terracottas are dated to 750–330 BC, with the protomai being primarily from the Archaic period. Rather, it is more likely that the stele either refers to aspects of the residing deities, for Athena as well as Zeus, and not to Demeter, as this is the only mention of this name compared to numerous mentions of Athena,[25] or that it indicates a late addition of a minute cult on the acropolis.

The fact that terracotta protomai are not dedicated only to Demeter is clear, when a small survey of the distribution of certain terracotta types in selected sanctuaries is carried out, as seen in Table 2. This is a limited comparison with only a few sites, chosen based on their broad geographical and chronological scope, and with as securely identified deity as possible, with only one known deity per site. For specific regional studies, such as Southern Italy, the distributions most likely will be different. However, examples for other sites with female protomai are the Athena sanctuary in Chios and in Gela; the Artemission on Thasos and in Brauron; the Heraion in Argos, in Tiryns; the Demeter sanctuaries in Corinth, Knossos and Priene; the Aphrodite sanctuary in Santa Venera, Paestum, and the Apollo sanctuary on Aegina.[26] As the female protomai can be found in a wide range of sanctuaries, it seems more reasonable to suggest that rather than being associated with specific deities or cults, they may be considered to be a matronly representation of power and protection.

Apart from the protomai, the Lindian terracottas are diverse in their attributes and symbolism. Only the most prominent groups are considered in this study, to allow for an understanding of how the deity was most commonly perceived or what functions she was considered to execute. These types of figurines are also listed in Table 2.[27] First, the vast majority of the votive terracottas portray females, seated or standing. This is typically considered to be related to either the deities or the dedicators.[28] However, the two may be combined if instead we consider the figurines to reflect the dedicators' perceptions of the aspects and functions of the deities and their cult, as indicated by the attributes and symbolisms of the figurines – aspects which in turn may also have been understood as gender-related.

There are 76 female terracottas from Lindos portrayed as *kourotrophoi*, with one or two children shown standing next to the woman and/or standing on her shoulder.[29] Such are not uncommon in female sanctuaries (examples can be seen in Table 2) and are considered to be both symbols of fertility and protectors of children.[30]

Figurines holding what may be small offerings are commonly found among votive terracottas. Examples of such can be fruit or pomegranates, of

[17] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2447–2535, 3091–3109.
[18] Blinkenberg 1931: protomai without a veil: cat. nos 2535a–b, 3133–3144.
[19] Blinkenberg 1931: protomai with a diadem: cat. nos 2447a–2501, 2512–2518, 2520–2525, 2533a–c, 2535a–b, 3091–3114, 3117–3118, 3120, 3122–3124, 3127–3128, 3136–3144.
[20] Blinkenberg 1931: 591; Muller 2009: 93.
[21] Bell 1981: 85; Croissant 1983: 4–5; Sabetai 2015: 157; Webster 1979: 183.
[22] Ammerman points out that what seems to be the most chthonic quality of the protomai '…is the depth to which this notion has become embedded in the literature', Ammerman 2002: 290; Uhlenbrock 1988: 139–140, 150–151, 156; Uhlenbrock 2016.
[23] Rumscheid 2006: 153; Smith 1949: 357–359.
[24] Blinkenberg 1941: no. 183; Morelli 1959: 121.
[25] See Blinkenberg 1941.
[26] In order of the sites listed: *Chios*: Boardman 1967: cat. nos 117, 135–136; *Gela*: Panvini and Sole 2005: 64, 82, 135–143, 183–186, 192; *Thasos*: Huysecom-Haxhi 2009: 571; *Brauron*: Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009: cat. nos 198–244 (245–291?); *Argos*: Waldstein *et al.* 1905: cat. nos 216–226, 230–233, 239–240; *Tiryns*: Frickenhaus 1912: 84, cat. nos 147–147a; *Corinth* (*c.* 50 types): Merker 2000: 3; *Knossos* (12 types): Higgins 1973: 83–84, cat. nos 196–207; *Priene*: Rumscheid 2016: 328; *Paestum*: Ammerman 2002: 292; *Aegina*: Margreiter 1988: cat. nos 154–157, 181–182.
[27] For references of the numbers listed in Table 2, see the publications listed above.
[28] Examples of such discussions and interpretations can be found here: Blinkenberg 1931: 28, 34–35; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009: 573.
[29] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2125, 2145, 2256–2259, 2252, 2226–2230, 2242–2244, 2944–2950, 2986–2997.
[30] Price 1978: 215–219; Spathi 2015: 439–440.

Type\Site	Tiryns	Corinth	Knossos	Priene	Paestum	Aegina
Deity	Hera	Demeter	Demeter	Demeter	Aphrodite	Apollon
Period of TC	7th – 5th c. BC	Classical period – 146 BC	8th – 2nd c. BC	Hellenistic Period	6th c. BC – 1st c. AD	8th c. BC – Hellenistic period
Total amount	3000	24,000/2210	2–3000/273	266–274≤	5355/2909	99
Females	929 (31%)	865 (39.1%)	206 (75.5%)	177 (64.6%)	2521 (86.7%)	40 (40%)
Seated females	604 (65%)	90 (10.4%)	27 (13.1%)	9 (5.1%)	1786 (70.8%)	9 (22.5%)
Males	15 (0.5%)	110 (5%)	12 (4.4%)	3 (1.1%)	23 (0.8%)	3 (3%)
Protomai	3	50	12	1≤	105	6
Kourotrophoi	-	2 (+4)	3	2	18	-
Attributes						
Flowers	3 (+18)	5	(2)	-	11	(1)
Fruits	4	3	(2+2)	(8)	6 (+1570/234)	(5)
Birds/Doves	4	4	1	-	(21)	(5)
Piglets	120≤	25≤	-	-	7	-
Torches	-	13	1	22	-	-
Hydrophoroi	3	29	10	22	-	-
Phialai	(1)	1	7	-	221	-
Most Popular Instruments	-	3 Tambourines (?)	1 Lyre and 1 Tambourine	2 Kithara	-	1 Panpipes

Table 2. Distribution of selected terracotta figurine types in selected sanctuaries.

which there are 36 figurines from Lindos,[31] and other examples can be found in Brauron and Santa Venera, as seen in Table 2. There are 52 females from Lindos holding lotus flowers, and such are also seen in the Artemission in Thasos and Brauron, in the Heraion in Tiryns, the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in Corinth, and the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Santa Venera. Both pomegranates, fruits, and flowers are considered fertility symbols in various ways.[32]

Ritual paraphernalia are also seen as attributes for the votive figurines. For example there are 24 of the Lindian terracottas holding torches.[33] They were used in processions, and as light sources the torches are connected to night rituals, and they are often found in Demeter sanctuaries, considered to be related to the Mysteries and the Thesmophoria ceremonies.[34] Fifteen of the Lindian figurines with torches hold what seems to be a basket with fruits, but may also be a sacrificial cake, and a single figurine also holds a piglet. The baskets of fruit can be interpreted as being related to the so-called 'First Fruit' offerings. The First Fruits were the first produce of the year to be offered to the gods, whether it was from farming, hunting, fishing, or the like. The First Fruits seem to be interchangeable with the 'tithe' ('dekatai'), where a tenth of the crop, earnings, or property was dedicated. Such offerings are mentioned in inscriptions from Lindos.[35]

Another example of ritual indicators are the 38 figurines holding hydriai, the so-called *hydrophoroi*.[36] These vessels indicate a connection with water. In Table 2, they are also seen in the Demeter sanctuaries and in the sanctuary in Tiryns. It is worth noting for the Heraion in Argos, that hydriai have been found in large numbers, especially in miniatures, but interestingly this is not reflected in the terracottas from the site.[37]

Instruments are also found as attributes among the votive terracottas, and were probably part of the rituals carried out in the cults, as singing and dancing were strong ritual agents.[38] Most noteworthy from the Athana Lindia sanctuary are the 22 figurines that hold a tympanon, and 12 of these also hold a phiale, which further indicates the ritual use for these instruments.[39] Percussion instruments, such as the tympanon and the tambourine, were considered exotic, i.e. not part of the

[31] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2146–2151h, 2169–2172, 2441–2443, 2994, 2300, 3023–3029.
[32] See, e.g., Baumbach 2004: 19; Böhm 1990: 129; Zuntz 1971: 143.
[33] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 3018–3029.
[34] Clinton 1992: 73; Diehl 1964: 187–188; Kearns 2010:17, 100, 135, 240, 315–316, 339; *IG* II2 1184; Kron 1992: 624; Kron 1996: 148.
[35] Burkert 2008: 66–68; Jim 2014: 2; Kowalzig 2007: 237.
[36] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 3003a –3012.
[37] Caskey and Amandry 1952: 197, 211–212; Cole 1988: 161–162; Diehl 1964: 176–179; Kron 1992: 630.
[38] Bloch 1974: 56–57; Kowalzig 2007: 49–51.
[39] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2220–2224, 2247–2248, 3037–3042.

proper Greek tradition, and they were otherwise not widely used.[40]

Animals are often seen as both attributes and figurines in their own right. Examples of such are the 28 figurines from Lindos, which portray females holding piglets. They either carry the piglets in their arms or along their side, holding the piglets by their hindlegs. 23 piglet figurines were also dedicated.[41] The piglets as attributes are found also in the Athena sanctuaries in Chios and Gela, as well as in Corinth and Tiryns, as seen in Table 2. The piglet is often considered to be a sign of Demeter worship, as piglet offerings were part of the Thesmophoria-festival, but they have also been connected to First Fruit offerings. The Thesmophoria and the First Fruit offerings, and thus the piglets, are then considered to be related to fertility.[42] This meaning could easily apply to other cults. It is also often mentioned as a common offering to the *Kourotrophos* (as an independent deity).[43] Another, more general function for piglets was their use in purification and, possibly, atonement rituals.[44]

Other significant animals that can be found in Lindos, are the (small) goats on the laps of 32 seated female figurines.[45] Goats as attributes for the terracotta figurines, and indeed their (symbolic) presence in the sanctuary at all, is rare, as goats and all things made from goats were banned according to entry regulations set up in the sanctuary.[46] The same ban may have been in effect on the Athenian Acropolis,[47] which indicates that there may have been a specific cultic meaning and/or ritual connected to this animal in these Athena cults, and in particular the figurines in Lindos.

More common, and seen in multiple sanctuaries with votive terracottas, are the small birds, which might be doves. About 30 females hold such birds, and 28 possible doves are dedicated separately in the Lindian sanctuary.[48] Doves could be pets for women and children, and they may only have been sacrificed to female deities.[49] Other examples of specific animal figurines dedicated in the Athana Lindia sanctuary are the approximately 23 tortoises, 10 rams, 10 horses, 9 bulls, 9 lions, and 5 dogs.[50]

The many animals that are listed here, as well as the many other species to be represented in the sanctuaries all have particular ritual meanings, typically also symbolise fertility, as well as alluding to the aspect of *Potnia Theron*, the Mistress of Animals. The function of *Potnia Theron*, as the protector of wild animals, is closely related to Artemis, but is also a common aspect to be found in other (both male and female) cults.[51]

The votive terracottas reveal aspects of Athana Lindia as a protector of children (*kourotrophos*), a fertility goddess in relation to children, crops, and prosperity, and a Mistress of Animals (*Potnia Theron*). These are functions that are not of part of the usual narrative of Athena, but they represent universal needs that must necessarily be met by the local deities – such as Athana Lindia. There are only a few specific Athena indications among the votive offerings. Examples of this in the votive terracottas are the previously mentioned Athena-figurines, and another attribute is the spindle held by seven seated female figurines, alluding to the aspect of Athena as goddess of handicraft, and inventor of spinning and weaving (Figure 9).[52] Therefore, the specific Athena-concept is certainly present, but the range of aspects covered by Athana Lindia is broader than might be expected under the Athena name. Of course, she was given the Lindia epitaph, which may explain part of her functions and how she was perceived.

The Athena sanctuary in Lindos was not the only one on Rhodes, but it was the only one with an epitaph related to the site. The name indicates a connection specifically with the sacred site, which adds to the understanding of the deity. The choice of setting for the sanctuary was hardly coincidental. Nature often plays a substantial part in the settling of cults, no less so in Greece, where scenic sites very often seem to play a part in the cult itself.[53] This was quite possibly true for this cult also. The sanctuary possesses three prominent characteristics in its setting worth considering.

First, the sanctuary is placed on a prominent rock, an acropolis (Figures 10, 11, 13). It stands out in the landscape, as it rises abruptly towards the sky and so, naturally, appeals to the human tendency of placing cult and sanctuaries as high as possible, with an excellent view and likewise visible from far away. The mountain itself may also be conceived as an empowering place, lending its force to the residing deity, as seen in Hittite religion.[54] The mountains play a prominent role in Greek

[40] Comotti 1989: 74–75.
[41] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 1882, 2410–2411, 3030–3036.
[42] Kron 1992: 619; Rumscheid 2003: 150–154; Van Straten 1995: 57.
[43] Clinton 1992: 36; Kearns 2010: 225–226, 228; Spathi 2015: 443–444.
[44] Clinton 2005: 168–179; Kearns 2010: 108, 160; Sguaitamatti 1984: 57; Sokolowski 1962: 20.12–23; Van Straten 1995: 4.
[45] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2199–2201.
[46] Blinkenberg 1941: cat. nos 419, 487, especially 487 l. 8–9; Petrovic 2018: 235.
[47] Varro. *Rust*. 1, 2, 20–1.
[48] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2106–2107, 2109, 2126, 2155, 2159–2160, 2163–2165, 2179–2183, 2251, 2280, 2414–2421, 2435–2436.
[49] Bevan 1986: 51–52.
[50] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 1866–1867, 1876, 1890–1892, 1897–1900, 1902, 1906, 1908–1910, 1919–1920, 1922, 1932–1933, 2395–2399, 2400–2408, 2413, 2437–2439.
[51] Bevan 1986: 4–6, 100–114, 187–193, 235–238; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009: 21.
[52] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2217–2218; Burkert 2008: 140–141; Simon 1985: 187–188.
[53] Edlund 1987: 35–37, 42–43; Schachter 1990.
[54] Haas 1982: 49; 1994: 461; Sørensen and Lumsden 2016: 78.



Figure 9. Greek terracotta figurine from Lindos of seated female holding a spindle. In the National Museum of Denmark, inv. no. 10575. (Photograph by John Lee).

religion, where they could serve as residing places for gods and for human interaction with the deities, which led to several shrines being placed on high sites.[55] The placing on a peak such as this was not unusual for the goddess Athena. She often resided on exactly such peaks, in connection with her role as protector of the local city.[56] In these cases, the epithet could be Polias, as in Athens, Kamiros and Ialyssos – meaning of the city.[57] In Lindos, however, it was Lindia from early on, and not until the Early Hellenistic period when her father joined her in the sanctuary as Zeus Polieus, is she also mentioned as Athana Polias.[58] The epithet Lindia tied her closer to her specific site, and the site to her, and it seems reasonable to assume that she initially originated as a goddess not just on but also of the mountain.

Second, in the rock there is a natural cave. It opens towards the sea and is not directly visible from land. The temple of Athana Lindia is situated directly above the cave (Figures 11–12). This placement cannot be coincidental.[59] Rather it is an obvious explanation for the position of the temple on the very edge of the rock outcrop, ignoring all demands of symmetry, instead connecting directly with the cave, thus merging with one of nature's most prominent and sacred features. This also offers an explanation as to why the temple did not expand and stayed in the exact same location, when the rest of the sanctuary was monumentalised and expanded to cover the entire top surface of the acropolis (Figure 6), and even though an opportunity for change presented itself, through the temple fire in 392/1 BC.[60] No ancient cultic finds have been made in the cave, however, an inscription was found there, made by one of the highest religious and civil authorities in Lindos.[61] Today there is a Christian shrine and a worship of Panagia Spiliotissa (Holy Virgin of the Cave).[62] The cultic meanings bestowed on the caves were numerous, e.g. as birthplaces of gods, as the home of gods, as places of transition, and as passages to the underworld. Which particular role the cave played in Lindos, however, is uncertain.

Third, the rock is situated right by the sea and the blue water is quite a present element at the sanctuary (Figures 10, 11, 13). The symbolic value of the force of the water is hard to overlook, crashing at the very foot of the sanctuary. In Greek mythology, the sea was also a mediating space, both connecting and separating, and both barren and fertile.[63] The sea was also, as in Lindos, both a symbol for and a source of wealth and connectivity, as seen through the thriving ports of Lindos. Divinities connected with promontories, caves, and placed by the sea, where often also considered protectors of the land.[64]

The setting of the sanctuary embodies three powerful aspects of nature: the mountain, the cave, and the sea. These features were not simply background elements but were powerful forces of nature that gave life to the deity.[65] They bestowed her with aspects recognisable in the cult and the votives. The landscape as an active player in the understanding of cults is well-known from other religions, such as the Hittite, where elements such as trees, rivers, springs, or, like here, mountains, rock outcrops, or caves could be worshipped in several different ways, such as elements of the landscape, as personified figures, or generically.[66] The elements listed from Lindos are all connected to another deity from Anatolia. Like Athana Lindia she is a lady of the rock, the true mountain goddess known as Matar (mother) in Phrygia, sometimes Matar Kubileya (of the mountain), and Kybele, Meter or Meter Oreia in Greece.[67] She was best known as Meter, Kybele being an epithet. And Meter could also have the epithet *apo speleion*, meaning the Mother of the Cave.[68] An interpretation

[55] Edlund 1987: 35, 44–49; Langdon 2000: 463, 466–467; Roller 2013: 4607–4608.
[56] Schachter 1990: 39–40.
[57] Parker 2011: 86–87.
[58] The earliest mention of Zeus Polieus in the sanctuary is from 313 BC, Blinkenberg 1941: cat. no. 57.
[59] Dyggve 1960: 125–126, 148, fig. IV, 19.
[60] Blinkenberg 1931: 14; Dyggve 1960: 126.
[61] Blinkenberg 1941: cat. no. 485: '*ἱερεὺς Ἀθάνας Λινδίας Λο(ύκιος) Αἴλ(ιος) Ἀγλώχαρτος*'; Dyggve 1960: 126.
[62] Papachristodoulou 2006: 14–15.
[63] Beaulieu 2016: 15–16, 188–189.
[64] Edlund 1987: 55.
[65] Sørensen and Lumsden 2016: 78–79.
[66] Beckmann 2004: 312; Sørensen and Lumsden 2016: 78.
[67] Bøgh 2007: 306; Roller 1999: 42–44, 68; Vassileva 2001: 53.
[68] Roller 1999: 329.



Figure 10. Modern day Lindos and the Lindian acropolis
(Photograph by Niels Bargfeldt).



Figure 11. The cave facing the sea in the Lindian acropolis.
(Photograph by Niels Bargfeldt).

of the name also stresses the relation to the mountains as sanctuaries: Kybele is the mountain that bears a cave.[69] Hesychios believed the word '*kybela*' meant 'the mountains of Phrygia, and caves and hollow places'.[70] This was evident in the worship of her, which could take place in caves as well as rock-cut niches, which could reference caves.[71] Kybele was strongly linked to mountains, where her sanctuaries were placed, as the rock-cut niches with architectural facades, or in the

[69] Roller 1999: 67–68; Vassileva 2001: 53; Zgusta 1982: 171–172.
[70] Hsch., *s.v. Kybele*; Roller 1999: 67; Sayce 1928: 161.
[71] Rein 1996: 233–234, 237; Roller 1999: 189, 341.

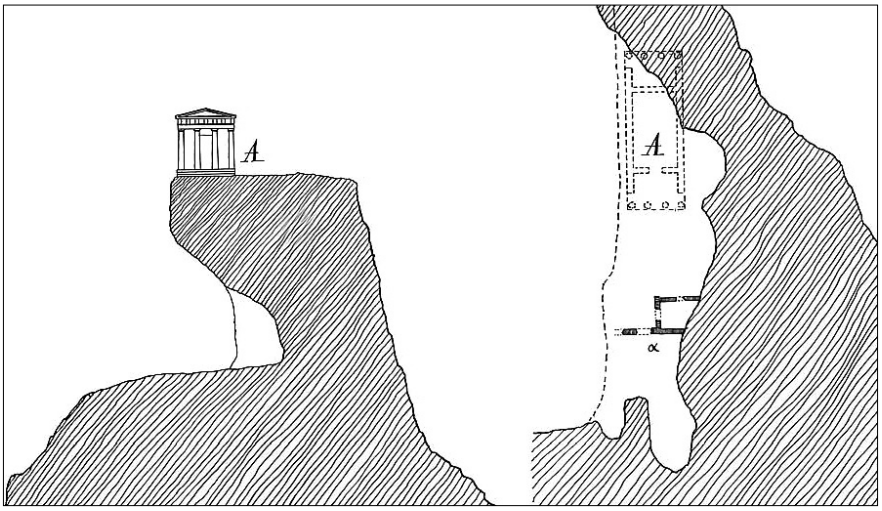


Figure 12. Plan of the temple above the cave. (Plan by E. Dyggve: 1960: 148, fig. IV, 19).



Figure 13. Modern day Lindos and the Lindian acropolis. (Photograph by Niels Bargfeldt).

caves.[72] One of the primary aspects of Kybele was the role of city protector.[73] A role also very prominent for Athena, especially when residing on an acropolis. There are some discrepancies between the Phrygian and Greek understanding of Matar/Meter or Kybele. This is most likely a result of a mixed conception of Kubaba and Kybele, who were separate goddesses in the Lydian and Phrygian religion, but probably through linguistic misunderstandings, came to be much assimilated with each other in the Greek mythology.[74] This meant that the Greek Meter or Kybele was known as the Great Mother, and while first and foremost considered to be a goddess of power and protection, when it came to specific protection of a city this also included its thriving, and so, embracing some of Kubaba's attributes, she was also a fertility goddess. Kybele is believed to have entered the Greek religious world in the early 6th century BC, in East Greek cities on the western shore of Asia Minor, such as Miletos, Smyrna, Kyme, Phocaea, Erythrae, and Chios, all incidentally by the sea, and port cities like Lindos.[75] The cult and aspects of the goddess spread by the sea, through colonisation, and through travellers from port to port.[76] The many imported votives in Lindos (including Phrygian fibulae) are a testament to such interactions.[77]

I would argue that the goddess of Lindos was perceived to have similar aspects and share characteristics with

[72] Berndt-Ersöz 1998: 89.
[73] Bøgh 2012: 44.
[74] Bøgh 2007: 314; Naumann 1983: 17–38; Roller 1999: 69.
[75] Graf 1984: 117; Roller 1999: 119.
[76] Bøgh 2012: 38–39.
[77] See Blinkenberg 1931.

Kybele. Besides the setting, there are also specific references to Kybele among the votive offerings from the sanctuary in Lindos. Two terracotta figurines were identified by Blinkenberg as actually portraying Kybele: females, seated on thrones with high backs, and with a small lion on the lap. The right hand rests on the thigh, the left may have held a tympanon, although the figurines are fragmented, so it is not certain.[78] Another terracotta may be identified as Kybele: a female is sitting on a throne with a high back, she is wearing a high polos, and holds a phiale omphalos in her right hand.[79] These figurines are dated to the early 4th century BC. Among the previously mentioned votives from the sites are also the nine Greek terracotta lions, and especially noteworthy are the *c.* 150 Cypriote limestone lion figurines, also dedicated to the goddess, and *c.* 90 predatory birds (falcons or hawks), dated to the Archaic period.[80] These predatory animals were signs of power and often seen as attributes to Kybele, especially the lions.[81] The large numbers of these votive animal figurines are clear indicators as to how Athana Lindia was perceived, i.e. powerful. Further examples of relations to Kybele are the 22 terracotta figurines portraying females holding tympana, and 12 of these also hold a phiale.[82] This instrument was considered an attribute of Kybele, and a part of the Eastern, foreign traditions that came through in the rituals of her cult, as also noted by Menander.[83] These terracottas most likely refer to rituals in the Lindian sanctuary, including the tympana. The phiale is also a general attribute of Kybele.[84] As well as the terracotta medium, Kybele is typically portrayed within a small naiskos, mimicking the Anatolian rock-cut facades.[85] In regard to this, one might note the design of the temple on Lindian acropolis, as it was kept small and simple through all three phases, in close resemblance to a small naiskos. The view of the cult statue through the doorway may not have been too far off from the typical portrayal of Kybele in her niche or naiskos.

The setting of the Athana Lindia sanctuary on the rock, with a cave, by the sea, along with a study of the votive offerings, reveals prominent aspects also found in the Phrygian mountain goddess Kybele. The goddesses seem to have been associated and shared aspects of power and protection, along with fertility. The intent of this contribution is thus not to assert that Athana Lindia was a version of Kybele, but that they shared aspects – aspects that were bestowed through the power of the natural forces. Athana Lindia was a version of Athena, who also influenced fertility and prosperity in many shapes and forms, she was goddess of crafts, crops, a *Pothnia Theron*, a matronly protector, and protector of the city. Furthermore, as indicated by the votive figurines, she shared aspects also with Demeter, as well as Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite. Nevertheless, she is still Athena, and even more so, she is the multifunctional Athana Lindia. While a specific name for the deity supplied a bouquet of functions to be bestowed within the cults, for the ancient worshippers the name of the gods and goddesses did not discourage the adaption or the embrace of a wider range of aspects desired at the individual sites, as was the case in the Athana Lindia sanctuary.

In conclusion, the Greek worshippers did not consider their almighty gods strictly bound by their mythical repertoires of duties or assigned responsibilities, but able to assist with what the worshippers required their help for, and stand guard for specific rituals – while not denying that some deities may have been better skilled in some areas than others. Their gods were flexible and influenced by local circumstances, such as the forces of nature and needs for protection, that allowed for Athena to fill the sacred Lindian space.

[78] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2884–2885; Vermaseren 1982: 216–217.
[79] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. no. 2956; Vermaseren 1982: 217. For Kybele iconography, see Naumann 1983; Vermaseren 1982; LIMC VIII, suppl. Kybele: 747–766, taf. 506–519.
[80] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 1825–1856.
[81] Bøgh 2012, 35; Naumann 1983: 49–52; Rein 1996: 226; Roller 1999: 48–49.
[82] Blinkenberg 1931: cat. nos 2220–2224, 2247–2248, 3037–3042.
[83] Men. *Theophoroumene*, 25–29; Comotti 1989: 74–75; Naumann 1983: 136.
[84] Naumann 1983: 69–71. See also Vermaseren 1982: numerous examples listed under patera, 240.
[85] Bøgh 2012: 39–41; Naumann 1983: 110–130; Rein 1996: 221; Vikela 2001: 73.

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Public servants and cult officials: The socio-economic standing and activities of the priests of Apollo and the *hieropoioi* at Halasarna, Kos, *c.* 220–180 BC

Kerstin Höghammar

Abstract

The article presents the socio-economic background of a group of 76 identifiable cult officials (priests of Apollo or *hieropoioi*) at the sanctuary of Apollo and Herakles at Halasarna, Kos, in the period *c.* 220–180 BC. Nineteen of them are identified as, or related to, a donor in a nation-wide collection dated 202/1 BC. The contributions vary from 30 to 8000 drachms. It is thus possible to situate the donors in different wealth groups. Most of the Halasarnitan officials had only modest means at their disposal. This shows that these cult officials, some also active in other public capacities, did not exclusively belong to a small elite. Six officials and their families are presented briefly, another three somewhat more closely.

Key words: Cult officials, Kos, Halasarna, Hellenistic, elite, democracy, socio-economic standing, wealth group, hieropoioi, epidosis

This contribution presents part of a larger work on cult magistrates at the sanctuary of Apollo and Herakles at Halasarna in the decades *c.* 220–180 BC, treating them from different perspectives[1] (Figures 1–3). Here I will concentrate on the socio-economic standing of these magistrates, i.e. the priest of Apollo and the *hieropoioi*, a board of cult officials mostly concerned with ritual. I will also present some individual officials and their known activities more closely.

The sources which form the starting point of this present investigation consist of inscriptions. The first, *IG* XII 4.2, 458 comprises a longish list of votives to Apollo, including the names of the donating officials.[2] The list has been dated to just before 200 BC and it covers votives dedicated over a period of *c.* 15 years, *c.* 220–205 BC.[3] The text is highly fragmentary and only 27 of the around 100 original names have been preserved to such an extent that the men are identifiable.[4] We also have nine short dedicatory texts to Hekate *Stratia* listing the names of the yearly priest and the *hieropoioi* serving with him, *IG* 624–632. The Hekate dedications are in a much better condition than *IG* 458, 59 of the 62 original names are preserved and identifiable. Altogether we have the names of 76 different individuals, 11 of them had served as priests and 66 had served as *hieropoioi*. Some men served on two or three occasions, and one served as both *hieropoios* and as priest. Here I will discuss eight of the dedications dating to *c.* 200 BC.[5]

To find out what other activities these men were involved in, both locally and nationally, I have searched for their names in other inscriptions, and two of these texts are particularly important for the present theme. The first is the well-known *polis*-wide collection (*epidosis*) which is known from three ancient copies, *IG* 75–77. It is dated to 201 BC and records private donations to the *polis* 'for the saving of the fatherland and the allies' at a time when the Koans were expecting an attack by the Macedonian fleet of Philip V[6] (Figure 4). This was most probably just after an allied fleet, almost certainly including the Koans, had been defeated outside Miletos and, after stopping at Kos, this fleet had retreated further south, so the Koans were on their own and the situation was critical.[7] L. Migeotte has analysed

[1] The larger work (Höghammar forthcoming) covers a short general presentation of the deme and cult officials, a close reading and dating of the different groups of office holders in *IG* XII 4.2 and 624–632, an account of repeated office-holding, of family-relationships, of the economic background of the officeholders, a short presentation of individual officeholders, as well as a description of the scale and reach of their local and national activities and a discussion of their historic context.

[2] The inscriptions with their numbers refer to the recently published *Inscriptiones Graecae* XII 4, 1-4 volumes, 2010–2018, here shortened to *IG* and the number. The publication of the presently known inscriptions have greatly facilitated any work involving Koan inscriptions. Apart from a number of 'new' inscriptions, the editors provide (often closer) datings, as well as interconnections between different texts.

[3] The date of the inscription is taken from *IG*. For the period covered in the list, see Höghammar (forthcoming).

[4] More proper names are preserved, but, as several contemporary men have the same name, it is not possible to determine which (if any) of these men the names in the list belong to.

[5] The last inscription dates to *c.* 185–180 BC (*c.* 185 BC Höghammar 2004: 72–75, and *c.* 180 BC *IG* 104).

[6] For the dating, see *IG* 75–77 and Höghammar 2013a: 194–195 (with further references).

[7] Höghammar 2013a: 194–195; Holleaux 1952: 217–218, 292–293; Sherwin-White 1978: 121–122. Polybius (XVI.15) tells us that the

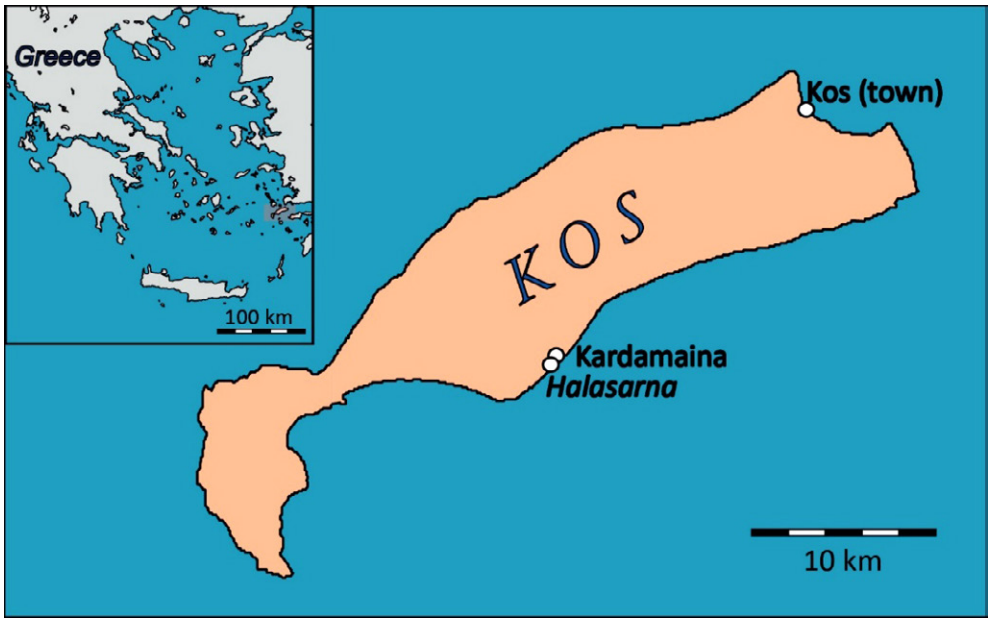


Figure 1. Map of Kos island with Kos town and Halasarna. Published with the permission of Victoria Georgopoulou and Anno Hein. (First published on a poster in 2015; Amphorae and more – Long-term pottery production in Halasarna, Kos. Anno Hein, Dimitris Grigoropoulos, Viktoria Georgopoulou, Maria Koutsoumbou, Eleni Nodarou and Vassilis Kilikoglou).

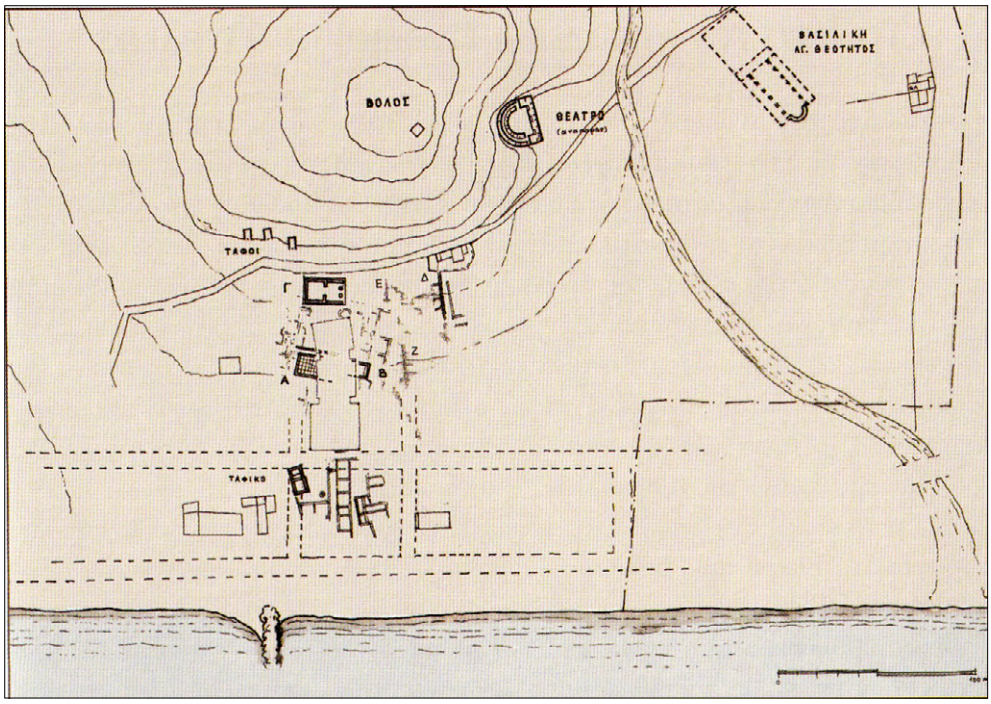


Figure 2. The sanctuary of Apollo and Herakles at Halasarna. General plan. Published with permission by the Halasarna project.

the inscription in detail and he estimated the total number of donations to *c.* 400, and the sum collected to *c.* 150,000 drachms.[8] Today we have 283 preserved sums, *c.* 70% of the total number.

The second important inscription is *IG* 103–104 from Halasarna, dating *c.* 185–180 BC. It is a list of all the deme members who had the right to participate in the *hiera* (official cult activities) of Apollo and Herakles. It also tells us that the priest of Apollo was chosen by lot from a limited number of listed volunteers who had to

Rhodian fleet put in at Kos, but as Kos was an ally to Rhodos and had a fleet, the Koans most likely participated in the battle at Lade.

[8] Migeotte 1992: 147–160, no. 50; Migeotte 2000: 165–166.



Figure 3. The sanctuary of Apollo and Herakles at Halasarna. Photo towards the sea.
Published with permission by the Halasarna project.



Figure 4. Map of Aegean Greece at the time of the Second Macedonian War.
From Wikipedia, by Raymond Palmer.

be male deme citizens.[9] The appointment procedure was supervised by the deme *napoiai*, and from a much later inscription we know that the priest sat for one year.[10] It was thus formally a 'democratic' priesthood.[11]

Retired priests formed part of a board of former priests, the *hierateukotes*, who functioned as an advisory body to the incumbent priest. This board also made independent decisions on various matters.[12]

We do not know how the six *hieropoioi* were elected, but as they served with the priest and different groups of *hieropoioi* are listed with different priests, they also must have held office for one year.

Kos was, in the Hellenistic period, known as a prosperous island and the sums in *IG* 75–77, ranging very widely from 30 to 8000 drachms, reflect the wealth of the donors. Over 40 years ago S. Sherwin-White suggested that the contributions listed in this inscription should stand as proxy for the liquid assets available to the donors, or, rather, the families of the donors, as many sums are given on behalf of several family members.[13] Later scholars have followed her in this, Migeotte with some criticism and lately also Grieb.[14] The reasons presented for this conclusion are the unusual, perhaps unique, circumstances surrounding the subscription; the impending Macedonian attack, and the procedure used for accepting or rejecting the offered sums, i.e. the size of each contribution had to be accepted or rejected by an open vote in the assembly.[15] This is also the only known decree where the names of the donors are published on three separate stelae, set up in three highly visible locations in Kos town. We should also note that the most prominent Koans would have most to lose in case Philip conquered the polis. As leaders of the defence they would be punished, and thus they had a strong incentive to contribute as much as they were able to.

The *IG* publication from 2010 have been used here for a renewed analysis of the 283 sums (Chart 1). With the more recently published inscriptions, *IG* 76 and 77, more sums are presently known than those analysed by Sherwin-White. New readings by Migeotte and by Hallof in the *IG*-volume have also led to some revised figures for individual sums. The sums have been divided up into seven different wealth classes, i.e. two more (separating the highest sums) than those of Sherwin-White. There are only 24 families donating 30–60 drachms, whereas 83 families give 100 drachms – they form the largest group. I do not regard these lowest sums as proper wealth. The reason for not considering them as representing even a small fortune is that they equal the cost of wheat needed to feed a family (of four) at somewhat above subsistence level for one to two months.[16] Such a sum, no doubt, formed an important cash buffer, but not proper wealth. The families who donated these contributions could perhaps, in modern terms, be said to belong to 'the lower middle classes'. It is, I believe, rare to have information not just on the richest stratum of society, but also on families lower down in the economic pyramid.

The sums above 100 drachms constitute smaller or higher degrees of wealth. As many as 80 families contributed 150–300 drachms, a considerably smaller number, 49 families, donated 500–600 drachms, and 37 families gave 1000–1400 drachms. The by far largest donations are much rarer. Only seven families donated 3000–3500 drachms, and just three enormously rich families contributed 7000–8000 drachms.

The overwhelmingly best represented groups are those donating 100 and 150–300 drachms. They are considerably larger than those who contributed less money, 30–60 drachms, and those who donated higher sums 500–600 and 1000–1400 drachms. Families donating 3000 drachms or more are rare.

In this context, one should also note that, in the *polis*, there must have been other families with no cash reserves, as there certainly were more than 400 families living in the Koan city-state.

So, where do the Halasarnitan officials fit in in this economic pyramid? The donations make it possible for us to determine their socio-economic status relative to families from the entire *polis* (Chart 2). Altogether 19 cult officials can be identified as donors or relatives of donors in *IG* 75–77. None of them belonged to the wealthiest families. They gave sums ranging from 50 to 600 drachms. Eight officials belonged to three families donating 30–60 drachms (six of them to the same family) and two belonged to families giving 100 drachms. Five families contributed 150–300 drachms and four gave 500–600 drachms. Half of these officials thus belong to the families of donors with lower resources and the rest to families with a small to medium-sized fortune in currency.

Another question is if there was any difference in the economic standing of the priests and the *hieropoioi*.

[9] *IG* 103.3–6, 20–22, 29–44, 91–95.
[10] For the *napoiai* see *IG* 103. See *IG* 365 for the annual priesthood (date, AD 21?).
[11] See Horster 2012: 175, for a definition of 'democratic' priesthood and 180–181, for her view on this phenomenon in Athens.
[12] Inscriptions concerning the board of former priests, *IG* 363, 364, 365. See also Paul 2013: 206–207. For a further discussion see Höghammar (forthcoming).
[13] Höghammar (forthcoming); Sherwin-White 1978: 179–180, 215–216.
[14] Grieb 2008: 172–173; Migeotte 1992: 152.
[15] *IG* 75.11–18.
[16] For a discussion, see Höghammar (forthcoming). See also Bresson 2016: 325; Engen 2010: 87; Ober 2015: 93–95; Reger 1993: 317, 333; Scheidel 2010: 436–438, 441–443, 453.

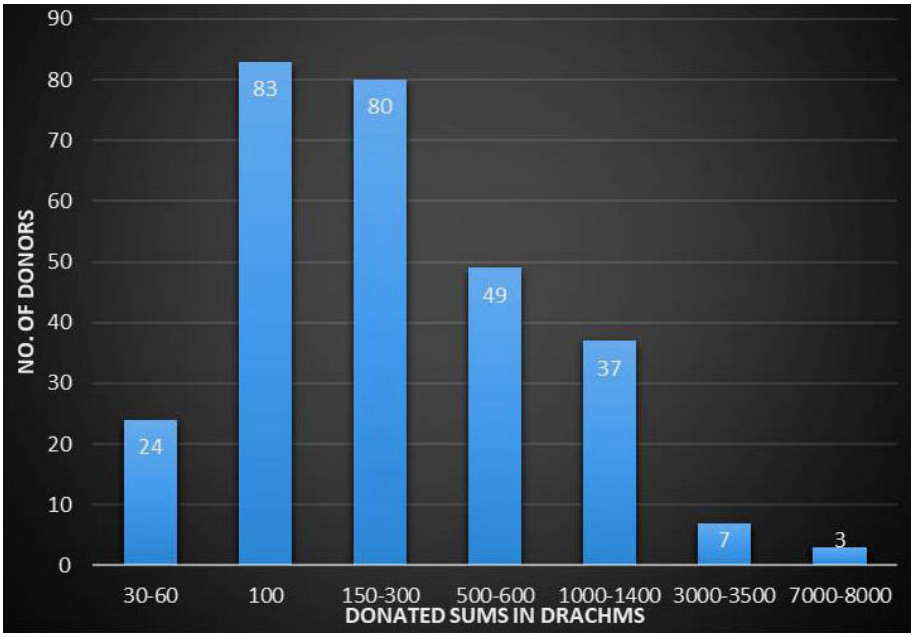


Chart 1. Number of donors from the entire *polis* of Kos. Copyright K. Höghammar.

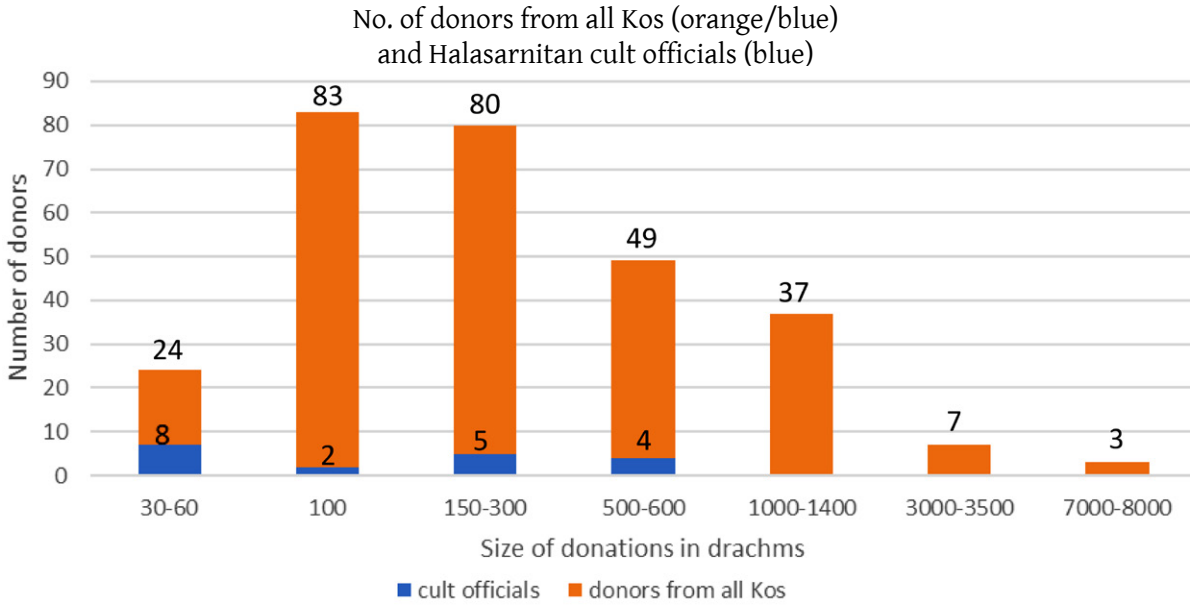


Chart 2. Number of donors from all Kos and number of Halasarnitan cult officials. Copyright K. Höghammar.

The priesthood was highly prestigious and in recent research it has been suggested that even if, in theory, it was open to all male deme members, in reality it was probably, on the whole, occupied by rich demesmen (an elite).[17] The evidence presented for this consists of the high value of the votives, 100 drachms, donated by the single priests listed at the beginning of *IG* 458.[18] To this information we must, however, add the considerably lower value, 50 drachms, of the votives presented by, most probably, at least seven groups listed in the same inscription, each group consisting of a priest and six *hieropoioi*.[19]

So, let us look at the contributions in *IG* 75–77 in more detail in order to find out if there was any difference in the economic standing of the families of the priests and the families of the *hieropoioi* (Table 1). In two cases a close relative to a priest donated 50 drachms and one

[17] Kató 2013: 282–283, 285.

[18] Kató 2013: 282–283. Kató writes that the vessels were worth over 100 drachms, but they weighed 100 Alexander drachms, not more. His point is, however, still valid.

[19] The sum of 50 drachms is preserved in only one place, *IG* 458.20. I regard it as likely that the value was the same for all groups, considering that earlier in the inscription where the donations of single priests are listed, in the three cases (of five in total) where the sum remains, the priests donated a votive of the same value. See Höghammar (forthcoming).

Name	Inscription	Economy	Date (BC) Höghammar
Kallidamas, son of [Nikandros (?)]	*IG* 458.5	value of votive 100 dr. *IG* 75.169–170, 600 dr.	*c.* 220
Aristombrotos, son of Filistes	*IG* 458.23–24	value of votive 50 dr. (?)	*c.* 216/15–211/10
Filofron, son of Eufiletos	*IG* 458.28; *IG* 95.40	value of votive 50 dr. (?)	*c.* 215/14–210/09
Timanthes, son of Timanthes	*IG* 458.31–32	value of votive 50 dr. (?)	*c.* 214/13–209/08
Hekataios, son of Hekatodoros, date in *IG*, just after 200 BC	*IG* 628	*IG* 75.185 (son, 50 dr.)	*c.* 206/5–204/3
Charmylos, son of Myrmax, date in *IG*, *c.* 200 BC	*IG* 625 (+ nephew in *IG* 631)		*c.* 206/5–204/3
Chairedamos, son of Damos, date in *IG*, *c.* 200 BC	*IG* 624		*c.* 206/5–197/6
Kleusthenes, son of Hieron, date in *IG*, just after 200 BC	*IG* 627	*IG* 75.196–197 (father, 50 dr.)	*c.* 203/2–197/6
Aristaichmos, son of Gorgos, date in *IG*, just after 200 BC	*IG* 629; (*IG* 628 as *hieropoios)*		*c.* 203/2–197/6
Simias, son of Hekataios, date in *IG*, just after 200 BC	*IG* 631 434.20 (Afrodision, set sum 5 dr.)	*IG* 433.6 (father, 200 dr. to a library)	*c.* 203/2–197/6

Table 1. Economic status. List of priests in approximate chronological order.[20]

Name	Inscription	Economy	Date (BC)
[Damokri]tos, son of Theutimidas (brother of Charmylos)	*IG* 458.25–26	value of votive, 50 dr. (?) *IG* 75.105–106, (brother, 300 dr.)	*c.* 216/15–211/10
Thrason, son of Archidamos	*IG* 458.31	value of votive, 50 dr. (?) *IG* 75.91, 300 dr.	*c.* 215/14–210/09
Simos, son of Ainesidamos	*IG* 458.32–33	value of votive, 50 dr. (?) Segre 1952, no. 85.28–29 (father, 15 dr.) *IG* 437b32 (father, unknown sum)	*c.* 214/13–209/8
Onatoridas, son of [Frasimedes]	*IG* 458.42	*IG* 75.165–166, 200 dr.	*c.* 212/11–207/6
Aristomenes, son of Aristonymos	*IG* 625	*IG* 75.212–213, 500 dr.	*c.* 206/5–204/3
Charmylos, son of Theutimidas (brother of Damokritos)	*IG* 625	*IG* 75.105–106, 300 dr.	*c.* 206/5–204/3
Aristos, son of Aristoboulos	*IG* 628	*IG* 75.299–301, (father, 50 dr.)	*c.* 206/5–204/3
Filistos, son of Aristokleidas	*IG* 628	*IG* 75.320, (brother *siteresion* 151 dr.)	*c.* 206/5–204/3
Aristos, son of Theugenos	*IG* 626	*IG* 75.281, 100 dr.	*c.* 206/5–204/3
Lykaithos, son of Leukippos	*IG* 624	*IG* 75.76–77, 500 dr.	*c.* 206/5 or 197/96
[Timokles(?)], son of Fainion	*IG* 624	*IG* 75.255–256, 500 dr.	*c.* 206/5 or 197/96
Fainippos, son of Onasikles	*IG* 627	*IG* 75.97, (father, 100 dr.)	*c.* 203/2–197/6
Hieron, son of Stratippos	*IG* 627	*IG* 75.196–197, 50 dr.	*c.* 203/2–197/6
Stratippos, son of Hieron	*IG* 627	*IG* 75.196–197 (father, 50 dr.)	*c.* 203/2–197/6
Timokritos, son of Stratippos	*IG* 627	*IG* 75.196–197 (brother, 50 dr.)	*c.* 203/2–197/6
Pythonikos, son of Timokritos	*IG* 627	*IG* 75.196–197 (uncle, 50 dr.)	*c.* 203/2–197/6
Stratippos, son of Timokritos	*IG* 627	*IG* 75.196–197 (uncle, 50 dr.)	*c.* 203/2–197/6

Table 2. Economic status. List of *hieropoioi* in approximate chronological order (the table includes only officials with known economic status).[21]

[20] The exact chronological order of the Hekate dedications is uncertain, this is a tentative chronology.
[21] The exact chronological order of the Hekate dedications is uncertain, what is presented is a tentative chronology.

priest gave 600 drachms (Table 2). As for the *hieropoioi*, six belonged to families who donated 50 drachms, another two to families who gave 100 drachms, five to families donating 150–300 drachms, and three to families contributing 500 drachms. Even if we know of sums connected to only 19 officials, we can still be certain that, in both groups, we find men from families with some extra resources, and men from more affluent families.

The officials who were donors also acted in other capacities. Their service in the sanctuary of Apollo was just one of several public tasks they assumed responsibility for. To illustrate this, I will present some of the officials who belonged to families with donors in *IG* 75–77, six briefly and three somewhat more closely and give their other known activities. The first two form part of the six officials belonging to the same extended family in *IG* 627.

Hieron, son of Stratippos, served as *hieropoios* twice (*IG* 627, 630), the first time when his son Kleusthenes was priest.[22] Apart from serving as a *hieropoios*, he donated 50 drachms to the defence collection. He was also one of five men elected to a temporary board supervising that the tasks decided on by the deme on one particular occasion would be carried out.[23]

Pythonikos, son of Timokritos, Hieron's nephew, functioned as *hieropoios*. Several decades later he was one of a number of men who were publicly honoured by the demos of Kos for an unknown reason.[24]

Hekataios, son of Hekatodoros, was a priest (*IG* 628) whose second son donated 50 drachms. His first son, Hekatodoros, served as *hieropoios* under his father. Hekataios also appears in a list of names from the Asklepieion near Kos town, the purpose of which is unknown.[25]

Charmylos, son of Theutimidas, functioned as *hieropoios* (*IG* 625) and donated 300 drachms. Like Hieron he was one of five men elected to a temporary board supervising that the tasks decided by the deme on one particular occasion would be carried out.[26] His elder brother Damokritos also served as *hieropoios*.[27]

Filistos, son of Aristokleidas, served as *hieropoios* (*IG* 628). He also acted as a tribal leader, an *archeuon*, and one of his tasks was to feast the members of the tribe on certain occasions.[28] His brother Ariston, who, as well as a second brother, also functioned as a tribal leader, contributed 151 drachms for a *siteresion*.[29]

Aristos, son of Aristoboulos, was a *hieropoios* (*IG* 629). He was elected one of the two commissioners for the sale of the national priesthood of Dionysos *Thylloforos* (Dionysos in his aspect of a god of vegetation and trees).[30] His father contributed 50 drachms to the large collection and his son, Aristoboulos, donated five drachms to the Afrodision at Halasarna.[31]

The above presentations show that these men also took on various public tasks both for the deme and for the *polis*. They strengthen the argument that citizens from different socio-economic strata were active in public life.

The following three officials and their families will be presented in somewhat more detail. They, from what we know of them at this stage, represent three different categories of deme citizens, one belonging to the national elite, one to the local elite, and one was a new Koan citizen, originally from Kalymnos.

Lykaithos, son of Leukippos, belonged to a nationally prominent family and he served as a *hieropoios* (*IG* 624). He gave 500 drachms for the defense of the *polis* on behalf of himself, his small boys, and his wife.[32] This is, for the cult officials, a comparatively large sum showing that the family was fairly wealthy.

His father Leukippos was almost certainly the eponymous magistrate, the *monarchos*, given in a list of new Koan citizens found on Kalymnos, and the year of his *monarchia* is dated by Habicht to just after 200 BC.[33] Since Lykaithos' sons are described as παῖδες in *IG* 75 they were rather young, and thus it must be Lykaithos' father who held the eponymous office of *monarchos* during the war against Macedonia.[34] It is also probable that it was Lykaithos' father, Leukippos, who served as one of the magistrates responsible for the coining of silver in the 190s BC. The name Leukippos

[22] Kleusthenes was the second (?) son and no other activities of his are known. The name of the oldest son was *Stratippos*.
[23] Doulfis and Kokkorou-Alevra 2017: 122, no. 1.14.
[24] *IG* 463.74. Date 180–170 BC. The proper name is restored in *IG*.
[25] *IG* 429.15.
[26] Doulfis and Kokkorou-Alevra 2017: 122, no. 1.13.
[27] *IG* 458.25–26. The proper name, [Damokri]/tos, is restored by the present author. See Höghammar (forthcoming).
[28] *IG* 457.22.
[29] Tribal leader *IG* 457.9, 16. The *siteresion* is the money paid out for maintenance to citizens serving as soldiers or oarsmen on warships.
[30] *IG* 304.4.
[31] *IG* 434.30. The stone was found in the deme of Antimachia, but the many homonyms found in Halasarnitan inscriptions strongly indicate that it must originally have come from Halasarna.
[32] *IG* 75.76–78, [Λύκαιθ]ος Λευκίππου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν π[αιδίων καὶ τᾶς] γυναικὸς 500 drachms The word *παῖς* is used to denote a small (boy-) child, whereas *υἱός* stands for a (more grown) son, here most probably a youth or a young adult (Garland 1990: 106; Hamon 2007: 95 and no. 3; Migeotte 1992: 158–159).
[33] Kalymnian list, Segre 1952, no. 88, 49–50. For the dating see Habicht 2004: 63, 66 and comments to *IG* XII 4.1.302.28–29.
[34] The name Leukippos is rare in Koan inscriptions. Disregarding duplicates and three inscriptions not from the island of Kos (Segre 1952: no. 85.36 and no. 233, two Kalymnians; Segre 1993: no. ED 31), it occurs nine times in the *PHI* database (last accessed December 6, 2019).

can be found both on the Koan plinthophoric drachms and the contemporary Apollo hemidrachms. I have elsewhere argued that these two issues were coined for the continuing war effort just after 201 BC and just before the large earthquake of 198 BC.[35] This fits well with Leukippos having the highest public office on Kos in the same period.

Lykaithos acted as an official in different cults at Halasarna. Apart from being a *hieropoios* he also held the position of *epimenios*, the monthly priest of Zeus *Hyetios* (Zeus in his aspect of a rain-god). In the latter capacity he was honoured by the *koinon* of worshippers for the zeal and diligence he showed in carrying out his task as priest. This inscription was found in the deme of Antimachia, but should originally come from Halasarna.[36]

At around 200 BC, we, if the above identifications are correct, meet a family with an elderly statesman who held the highest public office on Kos, as well as at least one other high position. He had a grown son, Lykaithos, who served as an official in different local cults. Lykaithos was married to Philiás, the daughter of Alkidamos (otherwise unknown), and they, in their turn, had at least two sons – Leukippos the younger and Moschion, who were children in 202/1 BC.[37] The two sons, as adolescents or young men, donated a small set sum, five drachms, to the construction of a sanctuary of Afrodite at Halasarna *c.* 200–180 BC.[38] This family, known for three generations, belonged not just to the local, but also to the national elite on Kos.

Filofron, son of Eufiletos, was a priest of Apollo in the period just before 210 BC.[39] He belongs to one of the groups who donated a votive with a value of 50 drachms. Filofron was also, as we can see in one honorary decree, one of a group of three men elected by the deme to go to the *polis* government to ask that the honours to one man granted by the deme should be proclaimed at the national Dionysian games.[40] Such a mission was surely given only to persons whom the demesmen thought would be successful, and was probably a sign of Filofron's good reputation within the deme.

Also, his son and grandson are known. His son, Parmeniskos, son of Filofron, was named after the maternal grandfather, and his grandson, Eufiletos, son of Parmeniskos, the son of Filofron, was named after his paternal great grandfather.[41] Eufiletos the younger, was the proposer of the decision to renew the list of names of men who had the right to participate in the *hiera* of Apollo and Herakles in 185–180 BC (*IG* 103–104). He was, just like his grandfather the priest, a high-ranking demesman. To serve as a proposer he must have been a grown man when the proposition was made. This means that his father, Parmeniskos, should have become an adult before *c.* 210 BC, and that his grandfather, Filofron, must have been an old man at the end of the 3rd century BC. They were, for several generations, one of the governing families in the deme.

[*Theukrates*(?)], *son of Onasigenes*, served in the period 216/15 – 211/10 BC.[42] The name Onasigenes is extremely rare in Koan and Kalymnian inscriptions, it occurs only once on Kos (the present inscription) and once on Kalymnos.[43] The Kalymnian inscription, dated *c.* 227 BC, is a copy of a Koan decree honouring the Kalymnian citizen Theukrates, son of Onasigenes, and conferring Koan citizenship on him.[44] Probably about ten years later Kalymnos was integrated into the *polis* of Kos and all Kalymnians became Koan citizens.[45] Several of these new citizens became registered in the deme of Halasarna and had all the rights that the other citizens in the deme had.[46] On account of the rarity of the name the two mentions of a son of Onasigenes most probably refer to the same man, both because the inscriptions refer to men active in the same generation, and because several Kalymnian citizens are known to have become registered in the deme of Halasarna.

Theukrates was thus (most probably) one of several Kalymnians who recently had become full Koan citizens. He moved to Halasarna and became publicly active in his new Koan deme.

Conclusions

It is, in this material, very clear that also those who did not own considerable wealth held official positions and exercised public authority. In contrast to what has been suggested recently, the prestigious priesthood of

[35] Höghammar 2013b: 293.

[36] *IG* 121. Three of the named men in the inscription reappear only in Halasarnitan inscriptions (the remaining two cannot be connected to any particular deme). It is thus very likely that the inscription originally came from Halasarna. The three men are: Filistos, son of Filistos *IG* 434.18–19, Nikagoras, son of Theudoros *IG* 434.25–26, and Lykaithos, son of Leukippos, *IG* 624.

[37] For the wife and the names of the sons, see *IG* 104.717–720, dating *c.* 185–180 BC (*c.* 185 BC Höghammar 2004: 72–75, and *c.* 180 BC, *IG* 104).

[38] *IG* 434.16, 23. Date from *IG*.

[39] *IG* 458.28. His year of office should probably be dated 215/14 – 211/10 BC, if, as seems likely, the listed men in *IG* 458 appear in chronological order. See Höghammar (forthcoming) for a discussion of the dating.

[40] *IG* 95.20–27, 39–41. Date in *IG*, end of 3rd century BC.

[41] Parmeniskos, son of Filofron, *IG* 104.264–267; Eufiletos, son of Parmeniskos, the son of Filofron, *IG* 103.6–8.

[42] *IG* 458.24–25. The proper name is restored by me. See Höghammar (forthcoming).

[43] Segre 1952: 74.2, 19.

[44] Date from Segre 1952: no. 74.

[45] Habicht 2007: 140–141.

[46] See Ainesidamos, son of Simos, *IG* 104.55 (=Pugliese-Carratelli 1963–1964: 26B.I.55–56), and Segre 1952: 85.28–29; Tachippos, son of Tachippos, *IG* 104.628 (=Pugliese-Carratelli 1963–1964: 26B VII.23) and Segre 1952: 85.33; Anaxareta, daughter of Filinneas, *IG* 104.117–118 (=Pugliese-Carratelli 1963–1964: 26B.II.17–18, 33) and Segre 1952: 85.45.

Apollo at Halasarna was democratic, not only in theory but also in practice. As for the *hieropoioi* we do not know how they were elected, but their economic standing resembles that of the priests and thus they also came from different strata in society.

It seems that the priests and the *hieropoioi* at Halasarna – important public officials in the deme in the period *c.* 220–180 BC – did *not* form part of an exclusive socio-economic elite, as it also included members of what we, in modern times, would label 'the lower middle classes', who frequently occupied these positions.

Acknowledgements

I am much indebted to Professor Emerita G. Kokkorou-Alevras, who invited me to work on the theme 'the people of Halasarna' as one part of the 'Thales Halasarna' project. The research has been co-financed by the European Union (European Social Fund-ESF), and Greek national funds via the Operational Program 'Education and Lifelong Learning' of the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF)-Research Funding Program: THALES. Investing in knowledge society through the European Social Fund.

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Politics and religion on Koan coin types (end of 3rd – first half of 2nd century BC)

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Abstract

The purpose of the present contribution is to re-examine the types of Koan coins minted between the end of the 3rd – first half of the 2nd century BC and to formulate some hypothesis concerning the late introduction of the images of Asclepius, Apollo, and their attributes, as well as the appearance of an unidentified head, probably of Aphrodite Pandamos. These new designs are probably related to the historical, political, social and religious context of this tumultuous period for the Koan city-state, characterised by wars, territorial expansion and natural catastrophes and also to the general Late Hellenistic context of political and cultural transformations.

Key words: Kos, Kalymna, coin types, religion, identity, Asclepius, Aphrodite

Historical context

As written and archaeological sources attest, the period between the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC was very tumultuous for the Koan state. Successive wars, such as the First Cretan War (205/4 BC), the Second Macedonian War (202/1–197 BC), and particularly the campaign of Philip V in Karia, forced the Koan citizens to reorganise the defense of their island, not to mention the war against Antiochos III (192–189 BC), the First Galatian War (186–183 BC), the Third Macedonian War (171–168 BC), and the Second Cretan War (155–153 BC). Moreover, natural catastrophes, such as the devastating earthquake of 198 BC, caused serious damages on sanctuaries and on public buildings and led to an extensive reconstruction programme on the island.[1] Furthermore, at the end of the 3rd century BC, the Koan state expanded considerably because of the incorporation of Kalymna. This is described in a public Koan treaty,[2] dated probably in 201/200 BC, as a restoration (*apokatastasis*) of the first *homopoliteia*, dating presumably between 215 and 208/7 BC.[3] The political and economic power of Kos in the second half of the 3rd century BC on one hand, and the insecurity of the inhabitants of Kalymna on the other, led probably to the political integration of Kalymna with Kos; this joint decision may be best understood as an effort of the two islands to strengthen their alliance against Cretan attacks and Philip V.[4]

Purpose of the study

The Koan coins minted during this period, primarily for military and defensive purposes, in addition probably to financing building or re-building programmes, confirm the critical politico-economic and social conditions of the Koans. This is revealed by transformations and changes, not only on the Rhodian weight standard, employed at the island since the 4th century BC, but also on the monetary types. Thus, the purpose of the present study is to re-examine the coin designs of the Koan issues minted during this period.

Crab, Heracles and Demeter

The crab, whether it was related to Heracles or not,[5] is the preeminent monetary symbol of the Koans since the end of the 6th century BC.[6] The god-hero Heracles, their mythical ancestor, with his weapons, the club and the *gorytos*, is also exclusively depicted on silver and on bronze Koan coins from the beginning of the 4th until the end of the 3rd century BC (Figures 1-5), i.e. well before the *synoikismos* or *metoikismos* in 366 BC, when some kind of unity through political, economic, military and religious agreements or alliances probably existed between the pro-synoecised cities of the island.[7] The club appears also as a symbol on the obverse of the Koan *discoboloi*, minted between 480 and the 440s BC.[8]

Prior to the synoecism, the exact location of the Koan mint, either at Kos Astypalaia or at Kos Meropis, where the new city of Kos was created during the unification

[1] Höghammar 2010: 267–268; Malacrino 2006: 200–201 and Malacrino 2007: 255–256; Stefanaki 2012: 31–33.
[2] *TC* 1 = *IG* XII 4.1, 152; Bosnakis 2014a: 92–93.
[3] For the two theories concerning the date of the first and the second *homopoliteia*, see Höghammar 2010: 497–498 and Stefanaki 2012: 34, n. 199 (with the bibliographical references).
[4] Stefanaki 2012: 34–35.
[5] Paul 2013: 97, n. 374; Stefanaki 2012: 55, n. 404.
[6] Stefanaki 2012: 54–60, 181–184 (Series I–II).
[7] Stefanaki 2012: 20.
[8] Stefanaki 2012: 186–187 (Series III, Group B).



Figure 1. Tetradrachm, 400-beginning of 380s BC, GM, Auktion 138, 7-8/05/2005, no. 123 (Stefanaki 2012: 190, no. 162).



Figure 2. Tetradrachm, 370/60-345 BC, GM, Auktion 141, 10/10/2005, no. 151 (Stefanaki 2012: 197, no. 296).



Figure 3. Tetradrachm, 345-340/30 BC, M+MD, Auktion 20, 10-11/10/2006, no. 86 (Stefanaki 2012: 208, no. 526).



Figure 4. Tetradrachm, 280-250 BC, Dresden, MKD, Inv.-Nr. 2006/267 (Stefanaki 2012: 223, no. 831).



Figure 5. Drachm, 270/60-201/0 BC, GM, Auktion 151, 9/10/2006, no. 193 (Stefanaki 2012: 241, no. 1220).

with the former, remains uncertain.[9] Nevertheless, the crab, alongside Heracles and his attributes, which were depicted on the coinage minted in the name of the Koans during this period, were presumably the representative symbols of the entire island. The choice of Heracles and his long-lived depiction and prominence on coins, despite the reorganisation of cults in the second half of the 4th century BC prompted by the synoesicm,[10] presumably indicate the importance attached by the vast majority of the Koan people to their ancestral cults and to a communal genealogical descendance from the Dorian hero *par excellence*.

The veiled head of Demeter, a deity associated with Heracles through the myth of Erysichton and his descendants,[11] is introduced in the Koan coinage in the mid 4th century BC (Figure 3).[12] The cult of the goddess is well attested in the ancient city of Kos Meropis and probably in Kos Astypalaia before the unification of the island, as well as in the new city of Kos.[13] Thus, the association between Heracles and Demeter, prominent deities of Kos Meropis and Kos Astypalaia, on the Koan coin types of the mid 4th century BC (Figure 3),[14] may refer to this last important event.[15]

However, at the end of the 3rd and during the first half of the 2nd century BC, new coin designs were introduced, i.e. the head or standing figure of Asclepius with his attributes (coiled snake and staff with snake), the head of Apollo and the lyra, and the head of an unidentified deity, either Aphrodite,[16] Kore,[17] Homonoia, or Apollo.[18]

Asclepius

Asclepius became one of the most popular divinities from the late 5th and 4th centuries BC[19] and mainly in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, as is attested by not only written and archaeological sources, but also through numismatic testimonies.[20]

Koan epigraphic sources confirm Asclepius as the supreme healing god. His various healing powers were enhanced by his official family pantheon and by his customary association with his daughter Hygeia and

[9] Stefanaki 2012: 54 (with the bibliographical references).
[10] Parker 2009: 202; Paul 2013: 22–23.
[11] Paul 2013: 72–77.
[12] Stefanaki 2012: 68–70 (Series VI, Issues 12–14).
[13] Parker 2009: 204, n. 77; Paul 2013: 29–30, 73–75, 223.
[14] On the false interpretation of the heads of Heracles and Demeter as portraits of Mausolus and Artemisia, see Stefanaki 2012: 68–69, n. 505 (with the previous bibliographical references). See also Ingvaldsen 2011.
[15] Stefanaki 2012: 68–69, n. 505.
[16] Gargali 2009: 33 (with the previous bibliographical references).
[17] Meadows 2018: 300.
[18] Stefanaki 2012: 93, 102.
[19] Chaniotis 2018: 355–356, 376.
[20] Weisser 2006: 62–64.

with his wife Epione, or *vice versa*.[21] Asclepius was also linked to the mythological past of Kos and, like Heracles, he was considered as the ancestor of one of the two prestigious families of the island, the Asclepiadai.[22]

Be that as it may, written testimonies remain unclear as to the origin and time of his worship on the island. However, according to some scholars, an early introduction before the first half of the 4th century BC is possible.[23] The arrangement of his sanctuary in a monumental building complex with three large terraces is dated to the early 3rd century BC.[24] After the completion of the Asclepieion, the year 242 BC also saw the institution of the *Asclepieia*, a pan-Hellenic and penteteric festival for Asclepius. The city of Kos dispatched on this occasion envoys (*theoriai*) to cities, federations and kings, requesting the recognition of the *asylia* and the inviolability of the Asclepius sanctuary, alongside a truce for the duration of the festival. Kos archives comprise more than 40 *asylia* decrees, demonstrating the great recognition of the games by kings and cities and the radiation of the sanctuary.[25]

Nevertheless, S. Paul stresses the absence of any evidence of worship of Asclepius in the city of Kos proper, until Roman imperial times, and, leaving the Isthmus aside, the existence of only scarce evidence in the remaining five demes.[26] She also suggests that his cult appears to have been centred almost exclusively on the Asclepieion, rejecting the earlier assumption that Asclepius, despite his international importance, was the tutelary divinity of the city of Kos, a role which seems to have been reserved for Zeus *Polieus*.[27] It is difficult to determine, in her view, when Asclepius would have overtaken Zeus, but she finds it unlikely that this evolution took place in the mid 3rd century BC.[28]



Figure 6. Hemidrachm, end of 3rd century BC, Paris, BN, 1228 (Stefanaki 2012: 254, no. 1631).



Figure 7. Drachm, 200-190 BC, Paris, BN, 1212 (Stefanaki 2012: 257, no. 1661).



Figure 8. Drachm, 200-190 BC, Kos, Archaeological Museum (Stefanaki 2012: 257, no. 1666).

Similarly, even though the Koan state has given itself over to the worship of Asclepius to a considerable degree, primarily from the mid 3rd century BC, Koan coins only begin to display his head and attributes at the end of this century, thus replacing progressively the traditional emblem of Heracles and the crab.[29]

Two coin series, minted for local use, comprising small silver fractions (drachms and hemidrachms), display on the obverse the head of Asclepius with laurel or cypress wreath and on the reverse his attributes, i.e. a coiled snake within a circular dotted border or a staff with snake within a cypress wreath (Figures 6–8).[30] The staff with snake may also be an allusion to the annual procession of the *Asclepiadai* to the sacred grove of the sanctuary, in order to complete the ritual of the renewal of the god's staff. The drachms with Asclepius and the staff with snake (Figures 7–8) are accompanied by fractions

[21] Bosnakis 2014b: 61; Paul 2013: 183; Sherwin-White 1978: 346–347.
[22] Bosnakis 2014b: 62.
[23] Bosnakis 2014b: 60–62. According to epigraphic sources, the cult of Asclepius is placed probably in the mid or end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC (Paul 2013: 172–178).
[24] Bosnakis 2014a: 63. It was probably financed by a combination of public funds and private subscriptions. There is no mention of contributions by a king or foreign *polis* to the original construction of the *Asclepieion* (Sherwin-White 1978: 344). It is possible, though, that temple B on the middle terrace of the sanctuary was a gift of Ptolemaios II (Stefanaki 2012: 25, with the bibliographical references).
[25] Bosnakis 2014b: 66–69. The celebration of the Great Asclepieia festival provided revenue for the city and the sanctuary, although the expenditure for its organisation should also be considered. Various sources of funding were used, such as the revenues of the sanctuary and the city, special contributions from Koan citizens, as well as foreigners. The *epidosis* list of the 3rd century BC (*IG* XII 4.1, 70) mentions the participation of Koan citizens and foreigners from Myndos and Priene in the financing of the *panygeris* and the games of the Great Asclepieia. See also Stefanaki 2012: 30–31.
[26] The existence of Asclepius' worship on the island of Kalymna should also be noted. The introduction of this cult is probably dated to the period of the *homopoliteia* treaties between Kos and Kalymna (see Bosnakis, in this volume).
[27] Cole 1995: 305; Parker 2009: 202; Paul 2013: 310–311.
[28] Paul 2013: 312–313.
[29] Paul 2013: 172, 310.
[30] Stefanaki 2012: 83–92, 254 (Series VIII, Issues 27 and 28) and 257 (Series XII, Issue 32).

displaying the head of Heracles and his weapons.[31] At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, Asclepius was also occurring on the large bronze denominations of the Koan coinage.[32] Surely the change in the weight standard (Persian and/or reduced Rhodian) between the late 3rd and the early 2nd century BC must have led to a change in the coin types.

In fact, the choice of types during the above period was not arbitrary, but rather held a special significance to the Koans, who suffered from the combined effects of the aforementioned wars and from the earthquake of 198 BC. One may thus detect a civic interest, political or social, lying behind the depiction of Asclepius during this period.

Apollo

Apollo was also venerated at the Asclepieion with the toponymic *epiclesis* '*Kyparissios*'. He was worshiped, alongside his son Asclepius, as a healing deity in a joint cult at the sacred grove of the sanctuary. However, as the Asclepius cult developed, that of Apollo *Kyparissios* lost ground; after the 2nd century BC, the latter god was no longer cited. The importance of Apollo in the city of Kos dates further back, since his cult was the core of the Dorian *Hexapolis*, which later became *Pentapolis*.[33] According to epigraphic and archaeological evidence, his cult, specifically in Halasarna, is attested since the mid 5th century BC.

Besides the *piclesis Kyparissios*, Classical and Hellenistic sources mention many epithets for his cult on the island, such as *Dalios*, *Pythios* and *Karneios* in the city of Kos, as well as *Phyxios* and *Oromedon* in the deme of Phyxiotai. In Isthmus, the only deme where a relatively important cult of Asclepius is attested, there was also a worship of Apollo, as a healing god, with the cult epithet *Oulios*.[34] As with Asclepius, Apollo and his attribute, the lyre, were introduced in Koan coinage much later, in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC (Figure 9).[35] The hemidrachms in question, with the laureate head of Apollo and the lyre, accompany as fractions the Rhodian-weight 'plinthophoric' drachms with the head of Heracles, the crab and the club.[36]

Identification of the wreathed head on hemidrachms with wreath and on tetradrachms with standing Asclepius

Two rare silver coins, presumably hemidrachms, struck on the reduced Rhodian weight standard, merit



Figure 9. Hemidrachm, 180s-170s BC, UBS, Auction 45, 15-17/09/1998, no. 266 (Stefanaki 2012: 263, no. 1772).

annotation and reflection (Figure 10).[37] On the obverse, in a dotted border, a wreathed head wearing a necklace is depicted, facing right. The reverse carries a wreath, the ethnic ΚΩΙΟΝ and the abbreviated name of the mint official, ΝΙΚΟΜΗ(ΔΗΣ).[38]

The representation of the wreath on the reverse could refer to the bronze Kalymnian coins of the second half of the 3rd century BC, which were presumably issued prior to the first *homopoliteia* treaty between Kos and Kalymna. On the Kalymnian coins, the helmeted head of a warrior is depicted on the obverse and on the reverse, a laurel wreath and the abbreviated ethnic ΚΑ or ΚΑΛΥ within or beneath the wreath, respectively (Figure 11). The depiction of the laurel wreath could be linked either to the Apollo worship as *Dalios*, who was the chief deity of the island, or to the public local authority of the *Stephanephoroi*, which was preserved in Kalymna after its integration into the Koan state. It is worth noting that the wreath is not only a deity symbol, but it could also suggest the official sacerdotal wreath of cult and its granting ceremony (παράληψις στεφάνου). It is possible that Kos was influenced by the Kalymnian monetary type during the period of the first or, more probably, of the second *homopoliteia*. Thus, the wreath on the Koan coins may indicate that Kalymna was integrated into the Koan demes.[39]

The wreathed head on the obverse is iconographically similar to the one depicted on Koan tetradrachms with a standing Asclepius holding a staff with snake on the reverse, minted between 170 and 162 BC (Figure 12).[40] The names of two mint officials, ΕΥΡΥΛΟΧΟΣ and ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, as well as the ethnic ΚΩΙΩΝ, appear on these coins. According to scholars, these two issues,

[31] Stefanaki 2012: 91, 257–258 (Series XII, Issues 33–34).
[32] Stefanaki 2012: 114–117, 259 (Series XII, Issue 36).
[33] Stefanaki 2012: 16, 60.
[34] Paul 2013: 263–265; Stefanaki 2012: 98.
[35] Stefanaki 2012: 98–99, 261–263 (Series XIII, Issue 41).
[36] Stefanaki 2012: 97–98, 259–261 (Series XIII, Issue 40).
[37] Stefanaki 2012: 255–256 (Series X, nos 1646–1647).
[38] The name 'Nikomedes' is mentioned in literary and epigraphic sources from the late 4th to the 2nd century BC. According to the extended list of *epidosis* (*PH* 10), he served as a monarch of Kos in 202/1 BC. The name also appears on the bronze coins at the end of the 3rd century through to the first quarter of the 2nd century BC and on the 'plinthophoric' coins with the head of Asclepius issued certainly after 180/70 and more probably in the 1st century BC. (Stefanaki 2012: 92. For a discussion on the date and weight standard of the aforementioned 'plinthophoric' issues, see Stefanaki 2012: 103–111 and recently Stefanaki 2021).
[39] Stefanaki 2012: 92.
[40] Stefanaki 2012: 102, 265–266 (Series XV, nos 1796–1804).



Figure 10. Hemidrachm, ca. 200 BC, Kalymnos, Archaeological Museum (Stefanaki 2012: 256, no. 1646).



Figure 11. Kalymnian bronze, second half of the 3rd century BC, Berlin, MK, Graf Prokesch Osten 1875 (Stefanaki 2012: 92, fig. 19).

hemidrachms and tetradrachms, were contemporary. However, in our view, the display of the ethnic ΚΩΙΟΝ (with omicron) as well as the presence of the dotted circle on the obverse of these hemidrachms, may be dated to the period between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC. If we accept that these coins are dated, as some scholars claim, to the decade 170–160 BC, they should be the only silver coins minted after 190 BC, carrying the early form of the ethnic.

According to scholars,[41] the wreathed head belongs to Aphrodite, given the importance of her worship on the island, which is attested by epigraphic and archaeological sources, as well as by literary evidence naming the famous robed statue of Praxiteles and the Apelles' painting of Aphrodite *Anadyomene* in the *Asclepieion*, executed for the city of Kos.[42] The wreath on the head on the obverse, and the one depicted on the reverse, have been interpreted as myrtle wreaths; myrtle was a plant connected with Aphrodite.[43] However, we must stress the particular relationship also of Apollo with myrtle, which held the same purification and oracular properties as laurel. On the other hand, if we assume that the wreath was made of cypress, as the ones depicted on the head of Asclepius and on the reverse of the Koan drachms issued between 200 and 190 BC (Figures 7–8), then the deity at question might be identified as Apollo *Kyparissios.* Thus, the wreath on Koan coins may indicate a common worship of Apollo in the two newly united islands, Kos and Kalymna.

Nevertheless, the identification of this head with a male deity, and in our case with Apollo, could be challenged by the presence of the pearl necklace, which is not a characteristic element of his iconography in the Greek world.[44] Therefore, the wreathed head could more probably represent a female deity.

Homonoia

The personification of deified Homonoia, who was worshiped in Kalymna, in the deme of Isthmiotai and the city of Kos from the end of the 3rd century BC, constitutes a plausible candidate. Nevertheless, it was only in the period between the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st century BC that her worship would have taken on greater significance in the city of Kos. A reorganisation of her cult is attested in this period and included the establishment of a priesthood (*IG* XII 4.1, 315 and 324), the construction of a temple and the erection of a statue by an individual. However, the successive wars and the incorporation of Kalymna into the Koan demes at the end of the 3rd century BC may have contributed to the establishment of a cult in honour of Homonoia at Kos during this period,[45] as attested by a contemporary dedication to Aphrodite associated with Homonoia.[46]

Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia

On the other hand, the wreathed head on hemidrachms could also represent Aphrodite as *Pandamos* and symbolise the reunification of Kalymna to the Koan demes.[47] It is known that Aphrodite was worshiped in Kos,[48] mainly with the cult epithets of *Pandamos* and

[41] See *op. cit*. n. 16.
[42] Parker 2002: 155, n. 48.
[43] Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 412–414.
[44] Hermary and Markou 2003: 221–236.
[45] Bosnakis and Hallof 2005.
[46] In this dedication of an eponymous monarch of Kos and of the *hieropes* to Aphrodite, the goddess, giving her qualities of civic harmony, is associated with Homonoia, who in this case is the personification of the general concord that has been broken during this period due to external threats the island confronted (*IG* XII 4.1, 60; Paul 2013: 93 and 288). Thus, it seems that Homonoia's systematic cult was activated more specifically on certain occasions, such as at the time of *homopoliteia* between Kos and Kalymna or in situations of external dangers (Paul 2013: 149–150). Inscriptions on altars of the mid 2nd century BC dedicated to Homonoia by the cities of Mallos and Antioch near Pyramos in Kilikia confirm this interpretation with the establishment of festivals in her honour, in order to commemorate the end of their conflicts with Tarsos and Antioch near Kydnos, respectively (Chaniotis 2013: 26 and Chaniotis 2018: 351).
[47] On the depiction of the head of Aphrodite *Pandamos* with *tainia*, earrings and pearl necklace on Archaic Athenian hemidrachms, see Simon 1970: 5–19, pl. I–II. On the association of these coins with the establishment of democracy in 507/6 BC, see Kroll 1981: 1–32, in particular 31.
[48] The cult of Aphrodite *Pandamos* is also attested at Thebes, Athens, Megalopolis, Paros, Erythrai, and Naucratis, as well as at Amantia in Epirus (Kousoulas 2017: 128, n. 4; Paul 2013: 285, n. 110). On her iconography in various artifacts, see Kousoulas 2017.

Pontia,[49] as reported in two extended official documents respectively of the beginning and end of the 2nd century BC,[50] concerning sales of priesthood, the so-called *diagraphai*,[51] and from a twin-templed shrine of the second half of the 3rd – beginning of the 2nd century BC[52] discovered near the temple of Heracles *Kallinikos epi limeni*,[53] in the harbour area of ancient Kos and attributed to her double cult as *Pandamos* and *Pontia*.[54] Inscriptions attest the cult of Aphrodite *Pandamos* in the demes of Isthmiotai and probably of Halasarnitai and Antimachidai in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.[55]

Aphrodite *Pandamos* concerns 'all the people' or 'the entire civic body', without social or economic distinction, as indicated by her *epiclesis* (*pan-damos*); she receives sacrifices by young brides of different social or financial status, and also fees by freedmen at the moment of their liberation. This association between ex-slaves and Aphrodite could probably have had a particular significance.[56]

In addition to the above-mentioned individual and private approaches, the worship of Aphrodite *Pandamos* might resemble an important public dimension,[57] since she represents the *sympas demos*, an expression used in many inscriptions to designate the entire community. Therefore her cult concerns the cohesion of the people in a political and institutional sense, namely that of different demes forming the city.[58]

Local authorities sought probably *Eunomia* and *Eudaimonia* for the state and all its citizens by worshipping Aphrodite *Pandamos*.[59] This political dimension of worship would be expressed in particular by the sacrifices offered simultaneously in Kos, Halasarna and Isthmus,[60] which seem to belong to a common feast, most probably intended to commemorate a political event, such as the unification of Kos in 366 BC.[61] However, even though the political origin of this Koan cult of Aphrodite *Pandamos* remains uncertain, 'political development or regional consolidation was often reflected in sanctuary expansion or reorganisation of public cults'.[62] In the Koan case, the *homopoliteia* with Kalymna may have offered an appropriate occasion for the reorganisation of the cult of Aphrodite *Pandamos*.

Civic identity on Koan tetradrachms with Aphrodite and Asclepius

We may now turn to the above-mentioned tetradrachms (Figure 12), carrying on the obverse the same wreathed head wearing a necklace, and on the reverse the standing figure of Asclepius, leaning on his serpent staff; this may be taken to render the cult statue of Bryaxis from the *Asclepieion*, which was also depicted on the provincial Koan coinage of the Antonine period.[63]

H. Ingvaldsen associates their minting with the substantial building activity which took place at *Asclepieion* during the first half of the 2nd century BC, through funding presumably supplied by Eumenes II and probably by Ptolemaios V.[64] Epigraphic and archaeological evidence attest the close relations between Kos and the Attalids, as well as the *euergesiai* of the latter on the island in the first half of the 2nd century BC.[65] However, this issue belongs to a broader group of contemporary tetradrachms (and some drachms) minted on the Attic weight standard, bearing similar technical characteristics (broad flans and framing of reverse types with wreaths or legends). These tetradrachms were minted between 175–140 BC by autonomous and free cities of mainland Greece, Thrace and western Asia Minor,[66] fulfilling their duties

[49] The cult of Aphrodite *Pontia* was widespread in the Hellenistic period. However its introduction into the island remains uncertain. Her functions are related to maritime and military activities, and she probably received sacrifices and offerings by seafarers, such as ship-owners, merchants or soldiers serving on warships and probably fishermen. However, according to R. Parker and D. Obbink (2000: 443), Aphrodite had a general concern for all users of the sea, but had no specific association with fishing.

[50] *IG* XII 4.1, 302 and 319.

[51] Bosnakis 2014a: 97–98.

[52] Livadiotti, M., in Livadiotti and Rocco 1996: 112–116; Malacrino 2006: 191–193; Paul 2013: 79–83.

[53] Malacrino 2006: 189–191; Paul 2013: 103–105; Rocco, G., in Livadiotti and Rocco 1996: 116–119; Stefanaki 2012: 64, n. 474.

[54] The discovery of a marble statue of Aphrodite, dated between the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st century BC, during the excavations in the *neoria* of Kos is worth mentioning. A contemporary statue of Aphrodite was found in the adjacent Roman baths (*thermai*), see Brouskari 2004.

[55] *IG* XII 4.1, 280 and 302–303; Paul 2013: 211–214, 223–225, 230. An *epidosis* list of the beginning of the 2nd century BC found in the deme of Antimachidai concerns the construction of an *Aphrodision*. However, according to S. Paul (2013: 213), this list could actually come from Halasarna's deme, as evidenced by the prosopography.

[56] Parker and Obbink 2000: 441–442. A similar requirement of sacrifices by those undergoing manumission is mentioned in the *diagrapha* for the priesthood of Adrasteia and Nemesis (*IG* XII 4.1, 318) dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC (Paul 2013: 153–154). According to S. Sherwin-White (1978: 325), Adrasteia and Nemesis, giving their concern with man's fate, presided over manumissions. However, see Paul 2013: 155–156. We have to notice that Asclepius played also a particular role as patron of freedmen in Greece during the Hellenistic period; rituals of manumission in the name of Asclepius became popular at this time, mainly in mainland Greece. Additionally in Rome, where the cult of Asclepius had been known since 293 BC, the god became very popular among the freedmen and people from the lowest social classes (Melfi 2014: 770).

[57] On the relation between familial and civic concord, see Van Bremen 2003: 324–326.

[58] Paul 2013: 285–287.

[59] Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 448–449; Rosenzweig 2007: 25–28.

[60] The offerings for these sacrifices are financed by the collection of *salaides*, which implies the participation of many social classes, and accentuates the unifying character of the ritual. See Bosnakis 2014a: 100–101; Paul 2013: 91.

[61] Sherwin-White 1978: 304.

[62] Cole 1995: 317.

[63] Ingvaldsen 2001: 90; Sherwin-White 1978: 348.

[64] Höghammar 2010: 268; Ingvaldsen 2001; Stefanaki 2012: 31–33.

[65] Stefanaki 2012: 36–37.

[66] Meadows 2018: 301.



Figure 12. Tetradrachm, 170-162 BC, Leu, Auction 45, 26/05/1998, no. 228 (Stefanaki 2012: 265, no. 1796).

towards the Attalid kings or the Romans.[67] Their presence in hoards attests that they circulated far beyond their city of issue. The choice of Asclepius by the Koan state for this coinage, which was intended to circulate at an international level and followed the issue of the posthumous Alexanders, minted presumably for the military needs of the Romans during the Second Macedonian War, the war against Antiochos III and probably the Third Macedonian War, obviously stresses the panhellenic importance of the penteteric festival of the Great Asclepieia.

More than 500 religious and agonistic festivals, including processions, sacrifices and contests, were celebrated in Greece and Asia Minor in the 2nd century BC. A Koan calendar held in the local gymnasium around 150 BC[68] mentions eight civic sacrifices and festivals in the month of Artamitios alone. This profusion of celebrations, due to political, social and cultural factors,[69] may also be observed on the types employed by the above-mentioned coins, which were contemporary with the Koan tetradrachms. A. Meadows suggests that the designs chosen were local and served as a communal self-definition and reinforcement of civic identity in a period of communal crisis in Greece and Asia Minor in the decades between 180 and 160 BC; this was created by a broad shift in the political environment, prompted by the arrival of the Romans at the end of the 3rd/early 2nd century BC, the decline of Hellenistic kingdoms in Asia Minor and the independence of cities or the foundation of new ones.[70]

The identification of the elaborate wreathed head as Aphrodite *Pandamos* reinforces this view, considering her the dominant local deity of the entire civic body, warranting civic harmony. We could therefore suppose that the types employed for these tetradrachms combine a reference to the city and to its demes as a communal political entity represented by Aphrodite *Pandamos*, and the international importance of the island through the depiction of the cult-statue of Asclepius, who represented the island through his renowned sanctuary and through the panhellenic festival, which was celebrated there in this god's honour. In order to stress, as many other cities during this period did, its own identity and traditional cults, the Koan state promotes the cult and the sanctuary of Asclepius, alongside those of Aphrodite *Pandamos*, which embodied its singularity and strengthened its cohesion.[71]

Conclusion

The introduction of Asclepius, Apollo, and Aphrodite on Koan coinage between the end of the 3rd century and the first half of the 2nd century BC was most probably related to the historical, political, social and religious context of this tumultuous period for the Koan city-state, which was characterised by continual wars, territorial expansion, and natural catastrophes. It also fits in with the general Late Hellenistic context of political, social and cultural developments and transformations.

In particular, the depiction of Aphrodite *Pandamos* and of her attribute, the myrtle wreath, on hemidrachms, could indicate the incorporation of Kalymna and/or the successful common effort of the city and the demes to protect their island. It may be argued that it is the healing powers of Asclepius that may have prompted his depiction, along with his characteristic attributes, on the coins minted during the endless wars of the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 2nd century BC; but this depiction could also demonstrate, just as his cult statue on the tetradrachms, the growth of his cult and festival and the political and diplomatic advantages that they offered the city. Finally, the figure of Apollo on the Koan coinage is probably related to his association with Asclepius; it may also be taken to emphasise, like Heracles, the Dorian origin of the Koans.

Without diminishing the panhellenic importance of Heracles' cult and his predominance as a symbol of the Koan mythological genealogy, as well as his significant position in Classical and Hellenistic times, especially in the local pantheon of the city, as Heracles *Kallinikos*, but also in those of the demes of Halasarnitai, Phyxiotai and Antimachidai,[72] the cults of Aphrodite, Asclepius, and Apollo presumably became more representative of the island's religious life from the end of the 3rd century BC, both on a local and panhellenic level, thanks to their popularity among all social classes and to their recognition by a larger audience. It may even be argued that these divinities, with whom the Koan people identified their expanded city-state in this period most

[67] Psoma 2013: 294. See also Horne 2011.
[68] *IG* XII 4.1, 281. See Chaniotis 2013: 29.
[69] Chaniotis 2018: 349–354.
[70] Meadows 2018: 307–308. See also Chaniotis 2013: 24.
[71] Deshours 2011: 315.
[72] Stefanaki 2012: 64.

closely, may have expressed a communal religious identity more directly, this time mainly as symbols of their civic, political and religious unity, solidarity, and sovereignty.

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Technically gifted: Votive deposits from Kamiros acropolis

Nicholas Salmon

Abstract

This article discusses two votive deposits excavated from Kamiros acropolis by Alfred Biliotti and Auguste Salzmann in the mid 19th century – 'Kamiros Well' and the 'Deposit between walls D&E'. The contents of these deposits are presented and a discussion of what they tell us about the cult of Athena Kamiras during the Late Geometric and Archaic period follows. The article explores how the commercial network of Rhodes – stretching from Egypt and the Levant, to Ionia, mainland Greece and Italy – affected votive practices across the island. This includes the development of distinct practices at Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, as well as the innovation of locally made votives. Both these changes express the dynamism of Rhodes' material culture, which was continuously shaped and re-shaped through maritime connectivity.

Key words: Technology, votives, sanctuaries, production, consumption, Kamiros

The ancient settlement of Kamiros is located on the west coast of Rhodes, 37 km southwest of Rhodes town. Crowning a hill roughly the shape of a horseshoe, Kamiros acropolis rises 35 m.a.s.l. and is topped by a triangular plateau. It is surrounded by cemeteries on the neighbouring hillsides: to the south are Papatislures and Casviri, to the east are Kechraki and Macri Langoni, and to the west is Fikellura (Figure 1). Our current understanding of Kamiros acropolis during the Archaic and Classical periods is based on what is published from Italian excavations in *Clara Rhodos*.[1] However, the exact findspots of the votives are unknown because Giulio Jacopi published the material excavated from the area surrounding the Athena temple together with votives found at so-called Temple A, which is located 400 m north of Kamiros acropolis.[2] Far less is known of British Vice Consul Alfred Biliotti's excavation of Kamiros acropolis in the 19th century with the French artist and archaeologist, Auguste Salzmann – an excavation that began with experimental digs in 1860 and was followed by a substantial four-month campaign between March and June 1864. The finds from this excavation are kept in the British Museum.

The method used to reconstruct the deposits discussed in this article involves close consultation of museum archives, specifically cross-referencing Biliotti's field diary and object markings (Figures 2–3) with other forms of archives in the British Museum, including the Museum Register, a Kamiros tomb list, and Kamiros index cards.[3] By compiling these archives into a single database, it is possible to spot disagreements between them and to address when, how, and why these problems may have arisen. Using this method, it has been possible to reconstruct the original contexts of over 1700 objects excavated from Kamiros, including 712 votive offerings from the summit of Kamiros acropolis.

Kamiros Well

Kamiros Well is located towards the north-east corner of the Hellenistic temple, recorded on Biliotti's map of the acropolis (Figure 4). It should not be considered a *bothros*, a sacrificial pit into which offerings are made directly and left open for successive offerings.[4] This is because it is far too deep (most measure around 1 m in depth) and because there is little evidence of equipment that may have been used during a sacrifice; and, most importantly, because there was no obvious stratigraphy in the deposit.[5] It should, therefore, be considered as a well that supplied the sanctuary with water and was ultimately used to deposit votives, a common phenomenon in Greek sanctuaries, including the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Zeytintepe in Miletos.[6] The shaft itself is not symmetrical but forms an irregular pentagon, measuring 2 m on its longest side. Its depth has been variously recorded by Biliotti, who recalls descending '30 yards' (27 m), and Jacopi, who supposedly dug down 35 m.[7] In either case, the Well

[1] Jacopi 1932–1933: 223–365.

[2] On the location of Temple A, see Patsiada 2019: 167, fig. 10.

[3] On the method used to reconstruct assemblages from Kamiros in the British Museum, see Salmon 2019. All archives are kept in the Department of Greece and Rome at the British Museum. Further records of Biliotti's excavations on Rhodes may be found in The National Archives, Kew.

[4] Patera 2012: 214.

[5] Higgins 1954: 23; Hutchinson 1935.

[6] For the use of wells, see Brann 1961. For wells in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletos, see von Graeve 2013; Panteleon and Senff 2008.

[7] Biliotti Diary, 14 May 1864; Jacopi 1932–1933: 279.

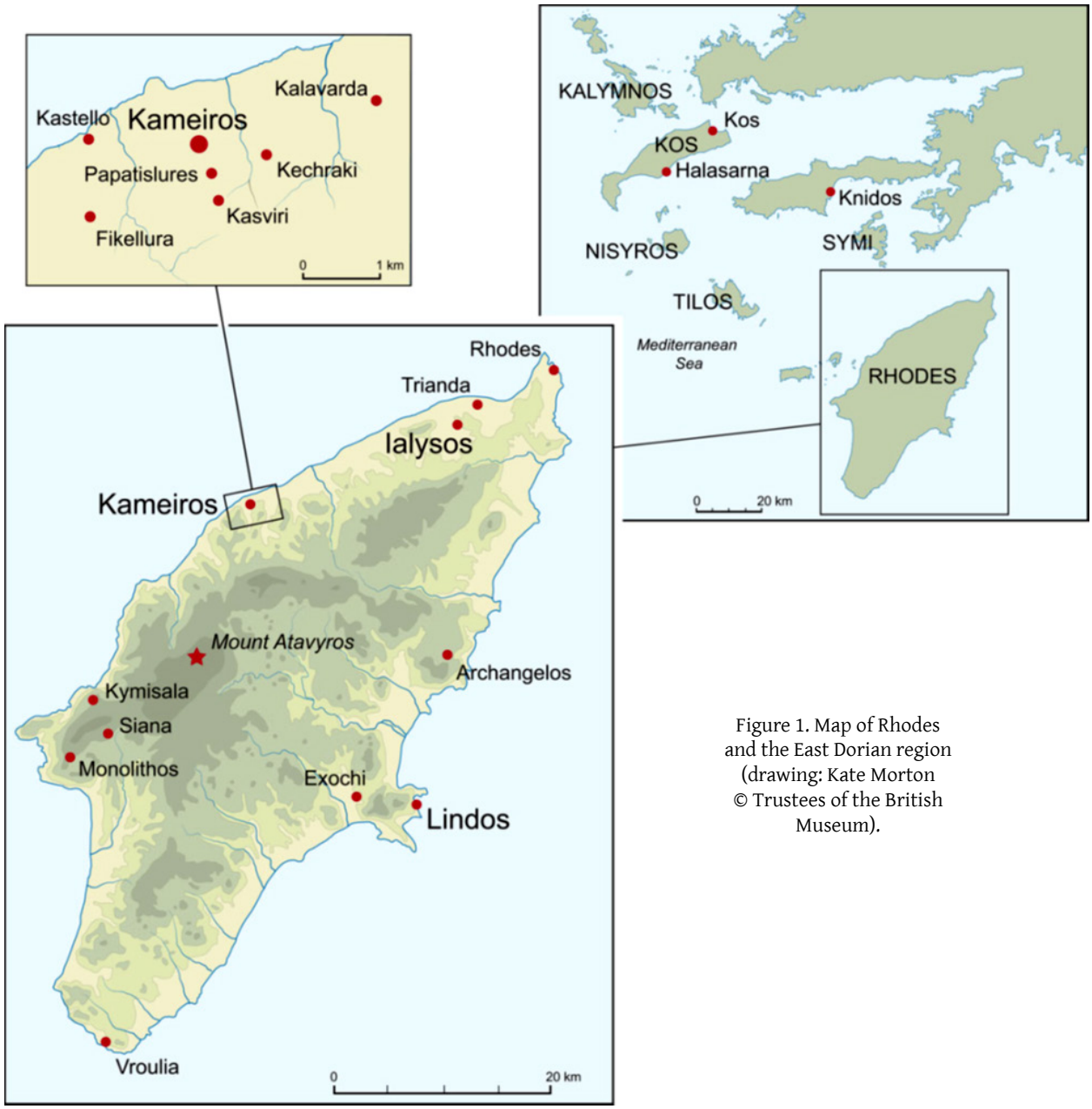


Figure 1. Map of Rhodes and the East Dorian region (drawing: Kate Morton © Trustees of the British Museum).

is significantly deeper than that at the Aphrodite sanctuary at Miletos, which was 17 m deep.[8]

A total of 444 objects were excavated from Kamiros Well (Chart 1). These include 174 bone and ivory carvings, including decorated long bones,[9] flat plaques and pendants with circle and dot decoration,[10] figures of standing women,[11] female heads,[12] figures of bulls,[13] bull's heads,[14] scarabs,[15] a mask,[16] a human leg,[17] a plaque depicting a horse and bird,[18] and other plaques depicting animals.[19] Two decorated seals made from

[8] von Graeve 2013: 10.

[9] BM 1864,1007.530–596; BM 1864,1007.595; BM 1864,1007.608; BM 1864,1007.597; BM 1864,1007.598; BM 1864,1007.614; BM 1864,1007.599; BM 1864,1007.605; BM 1864,107.616; BM 1864,1007.609.

[10] BM 1864,1007.646; BM 1864,1007.685; BM 1864,1007.619; BM 1864,1007.649; BM 1864,1007.681; BM 1864,1007.620; BM 1864,1007.629; BM 1864,1007.674; BM 1864,1007.654; BM 1864,1007.638; BM 1864,1007.618; BM 1864,1007.635; BM 1864,1007.648; BM 1864,1007.672; BM 1864,1007.686; BM 1864,1007.679; BM 1864,1007.680; BM 1864,1007.637; BM 1864,1007.664; BM 1864,1007.684; BM 1864,1007.663; BM 1864,1007.682; BM 1864,1007.662; BM 1864,1007.639; BM 1864,1007.647; BM 1864,1007.655.

[11] BM 1864,1007.665; BM 1864,1007.633; BM 1864,1007.645; BM 1864,1007.671; BM 1864,1007.631; BM 1864,1007.632.

[12] BM 1864,1007.529; BM 1864,1007.754; BM 1864,1007.688.

[13] BM 1864,1007.678; BM 1864,1007.690.

[14] BM 1864,1007.687.

[15] BM 1864,1007.677; BM 1864,1007.1998; BM 1864,1007.973; BM 1864,1007.972.

[16] BM 1864,1007.753.

[17] BM 1864,1007.621.

[18] BM 1864,1007.969.

[19] BM 1864,1007.630; BM 1864,1007.666; BM 1864,1007.762; BM 1864,1007.756.

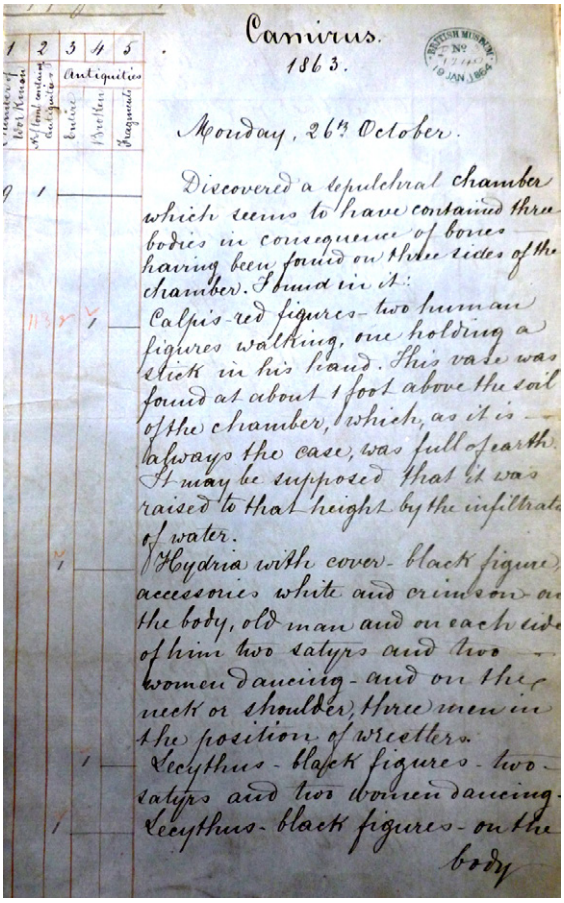

Camirus.
1863.
Monday, 26th October.
Discovered a sepulchral chamber which seems to have contained three bodies in consequence of bones having been found on three sides of the chamber. I found in it:
Calpis-red figures-two human figures walking, one holding a stick in his hand. This vase was found at about 1 foot above the soil of the chamber, which, as it is always the case, was full of earth. It may be supposed that it was raised to that height by the infiltration of water.
Hydria with cover-black figures accessories white and crimson on the body, old man and on each side of him two satyrs and two women dancing-and on the neck or shoulder, three men in the position of wrestlers.
Lecythus-black figures-two satyrs and two women dancing.
Lecythus-black figures-on the body

Figure 2. Alfred Biliotti's Diary for Monday, 26 October 1864 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

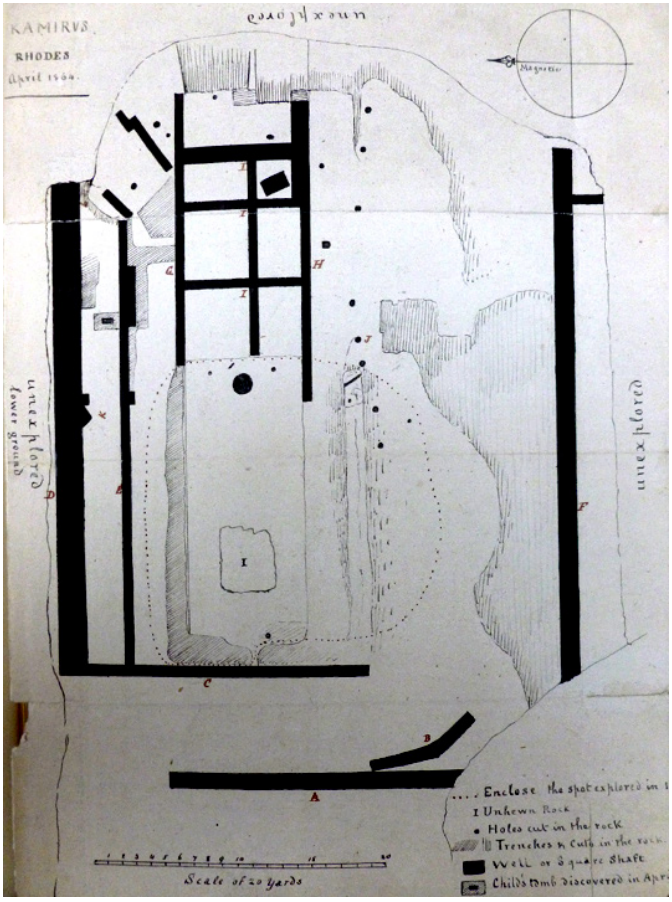


Figure 4. Alfred Biliotti's map of Kamiros acropolis, April 1864 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 3. Foot of Attic black-glaze kylix marked [Fikellura] '79' (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

bone were also found in Kamiros Well.[20] 77 bronze objects were also found here, including many fibulae. Some of these are plain fibulae,[21] while others are surmounted by birds.[22] A further example is surmounted with four glass beads.[23] There are several bronze votive figures, including birds on wheel-stands,[24] double goat heads on wheel stands,[25] and a miscellaneous group of figures consisting of a monkey,[26] a siren,[27] a calf lying down,[28] and a woman standing on the head of a bull.[29] A group of bronze rings, including spiral hair-rings, were also found in the Well.[30] 74 faience votives were deposited here, including figures of Egyptian deities,[31] such as Bes,[32] Pasht,[33] Basht,[34] Ptah,[35] along with a group of seated figures,[36] female heads,[37] baboons,[38]

[20] BM 1864,1007.1109; BM 1864,1007.693.
[21] BM 1864,1007.380–387.
[22] BM 1864,1007.407–409; BM 1864,1007.411–415; BM 1864,1007.434; BM 1864,1007.436.
[23] BM 1864,1007.423.
[24] BM 1864,1007.404–405; BM 1864,1007.421–422; BM 1864,1007.457; BM 1864,107.486.
[25] BM 1864,1007.442–443; BM 1864,1007.471; BM 1864,1007.473; BM 1864,1007.487–488.
[26] BM 1864,1007.435.
[27] BM 1864,1007.444.
[28] BM 1864,1007.500.
[29] BM 1864,1007.1241.
[30] BM 1864,1007.401–402; BM 1864,1007.416; BM 1864,1007.441; BM 1864,1007.455–456; BM 1864,1007.467; BM 1864,1007.470; BM 1864,1007.474; BM 1864,1007.477; BM 1864,1007.489; BM 1864,1007.491; BM 1864,1007.492; BM 1864,1007.978; BM 1864,1007.979; BM 1864,1007.2010.
[31] BM 1864,1007.765; BM 1864,1007.766; BM 1864,1007.770; BM 1864,1007.805; BM 1864,1007.919; BM 1864,1007.933; BM 1864,1007.953.
[32] BM 1864,1007.774; BM 1864,1007.894; BM 1864,1007.920.
[33] BM 1864,1007.776; BM 1864,1007.779; BM 1864,1007.886.
[34] BM 1864,1007.782; BM 1864,1007.815.
[35] BM 1864,1007.790–793.
[36] BM 1864,1007.777–778; BM 1864,1007.845–846; BM 1864,1007.893.
[37] BM 1864,1007.852–853; BM 1864,1007.869.
[38] BM 1864,1007.783–784.

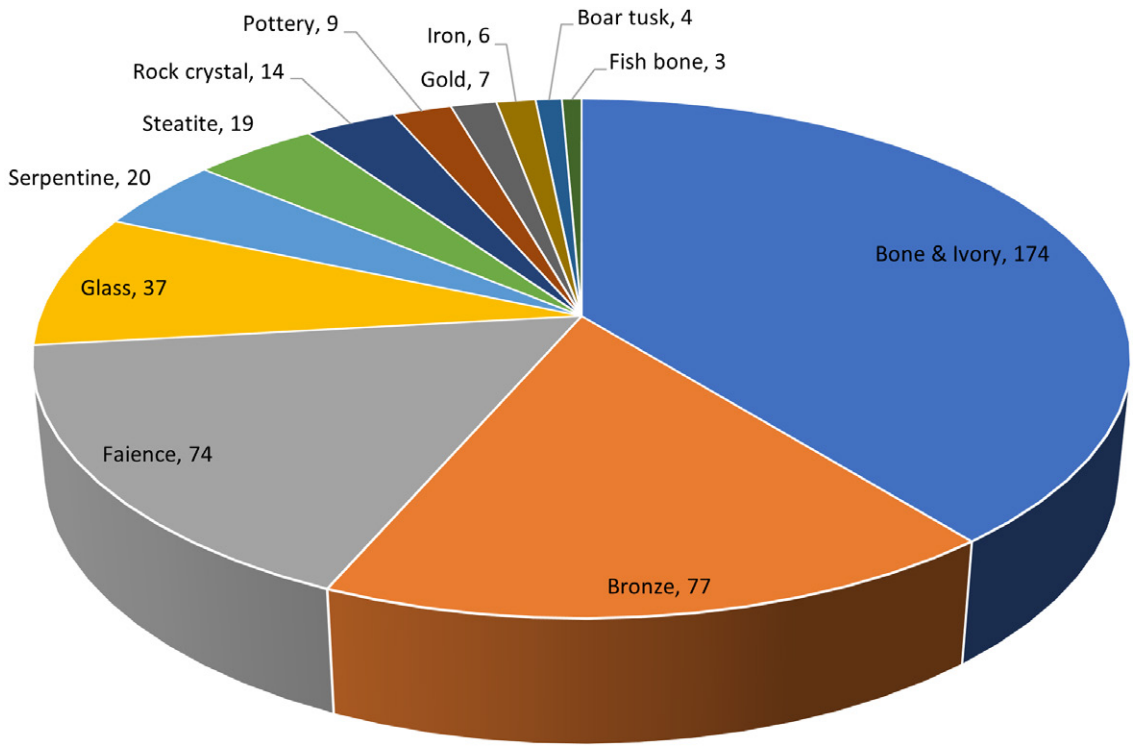


Chart 1. Contents of Kamiros Well, 720–580 BC
(prepared by the author).

scarabs,[39] *wedjat* eyes,[40] cowrie shells,[41] seated cats,[42] and *aegises*.[43] A faience perfume vessel in the form of a crouching lion was also found in the Well,[44] along with two fragmentary examples of perfume vessels in the shape of kneeling figures.[45] Seven fragments of gold jewellery were deposited in the Well, including a gold strip embossed with a goat rearing on its hinds legs.[46] The remainder of the deposit includes stone loom weights and spindle whorls,[47] as well as a group of beads made from glass, serpentine, steatite, cornelian, and rock crystal.[48]

The few ceramics attributable to Kamiros Well allow us to establish a firm chronological range for the deposit: a pair of late geometric Rhodian aryballoi and a Middle Corinthian plate suggest a bracket of 720 – 580 BC. Over 150 bone and ivory carvings comprise a bulk of objects from the Well. These include examples of 'naked goddess' figurines, and a large group of carved long bones. Overall, the votives excavated from Kamiros Well consist of small, perforated objects.

Deposit D&E

Deposit D&E consists of 100 objects (Chart 2). Many of these are figurines and statuettes, including ten made of bronze. These consist of a recumbent lion,[49] two deer figures,[50] a bull,[51] a bird's leg,[52] a circular dish,[53] a pierced disk with curvilinear ornaments,[54] a spearhead,[55] and a rider mounted on the back of a crouching camel.[56] There are 49 faience objects, including figures of Egyptian

[39] BM 1864,1007.798; BM 1864,1007.895; BM 1864,1007.897–899; BM 1864,1007.902–905; BM 1864,1007.908; BM 1864,1007.916; BM 1864,1007.923; BM 1864,1007.929; BM 1864,1007.949; BM 1864,1007.954; BM 1864,1007.968; BM 1864,1007.1141.
[40] BM 1864,1007.817; BM 1864,1007.934; BM 1864,1007.939.
[41] BM 1864,1007.818; BM 1864,1007.962.
[42] BM 1864,1007.373; BM 1864,1007.419; BM 1864,1007.420; BM 1864,1007.499; BM 1864,1007. 974; BM 1864,1007.977; BM 1864,1007.1023.
[43] BM 1864,1007.840.
[44] BM 1864,1007.948.
[45] BM 1864,1007.932; BM 1864,1007.1334.
[46] BM 1864,1007.420.
[47] BM 1864,1007.1026; BM 1864,1007.1035; BM 1864,1007.1038; BM 1864,1007.1046–1047; BM 1864,1007.1051; BM 1864,1007.1187.
[48] BM 1864,1007.1018; BM 1864,1007.1124–1125; BM 1864,1007.1177–1180; BM 1864,1007.1184–1187; BM 1864,1007.1189; BM 1977,0623.2; BM 1977,06023.4 (rock crystal); BM 1864,1007.1029; BM 1864,1007.1028 BM 1864,1007.1030; BM 1864,1007.1034 (serpentine); BM 1977,0626.13; BM 1977,0626.9; BM 1977,0626.14; BM 1864,1007.988; BM 1864,1007.998; BM 1864,1007.1010; BM 1864,1007.991; BM 1864,1007.999; BM 1864,1007.992; BM 1864,107.984; BM 1864,1007.1246; BM 1864,1007.982; BM 1864,1007.993; BM 1864,1007.102; BM 1864,1007.983; BM 1864,1007.1015; BM 1977,0626.12; BM 1864,1007.986; BM 1864,1007.996; BM 1864,1007.989; BM 1864,1007.388; BM 1977,0628.8; BM 1864,1007.987; BM 1864,1007.1002; BM 1864,1007.997; BM 1864,1007.1009 (glass); BM 1864,1007.1245; BM 1864,1007.1042 BM 1864,107.1043; BM 1864,1007.1033; BM 1864,1007.1033; BM 1864,1007.1049 (steatite); BM 1864,1007.1021; BM 1864,1007.1006 (cornelian).
[49] BM 1864,1007.167.
[50] BM 1864,1007,399; BM 1864,1007.400.
[51] BM 1864,1007.397.
[52] BM 1864,1007.527.
[53] BM 1864,1007.2013.
[54] BM 1864,1007.509.
[55] BM 1864,1007.1405.
[56] BM 1864,1007.398.

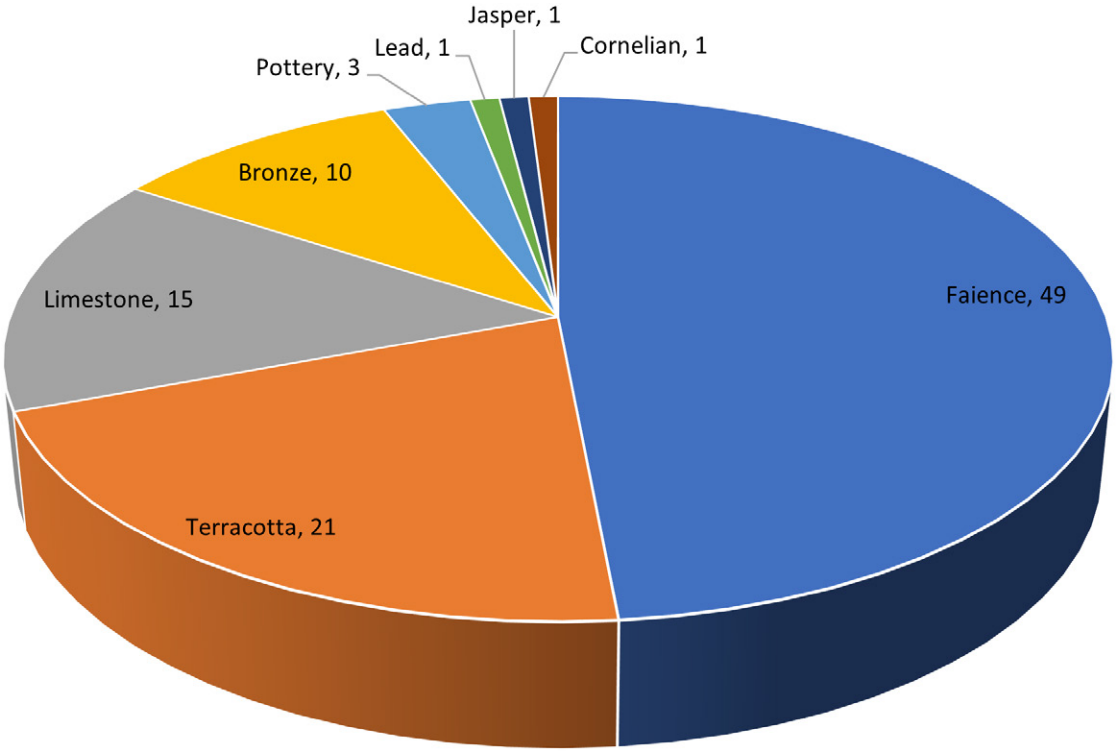


Chart 2. Contents of Deposit D&E, 700–550 BC
(prepared by the author).

deities – Nefertum,[57] Bes,[58] and Bast[59] –, scarabs,[60] hawks,[61] a ram,[62] a figure carrying two hawks above its head,[63] and *wedjat* eyes.[64] There is also a group of faience perfume vessels in the form of kneeling figures and monkeys,[65] as well as more traditional shapes, such as aryballoi,[66] alabastra,[67] and pyxides.[68] Most of the terracotta figures found in Deposit D&E represent women,[69] alongside a single figure of three reclining sphinxes,[70] and a votive in the form of a booted foot.[71] A number of terracotta spindle-whorls were also found here.[72] A further 15 figures are made of Cypriot limestone, including standing males,[73] draped women,[74] seated women,[75] sphinxes,[76] and seated lions.[77]

The area of Deposit D&E, which lies adjacent to the northern wall of the Hellenistic temple, is an irregular polygon measuring 8 m on its longest side and 7.5 m on its shortest side. A child's grave, datable to the last quarter of the 8th century BC, is located within the area of the deposit, approximately 1.5 m from its westernmost tip.[78] The objects found in Deposit D&E are larger than those found in Kamiros Well, and few are perforated – only the bronze rings and faience falcons possess holes. By contrast, most objects have a flat base allowing them to be placed upright on a table, shelf, or on the ground.[79] Biliotti's statement that the area of Deposit D&E was 'about 4 feet deeper than the remainder of the platform and has a floor covered with a kind of coarse white stucco' may indicate that it was

[57] BM 1864,1007.801; BM 1864.1007.771.
[58] BM 1864,1007.819; BM 1864,1007.820; BM 1864,1007.772; BM 1864,1007.800; BM 1864,1007.821; BM 1864,1007.773.
[59] BM 1864,1007.843; BM 1864,1007.816.
[60] BM 1864,1007.915; BM 1864,1007.909; BM 1864,1007.911; BM 1864,1007.901; BM 1864,1007.906; BM 1864,1007.914; BM 1864,1007.907.
[61] BM 1864,1007.810; BM 1864,1007.811; BM 1864,1007.812; BM 1864,1007.838; BM 1864,1007.941; BM 1864,1007.799.
[62] BM 1864,1007.804.
[63] BM 1864,1007.797.
[64] BM 1864,1007.822; BM 1864,1007.823.
[65] BM 1864,1007.796; BM 1864,1007.786; BM 1864,1007.794; BM 1864,1007.943; BM 1864,1007.795; BM 1864,1007.913.
[66] BM 1864,1007.834; BM 1864,1007.832.
[67] BM 1864,1007.940.
[68] BM 1864,1007.807; BM 1864,1007.808.
[69] BM 1864,1007.1235; BM 1864,1007.1247; BM 1864,1007.1279; BM 1864,1007.1269; BM 1864,1007.1270; BM 1864,1007.1306; BM 1864,1007.1277; BM 1864,1007.1926; BM 1864,1007.1250; BM 1864,1007.1320; BM 1864,1007.1268; BM 1864,1007.1280; BM 1864,1007.1271; BM 1864,1007.1272; BM 1864,1007.1825.
[70] BM 1864,1007.1339.
[71] BM 1864,1007.1827.
[72] BM 1864,1007.1867; BM 1864,1007.1849; BM 1864,1007.1873.
[73] BM 1864,1007.315; BM 1864,1007.2037; BM 1864,1007.317; BM 1864,1007.313; BM 1864,1007.312; BM 1864,1007.310.
[74] BM 1864,1007.306; BM 1864,1007.311; BM 1864,1007.2040.
[75] BM 1864,1007.1326.
[76] BM 1864,1007.1013; BM 1864,1007.1012; BM 1864,1007.309; BM 1864,1007.1014.
[77] BM 1864,1007.2057.
[78] Child's grave assemblage: BM 1864,1007.1582 (flask); BM 1864,1007.1795 (oinochoe); BM 1864,1007.931 (faience bead); BM 1864,1007.2016 (bronze ring). The flask is decorated with three friezes containing cross-hatched lozenges and vertical wavy lines, an ornament that Blinkenberg and Coldstream attributed to a local Rhodian workshop. Cf. Blinkenberg 1931: nos 26 and 28, pl. 35; Coldstream 2008: 265.
[79] For votive tables see Gill 1991.

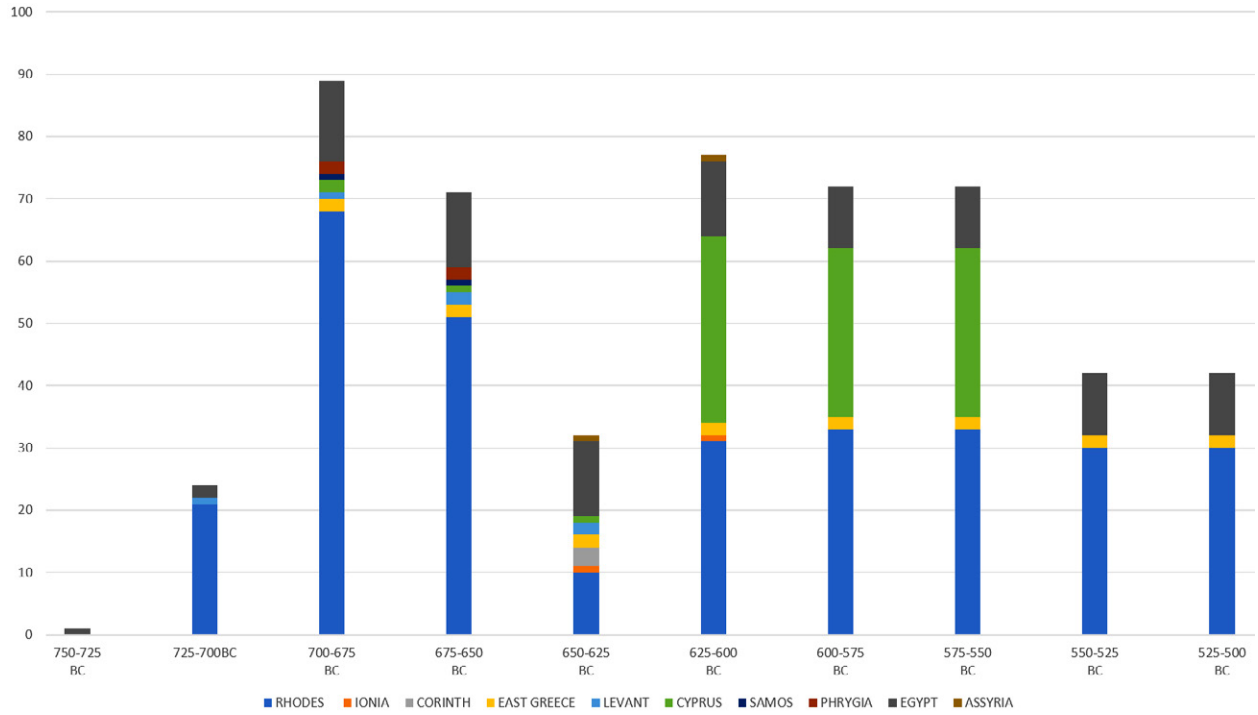


Chart 3. Total sample of votives from Kamiros acropolis (522) (prepared by the author).

intentionally prepared for the deposition of votives, although this is difficult to prove beyond reasonable doubt.[80] The area is not deep enough to have acted as a water basin. The common feature of objects with flat base may, nevertheless, suggest that they were displayed together in the sanctuary, either inside or outside the Athena temple, and were subsequently cleared together. A similar observation was made by Boardman at the Archaic temple of Athena on the acropolis of Emporio at Chios.[81]

It is not possible to reconstruct the stratigraphy of Deposit D&E because Biliotti did not record whether the whole area was excavated on a daily basis, or whether a specific part was dug one day and another the next. No pottery was recorded in the deposit. Recent studies of Cypriot limestone sculpture, however, recommend a chronological bracket of production from the latter quarter of the 7th – mid 6th century BC, based on a few dated contexts on Samos and Chios, and at Naukratis.[82] Given the number of Cypriot limestone statuettes that are attributable to Deposit D&E, it is possible to extend the lower chronological bracket of the deposit from 650–580 BC, as proposed by Higgins, to 650–550 BC.[83]

Votive production on Rhodes

Drawing on material excavated from by Biliotti and Salzmann and Italian excavations on Kamiros acropolis, a sample of 522 votives whose production place can be securely established shows that Rhodes produced large quantities of votives during the Archaic period, accounting for 59% of votives produced between 750–725 BC and 550–525 BC (Chart 3). The majority of locally produced votives are made from bronze, bone and ivory, terracotta, and faience.

Beginning with Rhodian bronzes from Kamiros acropolis, solid cast figurines and fibulae may be attributed to the island based on their formal and stylistic qualities, and because of their high concentrations at the sanctuaries of Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos.[84] Rhodian bronze figurines, which are often mounted on a perforated wheel-stand, include double-goat protomes,[85] water birds,[86] deer,[87] and anthropomorphic figurines[88] (Figures 5–6). Rhodian fibulae are usually decorated with one or more water birds depending on their size[89]

[80] Biliotti Diary, 31 March 1864.
[81] Boardman 1967: 29.
[82] Kourou 2002: 4; Thomas 2013–2015: 3–9.
[83] Higgins 1954: 23.
[84] On the manufacture of Rhodian bronze votives, see Bernardini 2006: 15–16.
[85] BM 1864,1007.442–443; BM 1864,1007.471; BM 1864,1007.473; BM 1864,1007.487–488; Bernardini 2006: 48–50, cat. 16, pl. 9; Blinkenberg 1931: nos 223–225, pl. 11; RHODES 14393; Jacopi 1932–1933: 346, fig. 80.
[86] BM 1864,1007.404–405; BM 1864,1007.421–422; BM 1864,1007.457; BM 1864,107.486; Bernardini 2006: 48, cat. 15, pl. 9; Blinkenberg 1931: nos 228–230, pl. 11; RHODES 14393; Jacopi 1932–1933: 346.
[87] BM 1864,1007,399; BM 1864,1007.400; RHODES 14390; Bernardini 2006: 43, cat. 10, pl. 8; Jacopi 1932–1933: 345, fig. 80.
[88] RHODES 14386; Bernardini 2006: 38, cat no. 7, pl. 9; Jacopi 1932–1933: 345, fig. 80; RHODES 14387; Bernardini 2006: 40, cat. 8, pl. 7; Jacopi 1932–1933: 345, fig. 80; RHODES 14388; Bernardini 2006: 46–47, cat. 13, pl. 9; Jacopi 1932–1933: 345, fig. 80; RHODES 14384; Bernardini 2006: 47–48, pl. 9; Jacopi 1932–1933: 344, fig. 80.
[89] Blinkenberg 1931: nos 54–57a, pl. 5; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 26–28; Pl. 38–42; BM 1864,1007.425–427; BM 1864,1007.451–452; BM 1864,1007.464–465; BM 1864,1007.479.



Figure 5. Bronze double goat protome; H. 5 cm; BM 1864,1007.471 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 6. Bronze bird figure; H. 2.54 cm; BM 1864,1007.404 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

(Figure 7). The development of bronze casting on the island may be accredited to contacts with Egypt, North Syria, and Samos, from where the majority of the bronze votives dedicated at the three major sanctuaries were imported, including a *ureaus* figure, belt fitting and griffin protomes.[90] The raw material needed to produce bronze on Rhodes may have been imported

[90] RHODES 14407; Bernardini 2006: 70, cat. 67, pl. 15; Jacopi 1932–1933: 347, fig. 81; RHODES 14408; Bernardini 2006: 70, cat. 68, pl. 15; Jacopi 1932–1933: 347, fig. 81; RHODES 14409; Bernardini 2006: 70, pl. 15 (North Syria); Jacopi 1932–1933: 347, fig. 81; RHODES 14434; Bernardini 2006: 60, cat. 44, pl. 12 (Cyprus); Jacopi 1932–1933: 352, fig. 82; RHODES 1341; Triantafyllidis 2008: 95–96, fig. 6 (Iran); RHODES 8079; Triantafyllidis 2008: 95–95, fig. 6 (Urartu); RHODES 14714; Bernardini 2006: 65, cat. 59, pl. 14; Jacopi 1932–1933: 343, fig. 76; RHODES 14715; Bernardini 2006: 66, cat. 60, pl. 14 (Samos); Jacopi 1932–1933: 344, fig. 77.



Figure 7. Bronze bird fibula; H. 3.81 cm; BM 1864,1007.412 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

from Cyprus, an island rich in copper, or Wadi Araba, where much of the Early Iron Age copper imports to Greece originate.[91]

The high concentrations of faience objects found at Kamiros acropolis, some of which are almost exclusive to the island, strongly argues in favour of local faience production. Vessels that may be attributed to a Rhodian faience workshop include the so-called 'Leopard Spot Group', a group of vases in the form of a figure kneeling in front of a jar[92] (Figure 8); pyxides and alabastra with low-relief figural decoration[93] (Figure 9); and vases in the form of a seated lion.[94] An understanding of faience production techniques was likely affected

[91] Hauptmann *et al.* 1992.

[92] BM 1860,0404.75 (Webb 1); BM 1864,1007.878 (Webb 2); BM 1864,1007.942 (Webb 3); BM 1864,1007.943 (Webb 14); BM 1864,1007.944 (Webb 15); Blinkenberg 1931: no. 1335, pl. 58; RHODES 7628 (Webb 4); RHODES 12577 (Webb 7); RHODES 12135–12137 (Webb 8); Jacopi 1931: 370, figs 418–419; Louvre 08 (Webb 13); Jacopi 1931: 52, fig. 33.

[93] Pyxides: BM 1864,1007.808 (Webb 158); BM 1864,0425.28 (Webb 181); BM 1864,1007.882 (Webb 152); BM 1864.1007.1340 (Webb 151); RHODES 14008 (Webb 151); RHODES (Webb 147); RHODES 1198 (Webb 148); RHODES 14688 (Webb 149); BM 1864,1007.879 (Webb 153); BM 1864,1007.807 (Webb 159); RHODES 14687 (Webb 160); RHODES 14690 (Webb 169); RHODES 14689 (Webb 169 bis); RHODES 14694 (Webb 173); RHODES 7747/85 (Webb 174); RHODES 14675 (Webb 176); RHODES 14676 (Webb 177); RHODES 14689 (Webb 187); RHODES 9796–9823 (Webb 188). Alabastra: BM 1864,0404.66 (Webb 191); BM 1860,0404.67 (Webb 204); BM 1864,1007.940 (Webb 203); Louvre NIII 2305 (Webb 189); Louvre NIII 2396 (Webb 190); RHODES 14683 (Webb 194); RHODES 13526 (Webb 196); RHODES 14685 (Webb 197); BM 1864,1007.809 (Webb 198); RHODES 14684 (Webb 200); RHODES 14694 (Webb 200 bis); BM 1864,1007.940 (Webb 203); RHODES 14686 (Webb 205).

[94] BM 1864,1007.948 (Webb 260); BM 1864,1007.945 (Webb 262); RHODES 14658 (Webb 265); Jacopi 1932–1933: 313–314, fig. 54; RHODES 14659 (Webb 266).



Figure 8. Faience unguent vessel; H. 5 cm; BM 1864,1007.942 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 9. Faience pyxis; H. 5 cm; BM 1864,1007.808 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

by the importation of Egyptian amulets, which, if the workshop proceeded the reign of Psammetichus I, probably reached Rhodes through Cypriot, Euboian, or Phoenician intermediaries.[95] Many raw materials needed for production, including natron, were likely imported from Egypt.[96]

Previous scholarship on Rhodian bone and ivory carving has focused on 'naked goddess' figurines, which are found in abundance at Kamiros and Ialysos.[97] Although similar to North Syrian carvings

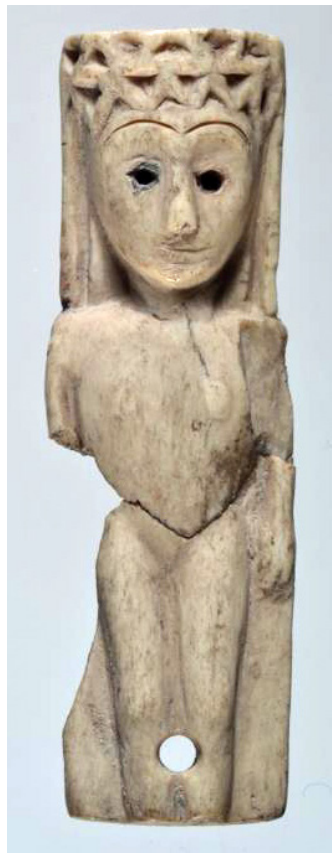


Figure 10. Bone 'naked goddess' figure; H. 5 cm; BM 1864,1007.631 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

found at Nimrud, their lack of jewellery and deeply incised *poloi* that cover the ears are markedly distinct[98] (Figure 10). A previously largely overlooked group of 59 carved long bones found in Kamiros provides further evidence of the island's ivory and bone production.[99] Measuring between 3 cm – 6 cm, these hollow objects are normally incised with concentric-circles or 'dice-eyes', and sometimes with curvilinear patterns (Figure 11). They may have functioned as items of jewellery, possibly forming a necklace, or as stick-dices for gaming, or simply as votive offerings. The homogeneity of this group of long bone carvings, together with their concentration in a specific deposit, makes it possible to attribute their manufacture to the island.[100] Furthermore, the 'dice-eyes' found on the long bones are not only present on spectacle fibulae, but also on a group of late geometric pots identified by Friis Johansen as the product of a local workshop – the so-called 'elfenbeinimitierende Vasen'.[101]

[95] Hölbl 2014: 165.
[96] Villing 2013: 76.
[97] Martelli 2000; Schofield 1992; BM 1864,1007.665; BM 1864,1007.633; BM 1864,1007.645; BM 1864,1007.671; BM 1864,1007.631; BM 1864,1007.632; RHODES 9837; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 288, cat. 151; Martelli 1988: 113, fig. 11; Martelli 2000: 111, fig. 22; RHODES 7940; Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 288, cat. 152; Martelli 2000: 111, figs 18–20.
[98] Martelli 2000: 109–110.
[99] BM 1864,1007.530–596; BM 1864,1007.595; BM 1864,1007.608; BM 1864,1007.597; BM 1864,1007.598; BM 1864,1007.614; BM 1864,1007.599; BM 1864,1007.605; BM 1864,107.616; BM 1864,1007.609.
[100] Cf. bone carvings found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta in Dawkins 1929.
[101] Coldstream 2008: 274; Friis Johansen 1958: 148–154.

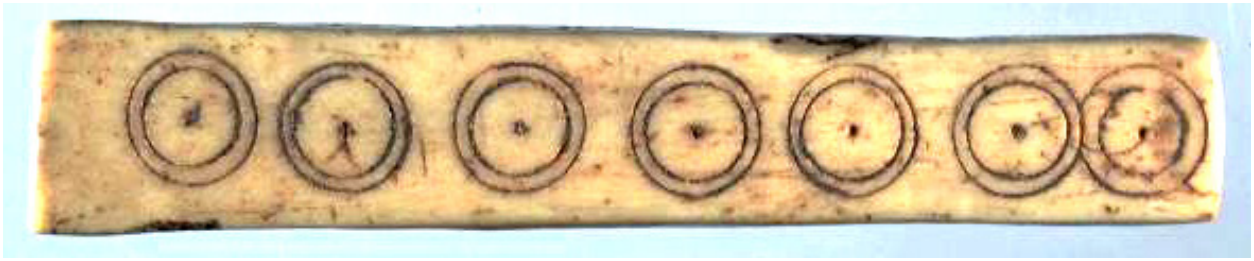


Figure 11. Long bone; L. 5 cm; BM 1864,1007.541 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

Terracotta figures were also produced on Rhodes during the first half of the 7th century.[102] Six of the eight terracottas attributable to Deposit D&E belong to the earliest phase of the island's production and display three distinctive qualities: all of the figures depict women; their bodies are normally solid and hand-made, while their heads are mould-made; and the fabric, which is lacking in mica, is red-brown in colour with white and red inclusions[103] (Figure 12). 7th-century Rhodian terracottas are more exacting in terms of the techniques used in their manufacture than Cypriot figures, as they do not include wheel-made elements.[104]

Many local artisans therefore seem to have benefited or even relied on a demand for votive offerings at the sanctuary of Athena; a demand that was further catered to by imported goods from Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East. Given the concentration of these local material technologies at the sanctuary, it is probable that it hosted a periodic market at which goods were sold, either to be deposited immediately as votives or used in domestic contexts. The form of periodic market that may be envisaged here was likely different from the low-frequency and long-range markets described by John Davies at the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Isthmia, Delphi, and Olympia.[105] Instead, the position of the sanctuary within a settlement bounded by its cemeteries makes a high-frequency and low-range market more appropriate. In addition, votives may also have been available for purchase from an artisan's workshop located within the settlement or along a major thoroughfare.

Also significant is the distribution of locally produced votives across Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, which shows that artisans producing these goods were not employed by a specific sanctuary. For example, faience vessels belonging to the Leopard-spot group have been found at the three major Rhodian sanctuaries.[106] Ialysos



Figure 12. Terracotta female figure; H. 21.2 cm; BM 1864,1007.1247 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

is the only sanctuary to have yielded votives connected to the production process, specifically of glass and jewellery, but these are exceptional cases within a deposit consisting of *c.* 5000 objects.[107] If votives were produced on-site for dedication then we would expect more substantial evidence of tools, frit and wasters.[108] Rather, by supplying the three major sanctuaries across Rhodes, artisans were able to maximise their revenue and spread costs of production. They should not be regarded as sanctuary craftsmen, restricted to a single institution, but as traders operating freely within a flourishing votive sector that was deeply embedded in the island's broader economy.

To conclude, three characteristics of Rhodes' votive sector encouraged the innovation of locally made

[102] D'Acunto 2014.

[103] BM 1864,1007.1247; BM 1864,1007.1250; BM 1864,1007.1268; BM 1864,1007.1269; BM 1864,1007. 1271; BM 1864,1007. 1277; BM 1864,1007. 1280.

[104] See Cypriot terracotta figures, Thomas 2013–2015b: 5.

[105] Davies 2001; Davies 2007: 63–65.

[106] Kamiros acropolis: see above; Ialysos acropolis: RHODES inv. no. unknown (Webb 21); Lindos acropolis: Blinkenberg 1931: 1334 (Webb 20) and 1335 pl. 58 (Webb 17–19).

[107] Martelli 1988.

[108] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: cat. 101 and 126. Compare Osborne (1996: 92) for miscast bronzes at Olympia.

votives. First, the geographical position of the island, straddling major trading routes along the Levantine coast and across the Aegean, allowed for the importation of material and diffusion of knowledge that sustained its votive sector. Second, a cluster of sanctuaries across the island not only provided artisans with a means of income through the demand for votives but also a platform for interaction between local artisans and merchants, not least through periodic markets. These interactions allowed artisans and merchants to form working relationships and learn about different products and processes of manufacture. And third, the embeddedness of local artisans as part of a wider economy provided opportunities to share their knowledge and maximise their income by visiting sanctuaries as often as possible. The innovation of votives on Rhodes demonstrates the extent to which maritime connectivity actively cultivated, as opposed to passively sustained, local economies and cults in the ancient Mediterranean.

Acknowledgments

The research for this article was conducted as part of an AHRC funded Collaborative Doctoral Project between Birkbeck College and The British Museum. I am grateful to Professor Christy Constantakopoulou, Professor Caspar Meyer, and Dr Alexandra Villing for their supervision.

Abbreviations

BM: British Museum
RHODES: Rhodes Archaeological Museum
Webb: Webb, V. 1978. *Archaic Greek Faience: Miniature Scent Bottles and Related Objects in East Greece 650–500 BC*. Warminster: Aris and Philips.

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Sculpture from 'Pantheon': An open-air sanctuary at the foothills of the Rhodian acropolis

Kalliope Bairami

Abstract

The open-air sanctuary of *Theon Panton* excavated in various private plots in the Diagoridon and Pavlou Mela streets in the city of Rhodes, consists of a monumental altar, a holy grove, votive bronze statuary erected on *exedrae* and pedestals and three subterranean rock-cut spaces. In the present study, after a brief mention of its architectural remains and its chronological limits, the sculpture collected from the rescue excavations of the plots is summarily presented with emphasis on the two groups of statuettes of Hellenistic and Roman period found rejected in the subterranean rooms. The group of the three Nemesis statuettes perhaps are indicative of the transformation of the collective cult of *Theon Panton* under Roman influence.

Key words: Pantheon, *Theois Pasi*, sculpture, Aphrodite, Hermaphroditos, Nemesis, cult

The identification of the sanctuary at Diagoridon street as the temenos of All Gods/*Theon Panton* is due to Ch. Kantzia, who in 1993 – only a year before her untimely loss – in a presentation in the conference 'Rhodes, 2400 Years', defined its character and its chronological limits.[1]

The Rhodian so called '*Pantheon*', an open-air sanctuary with a precinct and an altar, but no temple, was probably founded after the siege of Demetrius (305/4 BC) in the 3rd century BC and within it the Rhodians dedicated stone missiles as war trophies of their victory.[2] The monumental altar dated in the Late Hellenistic-Roman period, was surrounded by votive monuments as the stone bases of rectangular masonry denote (Figure 1). The fill inside the altar contained ashes, bovine and other animal bones and marine shells.[3] Layers of hard, beaten red earth, interpreted as the floor of the sanctuary, and a thick network of clay water-pipes, obviously denote the existence of a sacred grove around the architectural remains.[4] Rectangular bases of finely dressed *poros* blocks[5] and parts of Doric cornice with waterspouts in the form of lions' heads (*geisa*) possibly belonged to *stoai* or similar roofed halls,[6] indispensable for the pilgrims of the sanctuary during the official feasts and processions and for the exhibition of the votive offerings.[7] Inscribed statue-bases (*bathra*) with the votive formula ΘΕΟΙΣ (to all Gods), and marble votive shields dedicated by military officials enabled the identification of the temenos.[8] The sanctuary was dismantled and its building material was used for the early Byzantine basilica of the Chatziandreou plot[9] in the 5th century AD and this represents the *terminus post quem* for its use.

The sanctuary was discovered gradually in the rescue excavations of several private plots. Twenty-five years after the first identification and description, the continuation of the excavation in the area of the sanctuary, on the occasion of its enhancement, contributes to a short description of the temenos.

Description

The temenos (Figure 2) is located at the eastern foothills of the acropolis and is delimited north and south by the ancient roads P 14 and P 15 (E–W), each one having a width of 12 m.[10] These broad avenues delimit a monumental zone (90 m wide), which according to W. Hoepfner,[11] bisects the ancient city leading to the

[1] Kantzia 1999: 75–82; Konstantinopoulos 1968: 593–594.

[2] For the architectural form of these sanctuaries, Heilmeyer 1999: 83–88. For the similar Agora of Gods with altars dedicated to various deities in Camirus, see Konstantinopoulos 1971: 57, pls. 28–29; Konstantinopoulos 1986: 173–176, figs 196–199.

[3] Marine shells have also been found on the altar of Thesmophorion in Pella, Lilimbaki-Akamati 1996: 24.

[4] Cf. Hellmann 2006: 155–159; Jacob 1993: 31–44; Kerschner 2015: 187–234; Thompson 1937: 396–425.

[5] Probably for the insertion of wooden posts, see Konstantinopoulos 1969: 437 plan 3; Cf. Coulton 1976: 143–144; Hellmann 2006: 212–217, fig. 287.

[6] Konstantinopoulos 1968: 593–594, pl. 749b. Cf. Ginouvès *et al.* 1992: 121, pl. 64, 1–3; Hennemeyer 2013: 80–82, pls 69–72.

[7] Hellmann 2006: 212–217.

[8] Badoud 2017: no. 2, 107–115; Kantzia 1999: 79–82; Kontorini 1989: 31–55, nos 2–5, pls II–VII; Zimmer and Bairami 2008: 149–167 (3rd century BC – 1st century AD). For various inscriptions from the Chatziandreou plot connected either with the sanctuary of All Gods or the temple-like building in Soichan-Minettou plot (at Chimarras and Sofouli Str.), two of them with the formula ΘΕΟΙΣ, see Kontorini III: 3–5, no. 1; 9–11 and 13, nos 3–4; 16–18, no. 6; 19–26, no. 7; 26–29, no. 8; 31–33, no. 10; 34–57, no. 11; 59–60, no. 12; 65–67, no. 16; 67–69, no. 17.

[9] Kollias 1969: 442–443; Kollias 2000: 299–302.

[10] Filimonos-Tsopotou 1980; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: 57 (M. Filimonos-Tsopotou).

[11] Filimonos and Patsiada 2018: 76; Φιλήμονος-Τσοποτού 2021: 33-70, ιδίως 39-40; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: 57, 63–64 and 65–66.



Figure 1. Moustaki plot. The altar of the sanctuary (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

ancient acropolis. Significant public buildings are situated in this area. The ancient streets R27 and R38, were suggested as the western and eastern boundaries of the sanctuary.[12]

The altar of the sanctuary, excavated in the Moustaki plot in 1967, was described in the preliminary report,[13] as of similar form to the one of Dionysos in Cos.[14] The northwestern corner of the structure was unearthed, with the foundation built by large *poros* blocks and the *euthynteria* from *lithos lartios* of rectangular masonry: Ten blocks of *lartios* stone on the western wall and four blocks on the northern wall, connected with horizontal Π-shaped/hook cramps. The finely dressed *lartios* blocks of the *euthynteria* have a chisel-drafted margin at the facing surface and *anathyrosis* at the contact surfaces. A faint weathering line (thin strip of weathering) at the outer margin of the upper surface (top bed) denotes that a second course of blocks stood above them and was slightly set back from the edges creating a stepped *krepis*.[15] From the eastern wall, only part of its foundation from two or three *poros* blocks was unearthed, under a subsequent rubble masonry of late Roman period.

Three subterranean spaces (Figure 3) of rectangular shape carved in the rock were excavated in the north-eastern part of the adjacent Geniki Techniki plot,[16] their fill containing numerous broken parts of architectural and sculptural pieces. One of them, structure B (measuring 6 m x 4.50 m, height: 2.50/2.80 m) had an oval shaped niche on one side while a staircase cut on the rock gave access to the room. The walls of the structure were invested with finely dressed masonry of *poros* stone coated with stucco, which had been dismantled, and had a stuccoed floor as well. The fill contained many small pieces and chips of *lithos lartios* – possibly from a second use or treatment of the original blocks – and sherds of pottery dated from the late Hellenistic (end of 2nd – 1st century BC) to the Roman era (1st – 2nd century AD). The second subterranean room, structure C (measuring 5.90 m x 3.30 m, height: 2.25 m) had also an investment of *poros* masonry with red stucco. Lamps[17] and sherds of pottery of late Roman/early Byzantine period and parts of marble parapets were collected from its fill. These subterranean rooms were probably roofed with wooden beams. They were probably used for the worship and offerings to the Underworld gods, as a similar example, the votive pit/*bothros* in the sanctuary of Demeter and Core in Priene denotes, with its square room with thick walls measuring 2.98 m x 2.85 m, with a height of 2 m, and roofed by slabs forming three gables.[18]

[12] For the wide avenue R27, with a width of more than 16 m, in N–S orientation, while R38 had a width of 9.30 m, see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: 57 (M. Filimonos-Tsopotou). For the successive terraces and the retaining walls west of the ancient street R38, see Filimonos and Patsiada 2018: 67–88, esp. 72.

[13] Hellmann 2006: 124; Konstantinopoulos 1969: 438 plan 4 (preserved dimensions possibly 10.10 m x 6.50 m).

[14] For the monumental altars, in the shape of the Greek letter Π, with a bench-like table, cf. Ohnesorg 2005: 46, 195–198, fig. 103; Stampolidis 1988: 188–191, pls 65–67.

[15] Cf. the altars of Dionysos in Cos, of Dionysos near the theatre of Delos, and of Poseidon and Amphitrite in Tenos, Stampolidis 1987: 166–171; Étienne and Braun 1995: 63–87; Étienne and Braun 1987: 107–125 respectively.

[16] Karantzali 1997: 618; Karantzali 1998: 511–515, pl. 156; Karantzali 1999: 768–769, pl. 244.

[17] For the clay lamps, of the 3rd – 7th centuries AD, see Katsioti 2017: 13, 51 (Cy 20), 56 (Cy 34, Cy 35), 60 (Cy 47), 68 (Cy 68), 73 (Cy 82), 79 (Cy 101), 85 (Cy122), 106 (A13), 111 (A 25), 112 (A27), 113 (A 30), 114 (A32), 117 (A38), 119 (A43), 120 (A45), 121 (A 46–47), 124 (A54), 126 (A 59–60), 127 (A61–62), 128 (A63), 132 (A75), 137 (A 89), 138 (A 91), 139 (A93), 140 (A 97), 141 (A98), 146 (A 111), 149 (A 120), 163 (A 164), 168, 171 (R 1), 173 (R6), 174 (R7–8), 175 (R9–10), 181 (R25–26), 182–183 (R27–30), 184 (R32), 185 (R34), 188 (R43), 189 (R45–46), 190 (R49), 191 (R50), 195 (R63), 196 (R64), 197 (R68), 198 (R72), 199–200 (R73–75), 201 (R79), 203 (R82), 205 (R87), 224, 230 (AM9), 251 (AM 66), 272 (AM 126), 312 (AM 244), 340 (AM 316), 362 (AM 377), 506 (NA 16), 520 (Un 20–21), 521 (Un 23), 522–523 (Un 25, 27–29), 543 (Un 88).

[18] Hellmann 2006: 131, figs 168, 169–174. For other similar subterranean structures in Corinth, Megara, Eretria and elsewhere, see Hellmann 1992: 259–266; Morgan 1937: 539–552, esp. 545–546; Stroud 1965: 1–24, esp. 6ff., 9, fig. 2; Themelis 1980: 78–102, esp. 97–99. For the presence of an altar dedicated to All the Gods in the Demeter

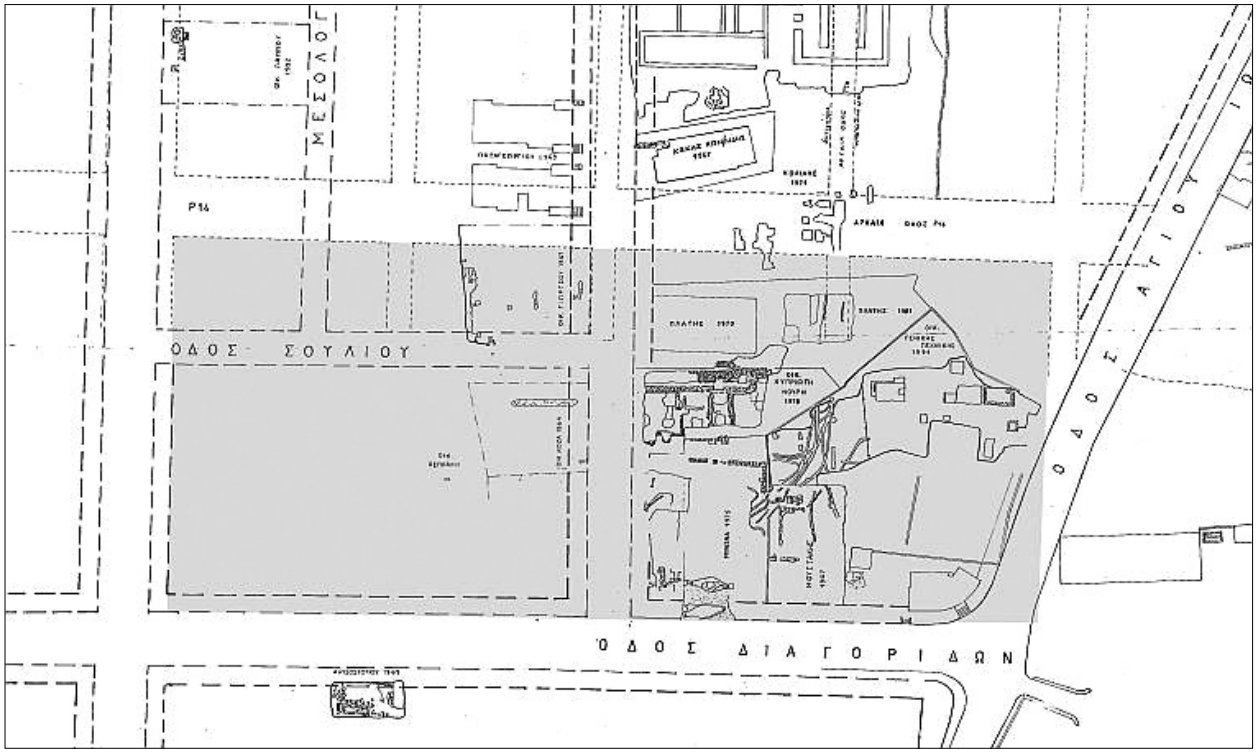


Figure 2. The site of the temenos in the Hippodamian plan of ancient Rhodes (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

The dispersed architectural parts preserved in the Geniki Techniki plot belong rather to bases of votive monuments and *exedrae* as denoted by the cavities for the fastening of the feet of the bronze statues on top of them.[19] A votive inscription of religious officials honouring the priest of Helios carved on the base of a pedestal where his portrait statue probably stood, together with the altar and the holy grove, enable us to visualise the original form of the sanctuary.

From the dismantling of a foundation wall built of *poros* blocks, south of the altar, a Ptolemaic coin,[20] was collected with the head of Zeus in profile to the right on the obverse and an eagle with half-opened wings to the left on the reverse, dated in the period 305–261 BC (Figures 4–5). It probably confirms the *terminus* of the founding of the sanctuary in the beginning of the 3rd century BC.

The rubble wall built over the eastern side of the altar is dated by the sherds of late Roman lamps of Asia Minor type (Figure 6), decorated with a rosette on the discus and globules on the shoulder, in the 5th–6th century AD, contemporary with the above mentioned Chatziandreou basilica,[21] providing a *terminus* for the abandonment of the worship.

Sculpture

From the bronze portrait statues, which were dedicated in the sanctuary, only the sandalled forefoot of a male life-size statue, possibly of Roman date, is preserved (Figure 7).[22]

Figures of gods in statuesque format have been collected, found scattered in the various plots composing the sanctuary, while a numerous group was collected from the subterranean rooms of Geniki Techniki plot.

sanctuary in Pergamon and the connection of the cult of All the Gods to the deities of the Underworld, due to an Orphic-pantheistic tuition, see Agelidis 2012: 175–183, esp. 180.

[19] Hellmann 2006: 235–237. Also, a stone bench decorated with lion paws at the sides, found reused in a pebble floor of later dating, possibly belonged to a similar votive exedra, cf. Thüngen Freifrau von 1994: 138–139, no. 119, pl. 74.1 (Messene, Exedra 1) and 170, no. 158, pl. 95 (Messene, Bench).

[20] Rhodes, inv. no. N1008 (Grand Master's palace, Exhibition Rhodes 2400 Years, room 10). Cf. Picard, Bresc *et al.* 2012: 30–31, nos 116–149, esp. 127–139 (diobol, diam: 29–26 mm., Series 2, struck under Ptolemy Í (305–284 BC); Vanderpool, McCredie, Steinberg 1962: 26–61, esp. 48, pl. 16, no. 80. I would like to express my warmest thanks to my colleague and dear friend Dr Eva Apostolou of the Numismatic Museum, for the identification of the coin.

[21] Cf. Katsioti 2017: 234, cat. nos AM 17, 18, 19 (*c.* 500 AD).

[22] Zimmer and Bairami 2008: 103–104, figs 53–54, pl. 3 (M467, from the Menexeli plot). The type of sandals with a tongue-shaped thong over the instep (*tarsus*) and the toes, appear in the funerary reliefs of Asia Minor from the 2nd century BC, usually combined with *lingula*, an overhanging strap, folded over the laces; see Morrow 1985: 118–120, 147. The type of sandal with leaf-shaped thong and laces is also known from Roman statues (*trochades* or *gallicae*), Goldman 1994: 101–129, esp. 109, fig. 6.11; Mattusch *et al.* 1996, 343–347, no. 54, figs 2–3. The bottom of the sandal is open for attaching the statue on a stone base, cf. Bol 1978: 85–87, fig. 9d; Mattusch *et al.* 1996: 211–213, nos 17–18.

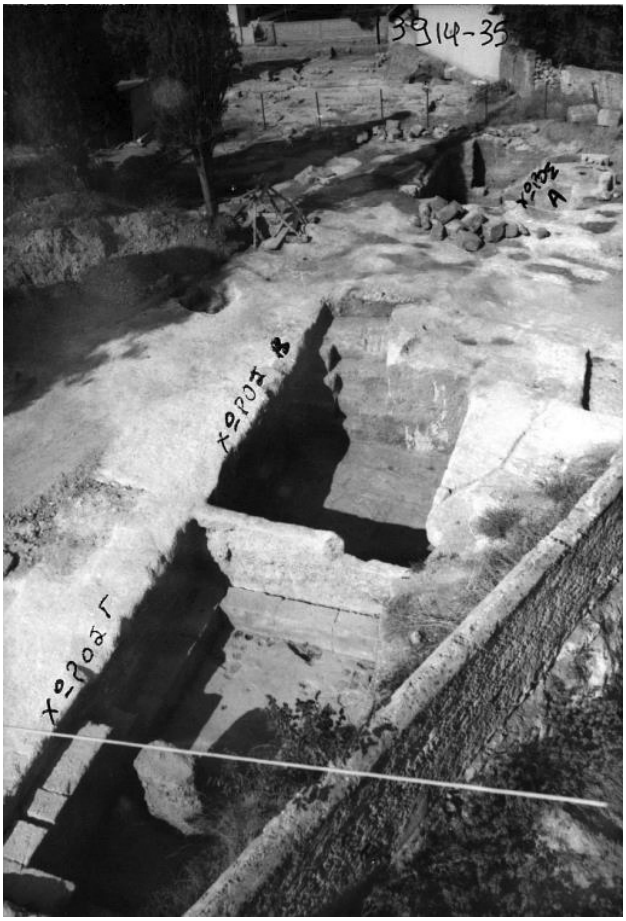


Figure 3. Geniki Techniki plot. The subterranean rock cut spaces (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).



Figures 4–5. Moustaki plot. Ptolemaic coin, diobol, obverse and reverse (inv. no. N1008) (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

The depiction of Aphrodite is the most common among the sculptures from the Rhodian sanctuary, as is usual in the Hellenistic period.[23] The head of Aphrodite Γ189 (Figure 8) from the Mylona plot, is the only one belonging to a life size statue from the sanctuary.[24] It



Figure 6. Moustaki plot. Late Roman lamps of Asia Minor type (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

is a Hellenistic adaptation of a praxitelean Aphrodite, echoing models of the 4th century BC and compared to the 'Leconfield head'.[25] It is dated in the end of the 3rd/beginning of the 2nd century BC. A head of an Aphrodite statuette (Γ2171) in the praxitelean type of Knidia (of the so-called 'anxious' type),[26] with the typical coiffure of the hair-knot tied with a double ribbon was found in the Geniki Techniki plot.[27] Another headless statuette of a nude Aphrodite Aidoumene is dated in the 3rd century BC.[28] From the other sculptures, the statuette of Tyche carrying a cornucopia (Γ210) and dated rather early in the 3rd century BC is noteworthy.[29]

In the western part of the third subterranean room of the Geniki Techniki plot (structure C), rejected on the floor, parts of statuettes and pieces of other sculptures and architectural pieces were collected. The conservation of the sculptural pieces had as a result the re-assemblage of six small statues and parts of others, 21 sculptures in total. The six statuettes belong to two groups of three statuettes each, sharing common technical details, such as the similar dimensions and the flat chiselled back denoting their placement in a recess. The first group – dated in the second half of 2nd century BC – comprises an Apollo Citharoedus (Γ2152),[30]

[23] For the worship of Aphrodite in the Hellenistic period, see Neumer-Pfau 1982: 55–60. For the amount of Aphodite statuettes in the Hellenistic cities, see Bourgeois 1978: 252–256; von Prittwitz und Gaffron 1988: 11. For the interpretation of the Aphrodite statues and statuettes from 150 BC, and onwards, as an expression of the female qualities, see Jaeggi 2008: 131–132 and 134–135.

[24] Bairami 2017: 78–80, no. 004, pls 8–11.

[25] Pasquier and Martinez 2007: 116–117, no. 18 (A. Pasquier, 4th–3rd century BC).

[26] Cf. Pasquier and Martinez 2007: 131–151, esp. 139–149 (A. Pasquier).

[27] It is compared to the Cauffmann head and the Martres-Tolosane head, Pasquier and Martinez 2007: 178–179, no. 37 (A. Pasquier) and 182–183, no. 39 (A. Pasquier).

[28] Machaira 2011: 99–100, no. 74, pls 101–102 (Γ205, preserved height 0.67 m).

[29] Machaira 2011: 49–51, no. 9, pls 16–17 (Γ210, height 0.55 m, from the Yortsou plot). For its qualities as a patron deity or personification of the city, Villard 1997: 115–125, esp. 123. For connection of Tyche with the worship of the twelve gods, see Long 1987: 333.

[30] Cf. the similar statuette of Delos, Marcadé 1969: 283, pl. 29.



Figure 8. Mylona plot. Head of Aphrodite (Γ189) (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).



Figure 7. Menexeli plot. Bronze sandalled forefoot (M467) (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).



Figure 9. Geniki Techniki plot. Hermaphroditos statuette (Γ2157) (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

a draped female figure, possibly a Nymphe or Muse (Γ2139) and an Hermaphroditos (Figure 9 – Γ2157).[31] The depiction of the male-female hybrid Hermaphroditos, son of Aphrodite, becomes popular in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, so a detailed mention to the third figure of the group is necessary.[32]

The figure of the semi-nude Hermaphroditos, in a relaxed pose, is leaning on the left on a high pier. The head is not preserved, but it was probably also turned to the left. He is standing on the right foot with crossed legs. The drapery covers the back and the thighs. The left hand – only the upper arm is preserved, leaning on the pier – possibly raised the himation above the shoulder, as the remaining folds denote, holding it out behind providing a backdrop for the body. The torso has a sinuous posture.

The gesture of the left hand of the Rhodian figure is repeated on statuettes and clay figurines of a Hellenistic type of Aphrodite, known as the so called 'Hermaphrodit' Doria Pamphilj.[33] The original creation was identified by certain scholars (Bernoulli, Klein, Riemann) as an Hermaphroditos but the presence of a swan in the Roman copy of the Villa Doria Pamphilj led to its identification as an Aphrodite, as well as its similarity to Aphrodite statuettes. Ajootian[34] argues that the original state of the copy depicted an Hermaphroditos

[31] Karantzali 1999: 768–769, pl. 244b. For the origins of Hermaphroditos and its depiction in ancient Greek art, Ajootian 1990: 268–285. For standing types of Hermaphroditos and the dress-lifting gesture of *anasyrma* (revealing the genitals) with apotropaic and fecund significance, see von Stackelberg 2014: 398–399.

[32] For other marble statuettes, herms and table supports of Hermaphroditos from Delos, Rhodes, Cos, Smyrna and Pergamon, cf. Ajootian 1990: 273–274, 277, nos 17, 18, 18[a], 29, 31–35, 54–55, 56g.

[33] Delivorrias *et al.* 1984: 81, nos 725–728. Cf. the clay figurines of Athens in Copenhagen (second half of the 4th century BC) and in Leningrad (Hermitage Γ 470), from Thisbe (Hellenistic period), Delivorrias *et al.* 1984, 81, nos 727–728.

[34] Ajootian 1990: 273, no. 22.

but later it was reworked, the male genitals were removed, and the drapery was added at genital region. Standing types of Hermaphroditos sometimes assume poses of Aphrodite, Apollo and Dionysos, for example the Hermaphroditos of Pergamon.[35]

The sinuous stance of the Rhodian figure with crossed legs and the raised left hand is reminiscent of a certain statuary type[36] of the Attic school dated in the 4th century BC, represented by the so-called Pothos[37] and Hygieia of Skopas and Sauroctonos of Praxiteles.[38] Sharply leaning figures, so far out of balance, such as the so-called Pothos, were probably part of a larger composition. The original creation of the Pothos type is connected either to the statuary group of Eros, Imeros and Pothos of Scopas in the temple of Aphrodite in Megara, or to the group of Aphrodite and Pothos in Samothrace,[39] and Hygieia is paired with a sitting Asklepios. On a bronze mirror in the British Museum, Eros is depicted in a similar pose together with a sitting Aphrodite (third quarter of the 4th century BC).[40]

So, the type of the Rhodian figure Γ2157 is a creation of the Hellenistic period,[41] depending on the stance of famous works of art (such as Pothos and Sauroctonos) of the Attic school of the second half of the 4th century BC. Whether it formed a group with a second, now lost, figure is an issue. In the 4th-century BC creations, the torsion of the body was more accentuated, in the Rhodian Hermaphroditos the sinuous movement is limited in the frontal view.

The element of surprise and of the sudden revelation of the double nature in the iconography of Hermaphroditos is often used in groups with a Satyr or/and in solitary depictions with the revelation of the erect phallus either as a source of amusement or as an indication of a higher form of existence.[42] Perhaps the best parallel of the Rhodian Hermaphroditos is the Pompeian wall painting from the House of Meleager: the standing figure is depicted leaning on a pier at the left side, with crossed legs and raising the drapery behind him with the right hand, looking at a small Satyr in front of him.[43]

The worship of Hermaphroditos is epigraphically attested in Attica (4th century BC) and in Cos in the Hellenistic period on an altar together with other divinities of healing, fertility nature and children.[44] As a divinity protecting human fertility and perhaps of *kourotrophic* function, he is considered to have invented marriage, the lawful coupling,[45] while his gesture of exposing the genitals has apotropaic meaning, warding off the evil eye. Statues and statuettes of Hermaphroditos stood in gymnasia, houses, baths and theatres. Clay figurines were used as burial gifts or were found in votive deposits,[46] testifying to the widely popular cult of the divinity in the Hellenistic period in Greece and Italy.

The second group comprises three statuettes of Nemesis of Roman period (end of 1st century AD),[47] denoting a renewal of the worship in the temenos, when the goddess of righteous indignation, who assures the respect of the proper measure in life and of the punishment of human *hybris* becomes popular in the empire.[48] Nemesis becomes syncretised with other deities and adopts in her iconography their characteristics and symbols.[49]

The first statuette (Figure 10 – Γ2164), in the apotropaic Nemesis-gesture: 'spitting in the bosom' – i.e. raising

[35] Ajootian 1997: 233–235. For the Pergamene Hermaphroditos, see von Prittwitz und Gafron 2007: 262–265.

[36] For the categorization of the leaning figures with crossed legs in four groups, in the Attic art of the 4th century BC, see Neutsch 1952: 17–28, esp. 22–23 for the fourth group comprising two figures. For the motif of the crossed legs, its history and popularity mainly in the 4th century BC, see Tancke 1995: 308–312, n. 6.

[37] Lattimore 1987: 411–420; Palagia 2000: 219–225; Stewart 1977: 107–110, 144–146.

[38] Pasquier and Martinez 2007: 216–217, 304–306, esp. no. 50. For similarities between Pothos of Scopas and Sauroctonos of Praxiteles, see Kansteiner *et al.* 2014: 467–470 (Skopas); Palagia 2000: 219–225; Rolley 1999: 272–279, esp. 274. See also for differences between the two sculptures, Neutsch 1952: 22–28.

[39] For the identification of the so-called Pothos type as Eros or Imeros of the statuary group at Megara, see Palagia 2000: 219–225.

[40] Lattimore 1987: 413, n. 22; Züchner 1942: 13–14, KS 14, pl. 24 (London, British Museum no. 292, possibly from Crete).

[41] For the Hellenistic classicism of the mid 2nd century BC expressed by the eclectic combination of old motifs and styles, see Bieber 1961: 157–166; Lewerentz 1993: 190–192; Pollitt 1986: 164–168.

[42] Ajootian 1990: 283–285, esp. 284; Ajootian 1997: 233. The sleeping Hermaphroditos and the Hermaphroditos-Satyr wrestling *symplegmata* are considered as oriented mostly for the Italian market, see Ajootian 1990: 276; Ajootian 1997: 231; von Stackelberg 2014: 401. For Dionysiac and erotic groups, see Vorster 2007: 296-303.

[43] Von Stackelberg 2014: 395–426, esp. 404–412, fig. 11, also figs 17 and 18 for similar depictions of Hermaphroditos. For the meaning of the depictions of Hermaphroditos in Roman houses as a wish of domestic harmony with political connotations, see von Stackelberg 2014: 418–423.

[44] For the origins of the divine personage Hermaphroditos in the Greek world possibly found in bisexual creatures of different names having a specific role in Orphic and other Greek cosmographies and his fertility, *kourotrophic* and protective qualities/functions, as guardian of human fertility and vulnerable offspring, see Ajootian 1997: 220–242; esp. 226–230. For the interpretation of the figure of Hermaphroditos as an effeminate young man, see Zuchtriegel 2013–2014: 255–269.

[45] Ajootian 1990: 226–228. For a different approach of the myth of Hermaphroditos, in relation to the foundation of the multicultural Halicarnassus by Greek colonists living in harmony with the barbarian indigenous populations, which were civilized by the Greeks, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2004: 59–84; Romano 2009: 543–561, for the traditional interpretation.

[46] Ajootian 1997: 227; Clay 1977: 259–267; Kansteiner *et al.* 2014: 750–751, no. 2630 (L. Lehmann, S. Prignitz).

[47] Bairami 2020: 857–871.

[48] For the meaning and the origins of the divinity, see Karanastassi 1992: 733–762. Also, Papapostolou 1989: 371–378, especially 377 for the chthonic character of the goddess; Hornum 1993: especially 6–10 for the pre-Roman meaning of the deity and the chthonic character of the goddess.

[49] Aristodemou 2015: 78; Karanastassi 1992: 757–762; Papapostolou 1989: 375–376; Rausa 1992: 762–770.



Figure 10. Geniki Techniki plot. Nemesis statuette (Γ2164) (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

with the right hand a fold of her dress to spit on her bosom to ward off the evil eye[50] – carries the characteristic symbol of the wheel[51] and tramples on a male (*hybristes*) figure.[52] The presence of the defeated enemy, either a male (*hybristes*) or a female prostrate figure, a personification of *hybris*, connects the goddess to the state and its sovereign, the emperor, expressing the order and peace imposed by the Roman empire on the world defeating the *hybristes* enemies of the state or the barbarians.[53] The relation of Nemesis to the gladiatorial games of the arena is also interpreted through her connection to the imperial propaganda: one of the main roles of *munus* and *venatio* was the public defeat of the enemies of the state.[54]

Although the type with the defeated enemy is dated to the 2nd century AD with few exceptions, among the earlier depictions of the shape is the depiction on a gem (sardonyx) of the ex-collection Marlborough, dated in the 1st century BC – 1st century AD.[55]

The second statuette Γ2167 carries the scales and the globe as a symbol of the sovereignty of the world (as *Regina orbis*)[56] and it is common in statuettes, where Nemesis is syncretised with Tyche/Fortuna.[57] Scales is the symbol of justice,[58] since Nemesis is the supreme judge, deciding on the souls and the world.[59] The third statuette Γ2165, although resembling Demeter/Ceres,[60] should rather be interpreted as Nemesis, carrying a bowl and a cubit/measuring stick as indication of the right measure.[61]

The face of the goddess Γ2165 (Figure 11) depicts a mature woman with personalised features, raising the question whether the statuette was carved under the influence of the iconography of Livia, wife of Augustus, deified after her death in AD 29 from Claudius (Diva Augusta).[62] In that case, the Rhodian head is carved according to the last type of the portraits of the empress, the *Sacerdos* type, having a simple coiffure with the hair tied in a knot. The popularity of the type after the death of Augustus, in the time of Tiberius, depicting her as priestess of Augustus, is due to its connection to the imperial cult.[63]

Nemesis is epigraphically attested among the Rhodian cults of the Hellenistic age,[64] nevertheless the attributes of the Roman statuettes from the Rhodian

[50] Fleischer 1978: 392–396; Hornum 1993:12; Hornum 1998: 131–138; Karanastassi 1992: 756.
[51] Fleischer 1978: 392–396; Hornum 1993: 25–28 and 322–325; Karanastassi 1992: 741.
[52] Hornum 1998: 131–138; Karanastassi 1992: 747–749, nos 154–156, nos 157–164 (Victoria type) and nos 165–167 (Erinye type); Lichocka 1989: 115–126; Lichocka 2004: 12–16 (Nike type); Papapostolou 1989: 371–378.
[53] Hornum 1993: 32–40; Lichocka 1989: 115–126; Papapostolou 1989: 351–401, esp. 371–378.
[54] Aristodemou 2015: 73–85, esp. 80–81; Hornum 1993: 87–88.
[55] Lichocka 2004: 127, no. IJ19, pl. 34, 6.
[56] Cf. the relief depicting Nemesis-*Psyche* standing on a globe as *Regina orbis* (180 AD), Fuchs 2002: 39–41, no. 9, fig. 12 (GL. 514).
[57] Baratte 1981: 171–177, esp. 175, n. 35 for a Nemesis-Tyche/Fortuna statuette with globe, torch, griffin and wheel at her feet in Budapest from Aquinqum; Hornum 1993: 65; Karanastassi 1992: 750–751, 761, nos 180–186; Szirmai 2005: 287–291, fig. 1 (3rd century AD).
[58] Aristodemou 2015: 78; Hornum 1993: 63–64, 321.
[59] Karanastassi 1992: 735, 750 and 762 (*Aequitas* type); Lichocka 2004: 25–26 (Type *Dikaiosyne*); Papapostolou 1989: 377.
[60] For depictions of Demeter with a phiale and a torch or sceptre in reliefs, sculptures and clay figurines, cf. Beschi 1988: 844–892, esp. 850, nos 27–29; 853, no. 58; 856, no. 98; 865, no. 234; 870, no. 308. The draped himation-clad type with a veiled or unveiled head, sometimes with a torch and ears of wheat or corn is also used for the Roman *Ceres*, in gems and coins, cf. de Angeli 1988: 893–908, esp. 896, no. 41, no. 43, nos 44–45, 47; 897, nos 60–61; 903, no. 149.
[61] Hornum 1993: 63, 325–327. For Nemesis with veiled head covered, carrying a measuring stick and scales, Karanastassi 1992: 741, no. 37, and 747, no. 148; Lichocka 2004, 21, n. 81.
[62] For the facial features of Livia, see Kiss 1988: 349–353; Pantermalis 1972: 111–118. Cf. the portrait from Thespiae also with a veiled head (Athens, NAM 567), Datsulis-Stavridis 1980: 300–302, pls 131–133; cf. also the portrait depicted on the Ravenna relief, Balty 1988: 44, fig. 13. For the divinisation of Livia in Greece, Kantirea 2007: 74–75.
[63] Winkes 1988: 555–561; Winkes 1995: 19–24, 25–57, esp. 44–57, 63; Wood 2000: 82, 84, n. 43, for depiction of Livia as standing figure holding a phiale and sceptre with the inscription *DIVA AUGUSTA* on coins of emperor Galba (68–69 AD).
[64] Hornum 1993: 197 and 207, nos 81 and 104; Kontorini 1983: 63–64, no. 4; Tataki 2009: 641.



Figure 11. Geniki Techniki plot. Nemesis statuette (Γ2165) (© Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

pantheon denote the new symbolism of the divinity. The popularity of the worship of Nemesis in the Roman era, is due to her relation to the Roman state and the idea of the order that the empire imposes on the world, and the games of gladiators,[65] although Rhodes, like most of the Aegean islands, never hosted such games.[66] Therefore, it could be suggested that in the early Roman period the old cult of *Theon Panton* in the Rhodian *Pantheon* integrated the new deity, perhaps under Roman instigation.[67] A similar example is Smyrna, where the traditional cult of Nemesis was transformed under Roman influence and connected to the gladiatorial games and the imperial cult.[68]

In Rhodes, it was perhaps the collective character of the traditional cult, that enabled the integration of the new deity. The invocation θεοις πασι is attested quite early in the Greek antiquity, but the collective cult of the divine group, flourished from the 3rd century BC onwards, especially in the Eastern parts of the Greek world (Asia Minor),[69] perhaps in an attempt to evoke the protection of all the Gods, known and unknown, not forgetting anyone, also including, in the Hellenistic era, the new and rather vague Anatolian divinities. Gradually a new entity is created, *Pantheios* or *Panthea*, collecting the powers and symbols of all the gods, to represent the divine group. Its relation to the other collective cult of the Twelve Gods of a political character, is ambiguous.[70] However, it was through the collective cults of All the Gods and the Twelve Gods, that the ruler's cult was adopted in the Hellenistic world,[71] where he was worshipped as the 13th God. Later, the imperial cult is related to the group of the gods in the Roman world and the Roman *Pantheon* is considered to be a dynastic monument for gens Iulia and its patron gods.[72]

Although the study of the rest of the finds, especially the epigraphical material, is still pending, one cannot help wondering whether the three Nemesis statuettes have an additional symbolism: that the collective cult of *Theon Panton*, in the Rhodian so-called *Pantheon*, was related in some way with the imperial cult in the Roman era, or was used as a vehicle for the integration of the imperial cult.[73]

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[65] Aristodemou 2015: 80–81; Hornum 1993: 50–56, 66.

[66] Tataki 2009: 641.

[67] Nemesis raised in importance in the Eastern part of the empire in the 1st century AD with the emperor's protection. In the age of Claudius, the Nemeseion of Rhamnous was dedicated to Livia *post mortem*. The 2nd and 3rd century AD was the age of the culmination of propagation of the cult of Nemesis. As a last development, Nemesis becomes a *pantheistic* goddess (*panthea*) in Asia Minor and the northeastern provinces, Karanastassi 1992: 758, 760, 761–762.

[68] Hornum 1993: 10–14 and 15–24; Tataki 2009: 639–648.

[69] Daremberg and Saglio 1873–1919: 314–315 s.v. *Panthea signa* (F. Cumont) and s.v. *Pantheon* ou *Pantheium* 315–316 (E. Saglio). For a collection of the epigraphical material and the ancient sources, see Jacobi 1930: 1–5 for the invocation in *Iliad* and *Odysseia*, 39–40 and 82 for Rhodes; Ziegler 1949: 697–747; For a dedicatory inscription referring to a priest of All the Gods in Kydonia, see *SEG* 1978, 217, no. 746 (1st half of 4th century BC).

[70] Will 1951: 233–246, esp. 240–246. For the cult of the Twelve Gods in Cos after the synoecism and its political character, see Paul 2013: 40–42, 158–159, 282–283.

[71] Wallraf 2004: 128–143, esp. 131, 138. For the association of the worship of the Twelve Gods with the ruler's cult, see Georgoudi 1996: 43–80, esp. 78–80; Georgoudi 1998: 73–83; Long 1987: 331–336.

[72] Marcattili 2005: 290–291; Will 1951: 233–246; Ziegler 1949: 697–747, esp. 728; For the Hadrianic renovation of the cult and the association to the imperial cult, Melfi 2017: 137–148, esp. 139, 144–146.

[73] For the integration of the imperial cult in Greece, either in preexisting temples and within the Greek civic *panthea* or in independent cult buildings and for the cult of the Roman state, goddess Roma, from the end of the 3rd century BC in the Eastern Mediterranean as a precursor, see Camia 2015: 9–23, esp. 9; Kantirea 2007: 26–30, 134–140. In Rhodes the cult of the goddess Roma is attested (and Ρωμαῖα), possibly since 196 BC, and also the organization of Kaisareia (probably for Gaius Caesar and not for Julius Caesar), Morelli 1959: 156 and 173–174 respectively. Kantirea 2007, 123: The joint cult of Rome and Augustus Zeus Olympios is attested in Lesvos (*IG* XII, 2, 656: 2–14 AD).

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Dedications, dedicators and cults at ancient Halasarna of Cos

Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras and Georgios Doulfis

Abstract

The venerable sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios/Pythaeus is situated in ancient Halasarna, modern Kardamaina, on Cos island. The University of Athens excavation has revealed the architectural and other remains of the sanctuary, which flourished during the Hellenistic period. Several dedications to various deities have come to light. This contribution seeks to present the different kinds of dedications, including the votive inscriptions, the honorary dedications, the statues, the marble and clay statuettes, and the metal and clay vases, to retrace their dedicators and their particular social state, and to relate them to the deities who were worshipped in the sanctuary, the recipients of the offerings. Therefore, the dedications, old and new finds of the excavation, will be sought to clarify the character and function of the sanctuary.

Key words: Halasarna, Cos, dedications, inscriptions, statues, clay figurines, vases

Introduction

There are two sources of absolutely reliable information regarding dedications, dedicators and recipient gods at the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios/Pythaeus of ancient Halasarna (modern Kardamaina) on Cos during the 1st millennium BC:[1] the surviving offerings themselves; and a large number of inscriptions – while no information at all is cited in the philological tradition. A significant number of marble sculptural works and clay figurines that formed pious offerings of faithful worshipers to the sanctuary belongs to the same period.[2] Inscriptions from the wider region of ancient Halasarna[3] total 150, out of which 26 are dedicatory ones of Hellenistic and Roman times.[4] The total number of the sculptures, found either in the systematic excavation by the University of Athens at the sanctuary and the early Byzantine settlement, or by chance in the environs, amounts to 65.[5] Somewhat smaller is the number of clay figurines from the same area, namely 48 items, to date.[6] The architectural remains can also be regarded, in broad terms, as dedications, to a great extent collective ones, the bulk of them probably made by the deme.

The buildings

Beginning with the architectural remains (Figure 1), two temples (building C of the first half of the 3rd century BC and building D of Roman times), a monumental enclosure wall and its porch (building E), a portico (building Z) and, finally, a public building (building A–B) of the late Hellenistic period, are the most important structures recovered to date at the sanctuary;[7] all underlay the early Byzantine strata of the settlement, which was built over the sanctuary.[8] Of course, the temple of Apollo itself was a dedication to the god, the completion of its construction having been made possible only thanks to the special financial contributions of the demesmen (δημόται), the other citizens, and the πάροικοι, metics who offered the outstanding sum of money (τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήματα), as attested in a relevant decree of the second half of the 3rd century BC.[9]

Apollo

A recent find (2018), a fragmentary statuette of an Archaic kouros of Parian marble (Figures 2a–b), constitutes a significant dedication to Apollo, the main god of the sanctuary, no depiction of whom has been

[1] For the old and the new excavations conducted by the University of Athens since 1985, see Herzog 1903; Kantzia 1990; Kokkorou-Alevras 2001; Kokkorou-Alevras 2004: 19–23; Kokkorou-Alevras 2009; Kokkorou-Alevras 2017b; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 1995–1996; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2006; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2020.

[2] On the basis of the direct or indirect connection that is established between dedications and the gods whom these were offered to, information inputs increase and confirm each other, while by combining these two categories of evidence, firm documentation is obtained about the principal cults of this ancient deme.

[3] For the systematic survey conducted by the University of Athens at the ancient deme of Halasarna, see Kokkorou-Alevras 2009; Kopanias 2009.

[4] For the inscriptions from Halasarna, see, besides *IG* XII 4, Kokkorou-Alevras 2004; Kokkorou-Alevras 2018; Kokkorou-Alevras and Doulfis 2017.

[5] For the sculptures in depth, see Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: esp. 13–17.

[6] For the clay figurines, see Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming).

[7] For the buildings of the Hellenistic period, see Kokkorou-Alevras 2001: 91–97; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 1995–1996: 313–324. For building D, see Kokkorou-Alevras 2017b: 320–321, figs 6–7; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2020.

[8] On the Early Byzantine settlement, see Kalopissi-Verti and Panayotidi-Kesisoglou 2020; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 1995–1996: 326–333; Kokkorou-Alevras *et al.* 2006: 46–62.

[9] *IG* XII 4, 94.

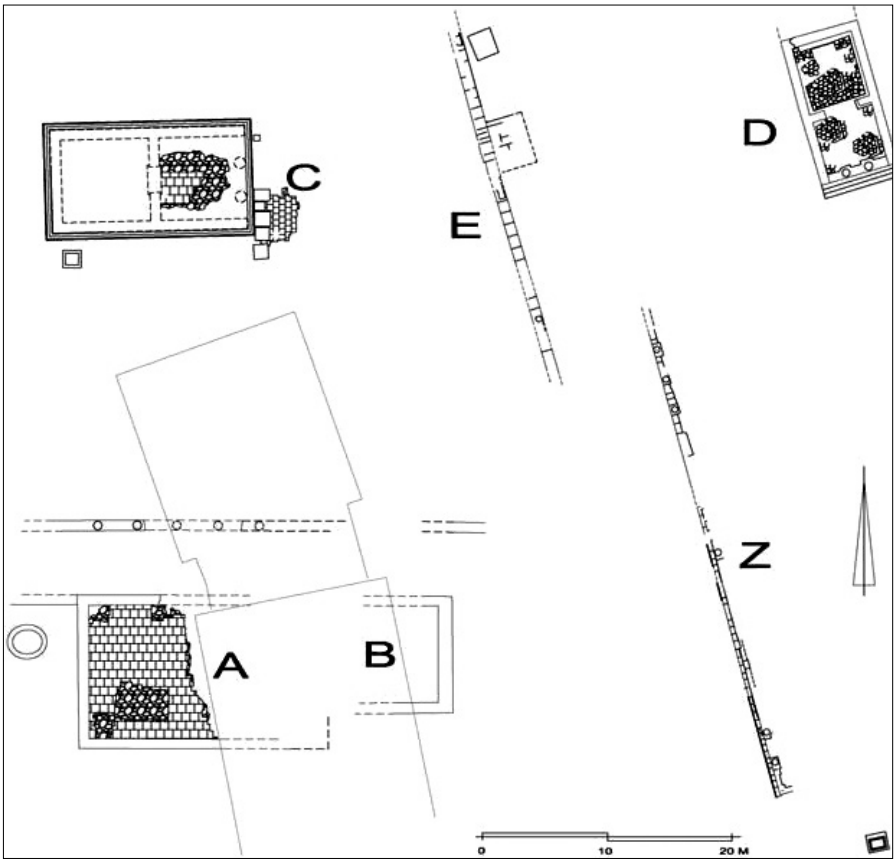


Figure 1. Halasarna, Cos. The sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios/ Pythaeus. Hellenistic-Roman phase (drawing by architect G. Antoniou).



Figure 2a. Halasarna, Cos. Fragmentary statuette of an Archaic kouros of Parian marble (front).



Figure 2b. Halasarna, Cos. Fragmentary statuette of an Archaic kouros of Parian marble (reverse).

found previously. The kouros statuette, which could represent the god himself, is striking of evidence of the earliness of Apollo's cult in the sanctuary already in Archaic times, since, as is well known, kouroi were always the preeminent dedications to the god. Pottery dating back as early as the Geometric period has also been found, but no direct connection to Apollo could be established up to now.

An inscribed sherd of Classical times, with the name – Ἀ]πόλλωνι (to Apollo) – comes from another, more modest, dedication to the god,[10] while a very interesting sherd, probably of a Rhodian Panathenaic amphora might also have been a dedication to the god: it bears the name of *Philinos Dardanou* (Figure 3), who had served as ἱεροποιός, and his son – at least – who had been a priest of Apollo.[11]



Figure 3. Halasarna, Cos. Inscribed sherd of a Rhodian Panathenaic amphora.

Special mention should be made of the drinking cups (ποτήρια) and other vessels that were dedicated to Apollo by the ἱερατευκότες (former priests) of the god. An inscription, a catalogue of the end of the 3rd century BC,[12] cites the ἱερατευκότες and the vessels (ποτήρια) they offered, as well as the weight of every single item, indicative of its value. In the fragmentary text it is possible to discern three ἡμίσφαιρα (an epigraphic *unicum*), probably cups or, in any case,

[10] Kantzia 1990: 149, pl. 59α.

[11] Kokkorou-Alevras and Doulfis 2017: 128, no. K 5, pl. 45.

[12] *IG* XII 4, 458.

bowls, a ψυκτήριον, a φιάλα, and one item with the suffix -ί]σκον,[13] maybe a *krateriskos* in accusative, all of which were dedicated by the ἱερατευκότες, together with the ἱεροποιοί (cult officials). Finally, there is one more dedication of an unknown kind and of very high value, judging from its cost – 1105 gold Alexander drachmas. But, according to Herzog, this number could indicate the total weight of the offerings.[14] In general, the vessels offered to Apollo must have been made of precious materials, most probably of silver or gold, as demonstrated by the weight of each of them, which is usually worth 100 or 150 Alexander drachmas.[15] In connection to the value of the dedicated drinking cups and vessels is the characteristic Halasarnitan sacral law *IG XII* 4,1 91, which prohibits their use as pledges for loans, imposing on any violators the exceptionally high fine of 5000 drachmas.[16]

Dated to the 2nd century BC, moreover, are two inscribed bases of dedications made both to Apollo and to the deme, one by an individual,[17] and the other by *Dardanos*, the above-mentioned priest of the god.[18]

Aphrodite

The most numerous group of sculptures in the round, *c.* 25 in total, are parts and fragments of statuettes: torsos,[19] heads,[20] arms and hands,[21] and finally feet,[22] depicting most probably the goddess Aphrodite in well-known and widespread types, mostly of late Hellenistic times (Figure 4). These appear as Aphrodite Ἀναδυομένη,[23] half-naked Αἰδουμένη,[24] Aphrodite Ἀποσανδαλιζομένη (removing her sandal); small female heads recall the famous Aphrodite of Knidos,[25] or the Esquilin Aphrodite.[26] These are artless repetitions of well-known types of the monumental free-standing sculpture, in all probability local works of



Figure 4. Halasarna, Cos. Fragmentary statuettes of Aphrodite.

[13] Judging from the suffix *-ίσκον* (accusative), there is a great variety of objects that can be suggested as dedications to the god, such as καδίσκον/κρατηρίσκον (small basket/small krater), but possibly also μηνίσκον/ληνίσκον (ribbon), which, if they were made of precious or semi-precious materials, would have been of great value. Furthermore, it could be assumed that it indicates a βωμίσκον (small altar) or a τριποδίσκον (small tripod), or ἀνδριαντίσκον (statuette), more specifically Ἀπολλωνίσκον (statuette of Apollo), even more so because it refers to the collective dedications of the priest and the ἱεροποιοί: *IG* XII 4, 458 II. 15–45.

[14] Herzog 1901: 481–482.

[15] An instructive, in our case, comparison can be drawn with a reference from a contemporary inscription from the Didyma silver bowl, the weight of which was worth 100 Alexander drachmas: *Didyma* 59.

[16] Cf. Kokkorou-Alevras 2004a: 41–44, no. 5; Kokkorou-Alevras 2004b: 119–121.

[17] *IG* XII 4, 503.

[18] *IG* XII 4, 525.

[19] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a, 23-27 nos K 7 – K 9, pl. 5.

[20] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a, 26-27, nos K 12 and K 13, pl. 6.

[21] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a, 38-43 nos K 29 – K 39 and K 41 – K 45, pls 12-15.

[22] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a, 44 nos K 48 – K 49, pl. 16.

[23] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 23–25, nos K7, K10, pl. 5.

[24] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 23–25, no. K8 (*αποσανδαλιζομένη*), K9 (*αιδουμένη*), pl. 5.

[25] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 26–27, no. K12, pl. 6.

[26] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 27, no. K13, pl. 6.

mass production that evidently reflect the dedicatory needs of pious, not particularly wealthy, worshippers. The large number of Aphrodite statuettes in the sanctuary of Apollo, compared to other deities, testifies to the particular significance attached to the goddess' cult here. Indeed, the cult of the goddess in the sanctuary of Apollo and the existence, within the territory of the deme, of her sacred gardens and βαλανεῖον (bath), which was leased to individuals, are recorded in a sacral law of the 3rd/2nd century BC.[27] Moreover, to Aphrodite Ὑπακόουσα (giving ear/listening), the λοχαγήσας (a battalion commander) in the Cretan War, *Nikagoras Koprionos*, and the 29 συνφύλακες (co-guards), dedicated a statue, or some other dedication, as attested by an inscribed base.[28] Quite a few of these soldiers, along with others, contributed to the erection of Ἀφροδίσιον, which should be placed in the deme of Halasarna, not as K. Höghammar supposes, in Antimacheia, where the inscription was most probably found, since many of the dedicators were Halasarnitans.[29] As it seems, then, the cult of Aphrodite was one of the principal cults practised in the deme.[30]

Hekate

Another very important group of dedications is known from nine inscriptions, most of which were found in the sanctuary and its environs.[31] According to these inscriptions, the priest of Apollo and the six ἱεροποιοί (sacral officials) dedicated annually, and for at least some years during or after the completion of their term, to Hekate Στρατία (Warlike) some dedication, perhaps similar to the late Hellenistic *Hekataion* of Coan-Rhodian type which comes from the sanctuary (Figure 5).[32] Although this specific *Hekataion* cannot be directly associated with any of the surviving inscribed bases of dedications to the goddess – of which, after all, some are now lost, and others do not preserve their upper part or plinth –, its connection with the dedication recorded in the inscriptions seems very probable. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the surviving, often pillar-like, inscribed bases of these dedications, were of modest dimensions, with mouldings around their upper end and sockets for the attachment of the



Figure 5. Halasarna, Cos. Hekataion.

plinth, and they must have supported rather small-sized dedications, such as the usually 1 m in height *Hekataia*. In any case, the occurrence of an *Hekataion* in the sanctuary of Apollo at Halasarna is plausible and expected, without, of course, excluding the possibility that some other kind of small-sized monument was mounted on these pillar-like bases.[33] In any event, since the dedicatory inscriptions to Hekate Στρατία are dated to a short period of time, during or just after the First Cretan War (205–201 BC) and the war that followed it (ὁ συνεστακώς, 201–200 BC), it is reasonable to suggest that the cult of Hekate as Στρατία, in all probability, is linked with the military actions that were carried out in the region of the deme of Halasarnitans, in the context of these dramatic events.[34] Connected, yet again, with the military operations of the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century BC is another aspect of the same goddess, this time as Σώτειρα (Saviour), evidenced by the now lost dedication of the λοχαγήσας Damokritos Damokleus,[35] the inscribed base of which was found at the hill of *Tholos*, the acropolis of ancient

[27] *IG* XII 4, 303; Kokkorou-Alevras 2004: 90–91, cf. 151; Paul 2013: 211–214.
[28] *IG* XII 4, 563.
[29] Höghammar (forthcoming).
[30] Moreover, based on the fact that some of the goddess' statuettes (Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: nos K 7, K 29, K 32, K 35) and some relevant clay figurines (Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou 2021: nos K 7; K 28; K 29; K 32; K 35) were found in the lower strata of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios/Pythaeus, to the west of the monumental wall E, possibly the enclosure wall of the sanctuary, it is probable that this section was devoted to the worship of Aphrodite: Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a; see also here Figure 2.
[31] *IG* XII 4, 624–628, 631–632. Cf. Kokkorou-Alevras 2004: 54–64, nos 8–10, and pp. 92–94, 152. More generally about Hekate, her relation with Apollo, her aspects, her iconography, and Hekataia, see in Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 15, n. 12; Paul 2013: 206, 216–218.
[32] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 21–23, no. K 6, pl. 4.
[33] The inscribed base of a dedication to Hermes (Cos Archaeological Museum, inv. no. E 71=*IG* XII 4, 527) bears a triangular socket, measuring 0.20 m x 0.115 m x 0.085 m, while the measurements of the triangular base/plinth on the preserved *Hekataion* (Cos Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Γ 1019=Γ 310) are 0.23 m x 0.21 m x 0.184 m, therefore, they cannot belong together. I must thank here the archaeologist of Cos, Mrs M. Chalkiti, for the measurements.
[34] Doulfis (forthcoming); Höghammar 2013: 291–293; Höghammar (forthcoming a): 11; Kokkorou-Alevras 2004: 93–94, cf. p. 152; Paul 2013: 206, 216–217; Sherwin-White 1978: 321.
[35] *IG* XII 4, 564.



Figure 6. Halasarna, Cos. Female hand with torch (Hekate's?).



Figure 7. Halasarna, Cos. Miniature Hermaic stele (Artemis-Hekate or Aphrodite).

Halasarna. The dedicator had also contributed to the construction of the above mentioned Ἀφροδίσιον.

To the dedications to Hekate it might be possible to add a female hand with torch (Figure 6),[36] which was carved separately and then attached to a large statue (of above life-size/colossal) representing Hekate or possibly Artemis, which, however, because of its size, could have been a cult statue. Finally, within the same context, it is certainly possible to place a miniature Hermaic stele (Figure 7), culminating probably in a bust of Artemis-Hekate or Aphrodite.[37]

[36] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 41, no. K40, pl. 14.
[37] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 45–46, no. K51, pl. 17.

Other gods

To yet another god, Asklepios, and to the deme, as well, a temple was dedicated by the priest of Asklepios, *Theuphanes Moschionos*, according to a now lost inscription of the 2nd/1st century BC.[38]

An inscribed altar of Zeus Καταιβάτης (Fulminator), god of the weather phenomena, which dates to the 1st century BC, and depicts thunder, is another dedication from Halasarna.[39]

Furthermore, Hermes is the recipient of a dedication as indicated by an inscribed base of the first half of the 2nd century BC.[40] It is certainly no coincidence that the dedicator had held the office of ἀγορανόμος (market inspector), as evidenced by an inscription found in the city of Cos.[41] To the gods (θεοῖς), on the other side, the parents and the grandfather of Nikoteles Myrmakos dedicated a votive offering for him, according to the rather moving inscription of the 2nd/1st century BC on a pillar-like base that has recently been found.[42]

Heracles

The most impressive marble find from the deme of the Halasarnitans is a colossal head of the hero Heracles, a work of the late Hellenistic period (2nd/1st century BC).[43] The head (Figure 8), which would have belonged to a statue over 2 m in height representing the hero (with lion skin on head, his club in left hand, and, probably, with the Apples of the Hesperides in his right), has no certain provenance from the sanctuary itself, but, in any event, derives from ancient Halasarna.[44] The statue of Heracles would have been erected in the hero's sanctuary, but it still should be noted that there is a possibility of it being the hero's cult statue, as suggested by the late Charis Kantzia, and not a dedication.[45]

[38] *IG* XII 4, 605.
[39] *IG* XII 4, 412.
[40] *IG* XII 4, 527, bearing a triangular plinth socket on its upper side.
[41] Together with another two, at least one of them also being Halasarnitan, see *IG* XII 4, 581.
[42] Kokkorou-Alevras and Doulfis 2017: 131–132, no. K8, pl. 46.
[43] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 31–34, no. K17, pls. 8–9; Kokkorou-Alevras 2018b.
[44] The hero's relations with Cos, in general, and Antimacheia in particular, as well as his cult at ancient Halasarna, are handed down to us by the ancient authors and the inscriptions of the deme of Halasarnitans. The most important, inscription *IG* XII 4, 103, records the census of all demesmen who had the right, both on their father's and mother's side, to participate in the deme's sanctuaries/cults of Apollo and Heracles. There is a mention on ιερά of Apollo and Heracles in *ll.* 4–5, but it remains unclear whether it refers to two sanctuaries in separate places or to the same sanctuary, or even to two festivals – of Apollo and Heracles respectively: cf. *ll.* 41–42; Kokkorou-Alevras 2018b: 151; 156–157; Paul 2013: 197–204, 210–211.
[45] Kantzia 1990: 151 no. 44. Heracles is also represented in a small head of Roman times (Kokkoroú-Aleurá 2017a: 34, no. K18, pls. 10–11), certainly of dedicatory character, which, too, comes probably from ancient Halasarna, supplying yet another piece of evidence of the hero's cult in the deme of the Halasarnitans.



Figure 8. Halasarna, Cos. Colossal head of Heracles (2nd/1st century BC).

Heracles, perhaps as Εὔξεινος, was, together with Hekate Στρατία, the recipient of a dedication, of which the pillar-like inscribed base has been preserved.[46]

It should be stressed at this point that the life- and above life-size/colossal statues from the Halasarnitan deme are fragmentary now and few in number, ten items in all,[47] while none can be identified or linked with a specific god or hero,[48] as applies also to some statuettes.

Other offerings

The category of more modest votive offerings found in the sanctuary includes clay and a very few stone figurines, almost all being of the Hellenistic period. Although their number is relatively small, they stand as evidence of the dedications and cults in the sanctuary.

The small marble figurine of Priapus (Figure 9a),[49] represented in traditional pose, symbolic of fertility, might be considered an indication of the god's cult in the sanctuary, although not epigraphically attested.[50]



Figure 9a. Halasarna, Cos. Marble figurine, Priapus.



Figure 9b. Halasarna, Cos. Marble figurine, dog.

The find of a limestone dog figurine (Figure 9b),[51] a common dedication to sanctuaries, may be certainly associated with the goddess Hekate, as well as other deities.

Isis, whose cult on Cos is well known, is depicted with Harpocrates in a clay figurine of excellent quality (Figure 10a),[52] found in the sanctuary, along with a figurine of a dancer, also of very fine quality (Figure 10b).[53] Other finds include a figurine to be considered a city's Tyche (good fortune) rather than Aphrodite or Artemis or Demeter, with a tower-like *polos* (headdress) (Figure 10c),[54] Attis (Figure 10d),[55] parts of naked female figures,[56] possibly rendering various statue types of Aphrodite, a dove (Figure 10e),[57] a typical attribute of Aphrodite albeit not an exclusive one, fragments of some other animals and fruits, tiny imitations of an altar with fruits (Figure 10f),[58] and some Doric columns (Figure 10g).[59] Additionally, it is possible to associate the figurine of an eagle with Zeus (Figure 10h).[60]

A typical votive offering to a sanctuary, finally, is a headless figurine of a squatting boy (temple boy)

[46] *IG* XII 4, 632.
[47] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: nos K14 – K16, K19–K20, K 32, K 47, and K 40, K45–K46, respectively.
[48] The same applies to many of the remaining stone statuettes, found in the sanctuary of Apollo and the wider region of ancient Halasarna: two female marble statuettes, one of late Archaic/early Classical times (Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 18–19, no. K1, pl. 2) and the other of the end of the 5th century BC (Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 19–20, no. K 2, pl. 2–3), may depict female deities, but there are no conclusive data as to their identification, while the upper torso of a dressed female figure (Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 21, no. K5, pl. 3) probably belongs to a statuette of Nike.
[49] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 45, no. K50, pl. 17.
[50] Nevertheless, the occurrence of yet another statuette of Priapus in the storeroom of the Neratzia Castle on Cos, shows that the dedication of the figurine from ancient Halasarna does not constitute an isolated cult indication of this deity on Cos.
[51] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 49, no. K58, pl. 20.
[52] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K1.
[53] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K2.
[54] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K19.
[55] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K23.
[56] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): nos K13–K14.
[57] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K30.
[58] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K43.
[59] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): nos K39–K40.
[60] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K32.



Figure 10. Halasarna, Cos. Clay figurines: a) Isis with Harpocrates, b) dancer, c) city's Tyche, d) Attis, e) dove, f) altar with fruits, g) Doric column, h) eagle, i) temple boy.

(Figure 10i).[61] It is interesting that from a similar marble statuette only a shin has been preserved.[62]

Conclusions

Although, according to the preserved sacrificial calendar and other inscriptions, many gods were worshipped and honoured with sacrifices in Apollo's sanctuary in ancient Halasarna and its wider area, fewer, but still a fair number of them, and in a well-documented way, were recipients of actual dedications, as indicated by the available archaeological and epigraphic evidence, i.e. Apollo, Aphrodite, Hekate, Artemis, Hermes, Zeus, Asklepios, Heracles, and possibly Isis, Attis, and Priapus. Particular emphasis should be placed on the presence of the deme as co-recipient of dedications, evidently embedded in the 'ideology' of the island's synoecism.

We have a remarkable number of dedications offered to military deities, a trend that originates from the martial activities taking place in the region and which

[61] Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming): no. K29.
[62] Kokkorou-Alevras 2017a: 42, no. K44, pl. 15.

had a decisive impact on the life of the inhabitants. Furthermore, this category of dedications is perhaps connected, as mentioned in the inscriptions, to the περιπόλιον, a fort site or fortified part of the deme of Halasarnitans, likely not far from the University's excavation area.

The bulk of the surviving dedications were made in the Hellenistic period, in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, as might be expected, as this was the period when the sanctuary reached its floruit. It was at that time that the monumental edifices of the site were founded, and, as it seems, a trend for more monumental dedications developed, compared to those that might have been offered in the past.

The dedicators are predominantly Halasarnitans and mainly δημόται who had undertaken priestly tasks, either as priests (ἱερεῖς and ἱερατευκότες) or as ἱεροποιοί. Important, of course, is the presence of military dedicators, battalion commanders and others. Quite unique is the case of the market inspector (ἀγορανόμος), who, despite dedicating to Hermes, does not mention his office in the dedicatory inscription. The only woman dedicator documented to date is *Simotere*, the mother of *Nikoteles*, who, however, makes a dedication together with her husband and her father or father-in-law, in favour of her son.

In relation to the value and quality of dedications, these are sometimes expensive and opulent, i.e. architectural structures, sculptures, or vases of precious materials. Of course, less costly dedications, such as clay vases and figurines, are also common.

In all cases these dedications carry valuable information about the cults and cult practices of the Halasarnitans, who follow the general rules of ancient religious life.

Finally, based on the probable Coan provenance of most of the dedications, it is plausible to conclude that the dedicators to the sanctuary were primarily local individuals, Coans or even more probably Halasarnitans. This element, in connection to the evidence of pottery[63] and the epigraphic testimonies,[64] indicates the ancestral/tribal character of the sanctuary, with reference to Apollo and Heracles as divine ancestors of the Coans.

[63] As shown from the study of the Archaic and Classical pottery from the excavation, this is mainly of local provenance, befitting of a sanctuary, local, ancestral/tribal in character. The a rise in the number of imports from Rhodes, Attica, Corinth, and Laconia is only gradual, implying, on one hand, an increase in commercial activities in the southeast Aegean, and, on the other, the gradual expansion of the sanctuary's importance: Koutsoumpou 2020. It is worth noting that most of the clay dedications were imported. Kokkorou-Alevras and Sakellaropoulou (forthcoming).

[64] See above, note 44.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the organising committee of this conference for inviting us to participate. We are also most grateful to Mrs. Aik. Manteli for the translation of our Greek text into English.

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Sculpture in religious context: Reconstructing the cult of Asklepios on Kalymnos

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Abstract

There is no written evidence about the cult of Asklepios on Kalymnos and no architectural remains can be associated with his sanctuary. Only the finds from a sculpture 'deposit' unearthed in 2001 close to the Christ of Jerusalem Basilica – probably at the same place of the temple of Apollo Dalios, key deity of the local pantheon – attest the presence of his cult on the island. Three images of the god, one statuette and two larger than life-size works representing Asklepios' Epidauros variant, and a votive offering of a naked boy with a ball, demonstrate that the worship of Asklepios on Kalymnos must have been introduced in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC and flourished especially in the 2nd century BC during the political conditions of *homopoliteia*. The late emphasis on the otherwise popular god of healing, which is also observed on some new coin types of the period, may indicate that Asklepios became the symbol of the new political era, serving as a particular connective tissue for the construction of the new communal identity between Kos and Kalymnos.

Key words: Apollo Dalios, Asklepios, Aphrodite Pandemos, Basilica Christ of Jerusalem, Homopoliteia, Kos, sculpture 'deposit'

Kalymnos[1] is a small island located in the South Sporades, between Kos and Leros and close to the Karian coast. Its territory, consisting of two minor valleys, including the nearby islets, is estimated to 93 km^2. Three main zones of archaeological significance may be distinguished on Kalymnos: the first zone is the southern valley, extending across the island, which consists of the modern harbour of Pothaia in the east to the bay of Linaria and Kandouni in the west. The second zone covers the long flat valley of Vathy, which is admittedly the most fertile ground on Kalymnos; it is surrounded by steep mountains and extends from the harbour of Rina on the east coast to the west. The third zone consists of the coastal area from Emporios to Sykia and the islet of Telendos. The key archaeological remains, which include the island's religious centre, are those of the southern valley.

It is difficult to draw a clear and detailed picture of Kalymnos' history in antiquity from the sparse literary references to this island.[2] Strabo (10.5.19, 13.1.46) mentions its geographic location and quotes all its various names (Kalymna, Kalydna or in plural, *Καλύδνας νήσους*). Herodotos (7.99) assigns the Doric identity of its population to immigration from Epidauros at some point in the Dark Ages, but the exact date of this move remains a controversial matter in recent research.[3] Diodoros (5.54.1–3) identifies its earliest settlers with Carians, then with Thessalos, son of Herakles, and, sat some later time, with Koans. According to the same passage (5.54), four of Agamemnon's ships were wrecked off Calydna on their return from Troy; the survivors mingled with the natives of the island and settled there. The Kalymnians are reported in the list of ships in the *Iliad* (2.676–679) to have participated in the Trojan War under Koan leadership, that is, under Pheidippos and Antiphos, sons of Thessalos. Herodotos provides the only historical evidence, reporting that during the Persian Wars, under the leadership of Queen Artemisia, Halikarnassos, Kos, Kalymna and Nisyros joined the fleet of Xerxes. The dearth of literary testimonia is largely due to the island's minimal importance as a political and military power. Inevitably, the evidence for its political history is fragmented and brief. It seems that Kalymnos shared the fate of the small islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor. Its political fortune changed, as different powers established their domination in Asia Minor, or in the Aegean. Nevertheless, the dominant problem of Kalymnos' political history since the Trojan War was caused by its proximity to the wealthier and more powerful island of Kos. If the aforementioned traditions may reflect conceivably a historical Koan possession of Kalymnos at an earlier stage, the evident political control of Kos occurred within a Hellenistic context.

Towards the end of the 3rd century BC (between 215 and 205), Kalymnos was incorporated into the polis of Kos by a treaty; this incorporation is known as

[1] Bean-Cook 1957: 127–133; Carlsson 2005: 259–260; Dreliosi 1994; Kalcyk 1999.
[2] Carlsson 2005: 260–277; Segre 1952: 1–34.
[3] Cf. Spanoudakis 2000; Vanschoonwinkel 1991: 134–135.

homopoliteia,[4] literally a 'community of citizenship'. An inscription (*IG* XII 4, 152) dated to the last decade of the 3rd century BC, informs us that the Kalymnians were reintegrated into the Koan polis around that time. The term selected to describe this event, *apokatastasis*, implies that there had been a previous such agreement between the two, and the inscription certifies the restoration of the union. Habicht has shown that newborns on Kalymnos in the year 208/7 BC and later,[5] were registered with reference to the year of the Koan eponymous magistrate, and consequently belonged to the Koan polis. An honorary decree issued by the deme of Kalymnos for the Kalymnian commander of a Koan squadron who successfully defended Kos in a naval battle against Hierapytnians (First Cretan War *c.* 205/4 or 205–202 BC) also confirms that Kalymnos was part of the polis of Kos.[6] A few years later, in 202/1 BC, six men of attested Kalymnian provenance appear without their ethnics in a Koan inscription listing Koan citizens (*IG* XII 4, 75). In regard to the closer chronology of both the first incorporation and the *reincorporation*, Habicht suggested that the restoration of the union took place in 208 BC, or a little later.[7] The text of *apokatastasis* makes it clear that it was the Koans who dictated the terms, as is shown from the administration of the oaths. But the clause regarding the demonstration of *philia* and *symmachia* 'towards Ptolemy', presumably Ptolemy IV or V Epiphanes,[8] may indicate that the two islands, Kos and Kalymnos, were under royal control. Following the reincorporation, all Kalymnians were registered as Koan citizens and the tribes were reorganised. Kalymnos became a Koan deme, comparable to other local demes of Kos, and no more state decrees were issued by the Kalymnians after this date. From then on, the Kalymnians used Koan coinage in their transactions. *Homopoliteia* marked the end of Kalymnian independence, presumably under Ptolemaic support, in an attempt by Ptolemaios IV Philopator to establish a strong front against Philip V[9] and the Cretan pirates. But we will revert to this crucial issue later, when examining the establishment process of the cult of Asklepios.

At a distance of 250 m west of the modern village of Chora, almost on the watershed of a sloping valley, lies the most important archaeological site of the island, widely known as 'Christ of Jerusalem'; it was named after the early Christian Basilica, dated to the 5th/6th century AD,[10] located within the site.[11] The Basilica presumably occupied the location of Apollo Dalios' sanctuary,[12] key deity of the local pantheon,[13] and whose shrine constituted in antiquity the political and religious centre of the island.[14] The Basilica Christ of Jerusalem, according to recent research, may not have been built over the foundation of the ancient sanctuary.[15] However, numerous architectural *spolia*, alongside diverse inscriptions betraying the sanctuary's distinguished role in the public sphere (dedications, decrees, manumissions), have been used as material for the construction of the latter Basilica. The exact site and the architectural aspect of the Kalymnian Apollo Dalios[16] sanctuary elude us, as the limited systematic research in the area has so far brought to light very few architectural remains. Particularly interesting as regards his appearance is the reference in a Roman inscription to the existence of a laurel grove[17] around the god's temple. Around the area of 'Christ of Jerusalem' several early Christian buildings have been excavated, as well as a 3rd-century BC temple consisting of two rooms, according to the recent research of G. Rocco and M. Livadiotti; investigation on this building still remains unpublished.

The finds from a sculpture deposit unearthed in 2001,[18] in proximity to the Christ of Jerusalem Basilica, provided hard evidence for the nature of some established cults on the island. More specifically, a considerable number of marble fragments of statues, 37 in total, were deposited at a section of an 8-meter-long ditch. This trench, cut on the rock, presumably formed part of a system for the drainage of stagnant rainwater since antiquity. The purpose of this deposit is unclear,[19] but the statues appear to have been broken before burial. The deposit seems too consistent to be accidental, but the haphazard deposition of the statues argues against their having been placed there for safekeeping.[20] The absence of signs of cross on the

[4] Baker 1991: 11–12; Bosnakis-Hallof 2005: 242; Habicht 2000: 312; Habicht 2007: 140–141; Höghammar 2010: 497–498; Sherwin-White 1978: 124–129; Stefanaki 2012: 34–35.

[5] Habicht 2007: no. 122; Segre 1952: no. 88.

[6] Habicht 2007: 141, no. 123; Segre 1952: no. 64.

[7] For a different date around 201/0 BC, cf. Höghammar 2010: 497–498; Reger 2004: 153 (with the earlier bibliographical references).

[8] cf. Höghammar 1993: 89–90; Sherwin-White 1978: 129–131.

[9] For Philip V's control over Kalymnos and his presumed intervention against *homopoliteia*, see Carlsson 2005: 263; cf. Habicht 2007: 141; Sherwin-White 1978: 127; Wiemer 2002: 207.

[10] For the date of the Basilica, see Karabatsos 1994: 272, 276; Koutellas 2016: 71–75.

[11] Karabatsos 1994: 269–277; Koutellas 2016 (with the earlier bibliographical references); Newton 1856: 14–37; Newton 1865: 280–316.

[12] For the spread and vitality of the worship of Apollo Delios, see Grandjean and Salviat 2006: 318–324, especially for the cult at Kalymnos: 319, 321, nos 106 and 110.

[13] For the cult of other deities at this place, see Segre 1952, nos 111 (Aphrodite), 115 (Demeter and Kore), 137b (Homonoia).

[14] τόπον τὸν[ἐ]πιφανέστατον: see Segre 1952, nos 36 and 62.

[15] Koutellas 2016: 51, no. 19.

[16] Ross 1843: 96–97; according to Ross (1913: 82–84), the temple should be reconstructed as eustyle ionic with peristalsis and prostyle tetrastyle. Koutellas 1997; Newton 1856: 24–30; Newton 1865: 304–315; Segre 1938: 33–34.

[17] Segre 1952: no. 112.

[18] Bosnakis 2012: 157–158. For an earlier deposit of the shrine with a large group of wheel-made bovine figurines, see Segre 1938; Segre 1952: 37, no. 1; Skerlou 2016.

[19] For ritual deposition, see Haynes 2013; Scheid 2013.

[20] For the criteria of an irreversible and intentional deposit, see Donderer 1991: 194–210.

foreheads, injured eyes and faces, as well as the lack of traces of breaks caused by tools, which are so typical in the cases of vandalism by fanatical Christians, weakens this assumption.[21] On the contrary, the break at the base of the neck and at the upper and lower extremities of the body leads to the conclusion that the statues suffered the consequences of a devastating earthquake. Very destructive earthquakes in the area are attested from the 3rd century BC until the 1st century AD.[22] The excavation of a limekiln near that deposit implies that in late antiquity (or even in the Byzantine period) the statue fragments were probably put together to be burnt and provide lime for new building works.[23]

The statues from the deposit span a long period, extending from the third quarter of the 6th century BC, through the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, to which the statuettes of young, mainly nude male figures are dated to the early Roman period (1st century BC), into which the portrait statue probably of a Roman citizen belongs. The large group of statuettes of nude male figures were votive offerings to Apollo. They represented either the god himself, with his impressive long hair and characteristic attributes (plectrum for strumming the chords of the lyre, or bow and arrows), or the dedicator in the guise of a youth or an athlete. The earliest find is a *kouros*;[24] it is represented draped, after the iconographical type of East Ionian workshops.

A sanctuary of Asklepios in Kalymnos is not attested in any literary sources, and there is no epigraphical evidence referring to his cult until the imperial times.[25] An altar dedicated to Asklepios' daughter, Panakeia, which had been dated by M. Segre to the 4th/3rd century BC, has now been redated by Klaus Hallof to the 1st century AD.[26] Furthermore, no surviving building in the area of Christ of Jerusalem can so far be securely associated with the cult of Asklepios. Only certain finds from the sculpture deposit provide some hard evidence about the introduction and expansion of his cult on the island.

Even though no inscription has been found mentioning Asklepios, the cult's presence is deduced by at least four statues from this deposit and the significance of these works of art can be detected on many levels. The first one, a headless statuette[27] (Figure 1), depicts the god



Figure 1. Statuette of Asklepios (Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos, inv. no. 3154).

standing; his body weight is carried on his right leg, and the relaxed left is drawn behind and to the side. A strong *contrapposto* is thus shaped at the upper part of the body; this is intensified by the leaning on the staff under his left arm. The torso is shown frontally, and the musculature indicates a certain competence in the representation of the human body. The new statuette carries and renders freely the features of the so-called Epidauros type, whose most characteristic motif is the bare left shoulder. This type is considered a variant of the Asklepios Este type,[28] and both originate in the first half of the 4th century BC. The Este type was very popular around the Southeastern Aegean and has been associated by R. Kabus-Preisshofen to the first cult image of Asklepios in Kos; she tentatively attributes this statue to Skopas.[29] Comparisons with certain Hellenistic statuettes following the same type, namely that at the Louvre,[30] one at the Museum of Rhodes[31] and one from

[21] Donderer 1991: 212–214.

[22] Höghammar 1993: 33–34; Malacrino 2007; Sherwin-White 1978: 117, no. 178.

[23] For a parallel case of a deposit of statues for the limekiln in the sanctuary of Eschmoun (Asklepios) in Sidon, see Stucky 1993: 26, pl. 3.1–4.

[24] Bosnakis 2012.

[25] Samama 2003: 266–268, no. 152 (c. mid 2nd century BC) for the Koan physician Antipatros Dioskouridas is indisputably related with the Koan Asklepieia; Segre 1952, no. 78; Cf. Thraemer 1896, 1671, 1683, his reference to the Kalymnian honorary decree.

[26] Segre 1952: no. 119; cf. *IG* XII, 4, 5 (forthcoming).

[27] Inv. no. 3154: 66 cm high statuette with plinth, made of white marble possibly from Paros.

[28] For Asklepios Type Este and its Epidauros variant, see Bairami 2017: 95–98; Borbein 1988: 211; Holtzmann 1984: 886, nos 320–354, 895 (Este), 888–889, nos 361–378 (Epidauros); Katakis 2002: 214–215, nos 643–644; Machaira 2011a: 102.

[29] Bairami 2017: 93, no. 195, 97, no. 200; Kabus-Presshofen 1989: 51; cf. Leventi 2003: 107–110, 179.

[30] Hamiaux 1998: 98–99, no. 99 (Ma 2699), a 35-cm-high statuette from an attic workshop, made from Pentelic marble and dated to the 3rd century BC.

[31] Rhodes (Syme?) BE 1163: h: 1.01 m. For the statuette, see Dontas 1967: 93–95, pl. 40a (first half of 2nd century BC); Gualandi 1976: 91; Holtzmann 1984: no. 325; Kabus-Presshofen 1989: 49–50, no. 150;

Kos[32] at Istanbul, prompt us to classify the find from Kalymnos quite early in the series, being posterior only to the examples from Potidaea[33] and Olynthos,[34] which may be securely dated *ante* these cities' destruction by Philip II, respectively in 356 and 348 BC. Not least, the fact that the right leg's outline is hidden, or nearly vanishes, beneath the himation, is also an indication for an earlier chronology.[35] The rendering of the sharp shaded folds of the drapery, especially of those at the right and at the back, is very close stylistically to a female lower torso[36] from Kos, which is dated to 340/330 BC. Thus, a dating of this new piece to the late 4th/early 3rd century BC appears to be highly plausible.

A more detailed iconographic and stylistic analysis regarding this specific piece or the next ones presented here is not possible, as this goes beyond the conference theme.

The second piece[37] (Figures 2–3) is an impressive and unique image of the divinity, a statue of large scale and of high artistic quality. The pose of the colossal Asklepios[38] and the arrangement of the drapery render the iconography of the aforementioned Epidauros variant. The particularly well-articulated anatomy follows the figure's stance, creating thus an animated surface. The arrangement of the himation, forming an assumed triangular overfall,[39] is similar to that in the previous statuette. This, in addition to the contrasting directions representing the planes of the body and the twisted folds of the drapery, produce an elegant spiral curve, *eine weite S-förmige Biegung des Körpers*,[40] and convey a sense of elevation, compassion and safety. The head is turned to the left and tilted upwards. The



Figure 2. Colossal cult statue of Asklepios (Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos, inv. no. 3174).



Figure 3. Upper part of the cult statue of Asklepios (Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos, inv. no. 3174).

Lewerentz 1993: 271–272, no. V6 (mid or third quarter of 2nd century BC); Machaira 2011a: 103–104, no. 80, pls. 108–109 (shortly before the mid 2nd century BC); Merker 1979: 223–224, no. 52. For other late Hellenistic statuettes from Rhodos of Epidauros variant, see also Bairami 2017: 96 (E173, E603), no. 198; Gualandi 1976: 88–91, nos 40–41, fig. 67, 69.

[32] Istanbul, Arch. Mus. Inv. 1549, h. 38 cm, 1st century BC, see Bieber 1924: 319, pl. VIII 2; Bieber 1957: 82, fig. 24; Gualandi 1976: 95, no. 7; Heiderich 1966: 150–151; Holtzmann 1984: 887, no. 330*, pl. 662; Kabus-Presshofen 1989: 230–231, pl. 3,1; Thiemann 1959: 141 E 5; cf. also another earlier statuette (second half of 2nd century BC) from Kos now in Istanbul, Arch. Mus. Inv. 1548, h. 45 cm, Kabus-Presshofen 1989: 231–232, pl. 3, 2.3 (with the earlier bibliographical references).

[33] Potidaea ante 356 BC: Riethmüller 2005: 322 no. 20; Robinson 1946: 131.

[34] Olynthus ante 348 BC: Despinis *et al.* 1997: 47–48, no. 29; Robinson 1946: 128–130, from House Bvi7.

[35] Cf. the Hades Statuette (G) from Demeter sanctuary at Kyparissi (first half of 3rd century BC): Kabus-Presshofen 1975: 33, pl. 27–28, fig. 3, 14–16.

[36] Kabus-Presshofen 1989: 181–182, no. 5, pl. 13, 1–3.

[37] Inv. no. 3174: 2.65 m high, of white-grey marble, possibly from Kos.

[38] For the earlier found torso: Bairami 2017: 97, no. 201; Gualandi 1976: 90, no. 1; Kabus-Preisshofen 1989: 44–45, no. 132, 307 no. 103; Kalcyk 1999: 214; Konstantinopoulos 1970: 341–342, fig. 6; Lewerentz 1993: 109, 123–124, Kat. Nr. V, 10, no. 470; Linfert 1990: 294, no. 75 and no. 8; Meyer 2001: 239, no. 17; J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 95, 1971: 1041 fig. 529; Queyrel 2016: 142–143, fig. 114.

[39] Compare with Type VII, 4, Heiderich 1966: 70–71.

[40] Kabus-Preisshofen 1989: 45.

deep undercutting of most of the curled locks of hair enhances the play of light and shadow. Around the head are drilled holes for a (now missing) wreath,[41] which once crowned the statue. A parallel to this specific detail is offered by the head of Asklepios Blacas,[42] of controversial dating, although a chronology around 80/70 BC has been gaining ground among scholars lately.[43] Comparisons also with the heads of Asklepios of Mounychia,[44] and of Poseidon of Melos,[45] are more enlightening regarding the curved moustache, the protruding thick lower lip, the drilled grooves which enhance the hair locks, shading the gaps, and the hair's *anastole*. This last feature has been argued to indicate the reworking of the original type in the Hellenistic period.[46]

The torso from Kalymnos' marble type,[47] technique and style, have prompted R. Kabus-Preisshofen to assign this statue to a Koan workshop, and to propose a date for this statue not far from the Koan stele of an athlete around 230 BC;[48] G. Gualandi, on the contrary, has dated the torso to the late Hellenistic period.[49] I am inclined to suggest that its remarkable pose and body anatomy are indicative of the 2nd century BC trend in creating divine and social élite images with the properties of elevation and authority. A closer examination of the development of *Zeitstil* through other typologically related male torsos favours the placing of Asklepios from Kalymnos between the Asklepios of Mounychia and the Poseidon of Melos. A dating of this piece to the second quarter, or around the mid 2nd century BC, appears plausible.

It is worth pointing out that the torso of the colossal Asklepios[50] was not found together with the rest of his fragments in the deposit. The torso had been identified in the 1970s, being built into the south external wall of Hagia Sofia or Evangelistria, the second Basilica[51] in the area. The find spot of this massive and heavy fragment might indicate that the sacred location of the



Figure 4. Lower part of a colossal statue of Asklepios (Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos, inv. no. 3188).

Asklepieion[52] was occupied later by this Basilica, just as the church of Christ of Jerusalem had replaced the temple of Apollo Dalios. Alternatively, one may turn to the Hellenistic building, which was excavated by Ch. Newton, and is now being interpreted by Giorgio Rocco and Monica Livadiotti as a sanctuary: might this construction be associated with the Asklepieion? One may hope that future research will clarify these assumptions or prove them wrong.

The third piece from the same deposit represents the lower part of an Asklepios statue[53] (Figure 4), which is again larger than life-size, though of smaller scale. The standing god must also have been leaning on his staff, with a coiled serpent beneath his left arm. However, a distinct differentiation in the posture of the two statues may be observed: the relaxed left leg in the latter rests with the whole foot on the base and leans slightly towards the inner side. This positioning of the feet is not unknown for the Este type in the imperial period: in any case, there is no doubt that, as far as we can observe, the two colossal statues from Kalymnos should rather be in chronological proximity to each other. The type of sandals, a mixture of *krepides* and *trochades*,[54] whose dating is indeterminable (either to the 4th or the 2nd century BC), seems to gain in popularity in the Hellenistic period. This mixed sandal form, which can be seen on Roman copies of 4th-century BC statuary types of Asklepios, might allude to the god's travels in order to cure the sick.

[41] Cf. Bieber 1957: 70, no. 2; 90.
[42] Cf. Borbein 1988: (80–70 BC); Pollitt 1972: 166–168, fig. 73 (350–330 BC); Smith 1991: 64, fig. 68 (3rd/2nd BC).
[43] Flashar 2007: 366, fig. 361 a–e.
[44] Lewerentz 1993: 122–123, no. 465 (third quarter of 2nd century BC: with the earlier bibliographical references); Ridgway 2000: 245–246 (2nd century BC); Smith 1991: 64, fig. 67 (3rd/2nd century BC).
[45] Lewerentz 1993: 61, 123, 141, 144, 281 Kat. Nr. VI, 3 (with the earlier bibliographical references); Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007: 251, fig. 216 a–c; Schäfer 1968 (130–120 BC); Smith 1991: 64, 242, fig. 304 (2nd century BC).
[46] Katakis 2002: 216, no. 657.
[47] According to Kabus-Preisshofen (1989: 44, n. 132), it is a 'graublau schimmernder' marble, and in my opinion, it could be local marble from Kos.
[48] Kabus-Preisshofen 1989: 45, no. 134; For the athlete stele, Kabus-Preisshofen 1989: 188–191, no. 20, pl. 30,1; 31,1–3.
[49] Gualandi 1976: 90, no. 1; cf. Kabus-Preisshofen 1989: 45, no. 135.
[50] Dreliosi 1994: 820; Konstantinopoulos 1970: 341–342, fig. 6; Konstantinopoulos 1973: 529. For the Basilika of Hagia Sophia see Karabatsos 1994: 277–282; Koutellas 1997: 57–59.
[51] Karabatsos 1994: 277; Newton 1856: 26; Segre 1937: 36–37.
[52] According to Kabus-Preisshofen (1989: 45, no. 131): 'Nach Art der Votivgaben war ein Asklepiosheiligtum in dieses Areal zumindest integriert'.
[53] Inv. no. 3188: 78 cm max. of white-grey marble, possibly from Kos.
[54] Bairami 2017: 94, no. 184, catalogue no. 010, fig. 30–31 (mid 1st century BC); Dohan Morrow 1985: 117, fig. 104–105; cf. Meyer (1994: 8–9, 32, figs 2–3) who associates the *krepides* with the original statue of Asklepios Giustini type.

The best preserved colossal Asklepios may plausibly be identified with his cult image: its nearly intact surface indicates that it stood at the interior of a building and that it remained safe from adverse weather conditions. If this is so, the purpose for which the second piece was made needs to be defined. May it have been the earlier cult statue, which collapsed at some point and was substituted by the colossal statue, which is better preserved? It is also possible that the two specimens represented respectively the cult image of Asklepios and a contemporary dedication.

Last but not least is the statue of a naked little boy[55] (Figure 5) holding a ball, between two and five years of age, a sculpture type[56] which was often used in votive offerings to deities normally worshipped as protectors or nurturers of children (*kourotrophoi*).[57] Statues of this type were dedicated 'as thank offerings, or for asking a favour, instead of commemorating a period of service',[58] in several sanctuaries of Asklepios.[59] This practice is attested not only through the archaeological finds, but also through the ancient written sources.[60] Especially characteristic is the playful smile of the boy, which makes all facial muscles tense.[61] Several statues of children from Athens, dated to the late 4th/early 3rd century BC,[62] share this particular feature, but the statue from Kalymnos recalls the statue of a boy with a duck, dated to the 3rd century BC.[63] The ball[64] motif was popular for this *genre* throughout the Hellenistic period.



Figure 5. Statue of boy with a ball (Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos, inv. no. 3157).

Might the glamour of the god's cult at Kos have sparked his veneration at Kalymnos? Furthermore, might his shrine in Kalymnos be considered as subsidiary to that of the Epidauros sanctuary? There is good reason to believe that the first case is more reasonable.

At the end of the 3rd century BC, as already mentioned, the Koan state incorporated Kalymnos. Between the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC the Koans suffered a lot from the disturbances of war and natural catastrophes (198 BC),[65] which led to the reorganisation of the defence of their island,[66] and to an extended rebuilding program of public monuments. During this period new interesting monetary types emerge and a change in the weight standard (into the Persian and/or reduced Rhodian) may be observed.[67] The traditional coin designs, the crab and the Herakles head,[68] were replaced by new symbols. The head of Asklepios[69] with laurel or cypress wreath is depicted on the obverse of two coin series, minted for local use, which include silver drachms and hemidrachms.[70] On the reverse are displayed his attributes, the coiled snake inside a circular dotted border, or the staff with snake inside a cypress wreath. The same divinity is

[55] Inv. no. 3157: 82.2 cm high, of white marble, possibly Pentelic.

[56] Bobou 2015: 55–78; Machaira 2011b: 443–448 (with earlier bibliographical references).

[57] Forsén 1996: 145; Leventi 1999–2000: 88–89; Machaira 2011b: 447–448; Vorster 1983: 249.

[58] Bobou 2015: 76; cf. Burr Thompson 1982: 157; also, Papaoikomou 1981: 259; Papaoikomou 1982: 425; Stucky 1993: 29–30. The ἱεροὶ παῖδες help with or do various services in the sanctuaries, Aristoph. *Pl.* 710; Aristid. *Orat.* A 280, 19; Eickstedt 2001, 38; Fränkel 1895: 177, no. 251.26 (= *IvP* II 251).

[59] Bobou 2015: 64–68, nos 29–53; Machaira 2011b: 443, figs 4–9. Cf. children statuettes at sanctuaries of Apollo, Bobou 2015: 69–71. Also, from the Sanctuary of Eshmun (a healing god) at Sidon, Bobou 2015: 74–75; Stucky 1993: 54–55.

[60] See the expressions *ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδίων or ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ*, IG II/III^2 4449, 4481, 4501; Eickstedt 2001: 40; Kutsch 1913: 117, no. 237; Larfeld 1902: 259–260; for the participation of children in public procession of Asklepios in Eretria, see *IG* XII, 9, 194 (4th/3rd century BC); Themelis 1987: 108, no. 23.

[61] Cf. Bobou 2015: 65.

[62] See e.g., various heads of statues: Athens, National Museum 3046, late 4th century BC; Athens, National Museum 655, late 4th/early 3rd century BC; Athens, National Museum 3414, late 4th/early 3rd century BC; Athens, National Museum 6556, late 4th/early 3rd century BC; Bobou 2015: 161–162, nos 123–126.

[63] Athens National Museum 2772, from a sanctuary of Kephissos at ancient Lilaia in Phokis, Bobou 2015: 149, no. 80 (with the earlier bibliographical references).

[64] See the boy from the Asklepieion at Piraeus, early 2nd century BC (Inv. no. 246), Bobou 2015: 139, no. 46; Eickstedt 2001: 38–39, fig. 21; Vorster 1983: 170, 366, no. 104, pl. 19, 1–2. Also, Machaira 2011b, 446, no. 16. Cf. a bronze Ball player in the Museum of Ioannina, Bobou 2015: 75, fig. 26; Burr Thompson 1982: 157, pl. 25. According to R. Stucky (1993: 37) the objects which the children hold must be understood as indicative of their age, and not as attributes of gods.

[65] Baker 1991: 4–22; Höghammar 2010: 267–268; Malacrino 2006: 200–201 and 2007: 255–256; Stefanaki 2012: 31–33.

[66] Baker 1991: 23–52, especially 53–65.

[67] Stefanaki 2012: 86–91, pl. V. Cf. Höghammar 2007: 90–92.

[68] Stefanaki 2012: 63–83.

[69] Stefanaki 2012: 85–98.

[70] Stefanaki 2012: 83–92, 254 (Series VIII, Issues 27 and 28) and 257 (Series XII, Issue 32).

also chosen at the beginning of the 2nd century BC for the bronze coins.[71] The preference for Asklepios, as V. Stefanaki[72] suggests, must have held a special political significance for the Koans during this period. The same god reappears as a standing figure with all his attributes on the reverse of Koan tetradrachms of the Attic weight standard minted between 170–162 BC.[73] On the obverse is depicted an enigmatic wreathed head wearing a necklace, facing right. This head is interpreted by scholars in many ways: either as an Aphrodite, or as a Kore, or as Homonoia[74] or Apollo.[75] A similar wreathed head with a necklace is depicted in a dotted circle on the obverse of a rare Koan, presumably hemidrachm (based on the reduced Rhodian weight standard), which is dated to 200 BC.[76] On the reverse the design of a wreath may be associated with the bronze Kalymnian coins of the second half of the 3rd century BC, which have been issued prior to the first phase of *homopoliteia*. On the latter coins, the laurel wreath, as Stefanaki suggests, is related to the Apollo *Dalios*, or, less probably, to the local eponymous *archon* of the *Stephanephoroi*, which still remained in use after the incorporation of Kalymna.[77] Therefore, Stefanaki's claim that the wreath on the Koan coins may indicate Kalymnos' incorporation into the Koan state seems to me convincing.[78] This wreathed head on the obverse is iconographically close to the Koan tetradrachms with the standing Asklepios on the reverse. The most intriguing association for the wreathed head is that of Aphrodite *Pandamos*,[79] whose cult is well attested from the second half of the 3rd century BC, archaeologically and epigraphically, not only in the city of Kos but also in the demes of the island. With this specific property the goddess acquires a significant political dimension, and takes care of 'the entire civic body', the *sympas damos*.[80] Young brides of different social and financial status, as well as freedmen[81] at the time of their liberation should demonstrate their piety, offering sacrifices and paying the appropriate fees.[82] If this identification is correct, then the tetradrachms depicting the wreathed head with necklace on the obverse, and the standing figure of Asklepios,[83] leaning on his serpent staff on the reverse, explicitly convey on a state level a sound political message.[84] The standing Asklepios on the coins is remarkably close to the type of the colossal Asklepios in Kalymnos, even though the motif of the naked left shoulder is not clearly visible on the coins. A cohesion policy[85] seems to be pursued jointly by Kos and by the incorporated Kalymnos, as a *sympas demos*, by changing their traditional symbols and by adopting new symbols of reconciliation. Or at least it might indicate the way in which the stronger and wealthier neighbour projected this new joint civic identity in foreign affairs. It is within this political context that the establishment of the worship of Asklepios on Kalymnos may be better understood. On the one hand, the Koans appear to have promoted for political reasons the export of Asklepios, providing marble and iconography for the cult statue. On the other hand, the complete dearth of evidence, literary and epigraphic, attesting the existence of his cult on Kalymnos, is indeed quite puzzling, unless it is entirely accidental. Might this then indicate that the worship of Asklepios was imposed only for political reasons?[86] As I stressed on another occasion, the Asklepieion and the local physicians were used by Kos as a preferential tool for making successful foreign policy, constructing 'a spectacular network of interactive contacts with the outside world'.[87] Nevertheless, the high quality of the sculptural finds, which represent all kinds of cultic needs, make me rather reluctant to accept exclusively the political dimension.[88] It is possible that the cult of Asklepios at Kalymnos was closely implicated in Koan foreign policy and credited with political aspirations; however, even if we suspect that the establishment of his cult conceals Koan cynical manipulation, we should not disregard the fact that Kalymnian attitudes also manifest an interest in a new god of healing[89] who could offer tangible benefits.

To sum up with some concluding remarks: although there is no epigraphic reference to Asklepios, and his sanctuary at Kalymnos is unattested in literary sources, at least four statues from a deposit provide important information about the nature of the public worship of Asklepios, demonstrating its existence since the late 4th/early 3rd century BC. The common pattern, that Askepios' religious context always involved Apollo, is also confirmed at Kalymnos. Asklepios' co-existence with Apollo Dalios may have represented an early stage of his cult's introduction in the island. The presence of high-quality votive offerings indicates, for one

[71] Stefanaki 2012: 114–117, 259 (Series XII, Issue 36).
[72] Stefanaki and Giannikouri in this volume: 75-76.
[73] Stefanaki 2012: 102, 265–266 (Series XV, nos 1796–1804).
[74] Cf. *IG* XII 4, 315.
[75] Gargali 2009: 33; Stefanaki 2012: 93.
[76] Stefanaki 2012: 255–256 (Series X, nos 1646–1647).
[77] Bosnakis and Hallof 2005: 244; Stefanaki 2012: 92.
[78] Stefanaki and Giannikouri in this volume: 76.
[79] *IG* XII 4, 302 (post 198 BC) and 319 (late 2nd century BC); Parker 2002; Paul 2013: 79–95; Rocco 2009.
[80] E.g. Segre 1952: no. 64 A. 4; *IG* XII, 99.35. Also, Paul 2013: 285–287; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 448–449; Rosenzweig 2007: 25–28.
[81] For the popularity of Asklepios among freedmen and poor people in Rome see Melfi 2014: 770.
[82] *IG* XII 4, 302.15–20; *IG* XII 4, 319. 25–29.
[83] Stefanaki and Giannikouri in this volume: 78-79, Figure 12.
[84] Cf. Cole 1995: 317; Meadows 2018: 307–308.
[85] Deshours 2011: 315; cf. Vlassopoulos 2015: 258, 'Religion provided both a means of communal cohesion, as well as an arena for division and conflict'.
[86] Anderson 2015: 313–315; Wickkiser 2008: 89–105.
[87] Bosnakis 2014: 66–75.
[88] Cf. Garland (1992: 172) claims right that 'religion was not an epiphenomenon of a state's temporal aspiration'.
[89] On healing in Greek religion, see Graf 2015.

thing, that Asklepios from the beginning was popular enough to attract the citizens' interest. The two impressive large-scale statues imply the existence of an independent and highly respected sanctuary in the 2nd century BC.

There is no excavated building in the Apollo Dalios area which can be identified with certainty as his shrine. The find spot of the colossal torso might indeed offer some clues to the actual location of the Asklepieion, offsetting thus this gap in the archaeological evidence. The most recent interpretation of the Hellenistic building nearby as a temple might offer a second plausible location for the Asklepios sanctuary.

The surviving images of Asklepios from Kalymnos corroborate the existence of a homogenous and standardised iconography for the cult of this deity. It may be assumed that the consistent choice of the Epidauros variant for the representation of Asklepios, in accordance with Koan preferences, presumably satisfied the political concept of *homopoliteia*, as well as citizens' beliefs about the consoling god. If the cult statue's imposing body style inspires elevation and respect, the expression of his face is infused with compassion and concern. Asklepios is depicted as a wise, highly respected citizen, comfortably leaning on a staff, but also ready to offer his care, services, and kind feelings to every human being.

If his cult in the 2nd century BC became independent and flourished, it was surely due to the political conditions of *homopoliteia*; it is within this context that the worship seems to have been newly and drastically promoted and to have served as a strong connective tissue, joining the two islands. Having said that, it would not be implausible for one to argue that, in order to reconstruct the actual establishment pattern of the Asklepios cult in Kalymnos, one needs to deconstruct systematically this very novel communal identity[90] between Kos and Kalymnos.

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[90] Anderson (2015: 320) claims that 'the introduction of new gods ... sits at the heart of a complex nexus of political power, cultural transmission, and social identity...'; cf. Vlassopoulos 2015: 264 'Religion presented a potent means for creating social cohesion in Greek communities and played a fundamental role in the articulation of communal identities'.

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Synecism as a divide? Cults of the Rhodian cities: Ancient hypotheses, new perspectives

Maria Chiara Monaco

Abstract

The topic concerning the cults of Rhodes, with a special focus on synecism, has been repeatedly treated. Contrary to what Diodorus (XIII.75) handed down, archaeological and epigraphical data show that the political unification of the island never involved a massive displacement of population from Ialysos, Cameiros, and Lindos. After 408/7 BCE, the three previous cities were still inhabited and functioned as political entities. The creation of the new *Polis* involved the re-establishment of cults that, in some way, reflected the configuration of the three cities. Beyond the line of continuity, the synecism also marked ruptures and discontinuities. The choice of the cult of Helios, as a patron deity of the new Polis and as pan-Rhodian deity, underlined a significant break with the local religious traditions. Previous patron deities such as Athena Polias and Zeus were not overshadowed, but they now operated at a different level. Further distinctions between the old traditional cults and the new ones are linked to the new social structure of Rhodes and to the presence of numerous foreigners often gathered or members of associations (κοινά).

Key words: Rhodes, synecism, cult of Helios, cult of Zeus

Greek history in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, indeed in all centuries, is full of stories of appropriation of territories, coalescence, division of communities, and synecisms.[1] A large number of Greek *poleis* were born out of different types of synecism. And there were many indeed, since a synecism could be a mere political act (without any movement of population), it could involve a massive (and often compulsory) movement of people, along with political unification. Or again the actual unification might have been preceded by a long period of political unity. More than 40 years ago, Mauro Moggi wrote the first, and still useful, collection of material on synecism,[2] selecting 51 examples from its origin to 338 BC. In the Dodecanese, in addition to Rhodes, the synecism that led to the foundation of the *polis* of Kos in 366/5 BC is worth mentioning.[3] Synecism, as a complex phenomenon of re-organisation and restructuring of populations on a given territory, implies numerous political, administrative, cultural and religious consequences. It involves a complete reorganisation of politics, administration and justice. As a result, for the cities that come together, all the pre-existing roles and skills need to be redefined; new spaces need to be designed; new, common strategies need to be found.

Thus, this is a complicated mechanism which is challenging to design as the previous institutions were often still in power, albeit more limited than the new ones. Moreover, every synecism bears significant implications for both religious life and cults. The voluntary or non-voluntary reorganisation of cults involves the creation of new spaces for shrines; the choice of some cults for the new city; new sacrificial calendars; new assignment of priesthoods, and appointing new priests. It is easy to imagine that for a society that was about to undergo a synecism, or to promote one with others, the preservation of ancestral cults must have been a very important issue.

Surprisingly, the literature available regarding the relationship between synecism and cults is rather scarce. In 1951 Martin Nilsson dedicated a few pages to this topic.[4] More recently Parker proposes several examples that fall into two main categories,[5] one is *Unequal sympolity* (i.e. the incorporation of a small community into a much larger one, as often happened in Hellenistic Asia Minor),[6] and the other *Multi-Polis synoecism*.[7] Many Greek cities of Arcadia (Mantinea and Helisson; Euaimon and Orchomenos), of Caria (Herakleia under Latmos and Pidasa), of Ionia (Lebedia and Theos), of West Locris, Thessaly[8] and Phocis belong to the former category; Kos,[9] Rhodes[10] and Alexandreia Troas[11] to the latter. The author complains about the lack of specific studies on the subject. In

[1] Gabrielsen 2000: 177–206; Moggi 1976; Parker 2009; Reger 2001: 157–181; Reger 2004: 145–180.
[2] Moggi 1976.
[3] Moggi 1976: 333–341; Parker 2009: 202–204.
[4] Nilsson 1951: 18–25.
[5] Kravaritou 2011: 111–135 (Demetrias, Thessaly); Parker 2009: 183–214.
[6] Parker 2009: 189–192.
[7] Parker 2009: 192–199.
[8] Kravaritou 2011: 111–135.
[9] Parker 2009: 202–204.
[10] Parker 2009: 205–210.
[11] Parker 2009: 210.

fact, although many attested instances of synecism/simpolity are available, most do not offer much as the starting point for an enquiry. In other words, even if we know that the union must have entailed important changes in the cultic sphere, we still struggle to identify them.[12]

Recently, two contributions to the *Bulletin of the Center for Hellenic Studies* have focused on Rhodes. The first analyzes the topic of the patron deity with a special reference to the cult of Helius elected by the Rhodians as a representative of the unified state;[13] the second examines the new times of the cults and the calendars of synoicised *poleis* with special attention to Rhodes.[14]

As Gabrielsen pointed out, the synecism of Rhodes did not suddenly appear in 408/7 BC, but embodied several pan-Rhodian premises from the previous centuries.[15] Even before the city of Rhodes was founded, a sense of identity of the island already existed. Moreover, collective political actions could have been taken, and the existence of very ancient pan-Rhodian cults is well known (Zeus Atabyros, Apollo Erethimios, Athena Lindia).[16]

According to Diodorus (13.75.1), in 408/7 BC, the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes, of Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus moved (μετῳκίσθησαν) to one city, what we now call Rhodes. Diodorus is quite wrong in arguing that the three old *poleis* were abandoned. As archaeological remains, literary sources and epigraphic data attest, life and cults continued in the three ancient cities. The three *poleis* had their independent eponymous priest and their own assembly, council and demes which existed parallel to the corresponding state-institutions.[17]

According to Strabo (14.2.9) the urban planner, Hippodamus of Miletus, who laid out Piraeus, was also in charge of Rhodes' planning. This indication is very important and problematic at the same time. In fact, Strabo adds 'they say' (ὥς φασιν) to underline that he referred to a fact that had been reported to him, for which he had no definite proof. The difficulty lies in the chronology: Rhodes was founded in 408/407 BC, but Hippodamus was also laying out his hometown, Miletus, which was rebuilt in the early 5th century BC after the Persian destruction. This would mean that he had been active for almost 90 years. A long-term timelapse. In order to solve this problem, high chronologies or low chronologies have been built. The question remains open.[18]

The excavations carried out by the Italians before World War II, and the important researches of the Ephorate of Rhodes in the last 70 years, allow us to draw a complete picture of the urban plan of Rhodes.[19] Rhodes, as a newly founded city, was established in an uninhabited area, where, in the northeast, there was a small settlement linked to the port.[20] The *polis* was not the result of a long and slow stratification, it was rather designed *ex novo* and all at once. In this new urban plan, which places were designed as spaces for worship? Which *insulae* of the lower *polis*? And above all, which cult places were located on a giant acropolis cut out in the new city? According to what logic did the selection take place? It is clear that we must assume a sort of scale of values: the acropolis and its cults constituted the focal point, the most important showcase of the cults of the new city. On the highest point of the acropolis a temple dedicated to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus was built,[21] and some inscriptions found nearby, point to this joint cult of Zeus and Athena, paramount protectors of the city.[22] Close to the temple there was also a building with a stoa, partially excavated by Kondis.[23] A priesthood of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus was associated with the cult from at least the 3rd century BC.[24] In the same area, the *nymphea*, according to the Hellenistic use, offered a combination of rest and worship.[25] Further south, next to the *stadium* and the *gymnasium,*[26] within a gigantic *temenos*, the remains of the largest Doric temple are found. This temple, partially rebuilt and for a long time identified as the temple of Apollo Pythios (with the cult of Artemis beside it) has recently been attributed to Helius.[27] To the south of the temple of Apollo Pythios a cave sanctuary of uncertain identification has been excavated.[28] Two inscriptions from the southwest slopes of the acropolis recall the cult of Zeus Atabyros, for whom an urban sanctuary had been built at this location.[29]

In the lower city, starting from north, very close to the walls, the sanctuary of Demeter was located. The discovery of inscriptions and a huge amount of *anathemata*, especially votive figurines of the 4th/2nd

[12] Parker 2009: 183–184.
[13] Paul 2015.
[14] Schipporeit 2016.
[15] Gabrielsen 2000: 177–205.
[16] Parker 2009: 205–210.
[17] Gabrielsen 2000: 192–195.
[18] Barbera 2017: 30–44; Greco 2018: 93.
[19] Patsiada 2013.
[20] Dreliosi-Irakleidou 2000: 21–28.
[21] Kondis 1952: 553–559; Kreutz 2007: 20–22; Maiuri 1924–1925: 335; Patsiada 2013: 51–53. For the cult of Zeus Polieus and Athena: Morelli 1959: 51, 145.
[22] Morelli 1959: 12.
[23] Kondis 1952: 553–559; Patsiada 2013: 53.
[24] I.*Lindos* 134 (*c.* 215 BC). Badoud 2015: 169, 229 (185 BC).
[25] Michalaki-Kollia 2013: 79–106; Patsiada 2013: 53–55; Rice 1995: 383–404.
[26] *Stadium*: Lippolis 2016: 146–150; Livadiotti 1996: 20–23; *gymnasium*: Kondis 1952: 563–571; Lippolis 2016: 151–153.
[27] Konstantinopoulos 1973: 129–134; Lippolis 2016: 120–142; Rocco 1996: 12–20; Segre 1949: 72–82.
[28] Konstantinopoulos 1973: 129–134; Lippolis 2016: 120–142; Rocco 1996: 12–20; Segre 1949: 72–82.
[29] *IG* XII, I, 31; Kreutz 2007: 21; Lippolis 2016: 154; Papachristodoulou 1992: 262–263.

centuries BC helped identify the cult.[30] In the area between the great port and the military port there is a Hellenistic temple, a Doric hexastyle, attributed to Aphrodite so-called Limenia, based on epigraphic data.[31] In the southern part of the city a large, an almost square-shaped building, probably a *gymnasium*, has been linked to the Ptolemaion, which, according to Diodorus Siculus, the Rhodians would have raised in honour of Ptolemy I of Egypt.[32] Based on epigraphic inscriptions, the area where the *Asklepieion* stood was also located.[33] North-west of the *Asklepieion* the so-called *Pantheon* has been excavated.[34] The sanctuary of Isis, as indicated by an inscription and by archaeological research, must have been in the eastern part of the city, not far from the walls.[35] Of the famous *Dionysion*, adorned with exceptional works of art, such as the Ialysus of Protogenes, we only know that it was located in the lower part of the city near the harbour.[36]

The phenomenon of synecism must be framed in its historical context. Obviously, synecism was the result of the common will of the three cities of the island, Ialysus, Camirus, and Lindus.

But if we contextualise it (as we archaeologists must always do), hopefully, we can better understand the internal dynamics and propulsive drives at stake. Due to its geographical position and wealth, the island of Rhodes was long disputed by Athens, Sparta and Persia. In 490 BC, Rhodes was philo-Persian and in the battle of Salamis, the Rhodian ships fought with the Persians against Athens.[37] Then years later the island was conquered by the Athenians and became part of the Delian League.[38] Athens imposed the payment of the *phoros* on the three cities, as is shown by the lists of payments where the three cities are mentioned individually.[39] Moreover, the Athenians, at least in Ialysus and Lindus, forcibly imposed democratic systems.[40] In 413 BC, the participation of Rhodian ships in the Athenian expedition to Sicily is another proof of the island's submission to Athens.[41] The oligarchy of Rhodes and, in particular, the Diagoreans (or the Eratidai as Pindar calls them) made strong opposition to Athens and its democratic reforms.[42]

The Diagoreans were not just one of the leading families of Ialysus, they were the most important family, probably the most important of the whole island. Actually, they had once been hereditary kings of Ialysus and they may have ruled as kings until Rhodes' entry into the Delian League. This was a great oligarchic family composed of famous athletes, winners of Olympic competitions, politicians and fleet commanders. Diagoras,[43] the son of Damagetos, was celebrated by Pindar in the Olympic Ode 7 as the winner in boxing at Olympia in 464 BC.[44] The strong network of international connections and the great mobility of this family and of its members has already been highlighted by both philologists and historians.[45] Diagoras had five children, three sons and two daughters.[46]

1) Damagetos (Olympic winner in the pancration in 452 and 448).[47]
2) Akousilaos (Olympic winner in boxing in 448 BC).[48]
3) Dorieus (Olympic winner in the pankration in 432, 428, 424 BC).[49]
4) Kallipateira, who married Kallianax, had a child Eukles, the Olympic boxing winner between 420 and 410 BC.[50]
5) Pherenike (or Kallipateira) who, with a man whose identity we do not know, had a child Peisirrhodos, the Olympic boxing winner in the boys' class before 395 BC.[51]

It is not until 324 BC that other inhabitants of Rhodes appear in the lists of the Olympic winners, with Mikynos of Lindus who won in the race. In the years when the Rhodian synecism took shape, the most famous of Diagoras' sons is, without doubt, Dorieus. Before 424 BC, however, an Athenian decree sentenced Dorieus and his relatives to death. With his nephew Peisirrhodos, Dorieus took refuge in Thurii and lived there, for more than ten years, becoming a citizen.[52] From there, he continued to plot against the Athenians. In 411 BC, most probably under the leadership of the Diagoreans, the philo-Laconian and oligarchic faction of Rhodes contacted the Spartans secretly and procured their intervention in the island. Thucydides (8.35) says that Dorieus sailed from Thurii with a fleet of ten ships to fight at the side of the Spartans. The fleet landed in Cnidus, which had freed itself from the Athenians,

[30] Giannikouri 2000: 63–72; Zervoudaki 1988: 129–137.
[31] Jacopi 1928: 518; Maiuri 1923: 238; Papachristodoulou 1992: 264; Rocco 1996: 31–33.
[32] Dreliosi and Filimonos 1998: 435–437; Filimonos 1989: 128–156; Filimonos 1994: 64–65; Kah 2018: 277, n. 18; Papachristodoulou 1992: 264.
[33] Fantaoutsaki 2004: 31–51; Papachristodoulou 1992: 264–265; Papachristodoulou 2000: 59–62; Patsiada 2013: 51.
[34] Heilmeyer 1999: 83–88; Patsiada 2013: 55–57.
[35] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 47–63; Fantaoutsaki 2015: 189–206.
[36] Papachristodoulou 1992: 265. Darab 2012: 75–89 (about the painting of Ialysus).
[37] Diod. 11.3.8.
[38] Coppola 2005: 291.
[39] *ATL* I: 290–291, 296–297, 334–335; Gabrielsen 2000: 183.
[40] Robinson 2011: 166–171.
[41] Thuc. 6.43, 7.57.
[42] Silvestrini 1976: 288.
[43] Green 1918: 267–269.
[44] Bresson 1979; Cairns 2005: 63–91; Darcus Sullivan 1982: 215–223.
[45] Green 1918: 267–271.
[46] Maddoli, Nafissi, Saladino 1999: 123 (family tree).
[47] Green 1918: 267–269.
[48] Paus.VI, 7, 1; Green 1918: 267–269.
[49] Paus. VI,7, 1; Coppola 2005: 291–297; Greco 2018: 91–94; Green 1918: 267–271.
[50] Paus.VI, 6, 2; Paus. VI, 7, 2; Green 1918: 267.
[51] Paus. V, 6,7; Paus. VI, 7, 2; Green 1918: 267.
[52] Coppola 2005: 292; Greco 2018: 91–94; Green 1918: 267–270; Silvestrini 1976: 288.

and from there reached Camirus where the Spartans convened an assembly of the three *poleis* – Ialysus, Lindus, Camirus – and the Rhodians decided to rebel against the Athenian confederation. From 411–395 BC, Rhodes was ruled by the oligarchy of the Diagoreans.[53]

On the contrary, with regard to the Diagoreans' involvement in the process of synecism, the hypotheses which are put forward, are very different from one another.[54] Drawing on the few literary sources relating to this period, we know that there was an abortive counter-revolutionary attempt after the Spartan fleet left the island;[55] There was an incident involving Dorieus who defended his sailors against the Spartans (Thuc. 8.84); additionally, Dorieus was captured by the Athenians who first put him to death and then pardoned him for his sporting merits (Xen. *Hell.* I 5,19).[56] Eleven years later (396 BC), once more, the Diagoreans must have been responsible for the change of Rhodes' foreign policy: the island abandoned the Spartans and collaborated with Conon. The Oxyrhynchus Historian (Chapter 18), Thucydides' continuer, describes the end of the Rhodian oligarchy and the new revolution which, with the support of the Athenians, occurred in 395 BC.[57] When the Rhodians realised that it was time to undertake the deed, they gathered in the agora and then rushed the meeting of the magistrates and killed the Diagorean family and some other citizens. Dorieus was not in Rhodes at the time, he was in the Peloponnese and was captured by the Spartans, who eventually killed him. Moreover, the Oxyrhynchus Historian (15.2–3) attests that the Diagorean faction was still in power in Rhodes when the Athenian forces were well established. Hence, the Diagoreans were killed to free Rhodes from their oligarchic and philo-Laconian domination.

Unfortunately, no ancient sources explicitly state that the Diagorean family was involved in the synecism. However, we know that it was carried out in 408/407 BC, when the island was under the rule of the Diagoreans of Ialysus and under the control of the Spartans. Therefore, one has to believe that it was indeed this family, at that time firmly in power in the island, who promoted, or, at least directed this complex phenomenon. A further conclusion is that it was an equal synecism, but it is very likely that, of the three cities, it was Ialysus which played the main role: 'Yes, in the case of Rhodes one city, Ialysos, did prevail over the others, probably less owing to the political clout of its native Diagoras and more because of its geographical position', writes Gabrielsen in 2000.[58]

While one might agree with the first part of this assumption, I do not entirely agree with the second part, where the issue of space is introduced, which is often overlooked by scholars and is of fundamental importance indeed. In which areas of the previous cities was the new *polis* of Rhodes cut out? Did all the three cities contribute to the process in the same way? As mentioned above, Rhodes was founded on the northern tip of the island, in an area where, to the north-east, there was a small settlement linked to the port.[59] The territory in which the foundation of Rhodes took place belonged to Ialysus. This point needs more attention than it has received so far. Ialysus lies less than 15 km south of the new town (80 *stadia*, as we learn from Strabon); Camirus was about 35 km south-west; and Lindus about 55 km south-east. Ialysus did not undergo synecism, but promoted it and, in all probability, was its driving force. If not designed by the Diagoreans, the process must have been at least governed by them. Ialysus did not suffer from the complex phenomenon of losing its own *chora*, but directed it and the new city arose in its territory.[60] Having examined the synecism from this point of view, let us try to hypothesise what Ialysus' leadership might have meant in relation to cults. The synecism occurred when the Diagoreans of Ialysus ruled in Rhodes and the new city was established in the territory of Ialysus. Is it possible that the Diagoreans, who at that time held power in that territory, were left out of the decisions regarding the cults and religious life of the new city? Being in power also implies making, or at least influencing, decisions regarding cults; it implies deciding, or at least, influencing the selection of cults to the new city, as well as the scale of values to be given to new cults.

As far as Rhodes is concerned, we do not have the same direct evidence that we have for the synecised poleis of Kos and Mykonos,[61] we do however, know that the unification of the island led to the introduction of Helius as a patron deity of the new *polis*.[62] The priesthood associated with his cult was eponymous of the *polis* and at the top of the Rhodian priestly career;[63] in honour of Helius/Halius, the festivals Halieia,[64] which included a procession, sacrifices, as well as athletic and musical contests, were celebrated; the image of Helius appeared on the obverse of the city's coinage

[53] Thuc. 8.44.1–3; Diod.13.381.5; 75, 1; Strab.14.2.9–10. Coppola 2005: 291–293; David 1984: 271–272; David 1986: 157–164; Gabrielsen 2000: 178–179.

[54] David 1984: 271: 'The Diagorean oligarchy can be credited with the synoecism of the three ancient cities into one state, having its political center in the newly founded city of Rhodes'; *contra* Gabrielsen 2000: 215–244.

[55] Thuc. 8.44.4; David 1984: 271.

[56] Coppola 2005: 292.

[57] Bruce 1961: 166–170. For the Rhodian *stasis* between 395 and 386 BC, see, e.g., Coppola 2005: 294–297; Fornis 2015: 433–441.

[58] Gabrielsen 2000: 189.

[59] Dreliosi-Irakleidou 2000: 21–28.

[60] Pugliese Carratelli 1951: 80–81.

[61] Parker 2009; Reger 2001 (Mykonos).

[62] Lippolis 2016: 157–159.

[63] Badoud 2015: 153–200; Lippolis 2016: 161–162.

[64] *IG* XII, I 72 a (Badoud 2015: 206); *IG* XII, I 73 a, b (Badoud 2015: 206, 280–281); *IG* XII, I, 74.

with the rose (rhodos) on the reverse;[65] after the siege of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the Rhodians erected the famous Colossus, a gigantic statue of the god.[66] Scholars have long speculated about this choice made by the inhabitants of the island. A choice that did not take into account any of the existing pan-Rhodian deities and that, in some way, overshadowed the cults of Athena worshipped on the acropolis of the three previous *poleis* of Rhodes: Athena Lindia at Lindus, Athena Polias with Zeus Polieus at Ialysus and Camirus. Moreover, Helius was a secondary and not very popular deity of the Greek *pantheon.*[67] According to Diodorus Siculus (V.56) the very first inhabitants of Rhodes perished during a flood. It was the god Helius who made the island emerge from the water and named it after his beloved nymph, Rhodos.[68] Pindar has handed down a somewhat different version of the same myth. In the Olympic Ode 7, written in honor of Diagoras of Ialysus, boxer and winner in the Olympic Games of 464 BC, the mythical story of the island is divided into three parts and narrated in reverse chronological order:[69]

1) The story of the Tirynthian Tlepolemos, who killed his great-uncle and, at the instigation of Apollo, fled to Rhodes.
2) When Athena sprang from Zeus' head, Helius urged his sons the Heliadai to offer a sacrifice to the new goddess. But in their haste, they forgot to bring the fire to burn the meat on the altar. The myth explains the tradition of offering fireless sacrifices and claims the precedence of the Rhodian cult of Athena over the Athenian one.[70]
3) Further back in time, Pindar recounts the birth of Rhodes. After the gods divided the world among themselves, they realised that they had forgotten to include Helius. Zeus offered to start all over, but Helius refused: he had spotted an island still covered by the sea, made it rise and claimed it as his share. He coupled with the nymph Rhodos and from this union seven men, the Heliadai and a woman, Alectrona, were born.[71] Kerkaphos, one of the Heliadai, had three sons – Ialysus, Camirus, and Lindus – who divided the island into three parts and founded the three cities that were named after them. The Pindaric ode has been interpreted as an anticipation of the political unification of the island, probably led by the Diagoreans from the city of Ialysus. Morelli hypothesised the existence of a private *gentilician* cult of Helius (of the Diagoreans?) even before the synecism.[72] Even though this hypothesis is not supported by data, it is undoubtedly very suggestive. If not to the Diagoreans, the cult of Helius seems to have been closely linked to the Dorians.

In fact, there were several Sun God cults in Sicyon, Argos, Ermioni, Epidaurus and Laconia, and his sacred flocks at Taenarum.[73] If the older theories consider its cult of pre-Hellenic origin, more recent speculations suggest that it may have been brought to Rhodes by the Dorian settlers.[74] But let us consider the archaeological data about Helius' cult in Rhodes. There is no evidence of the existence of a cult of the Sun before the late 5th century BC.[75] Although Ialysus, from an archaeological point of view, is the least investigated of the three previous Rhodian cities, the oldest and most consistent traces of the cult of the Heliades come from its territory. The cult of Kerkaphos identified at the north-eastern edge of the Minoan/Mycenaean settlement of Trianda dates back to the archaic age, as shown by the large amount of pots (above all *olpai*) found there. Two of them bear dedicatory inscriptions to Kerkaphos, son of Helius and father of the three oekists of the island.[76] A *lex sacra* of the Ialysians from the end of the 4th century BC (*IG* XII, 677) regulates the cult of Alectrona κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. At Ialysus Ἀλεκτρώνη had a *temenos*, a temple and an *istiatorion.*[77] Diodorus (5.56.5) refers to an Ἠλεκτρυώνη[78] (Ἀλεκτρώνα is the Doric form of the same name), the only daughter of Helius and the nymph Rhodos, sister of the Heliades, who, after her death was worshipped as a heroine. Moreover, in Ode 7, Pindar recalls Ialysus as the first of the sons of Kerkaphos, then makes reference to Lindus and Camirus. A fragmentary catalogue of Helius' priests published by Morricone in 1951 endorses that the three cities were represented within a three-year cycle.[79] According to Morricone, Ialysus was the first to choose his priest, Camirus the second, and Lindus the third.[80] Should we assume that the order in which the priests of the god Helius – the most important priests of the island – were chosen, was casual? Or rather that the presence of Ialysus, as the first city of the triad that promoted the most important priest of the island, had any meaning?

[65] Ashton 2001: 79–116.
[66] Badoud 2012: 2–39; Lippolis 2016: 160–161; Matern 2002: 155–162.
[67] Hoffmann 1963: 117–124.
[68] Morelli 1959: 172–173.
[69] On the Olympic Ode 7, see, e.g., Bresson 1979; Cairns 2005: 63–91; Darcus Sullivan 1982: 215–223; Felson Rubin 1980: 248–252; Kowalzig 2007: 224–226; Retter 2002.
[70] Cairns 2005: 73–76; Sfyroeras 1993: 1–26.
[71] Morelli 1959: 89–91.
[72] Cairns 2005: 78; Morelli 1959: 95.
[73] Larson 2007: 68; Matern 2002: 9–20.
[74] Morelli 1959: 95: 'Il culto di Helios è senza dubbio un culto anellenico, di provenienza orientale'. Larson 2007: 68: 'Thus it may be that Helios' cult was carried to Rhodes by Dorian settlers in the seventh century'.
[75] Cairns 2005: 78; Frel 1975: 77–78; Johnston 1977: 156–157.
[76] Papachristodoulou 1992: 260.
[77] Papachristodoulou 1992: 259; Pugliese-Carratelli 1951: 81.
[78] See also: *Schol.* Pind. *Ol.* VII 24 h.
[79] Dignas 2003: 38; Gabrielsen 2000: 187, 202, n. 49 (who shifts the beginning of the list to *c.* 358 BC); Morricone 1949–1951: 351–380; Pugliese-Carratelli 1951: 82–83.
[80] Morricone 1949–1951: 365–366.

As argued above, the choice of Helius as the supreme pan-Rhodian deity overshadowed the other divinities of the island, especially Athena, whose main sites of worship in Rhodes were on the three acropolises of the cities of Ialysus and Camirus (with the joint cult of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus),[81] and Lindus (with the cult of Athena Lindia).[82] At Ialysus, from the 2nd century BC, some inscriptions attest to the cult;[83] in Camirus, a priesthood of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, one of the highest offices of this community, is first attested *c.* 273 BC.[84]

In Lindus, the cult of Zeus Polieus was associated with the priesthood of Athena Lindia in the last years of the 4th century BC. It is worth adding that both gods appear, although not systematically, as a pair in votive inscriptions throughout the Hellenistic period.[85]

It has been hypothesised that the cult of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus on the acropolis of Rhodes should be a reflection of local configurations in the three constituent *poleis* of Ialysus, Camirus, and Lindus. However, Lindus is not represented. In Lindus, Athena is Lindia, who, by the 4th century BC, was accompanied by the priest of Zeus Polieus, as has already been pointed out. It has been said that the cult of Athena Lindia 'was too deeply rooted to move',[86] or that: 'a paradoxical consequence of the synecism was making Athena Lindia in some way less of a pan-Rhodian goddess than she had been before'.[87] Athena Lindia did not become the pan-Rhodian deity and her cult was not even duplicated on the acropolis of Rhodes. By contrast, on the acropolis of the new city, or on its slopes, many pan-Rhodian cults were duplicated: Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus (from Ialysus and Camirus),[88] Zeus Atabyros (pan-Rhodian cult),[89] and Apollo Erethymios (pan-Rhodian cult from Ialysus).[90] One wonders if the influence of Ialysus in governing the process of synecism has not also influenced the choice of bringing Athena's cult to the acropolis of the newly founded city.

Some conclusions

1) The synecism of Rhodes, may have been the result of much older pan-Rhodian tendencies, harking back to 408/7 BC, during the years when the island was ruled by the oligarchic and philo-Laconian family of the Diagoreans of Ialysus. Although we have no sources that safely attest to their direct involvement in the synecism, it is worth taking into account that Dorieus left Thurii with a fleet of ten ships to fight alongside the Spartans and the family was killed during the democratic revolution of 395 BC.[91] It is therefore unlikely that such an important institution (ΘΕΣΜΟΣ) as the synecism was not planned, or at least directed, by the powerful family of Ialysus who ruled the island during that era.[92]

2) Rhodes was founded in the *chora* of Ialysus, just over 10 km to the north of the same city. Rather than as a sign of Ialysus' weakness, this should be seen as an indication of the power of the *polis* and of the Diagoreans. And Ialysus, as is easy to imagine, must have also contributed to the inhabitation of Rhodes more than of the other cities, to the point that, in the Augustan age, Strabo (14.2.9), when describing the island of Rhodes, states that Lindos, and probably also Camirus, are cities, while Ialysus is only a village.

3) Ialysus was therefore the prominent city in the process of synecism. Pre-eminent from both a political and a geographical point of view. In political terms, it is hard to believe that the ruling Diagoreans did not exercise some control in the matter of cults; being in a position of power also enabled them to make decisions about these. Yet, we have no evidence that the cult of Helius was a *gentilician* cult of the Diagorean family. However, the archaeological data available so far point to Ialysus as the richest area in terms of cults of the god Sun and of his 'relatives', although it is the least investigated of the three cities. In addition, the *olpai* with the dedication to Kerkaphos, are the oldest and the only evidence of the cult of the Sun's family before the synecism. It is therefore necessary to ask whether Ialysus was the main and oldest centre for the cult of Helius. For this reason, as hypothesised by Pugliese Carratelli back in 1951, it is very likely that it was chosen by the Diagoreans as a pan-Rhodian divinity.[93]

4) The cult of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, who were chosen to rise above the acropolis of Rhodes, are not cults of Lindus, but of Ialysus and Camirus; nor was the cult of Athena Lindia, which was duplicated in the new city or on its acropolis. On the contrary, immediately after the synecism the cult of the goddess was defended by the Lindians, in order to allow the citizens of Lindus, exclusively, to become priests of the cult.[94]

And now let us reconsider the cults of the acropolis of Rhodes. At the top, there was the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, which the Rhodians immediately recognised as a cult from Ialysus and Camirus; most

[81] Morelli 1959: 88; Paul 2016:119–138.
[82] Lippolis 1988: 97–157; Morelli 1959: 80–86; Papachristodoulou 1992: 254–258.
[83] Livadiotti and Rocco 2000: 109–118; Morelli 1959: 3, 12; Papachristodoulou 1992: 258–259.
[84] Morelli 1959: 11–12, 88.
[85] Dignas 2003:49; Morelli 1959: 11.
[86] Demand 1990: 93.
[87] Parker 2009: 206.
[88] Morelli 1959: 12.
[89] Morelli 1959: 47–48.
[90] *IG* XII, 31.
[91] Coppola 2005: 294.
[92] Kowalzig 2007: 251, n. 78; Pugliese Carratelli 1951: 80–81.
[93] Pugliese Carratelli 1951: 81.
[94] Dignas 2003: 46.

probably, next to the *stadium* and the *gymnasium*, it was not Apollo Pythios but Helius. Another cult, which may be primarily Ialysian, and linked to the Diagoreans.

Synecism as a divide? Maybe not, but certainly synecism of the three previous Rhodian cities under the political direction of Ialysus. Evidently, there was a political direction, which also implies choices and decisions to be made about cults.

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An open-air sanctuary of Kybele? in the city of Rhodes

Vassiliki Patsiada

In memory of Eos Zervoudaki

Abstract

The sanctuary was located within the limits of the Hellenistic city of Rhodes, on a rocky hill, which was left unbuilt, interrupting the streets of the Hippodamian grid system. Staircases at the north and east foothills, at the points where the streets ended, led to the summit, where rectangular spaces of unclear function and date and an underground water system were uncovered. The water tunnels were accessible through a built staircase with vaulted roof; directly outside the staircase a series of small niches and two small altars were carved on a rock face. A similar rock face with niches and successive rock terraces and boulders are preserved on the east and north slopes of the hill.

The site was identified as a sanctuary of Kybele, based on the similarities it presents with Kybele's sanctuaries in Asia Minor, Samos and Akrai in Syracuse and on the finding of two clay figurines of Kybele. The goddess was probably worshipped together with other deities, like Attis and Korybantes, whose worship in Rhodes is well documented by finds, as well as by epigraphical and textual sources.

The open-air sanctuary dominated the heart of the Hellenistic city. It was in immediate vicinity of the Asklepieion and the Ptolemaion gymnasium, as well as of a monumental zone in the middle of the city, where the agora, sanctuaries, spaces for exercise and recreation were lying. Of comparable character and function was the Paneion, the artificial hill in the centre of the city of Alexandria.

Key words: Rhodes, open-air sanctuary, Kybele, Korybantes, Attis, figurines of Kybele, figurines of Attis, statue of Attis, marble statuettes of Kybele, niches carved in the rock, town plan of Rhodes, Paneion

In 1971, at a nodal point in the modern town of Rhodes, one of the sanctuaries of the ancient city came to light.[1] Later rescue excavations confirmed its existence, adding new evidence about its form and extent, as well as about the identity of the deity worshipped there.

The evidence from the excavations

The sanctuary was located on a low rocky hill partially preserved to this day (Figure 1). On top of the hill, buildings were erected during the period of Italian occupation of Rhodes (1912–1943), buildings that today house the Airforce Officers' Club and the Venetokleion High School.[2] We do not know if an excavation was carried out before the construction of the two Italian buildings. The earliest known excavation on the hill was conducted in 1957 by the Greek Archaeological Service, approximately 35 m to the southwest of the Airforce building (Figure 9); it was a small-scale excavation in which only a water tunnel and parts of roughly built walls have been uncovered.[3]

In 1971, a more extensive excavation was occasioned by the construction of the gym of the Venetokleion High School (Figures 2a–b, 9, no. 1). On the eastern part of the excavated area rectangular spaces of unclear function were uncovered, defined by built or rock-cut walls (Figures 3-4); west of these an underground network of water-supply tunnels was brought to light. The building remains on the surface above the tunnels were sparse. At intervals, vertical shafts reached the surface from the tunnels. A built staircase of 17 steps led down 4 m into the tunnels (Figure 2b). The staircase was roofed by a vaulted ceiling of rectangular stone blocks (Figures 5 and 6); its vertical walls were also of isodomic masonry (Figure 2b). At the surface, directly south of the staircase, a dressed rockface was uncovered. Cut into it was a series of 11 small niches as well as two small rectangular altars, also set within niches (Figures 7, 8a–b). Inside the niches an iron dagger and two miniature vases (Figure 22)[4] were found; they were probably votive offerings.

[1] For the sanctuary see Filimonos and Patsiada 2018: 74, fig. 10–11; Patsiada 2013α: 224, n. 659; 2013β: 57–59, figs 12–17; Zervoudaki 1975.

[2] For the Italian building of the Venetokleion High School, see Martonoli and Perotti 1999: 353.

[3] No reports have been published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

[4] Zervoudaki 1975: 538, pl. 550a. For the black-glazed bell-krater see Sparkes and Talcott 1970: 55, 240, no. 60, pl. 3 (older example of the late 4th century BC). A closer parallel is: Rotroff 1997: 136, 303, no. 580, pl. 53 (225–200 BC). For the miniature chytra or chytridion, which in Rhodes was often used as grave offering, see Giannikouri, Patsiada and Filimonos 1989: 61, pl. 40 a (beginning of the 3rd century BC). For



Figure 1. The east slope of the hill. View from NE.

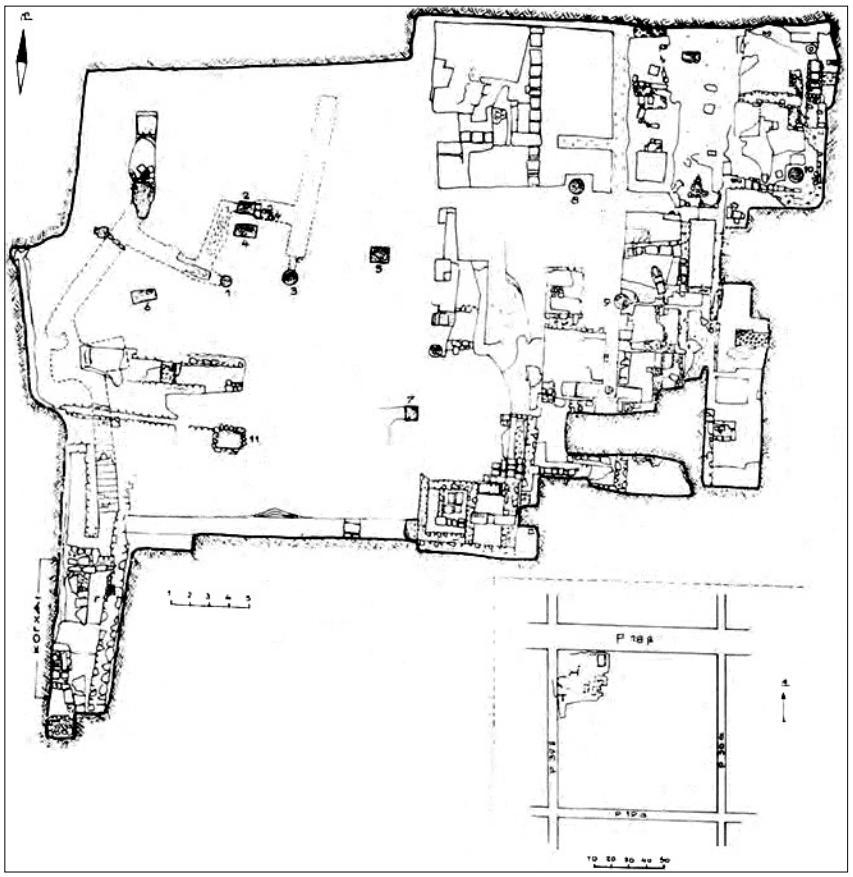


Figure 2a. Venetokleion High School plot. Plan of the excavation.

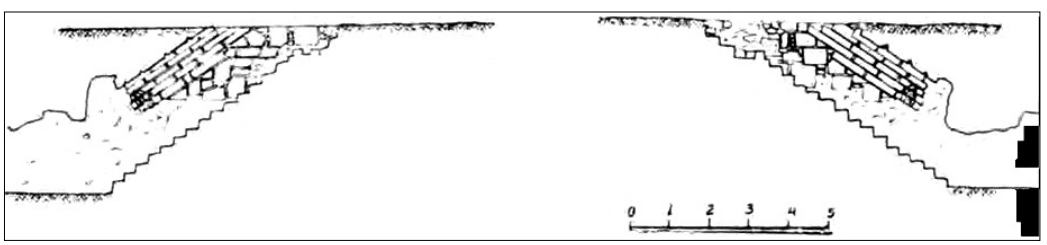


Figure 2b. Section of the staircase leading to the subterranean water tunnels.



Figure 3. Venetokleion High School plot.
View of the excavation.



Figure 5. The entrance to the subterranean water tunnels.



Figure 4. Venetokleion High School plot.
View of the excavation.

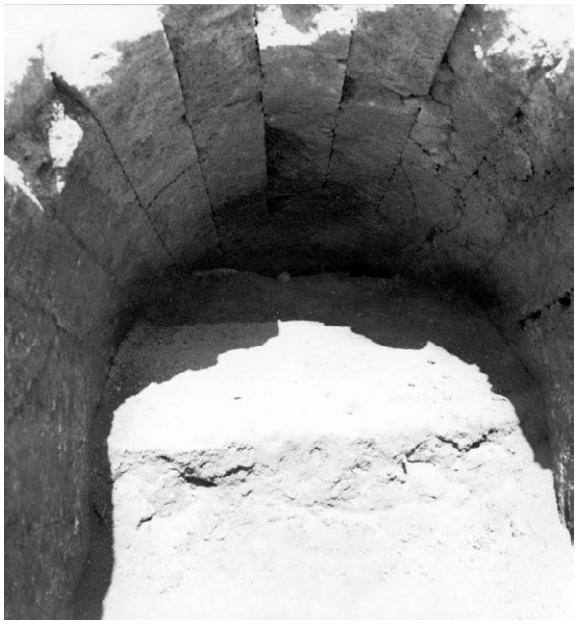


Figure 6. The vaulted ceiling of the staircase leading to the subterranean water system.

The niches, a feature characteristic of many open-air sanctuaries, two figurines of Kybele[5] (Figures 23, 24) and the water-supply tunnels,[6] which the excavator Eos Zervoudaki compared to underground stepped tunnels in oriental sanctuaries of Mithras, the Persian goddess

Hellenistic chytridia see also Rotroff 1997: 215–216, nos 1475–1482, pl. 111.

[5] Zervoudaki 1975: 539, pl. 550c. See also notes 24, 25.

[6] For similar tunnels in Anatolia and for their utilitarian and at the same time cultic function, see Gall 1967. See also the tunnels in Midas town in Phrygia, which were connected to Kybele's cult: Berndt 2002: 17, fig. 20 and fig. on page 2; Gabriel 1965: 27–49, pls. 6–11, particularly 27, fig. 15, 38, fig. 19, pl. 11c, 46–49 for relief and statues of Kybele standing above the tunnels. Compare also the long-stepped tunnel in the Hierothesion of Mithridates Kallinikos, in Arsameia on the Nymphaios, connected to Mithras cult: Dörner 1963, 129–145, plan 4 and 9, pls. 28–33. Fountains and water installations of similar form, with stepped staircases leading to subterranean water sources, are also known from different Greek sanctuaries: Ginouvès 1994: fig. 1; Gläser 1983: 12–25 and 129–133, figs 16–41 and especially: 18–19, figs 32–35 (Acrocorinth, Upper Peirene Fountain), 19–20, fig. 36 (Corinth Asklepieion, Lerna fountain), 21, figs 30–31 (Athens, fountain in Pnyx). See also the subterranean spring in building D in the Asklepieion of Kos, Herzog and Schazmann 1932: 51, pl. 28, no. 1 and Bosnakis 2014, 51, fig. 39. Similarities with the Venetokleion water installation are present also in two public? fountains uncovered in the city of Rhodes, see Christodoulidis 2017: 448–449, fig. 9; Kasdagli and Chalkiti 2003; Marketou 1989.



Figure 7. Niches and small altars carved on the wall of the staircase.

sanctuary. The excavation, at a small distance from Megalou Konstatinou Street, which coincides with the ancient Street P 30, revealed a rock face 9 m long from N to S and 2.30 m high. On its east side, facing Street P 30, were cut five small niches, similar to those found in the Venetokleion High School (Figures 10, 11). Two small cisterns were also brought to light near the rockface and at a somewhat lower level.[9]

In 2017, in the course of clearing the natural vegetation on the steep east slope of the hill, at a higher level than the aforesaid rock face, successive rock-cut terraces reaching up to the top of the slope were revealed (Figures 9, no. 6 and 12–13). Interposed between these were retaining walls of the Ottoman period or later.

Rock faces or boulders in their natural state are preserved also on the northeast side of the hill, under the Airforce building (Figures 9, no. 7; Figure 14), at the north foot of the hill (Figures 9, no. 8; Figure 15), and in

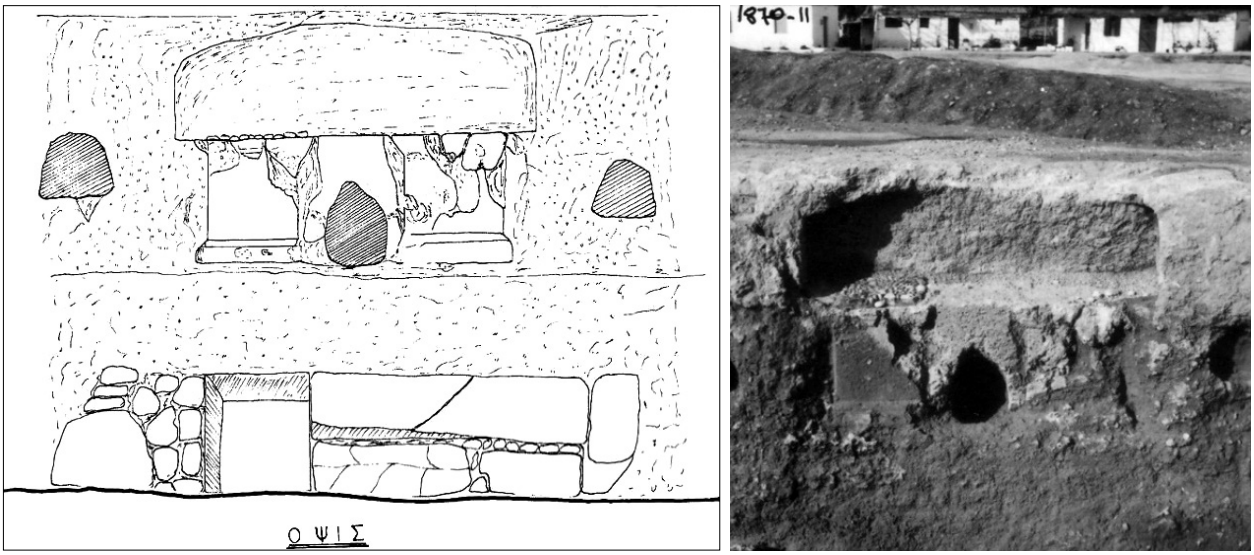


Figure 8a–8b. Small altars and niches on the wall of the staircase.

Anahita (Anaitis) and Kybele, led to the conclusion that this was 'undoubtedly a space of cultic character'.[7]

Trial trenches carried out in 1984, just west of the 1971 excavation plot, where the gym was eventually constructed (Figure 9, no. 5), brought to light part of a cistern and mostly unworked bedrock.[8]

In 2000, a small-scale excavation at the east foot of the hill (Figure 9, no. 3), proved to be of particular importance, as it confirmed the existence of the

its south-eastern part, next to a house (Figures 9, no. 9; Figure 16) and in an empty plot south of it (Figure 9, no. 10).

The excavation data, as well as the present aspect of the hill, indicate that on the surface the bedrock was mostly left in its natural state. It is therefore possible that the site had not been built over; in any case, the precipitous relief would have made it labourious to level the solid rock in order to plan building insulae. This was confirmed in two further excavations on the north and the east foot of the hill, where the interruption of the ancient streets was ascertained.

[7] Zervoudaki 1975: 538–539.

[8] No reports have been published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*. Due to the fact that only unworked bedrock was revealed, the excavation did not cover the entire plot. The building was constructed without damage to the underlying bedrock.

[9] Patsiada 2009: fig. 12. Similar hydraulic installations have been found on the north foot of the hill, at ΚΥΠ plot, see below.

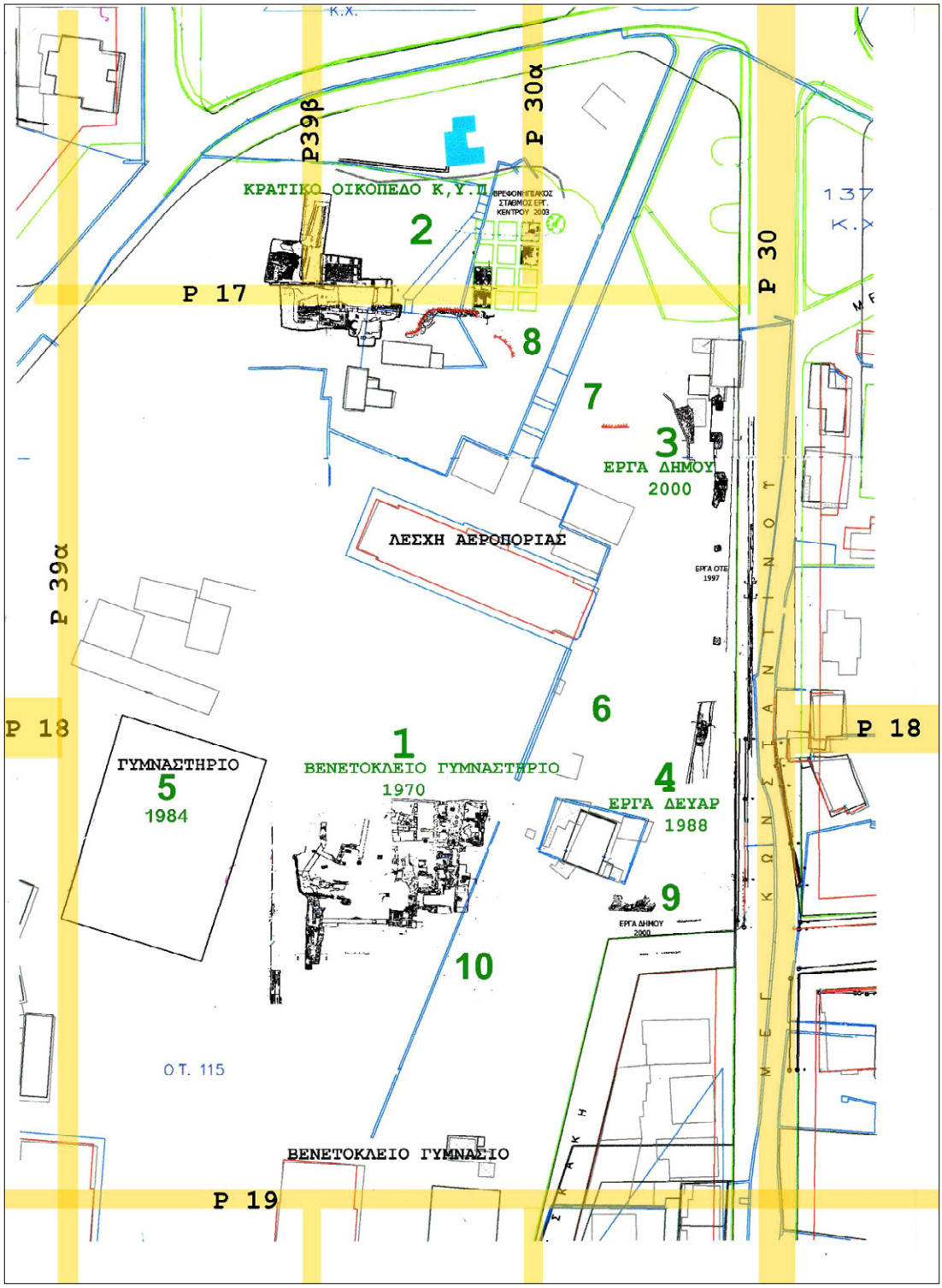


Figure 9. Topographic plan of the excavations conducted in the area of the sanctuary.
1) Venetokleion High School; 2) KYP plot; 3) Municipality Works; 4) DEYAR Works;
5) Venetokleion Gym; 6–10) Natural rock.

Excavations on the north foot of the hill unearthed Street P 17, oriented E–W, as well as its junction with P 39β that runs N–S[10] (Figure 9, no. 2; Figure 17). The latter street, following the gradient of the ground, rises towards the south (Figure 17b); directly after its intersection with P 17 its entire width was occupied by a stairway of which nine steps survive (Figure 18). The staircase led to the highest terrace on the slope, which, immediately to the south, rose abruptly, judging from the surviving high rock faces. Both streets were laid with numerous clay water pipes (Figures 17, 19), connected at intervals with drainage pits, while cisterns

[10] Zervoudaki 1973: figs 5–6, pl. 437.



Figure 10. Rock face with niches on the northeast part of the hill.



Figure 11. Clearing works in 2017. The east slope of the hill and the rock face with the niches.



Figure 12. Clearing works in 2017. The east slope of the hill along M. Konstantinou Street, the ancient street P 30.



Figure 13. Clearing works 2017. Rock terrace wall on the southeast slope of the hill.



Figure 14. Natural rock on the northeast foot of the hill.



Figure 15. Natural rock on the north foot of the hill, east of the KYP plot.



Figure 16. Natural rock on the southeastern part of the hill.

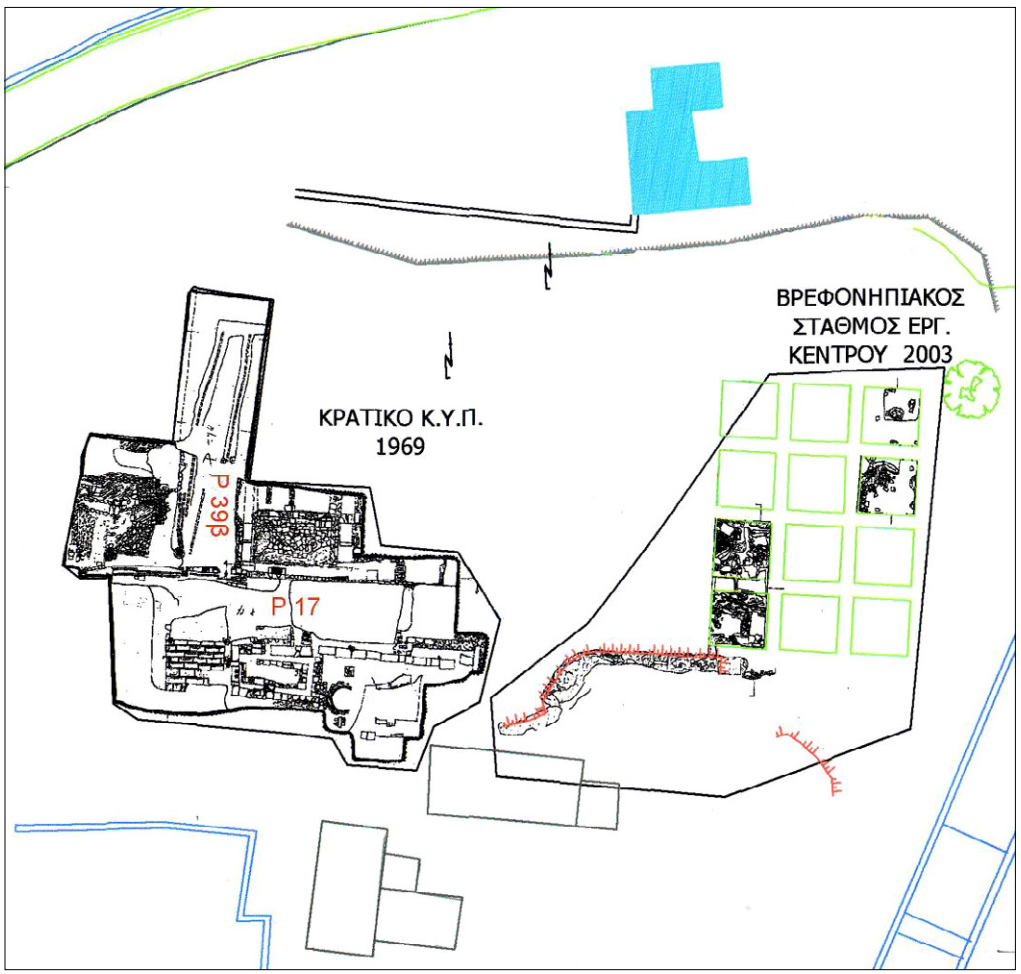


Figure 17a. Plan of the excavation, the KYP plot.

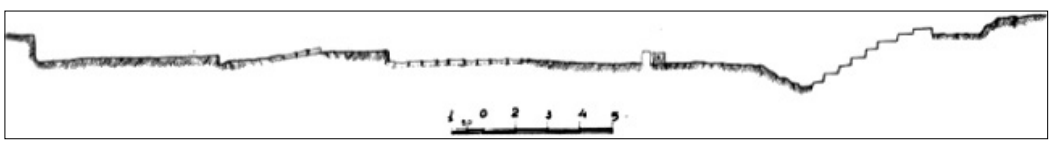


Figure 17b. Section in street P 39b.

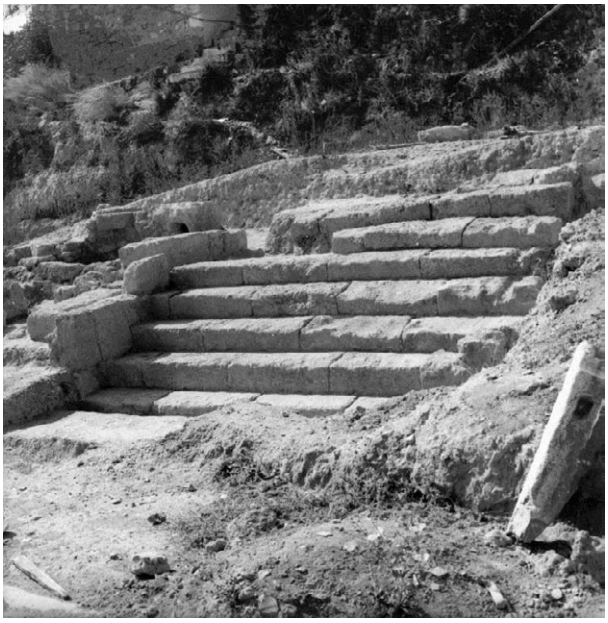


Figure 18. KYP plot; the staircase in street P 39a.

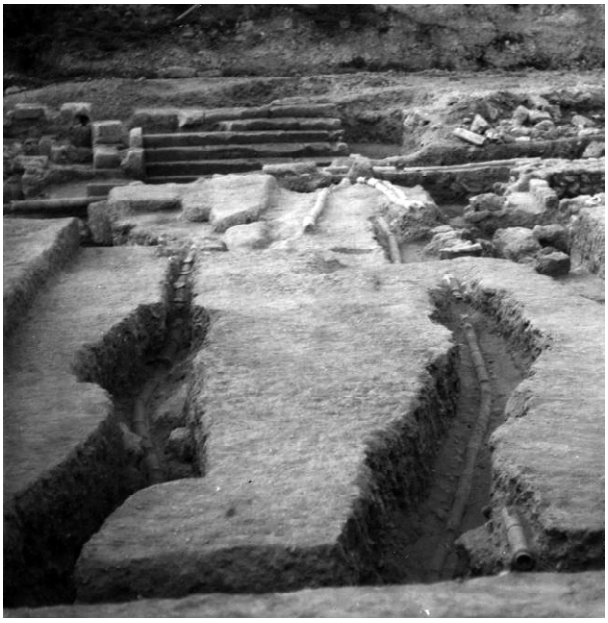


Figure 19. KYP plot; the street R39a. View from the North.

were set at the corners of the crossroad off the street.[11] The date of the cisterns is uncertain and the one at the northwest corner of the crossroad could be of later date. Obviously, this network was part of the water supply of the city, taking advantage of the abundant ground water sources of the area.[12]

The continuation of Street P 17, as well as cisterns of later date were also uncovered in 2003 in the public plot lying directly east to the ΚΥΠ's plot[13] (Figures 9, no. 2; Figure 17a).

The recovery from the KYP excavation of the torso of a statuette of Apollo Sauroktonos made of lartian stone and dated to the mid 2nd century AD (Figure 25),[14] a miniature bronze herm[15] (Figure 26) and a lead-sheet cut-out representing a himation-clad male figure (Figure 27),[16] objects that could have been votive offerings, is important for the character of the remains on the north foot of the hill as well as for their relation to the sanctuary.

Probable remains of a staircase were revealed on the east foot of the hill too, at the intersection of avenues (*plateies*) P 30 and P 18[17] (Figure 9, no. 4). The precipitous rocky outcrop on the east side of the hill, still visible today (Figures 11, 12), indicates that Avenue P 18 was probably interrupted west of the staircase.

The aforesaid excavation data showed that the hill was delimited from the north by Street P 17 and from the east by Avenue P 30 (Figures 20, 21). Street P 19 should be considered its south boundary, as indicated by the exposure of the continuation of Street P 39β inside the schoolyard of the Venetokleion High School[18] and of the

[11] Although sufficient archaeological documentation, detailed drawings, photos, etc., is lacking, the cistern at the southeastern corner of the crossroad, could be identified as a fountain, consisting of two cisterns; the one, outside the boundaries of the street, could be a reservoir, while the second, lying inside Street P 17, could be a basin, into which the water was flowing through a spout, across the south limit wall of Street P 17. The fountain was placed conveniently, next to the staircase leading to the sanctuary and inside the limits of a much-frequented street-crossing, connecting important sanctuaries and public buildings. Another fountain has been revealed in the vicinity, just south of the Asklepieion, inside Street P 39, see Christodoulidis 2017: 449, fig. 9 and Patsiada 2013β: 51, n. 20. For the form of the possible fountain, compare the fountain in Priene, on the intersection of two streets, one of which was stepped, leading to the precinct of Athena temple: Hellmann 2010: 228, fig. 324 = Berg 1994: 66–67, fig. 23, 24. See also the fountain in the Asklepieion of Kos at the west edge of the retaining wall between the lower and upper terrace (Herzog and Schazmann 1932: 53, pls. 32–34 = Gläser 1983: 30, fig. 53) and the niche fountain at the eastern part of the same retaining wall, close to the staircase leading to the middle terrace of the Koan sanctuary: Herzog and Schazmann 1932: 55–56, pl. 29 = Gläser 1983: 45–46, figs 87–88 = Bosnakis 2014: 39, fig. 22. For this type of small fountain see also Berg 1994: 66–88 and Gläser 1983: 134–140.

[12] For the water supply in the city of Rhodes see Christodoulidis 2017.

[13] It is the plot of the Worker's House Day Nursery, see Bairami 2012.

[14] Machaira 1998: 138, fig. 2; Machaira 2011: 111–112, no. 88, pl. 116; Zervoudaki 1973: 513, pl. 437e.

[15] Zervoudaki 1973: 514, pl. 437b. For similar miniature Hermes: Deonna 1938: 307, nos A 1978, A 555–4262, A 773, pls. 792, 793, 795 (lead); Laumonier 1956: 126–127, nos 320, 324, 128, no. 329, pl. 37 (clay); Robinson 1941: 6–7, pls. II, III, nos 2a, 2b (bronze, 4th century BC).

[16] Zervoudaki 1973: 514, pl. 437c. Figurines cut out of hammered metal sheets, representing cattle are known from the Zeus Atavyrios sanctuary, on the highest mountain peak of Rhodes, Triantafyllidis 2017: 558, fig. 8. For similar votive figurines in other sanctuaries, Blatter 1964 and Romaios 1957: 146–159, figs 38–55; also Franken 2017. According to colleague K. Bairami, the bands attached to the figurine are probably remnants of the casting process: cf. Bol 1985: 25, fig. 8, 127, fig. 83.

[17] Kaninia 1993: 591–592.

[18] Zervoudaki 1973: 511. No report of the trial trench is published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

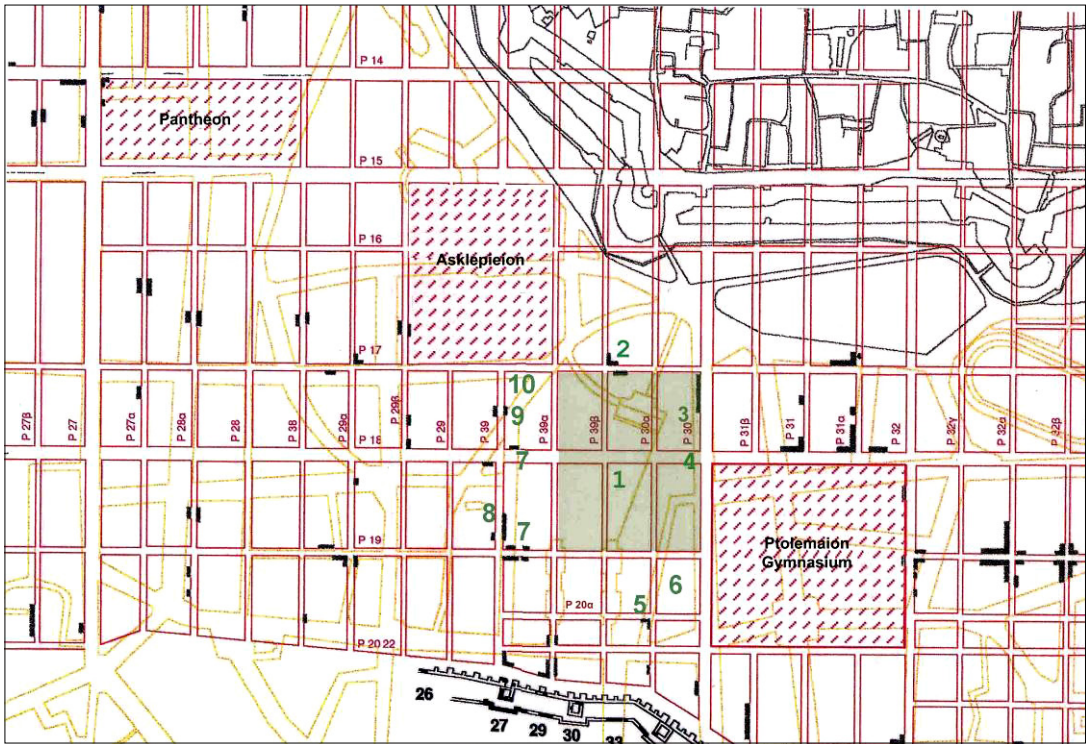


Figure 20. The ancient street grid in the area of the sanctuary. 1) Venetokleion High School plot (1971); 2) KYP plot 1970; 3) Municipality Works (2000); 4) DEYAR Works (1988); 5) Lyristi-Stragala plot (1965); 6) Frangheskaki (1965), Roussou (1987), Diakogeorgiou-Spanou (2000) plots; 7) Kamarinou-Koumanti plot (1965); 8) Aivali plot (1964); 9) Karagianni plot (1979); 10) Sarri plot (1994).

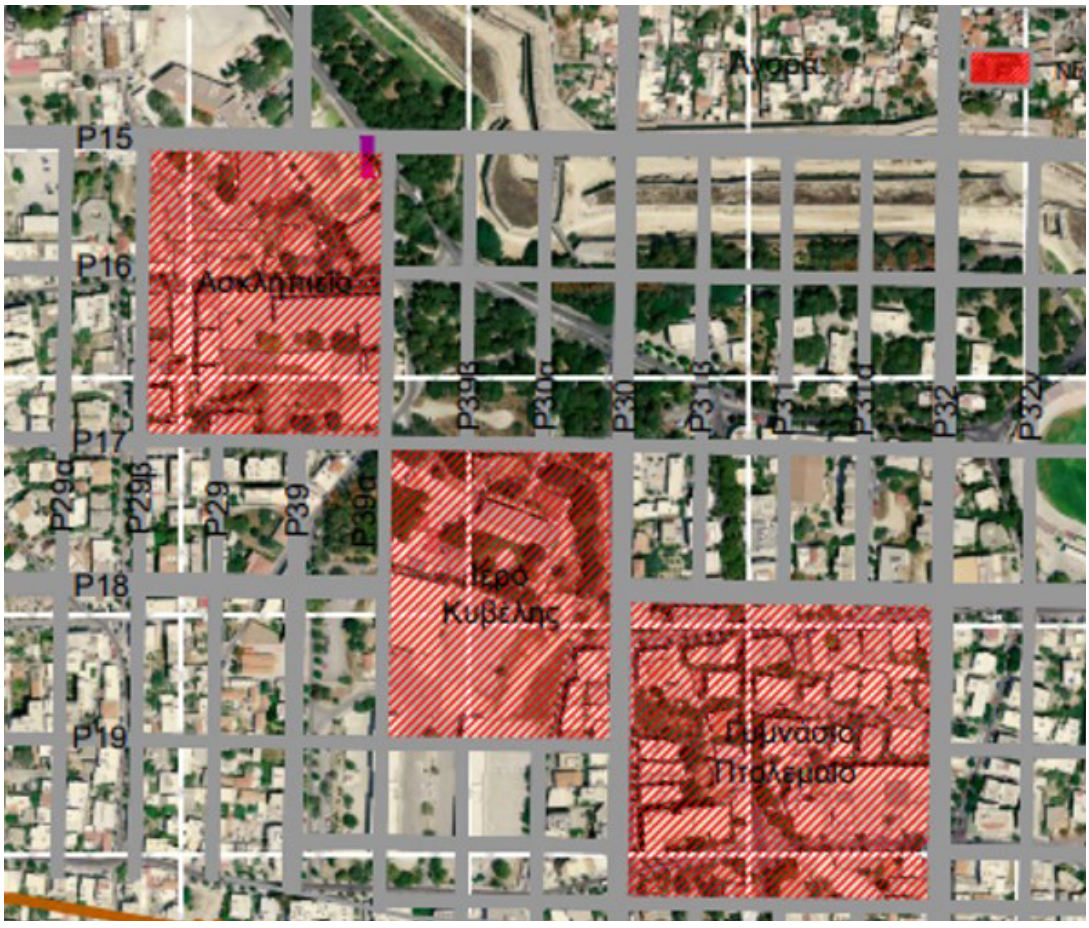


Figure 21. The sanctuary of Kybele in the modern urban plan.



Figure 22. Miniature vases from the excavation, Venetokleion High School.



Figure 23. Fragment of a Kybele figurine from the excavation, Venetokleion High School.



Figure 24. Fragment of a Kybele figurine from the excavation, Venetokleion High School: lion beneath the feet of the enthroned goddess.



Figure 25. Statuette of Apollo Sauroktonos from the excavation, KYP plot.

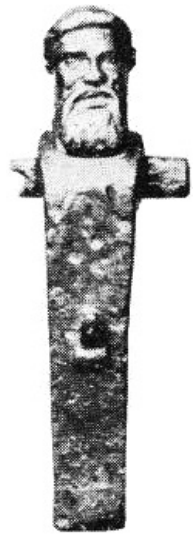


Figure 26. Miniature bronze herm from the excavation, KYP plot.



Figure 27. Lead-sheet cut-out figurine, KYP plot.

continuation of the Street P 30a north of its crossing with P 20a (Figure 20, no. 5).[19] Moreover, excavations have shown that the insulae between P 19 and P 20a were occupied by private houses (Figure 20, no. 6).[20]

The west boundary of the hill is uncertain. It could be Street P 39α,[21] since continuation of the street grid, most specifically the crossing of streets P 19 and P 39, and the continuation of Street P 18, is ascertained west of Street P 39a (Figure 20, no. 7).[22] Thus, the sanctuary occupied a rectangle measuring 200 m × 150 m, which interrupted the street grid of the Hippodamian urban

[19] Konstantinopoulos 1968α (Kaiki-Lyristi-Straggala plot, figure 20, no. 5).

[20] In the insula delimited by streets P 19, P 30, P 20a and P 30a private houses were found in the following three excavations: Konstantinopoulos 1968β (Frangeskaki plot); Fantaoutsaki 1992 (Roussou plot); 2009 (Diakogeorgiou-Spanou plot).

[21] The sanctuary may have spread further west, to Street P 39, where the natural incline of the west slope of the hill stops. However, judging from the preserved relief, Street P 39a crossed a higher level on the west slope of the hill. Street P 39 was revealed close to its crossing with P 17, south of the Asklepieion, in E. Sarris plot (figure 20, no. 10), where an hydraulic installation, probably a public fountain, came to light, see Fantaoutsaki 1999. Street P 39 was also found in two additional plots between P 7 and P 19, see Fatourou 1967 (Aivali plot, figure 20, no. 8); Papachristodoulou 1987 (Karagiannis plot, figure 20, no. 9).

[22] West of P 39a, in Kamarinou-Koumandi plot (figure 20, no. 7), streets P 19 and P 18, running E–W, were uncovered. North of P 19 building remains came to light. It is thus proved that the street grid continued between P 39 and P 39a, see Konstantinopoulos 1968α.

plan[23] and was in close contact to the Asklepieion to the northwest and the Youth's Gymnasion, the so called Ptolemaion, to the southeast.

The cult

The open-air sanctuary laid out on the rocky hillock, most probably set within a natural grove, as indicated by the abundant underground waters, would have been dedicated to the cult of a deity closely linked with nature, vegetation, and the fertility of the earth. Such deities are Pan, the Nymphs, Aphrodite, Dionysus, etc. However, the two fragments of figurines of Kybele, found in the Venetokleion High School excavation, one representing an enthroned goddess with turreted diadem and peculiar ornament or girdle on the chest[24] (Figure 23), and the other a lion beneath her feet (Figure 24), refer to worship of the Great Mother.[25]

Kybele, a primeval maternal deity whose origins are lost in the mists of prehistory, was worshipped in the Bronze Age by the Hittites as *Kubaba* and in historical times in Phrygia as *Matar* or *Matar Kubileya*, which means Mountain Mother (*Ὀρεία Μητέρα*). From Phrygia her cult arrived to Greek lands, initially to the Greek cities and islands of the Asia Minor coast, and from the 6th century BC throughout the Hellenic world, as far as Magna Graecia, distant Marseille and the Black Sea.[26] In 205 BC her cult was officially transferred to Rome from Pessinus, the ancient Hittite-Phrygian centre of her cult, and from Rome spread throughout the entire Roman Empire. In Greece Kybele was assimilated with Demeter and mainly with Rhea, mother of the Olympian Gods, and acquired Greek characteristics, without however relinquishing the properties of the prehistoric oriental deity from which she originated: she was the goddess of nature, mountains and water sources, mistress of wild beasts and of lions, which are depicted flanking her throne, celestial and chthonic, protectress of cities and fortifications, which is why she is frequently represented with a mural crown.[27]

Worship of the Mother is attested in almost all Greek cities; Rhodes, of course, was no exception.[28] Even so, textual testimonies are confined to an honorific inscription referring to a Rhodian association (*koinon*), whose members worshipped the Mother of the Gods, among other deities (*IG* XII,1162).[29] This is the koinon of Σωτηριαστᾶν Ἀσκλαπιαστᾶν Ποσειδανιαστᾶν Ἡρακλειστᾶν Ἀθαναϊστᾶν Ἀφροδιαστᾶν Ἑρμαϊστᾶν Ματρὸς Θεῶν.

However, a terracotta figurine from Kamiros attests worship of the goddess on the island already by the 5th century BC.[30] Terracotta figurines from the sanctuary of Athena Lindia are dated to the 4th century BC.[31] A series of marble statuettes in the known type of the enthroned goddess holding a drum and libation bowl (phiale) and with lions crouching at her feet[32] belong to Hellenistic times (Figure 28), as did also terracotta figurines, like the two fragments seen in Figures 29 and 30.[33] It is worth noting, however, that only a single fragmentary example of the *naiskoi* characteristic of Kybele (Figure 31) is known so far from Rhodes.[34]

[23] G. Konstantinopoulos had noticed the existence of a rocky outcrop in the middle of the south part of the city, where during the Italian occupation the two parallel school buildings were erected. Due to the abrupt rise of the ground, he believed that the continuity of the streets was interrupted on the outcrop. His view was confirmed some years later, see Konstantinopoulos 1968β: 580; 1968γ.

[24] The figurine (ΕΙΔ 1152) preserves traces of various colours. Similar figurines are known from Priene: Winter 1903: 174, no. 9 = Rumscheid 2006: 410–411, no. 10, pl. 4. For the treatment of the face compare to: Burr Thompson 1963: 83, no. 45, pl. XIV; Töpperwein 1976: 50, 214, nos 194/195, pl. 32. The girdle is considered to depict eggs, breasts, bull testicles, all symbols of fertility; other scholars believe that it is a priestess costume accessory, see Burn and Higgins 2001: 230–232, nos 2731–2735, pls. 118–119; Katakouta 2013: 443, notes 38–40; Laumonier 1956: 135–136, no. 360, pl. 39; Naumann 1983: 258–259, 271, 366, no. 604, pl. 45,1; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1977: 134–135, pl. 71.2.

[25] The fragment (ΕΙΔ 981) belongs to an enthroned figurine of Kybele, from which the edge of the garment, parts of the footstool and base and part of a lion are preserved. The goddess probably steps on the lion, as she does in the figurine ΕΙΔ 331 in Figure 29. This is a rare iconographic feature in the typology of enthroned Kybele figurines, where the lions are usually standing beside the legs of the goddess. For parallels see Drougou 1993: 6–7, fig. 4 (Metroon of Aegai (Vergina); Kielau 2018: 64–65, 239, nos 27, 28, pl. 3 (Pergamon); Shevchenko 2019: 202–204, fig. 2, (Olbia) and notes 14–17 for more examples in Pontic Region and Asia Minor. For the typology of the enthroned Kybele figurines, see Burr Thompson 1963: 77–84; Naumann 1983: 234–235, 356–358, nos 532–547, 368–370, nos 618–632, pls. 39.3, 47.4; Simon 1997: 754–755, nos 55–60, pl. 511.

[26] For the cult of Kybele and the relevant bibliography, see Bøgh 2007; Fauth 1979; Lane 1996; Roller 1999; Schwenn 1922c; Sfameni Gasparro 1985; 1996; Simon 1997; Vermaseren 1977.

[27] For the cult of the Great Mother in Greece, see Chatzinikolaou 2011; Loukas 1988; Papachatzis 1993; Rouggou 2013; Vikela 2003; Xagorari-Gleißner 2008. About the political causes for the spread of the cult in Athens, see Munn 2006; Steinhauer 2015.

[28] For Kybele's cult in Rhodes see Robertson 1996: 278–281; Vermaseren 1982: 216–217; Sfameni Gasparro 1996: 76–79, who stresses the role that the ties between Rhodes and Sicily played for the diffusion of Kybele's cult in Sicily. Morelli 1959 and Lala 2015 do not make any reference to Kybele's cult, only to Korybantes.

[29] *IG* XII,1162; Maillot 2005 II: 98–100.

[30] Higgins 1954: 67, no. 132, pl. 24 = Vermaseren 1982: 217, no. 678.

[31] Blinkenberg 1931: 682, nos 2884–2885, 695, no. 2956, pl. 137=Vermaseren 1982: 216–217, nos 675–677.

[32] The provenance of the marble statuettes is unknown, see Gualandi 1979: 120–125, nos 74–79. For marble statuettes of Kybele, see Naumann 1983: 360–368, nos 558–563, 565–567, 569–572, 576–579, 592–593, 595–601, 608, 609, 616, pl. 43.1; Petrocheilos 1992: 33–34, 60–65, figs 18–24; Tzanavari 2001.

[33] Both fragments are on display in the exhibition 'Rhodes 2400 years' in the Palace of the Knights. The head wearing the tall cylindrical polos (ΕΙΔ 1134) was found in the excavation of the old Venetokleion High School (now Girls High School), to the south east. For the excavation, Kondis 1955: 575–584. For the head cf. Burr Thompson 1963: 82, no. 35, pl. XI (3rd century BC); Kielau 2018: 236, no. 6, pl. 2, 239, nos 30–31, pl. 3. The second fragment (ΕΙΔ 331) comes from an enthroned Kybele figurine; the goddess has one foot on the lion, as in the fragment of figure 24. For parallels, see n. 25. The fragment was found in Kechagia plot, on Garibaldi Street at a relatively short distance to the south of the sanctuary; for the plot, see Ntoumas 1980.

[34] Relief Γ37 is of unknown provenance. It will be published by V. Machaira, to whom thanks are due for permission to publish the photograph. She dates the relief in the 3rd century BC. For the numerous *naiskoi* of Kybele from various places, see Naumann 1983: 110–149, pls. 12.3–4 – 19.1–2, 180–190, pls. 26–27, 30.1, 208–214, pl. 31, 208–214, pl. 31, 218–229, pls. 33–39.1, 253–257, pl. 44; Petrocheilos



Figure 28a-b. Kybele marble statuette with a crouching lion on her right foot.



Figure 29. Lower part of a Kybele figurine.

Kybele was probably also worshipped in the Rhodian Peraia, as the form of three rocky sanctuaries at Loryma is associated with the Mountain Mother.[35]

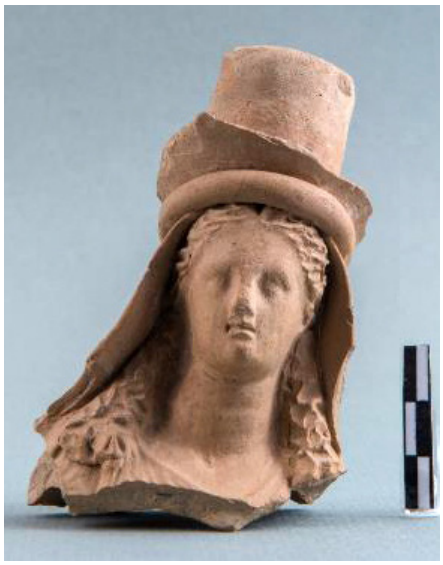


Figure 30. Head of a Kybele clay figurine.



Figure 31. Fragment of a Kybele marble *naïskos*.

More specific and concrete is the textual and archaeological evidence of the worship in Rhodes of two other deities closely linked with the cult of the Great Mother: Attis and the Korybantes.

Attis, lover of Kybele or of the androgyne Agdistis, another form of the Mother known from Pessinous, suffered the terrible consequences of her rage, because he rejected her amorous advances. The goddess drove the young man insane and in his madness he took to the mountains, castrated himself and died under a pine tree.[36]

Worship of the god in Rhodes is attested by terracotta figurines, such as the two fragmentary examples shown

1992; Rouggou 2013: 48–65; Simon 1997: 750–753, nos 13–43, pls. 307–310; Vikela 2001: 81–93.

[35] Held 2010: 360–364, figs 7–11, 375, fig. 23.

[36] For Attis cult, see Hepding 1903; Lancelotti 2002; Roller 1999: 177–182, 237–258; Sanders 1981; Sfameni Gasparro 1985; Thomas 1984; Vermaseren 1966; 1977; 1986.



Figure 32. Head of a Kybele clay figurine.



Figure 33. Head of an Attis figurine.



Figure 34. Head of Attis statue.



Figure 35. Torso of Attis statue.

in Figures 32 and 33,[37] but mainly by two fragments of life-size statues in grey stone: a head of the first half of the 1st century AD (Figure 34), and a torso of the middle 2nd century BC[38] (Figure 35). It is significant that the back of both statues is flat and roughly worked with the point, an indication that they were set within recesses or niches and, indeed, in a rocky formation, as K. Bairami also notes in her publication of the two sculpture fragments. Unfortunately, the site of provenance of these pieces is also unknown.

An important written testimony of the worship of Attis in Rhodes comes from the 5th-century AD church historian Sokrates Scholasticus in his work *Ecclesiastical History* (III 23, p. 165). He states that an oracle directed the Rhodians to establish the worship of Attis in order

[37] The two heads are on display in the exhibition 'Rhodes 2400 years' at the Palace of the Grand Master. The head in figure 32, no. ΕΙΔ1110, was found in the Kypriotis plot, K. Palaiologou Street, not far from the sanctuary of Kybele. In the Kypriotis plot traces of the Street P 40, running alongside the ancient city wall, were uncovered. The plot lies to the east of Myriallis plot, where part of the south Hellenistic fortification wall was found. On the Myriallis plot, see Konstantinopoulos 1969. For examples similar to the head ΕΙΔ 1110, see Besques 1972: 45, nos D 262, D 263, pl. 54a, 54e and 283, no. D2291, pl. 353b; Naum 2019: 298, fig. 4b, 4e; Vermaseren 1986: 25, no. 33= Vermaseren 1966: 17, no. 14, pl. VI,4; Vermaseren 1987: 156, no. 517, pl. CXV and 174, no. 578, pl. CXVIII; Winter 1903: 372, no. 6. The second head in figure 33, no. ΕΙΔ 1568, was found at Diakosavvas plot, in Garibaldi street, at a relatively short distance from the sanctuary. Only a tomb was found in the plot. No reports were published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* for the Diakosavvas and Kypriotis plots. For head ΕΙΔ 1568 see Burr 1934: 57–58, nos 63–64, pl. XXV (150–130 BC) = Vermaseren 1987: 150–152, nos 498–499, pl. CX = Vermaseren 1986: 34, no. 266; Mollard-Besques 1963: 85, no. MYR 215, pl. 103 (second half of 2nd century BC); Vermaseren 1987: 115, no. 374, pl. LXXXIII (3rd century BC).

[38] Bairami 2017: 119–123, pls. 65–72, see also catalogue nos 21, 22.

to escape a calamity. In the oracle Attis is designated as Dionysos and Adonis.[39]

Equally revealing are textual testimonies of the worship of the Korybantes,[40] the armed companions of the Great Mother, who according to Diodorus took their name from Κορύβας, son of Rhea-Kybele.[41] Ancient Greek authors equated Korybantes with the Kouretes, the Idaian Dactyls, the Kabeiroi, and also with the Telchines.[42] The latter were daemons who held a prominent place in the genealogical myths of Rhodes. They were the first inhabitants of the island, which was named after them Telchinis, while their sister Alia, through her union with Poseidon, gave birth to the nymph Rhodes.[43] The Telchines first travelled from Crete to Cyprus and then to Rhodes[44] and left the island when they perceived that a flood was imminent.[45] Some Rhodian Telchines accompanied Rhea and the Kouretes to Crete, where they protected the infant Zeus from his father Kronos with dances, battle cries and the banging sounds of their shields. These Telchines were called Kouretes, one of their comrades being Κύρβας, founder of the Cretan city of Ierapytna.[46]

The Kouretes being, then, of Cretan origin, the Korybantes, in contrast, were companions of the Phrygian Mountain Mother.[47] They are depicted as her companions on late Classical reliefs, together with other deities, wearing helmets and holding circular shields, either standing or in dancing movement. In Hellenistic times, when they were identified with the Kouretes, they are represented dancing in Bacchic frenzy around the infant Zeus,[48] but also the infant Dionysus, to whom they were closely connected due to the mystic and ecstatic character of both cults.[49] They are also members of the Dionysian thiasoi and, according to Nonnus, were summoned by Rhea to join Dionysus in his expedition against the Indians, as Telchines also did;[50] the subject is represented on the Dionysus Altar in the agora of the neighboring Kos.[51]

The cult of the Korybantes in Rhodes had a public character, in contrast to other regions where it was practised privately.[52] This is testified by three inscriptions, one from Kamiros,[53] and two from the town of Rhodes,[54] referring to priests of Κορύβαντες or Κύρβαντες.[55] According to M. Segre[56] Κύρβαντες is the earliest form of the name, indicating the antiquity of the cult in Rhodes; moreover the name is linked with the Telchine Κύρβας, the Rhodian toponym Κύρβη and the heroine Κυρβία,[57] who married her uncle Κέρκαφος,[58] one of the seven *Heliadai*, the sons of Helios and of nymph Rhodes, and gave birth to the founders of the island's city states, Ialysos, Lindos, and Kamiros. The survival of the ancient name Κύρβαντες is also considered as an indication that the cult of the Mother preserved in Rhodes its Anatolian and mystic character. This is testified also by the fact that in one of the inscriptions just mentioned the priests of Korybantes and the priest of Samothracian Gods are listed in succession, while the Rhodian association that venerated the Mother of the Gods also worshipped the *Theoi Sotires*, i.e. the Samothracian Gods, and Hermes, a deity also connected to the cult of Samothrace.[59] The cult of the Samothracian Gods in a maritime and commercial centre such as Rhodes was very popular both in private and public contexts, as revealed by the numerous associations of Σαμοθρακιασταὶ and Σωτηριασταὶ,[60] and by the official priests mentioned in inscriptions.[61]

[39] Hepding 1903: 71–72; Morelli 1959: 33–34, 117. For the Attis connection to Adonis in Rhodes, see Bosnakis 2009: 40–42.

[40] For Korybantes and their cult, Bremmer 2014: 48–54; Graf 1985: 319–334; Lindner 1997; Linforth 1950a; Poerner 1913; Schwenn 1922a (Korybantes); 1922b (Kouretes); Ustinova 1992–1998; Voutiras 1996; Walter 1939. On the ancient written sources, see also www.theoi.com/Georgikos/kouretes.html (last accessed 14/04/2021).

[41] Diodorus 5, 49.2

[42] Strabo 10.3,7, 12, 15, 21, 22. For the Telchines in general, see Geisau 1979; Herter 1934; Higbie 2003 and www.theoi.com/Pontios/Telkhines.html (last accessed 14/04/2021), for the ancient literary sources.

[43] Diodorus 5, 55; Strabo 14.2,7.

[44] Strabo 14.2, 7.

[45] Diodorus 5, 56.

[46] Strabo 10.3, 19. See also Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XIV, 35 (Kyrbas is mentioned here as Cnossian).

[47] Strabo 10.3, 19.

[48] For the iconography of the Korybantes, see Lindner 1997, pls. 502–505; Stampolidis 1987: 150–152; Stefanidou 1973; Vikela 2001: 104–107, pls. 19.3, 20.1–2; Walter 1939.

[49] See Nonnus Dionysiaca IX, 162–168, XIII, 135–141. For representations with the Korybantes and the infant Dionysos, see Lindner 1997: 739–740, nos 28–33, pls. 503–504 and nos 34–35, pl. 504 (Korybantes in Dionysian thiasos). For links between the cults of the Korybantes and of Dionysos, Strabo 10.3.13. See also Graf 1985: 321–324; Graf 2010: 169–182; Stampolidis 1987: 109–111.

[50] For the expedition against the Indians, see Nonnus Dionysiaca XIII, 35–46, 135–141, XIV, 23–48, 247–250, XV, 65–69, XXVII, 120–121, XXIX, 215–224, 275–330.

[51] Stampolidis 1987: 104–105, 109–111, pl. 7b, 31c, 32d.

[52] Voutiras 1996; Ustinova 1992–1998: 518–520.

[53] Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1949–1951: 226–227, no. 90, I v. 34 (2nd century BC).

[54] *IG* XII 1, 8, v. 6 and Segre 1949: 73–77. See also Hiller von Gaertringen 1893: 388–389; Lala 2015: 124, 211–212, tom. II, pl. in p. 84, 108; Morelli 1959: 59. The two inscriptions dated from the 1st century BC.

[55] The cult of the Korybantes was also public at Erythrai, Engelmann and Merkelbach 1972, no. 206; Sokolowski 1955: 60–61, no. 23, v. 2. For the priests of the Korybantes and the acquisition of their office through paying a considerable amount of money, see Dignas 2002; Graf 1985: 319–320; Herrmann 2002.

[56] Segre 1949: 75. The type *Κύρβαντες* is also known from a sacred law of Kos and from Erythrai; for Kos, see Segre 1993: 119–120, no. ED 177, v. 3; for Erythrai, see Graf 1985: 329–332; Herrmann 2002: 164, n. 21.

[57] Diodorus 5, 57. For the place name, see also Graf 1985: 330, ns. 101–102.

[58] For Kerkaphos, see Diodorus 5, 56, 57; Strabo 14.2, 8; Capelle 1921. An open-air sanctuary or *hérôon* of Kerkaphos was brought to light at Ialysos in 1991, see Filimonos and Marketou 2014: 70. See also Kostomitsopoulos and Marketou (forthcoming).

[59] For the cult of the Samothracian gods and the relevant bibliography, see Bremmer 2014: 21–36 and 37–48; Burkert 1985: 281–285; Cole 1984; Hemberg 1950.

[60] Grzybek 2008; Kontorini 1989: 73–74, no. 10; Maillot 2005, tome II: 21–22, no. 3, 43–45, no. 12, 98–100, no. 25, 131, no. 50, 139–145, no. 54; Pugliese Carratelli 1942: 182, 184, 185 (*Samotrakiastai*), 178, 179, 185, 186 (*Sotiriastai*), 195, 196; Sfameni Gasparro 1996: 80, 81.

[61] Apart from already mentioned inscription *IG* XII, 8, two others from the NE edge of the city of Rhodes are known; one of them refers

The Rhodian sanctuary: its form and character

The Anatolian–Phrygian character of cult of Kybele in Rhodes is evident in the form of her sanctuary. In Phrygia *Matar Kubileya*, or the Mountain Mother, was worshipped in wild, mountainous landscapes.[62] In Greece, in contrast, the focus of worship of the Hellenised Mother of the Gods or Great Mother was within the built environment of cities, in the Metroa, public buildings in the agora, such as the well-known Metroa of Athens, Pella, Aigai.[63] However, in the Greek cities of Asia Minor[64] and the East Aegean islands,[65] as well as at Akrai near Syracuse,[66] areas where the cult of the Mother had retained many of its oriental traits, her sanctuaries were located in the countryside, as they were in Phrygia.

The sites of the sanctuaries were chosen for the special nature of their landscapes.[67] Rocky slopes and ravines, imposing landmarks, such as large boulders or rocky outcrops, a cave or natural cavity, water sources and rivers were considered witnesses of the goddess' presence. Water was an indispensable natural element in many sanctuaries of Kybele, as in Daskalopetra in Samos, in Priene, Pergamon, Akrai in Sicilia, and elsewhere.[68] According to the Orphic Hymn of the Mother of the Gods, she, as a fertility goddess, rules over rivers and the entire sea; in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius (I, 1145–1148) Kybele made a spring gush forth from the sterile peak of Mt Dindymon. Set with the natural landscape surrounding the sanctuaries, without dominating it, were limited man-made structures that served the needs of the cult: small enclosures, pits, bothroi and rock-cut altars, terraces and benches for the gathering of the devotees, water channels, and rock-cut basins and libation hollows for the holy water. In some Greek sanctuaries constructions typical for the Phrygian sanctuaries, such as stepped altars and thrones, also appear; examples are known from Lemnos and Samos,[69] Loryma in Rhodian Peraia,[70] but also from Athens, where on the Mouseion Hill seven rock-cut thrones mark the cult of the Mother, as nearby inscriptions testify.[71] However, the most distinctive feature of Kybele's sanctuary were rock-cut niches, within which representations of the goddess were carved or relief plaques were set, as well as the familiar *naiskoi* sheltering the figure of the enthroned Mother.

Many of these features can be recognised in the Rhodian sanctuary: the rocky landscape, the presence of water, and particularly the niches, where votive offerings or the marble statuettes, of which several examples are known from Rhodes, would have been displayed. Similarities are observed especially with the sanctuaries at Akrai near Syracuse and in Samos. It is thus probable that the deity worshiped in the sanctuary was Kybele, the Phrygian Mountain Mother or the Greek Mother of the Gods. This is documented mostly by the form of the sanctuary and to a lesser degree by the finds. Other gods, associated with the Mother, like Attis, and the Korybantes, popular in Rhodes, could have been worshipped along with Kybele in the Rhodian sanctuary, as was the case with other known sanctuaries and Metroa.[72] Of course, more direct evidence, such as inscriptions, which for the moment are missing, would confirm the identity of the deity or deities worshipped in the rocky sanctuary.

The open-air sanctuaries of the Mother were located on the outskirts of cities and rarely *intra muros*, but close to gates, in areas left unbuilt. However, the Rhodian sanctuary dominated the heart of the Hellenistic city. It must have stood in the same place since the founding of the city in 408 BC, or even earlier, and been included within the bounds of the Classical fortification (Figure 36). In those years it was still situated on the margins of the Classical city, as was the Asklepieion,[73]

to a sanctuary of the Samothracian Gods: Konstantinopoulos 1964: 17–18, no. 24; Kontorini 1983: 43–53, no. 3, pl. VI 1–2. See also an inscription from Lindos: Blinkenberg 1941: 379–381, no. 134. For the cult of the Samothracian gods in Rhodes, see Hemberg 1950: 233–237; Hiller von Gaertringen 1893; Lala 2015: 209–210; Morelli 1959: 152–154.

[62] For the Phrygian sanctuaries, Berndt 2002; Berndt-Ersöz 1998; 2006; 2009; Bøgh 2007: 326–329; Naumann 1983: 39–62; Pedrucci 2009: 95–105; Roller 1999: 71–105. See also the sanctuary in Düver, Pisidia: Kahya and Ekinci 2015.

[63] For the Metroa, Giannopoulou 2016; Xagorari-Gleißner 2008: 74–81, 86–93 (Metroa in Macedonia). Drougou 1997; Drougou 1999; Kallini 2016: 473–476 (Aigai, Vergina); Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000 (Pella); Stefani 2013 (Leukopetra, Vermion). For the Metroa in Attica and Piraeus, see Papachristodoulou 1973: 209–214; Travlos 1971: 352, figs 453–458 (Metroon in the Agora).

[64] See in general Pedrucci 2009: 120–129; Xagorari-Gleißner 2008: 71–74; For the sanctuary in Pergamon, also Agelides 2009; Pirson, Ates and Engel 2015; Radt 1978. For the sanctuary in Priene, Filges 2015: 81–109, and 103–106 for other sanctuaries of Kybele in Asia Minor. Ateş 2010 and Naumann 1967 for Aizanoi; for the sanctuary in Ephessos, Naumann 1983: 214–216, pl. 32,1; for Phocaia, Özygit and Erdogan 2000; for Lykaonia see Baldiran and Söğüt 2010. See also a similar sanctuary in Durankulak, Bulgaria, in the Black Sea coast: Vajsov, Mavrov and Todorova 2016.

[65] Rouggou 2013; for Chios, Daskalopetra, also Kaletsch 1980. For Samos, Yannouli 2004 and Pedrucci 2009: 126, 127. Open-air sanctuaries of the Mother are also known from mainland Greece: Collart and Ducrey 1975: 14–18, 165–167, nos 145–47, 242 (Philippoi); Papachristodoulou 1973: 211–214 and Robertson 1996: 255–262 (Athens).

[66] For the sanctuary, Scirpo 2012; Scirpo and Cugno 2017; Pedrucci 2009: 47–60; Sfameni Gasparro 1996.

[67] For some particular landscapes and natural formations which were regarded as housing divine spirits, see Alcock and Osborne 1994; Mylonopoulos 2008; Sporn 2015; Sporn, Ladstätter and Kerscher 2015.

[68] Notes 5, 60, 62–64 and Graillot 1912; Özkaya 1996.

[69] Rouggou 2013: 122 (Lemnos); Yannouli 2004: 119, fig. 18 (Samos).

[70] Held 2010: 360–364, figs 7–11, 375, fig. 23, especially 362–364, 375.

[71] Robertson 1996: 255–262. For the inscriptions, Skias 1899: 239–240.

[72] For joint worship of the Mother with other deities, Kallini 2016: 483–488; Katakouta 2013: 444–446; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000: 210–219; Loukas 1988: 139–147; Pedrucci 2009: 57–59; Sfameni Gasparro 1996: 69–76; The Mother, as a healing deity, was also worshipped together with Asklepios in several places, as well as at neighbouring Knidos, Graillot 1912: 215–216 and for Knidos Sahin 2005: 90–92.

[73] Fantaoutsaki 2004[α]; 2003; 2004β; 2006; 2012; Kondis 1956: 8–11. For the Classical city and its fortifications, see Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004: 34–42.

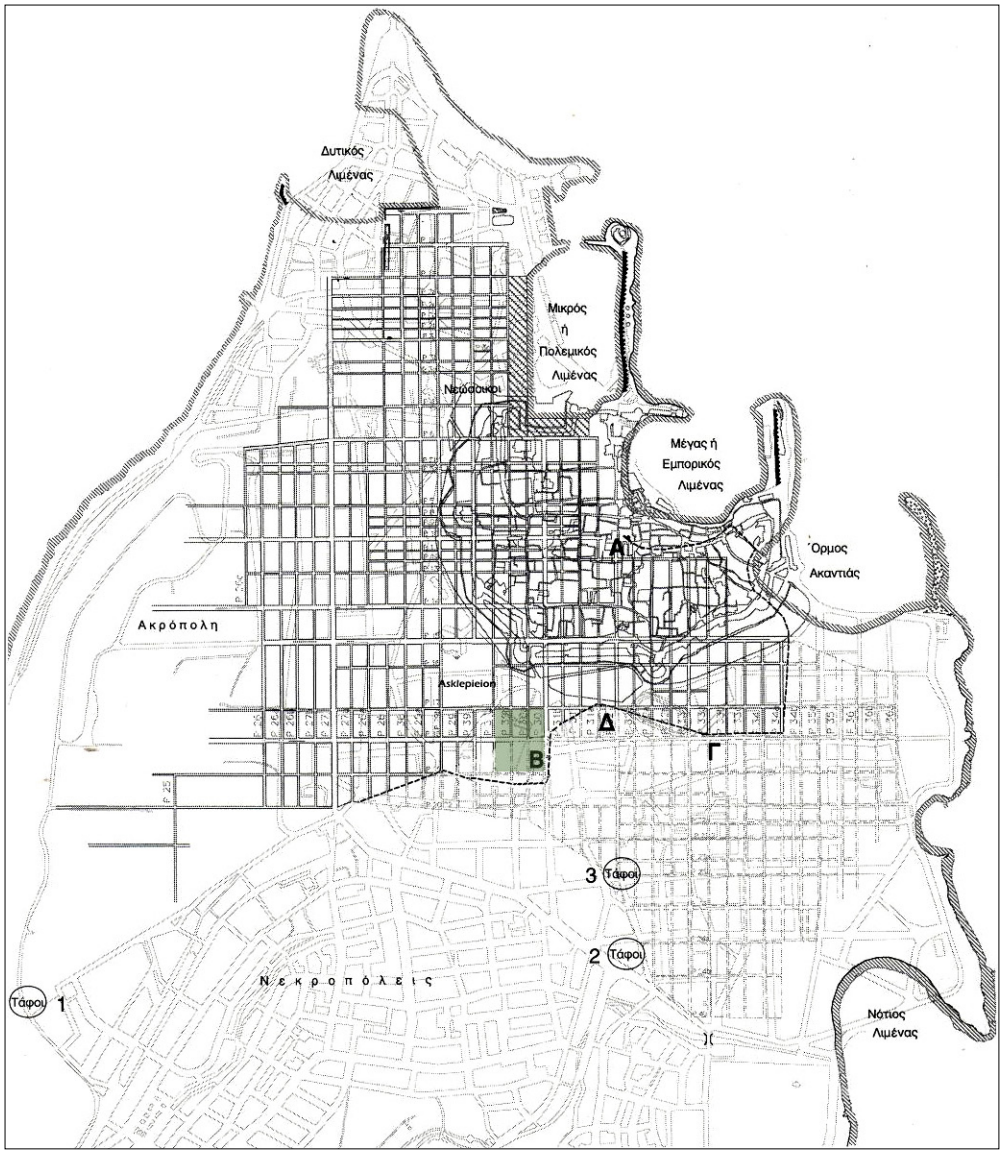


Figure 36. Urban plan of the Classical city of Rhodes
(after Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, plan 9).

immediately to the northwest, with which it must have been closely connected, since Asklepieia were usually surrounded by sacred groves, ensuring seclusion and serenity for the sick, and had natural water sources for therapeutic purifications.[74] After all, the Mother herself also had healing abilities: according to Diodorus (3, 58.2–3) she also heals sick livestock and infants through purifications; in votive inscriptions of the Roman period she is called εὐάντητος ἰατρίνη (agreeable doctor) by healed devotees.[75] Her companions, the Korybantes, as well as the Mother herself, cause madness, but at the same time can save from madness and mental illness those who have been initiated into their ecstatic ceremonies.[76]

After the siege by Demetrios Poliorketes in 304 BC, when the city expanded to the southeast, the hill of Kybele, adjacent to the Asklepieion, formed part of a new monumental zone in direct communication with both the ancient agora and the acropolis (Figure 37). This zone included sanctuaries, facilities for exercise, such as the Ptolemaion gymnasium,[77] built in this period directly east of the sanctuary, as well as areas for leisured walks and recreation, such as the rocky hillock of the open-air sanctuary, which must have been one

[74] Ginouvès 1994; Gläser 1983: 176–180, especially 177; Lambrinoudakis 1994; Mylonopoulos 2008, 71–75. For the fountains in the Asklepieion of Kos, see also above notes 4 and 6.

[75] *IG* II 2, 4714, 4759, 4760. For the healing abilities of the Mother, see Graillot 1912; Petrocheilos 1992: 35–36, fig. 4 (votive relief from Peiraius); Sfameni Gasparro 1985.

[76] For the telestic madness of the Korybantic rites and the belief that they could cure mental disorders, see Graf 2010; Linforth 1950a; 1950b; Ustinova 1992–1998; 2018: 118–122; Voutiras 1996; Wasmuth 2015.

[77] Filimonos and Kontorini 1989.

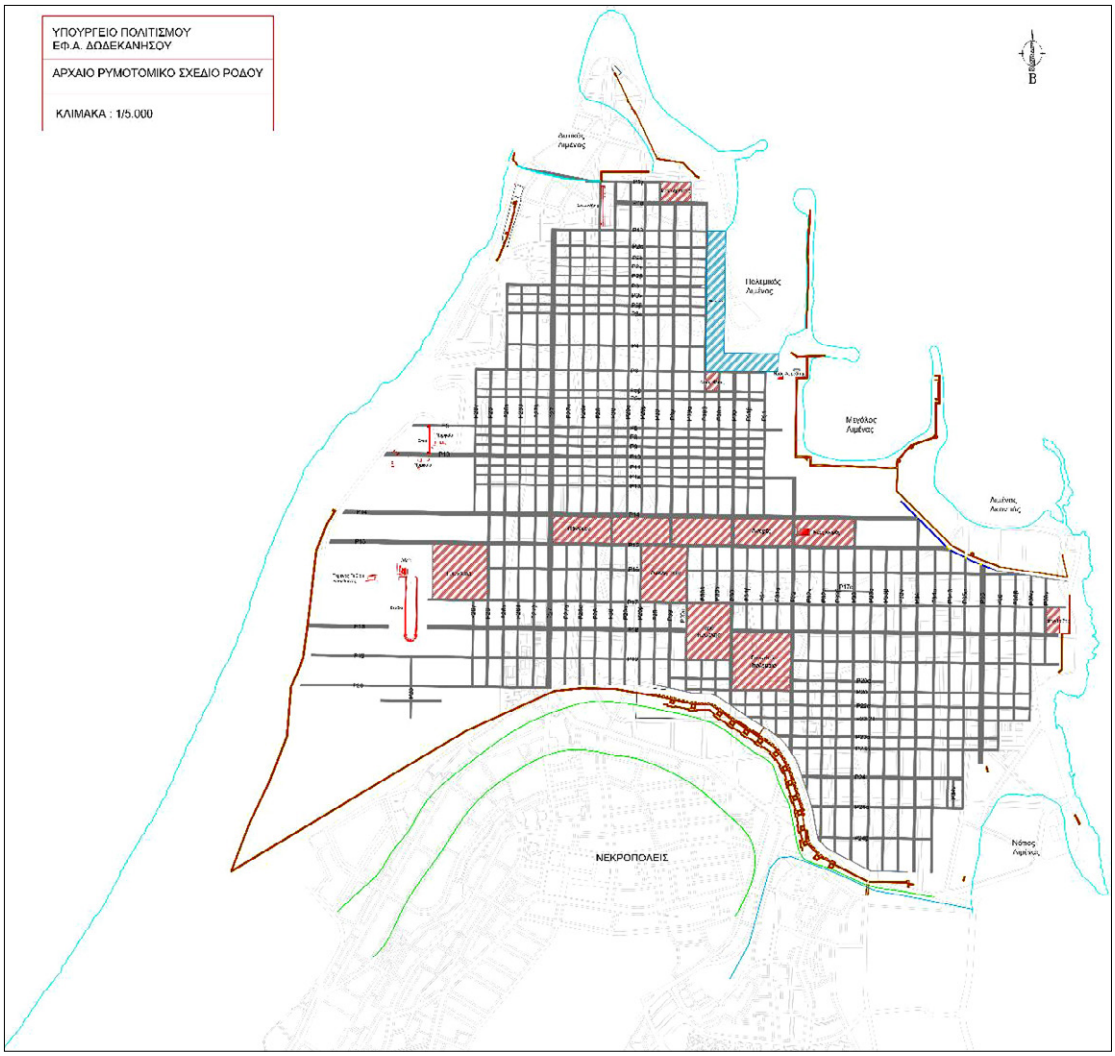


Figure 37. Urban plan of the Hellenistic city of Rhodes
(Digital map (2021) M. Filimonos-Tsopotou – V. Agiakatsikas).

more public park, for which the cosmopolitan city was famous.[78]

The Paneion at Alexandria was of comparable character and function.[79] It was located in the midst of the city, close to the Law Courts and the groves, and, as its name indicates, included a sanctuary of Pan, perhaps in the form of a cave; it was an artificial conical hill in the shape of a pine-cone and was ascended by a spiral road; from its summit one could see the whole of the city spreading below it on all sides. According to Strabo[80] the Paneion was man-made. In Rhodes, like the nymphaia of similar style on the acropolis,[81] the natural rocky hill of the sanctuary was enhanced by vegetation, natural springs, and possibly man-made structures, i.e. sculptures, fountains, and perhaps some edifices, judging by a peculiar column base of black stone found in the excavations of the Venetokleion Gymnasion (Figure 38);[82] it is an acanthus base, with the lower drum, attached to it, surrounded by two overlapping rings of acanthus leaves. Similar bases are known from Alexandria and from regions influenced by Ptolemaic architecture.[83]

[78] For the parks in the city of Rhodes, see Lauter 1972; Patsiada 2013: 48–49, 221–230; 2013β. For a different view, there is Neumann 2016: 61–78; 2018: 257–258, 267; Rice 1995: 402–404, n. 46.

[79] For Paneion, see Thiersch 1910: 84–87, who identifies Paneion with the Sema, the tumulus over the tomb of Alexander and the Ptolemies; Adriani 1966: 233; Grimm 1998: 41, figs 9, 22, 42; Lavagne 1988: 137–139; also Castiglione 1978, who believes that for political and ideological reasons the cult of Pan and the construction of the Paneion could be linked to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. If this is true, then the Rhodian Kybeleion predates the Paneion, and could have served as a model for it. Another possibility, though, is that the open sanctuary of Rhodes, originally preserved its natural setting of a rocky hillock and was later transformed into a more elaborate site through technical interventions, under the influence of the Alexandrian Paneion.

[80] Strabo 17.1,10.

[81] Michalaki-Kollia 2013: 83–88, figs 2–5, p. 88, n. 16 for further bibliography; Neumann 2016: 5–70; Rice 1995.

[82] Rumscheid 1994, tome II: 78, no. 321, pl. 172.3; Zervoudaki 1975: 539, pl. 550e.

[83] For bases of this type, also found at Kos, Stratonikeia, Mylasa, Petra, Iraq el Amir, see Makowiecka 1969. See also Lauter 1986: 265–266; McKenzie 1990: 73, pl. 208–209, 96–97, πίν. 221d, 223d, 229, 236; McKenzie 2007: 87, figs 136, 137, 95, fig. 157 (Iraq el Amir), 162, fig. 162 (wall painting); Rumscheid 1994, tome I:141, tome II, 30, no. 106, pl.



Figure 38. Acanthus base from the excavation, Venetokleion High School.

The rocky hill has withstood the depredations of time, preserving a small sample of the ancient landscape within the modern city. It is hoped that it may be preserved for the future and enhanced, thus to recover to a degree the function it had in antiquity. Undoubtedly, further excavation would contribute decisively to its presentation, by completing the currently patchy picture we have of both the form of the sanctuary and the identity of the deity or deities honoured there.

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Temples, sacred places and cults in the city of Rhodes: Revisiting the evidence

Maria Michalaki Kollia

ὑμνέων παῖδ᾽Ἀφροδίτας Ἀελίοιό τε νύμφαν, Ῥόδον
(Pindar, *Olympian* 7.14)

'The Rhodes we talk about so much – the marvel
among cities of the ancient world – what remains of it?
Nothing...'
Lawrence Durrell[1]

Dedicated to Ioannis Kondis and Grigoris Konstantinopoulos,
a constant source of inspiration

Abstract

This chapter presents some thoughts – conceived many years ago – about the unique spatial arrangement of sanctuaries and public buildings within the Hippodamian plan of Rhodes. This arrangement does not represent a typical picture of buildings in the agora as it usually happens in other cities. Buildings are laid out in a diagonal arrangement to each other and in this way the city looks like a theatre. It seems that this arrangement was selected in order to underline the leading role of the two new gods of the city; Halios, whose sanctuary was located in the middle of all other sanctuaries, and Nymph Rhodos, whose sanctuary was located in the acropolis and more specifically in an area where the diagonal axes along which sanctuaries are laid out finally meet. This picture of the city, which has been reconstituted in light of the archaeological remains, implies that its layout was conceived already from the onset with a specific geometric and symmetrical implementation of the Hippodamian system.

Key words: Acropolis, Nymphaea, Sanctuaries, Temenos of Halios, Hippodamian plan, grid plan, urban layout, major rectangles

The Hippodamian plan and the city of Rhodes

The grid system (*kanavos*) which is employed in the layout of the ancient city of Rhodes was already known in Egypt, Babylon, and Mesopotamia. There, however, everything was centred around the Palace. The new system, introduced by Hippodamos, the 'Hippodamian Manner' according to Aristotle, referred initially to the division (νέμησις) of the city into three areas: the sacred, the public, and the private. Its novelty was the allocation of an extended, free, central area for public use, the agora. Piraeus, which has been securely attributed to Hippodamos by Aristotle, included at least two agoras according to the most recent investigations: a civic agora ('Hippodamian market') and a commercial agora ('Emporion' and 'Makra Stoa').[2] Hippodamos took part in the foundation of Thourioi (444 BC); there he set aside large free spaces between building zones, as reported by Aristotle and as confirmed by recent archaeological research.[3] These free spaces, integrated into the general urban plan, foresaw sacred or public functions, set aside for future use. The principles of Hippodamian planning found their perfect application in Rhodes, which was built for the first time after the synoecism.[4] Kondis identified major rectangles in the layout of Rhodes, the so-called *eurychories*; these rectangles measure 201 m x 201 m, that is one stadium long,[5] and were extensively applied even on sloppy terrain, from the acropolis down to the harbours,

[1] Durrell 1969: 104.

[2] Steinhauer 2021: 235. Boundary stones (*horoi*) demarcating use of space were found at different places around the city.

[3] Greco 2009: 108–117. The affinities in the layout of the two cities were pointed out by Kondis (1956); see also Shipley 2005: 384.

[4] Rhodes is the last city, the planning of which has been attributed to Hippodamos (Str. XIV.2.9). According to literary sources, Hippodamos was born in Miletos in 498 BC. It is recorded that in his youth he participated in the refoundation of Miletos. By invitation of Pericles he laid out Piraeus in 451 BC and in 444 BC he took part in the foundation of Thourioi in Sicily, a colony founded by Athenians and other Greeks. The synoecism of Rhodes is placed in 408 BC. Hippodamos' death is also dated to 408 BC. For this reason, Hippodamos' involvement in the planning of Rhodes has been questioned. On this much-discussed topic, see Burns 1976: 421–425; Gill 2006: 15; Greco 2009: 115, 117; Filimonos-Tsopotou 1996; Filimonos-Tsopotou (forthcoming).

[5] Kondis 1955: 278–279; 1956: 109–111, fig. 1; 1958: 148–151; 1973: 119, discussing the Hippodamian terms in Aristotle's text, διαίρεσις *and* νέμησις. In this paper, I interpret the term *eurychoria* as free spaces or major rectangles. The streets' names, διηνεκής and ἀγυιά, correspond to wide and narrow streets respectively that transverse the city. For streets with a width between 8 m and 12 m the term *plateia* is used. Two wide avenues, 16.10 m and 16.50 m respectively, have been located in Rhodes; they correspond to P 27 and P 35 respectively.

regardless of the contours of the ground.[6] These rectangles divided into insulae were usually facing East. Hippodamos was in fact influenced by the philosophical movements of Ionia at that time, and more specifically of the Milesian School, represented by Thales, Anaximandros, and Anaximenis; Hippodamos was also considered a Pythagorean, as suggested by the works attributed to him, e.g. *Peri Politeias*, *Peri Eudaimonias*, and *Pythagorean Theory*. The novelty of the Milesian School was the introduction of a 'functional' urban planning.[7] One could claim that the 'Hippodamian Manner' refers to *sustainable* planning. These principles in urban planning were followed throughout the Hellenistic period in the foundation of new cities. Such a planning could never have been implemented by cities with a long past, such as Athens; on the contrary, it was much easier to introduce it in colonies or newly founded cities, such as Rhodes.[8]

Systematic archaeological research in the city of Rhodes began about 70 years ago by the first Ephor of the Dodecanese, Ioannis Kondis. The study of the urban layout of the city was a top priority for him.[9] His successor, Grigoris Konstantinopoulos, continued research towards this direction and created a first map of Rhodes, initially in collaboration with the architect Grossmann,[10] and later with Hoepfner and Schwandner. A number of versions of the map were proposed with regard to the location of the agora and some important sanctuaries.[11] In the 1990s, under the Ephor I. Papachristodoulou, systematic investigations lead M. Filimonos-Tsopotou to update the map in collaboration with the staff of the Archaeological Service.[12]

In 1993, on the occasion of the organisation of the exhibition 'Rhodes 2400', an updated map was drawn up by a scientific group of the former 22nd Ephorate of Antiquities.[13] It was the first time that the location of religious and public buildings was marked with red color on the map. This gave us the impetus to make some important observations about the topography of the city: public buildings and sanctuaries do not seem to be located in the agora, as is usually the case in other cities; instead, they were symmetrically located in the grid and more specifically in a diagonal manner to each other; none of the buildings could obscure the visibility of the buildings lying in front or at the back. As regards the agora, its exact location has only been speculated. The map, included in this paper, draws on personal observations and research of the past 25 years (Table 1).[14] The map is turned by 90 degrees clockwise. This represents the view an ancient visitor to the city would have had approaching the city from the east, from one of the main harbours.[15] The map shows the major buildings in Rhodes during the peak of its prosperity (i.e. the Hellenistic period), after the expansion of the city to the south following the siege of Demetrios the Besieger in 305/304 BC, and the uplifting after the earthquake of 227/226 BC.

The diagonal arrangements of sanctuaries from SE to NW in the southern part of the city

A careful look at the grid plan of the entire city allows us to observe the following: the arrangement of sanctuaries and public buildings is extraordinary as it fully observes the principles of the Hippodamian planning with regard to free spaces, demarcated by wide streets (*plateies*).[16] No building obscures the view to the buildings lying in front or at the back, following the classical principle that no building would stand out from surrounding buildings (ἕτερον ἑτέρου μὴ ὑπερέχειν).[17] In other words, buildings are set in a diagonal arrangement from SE to NW, with buildings on top of the acropolis being the culminating point of this arrangement.[18]

[6] According to Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: pl. 41 and Filimonos and Patsiada 2018: 70, the major rectangles measure approximately 280 m in length (N–S) and 201 m width (W–E). One could assume that within the distance of 280 m from N to S there are large rectangles 200 m long alternating with smaller ones (80 m long).

[7] Martin 1974: 98 ff.

[8] Dorieus, the son of the Ialysian notable, Diagoras, who was exiled in Thourioi, played an important role in the planning of the city; he probably met Hippodamos in Thourioi along with other personalities. It seems that the family of Diagoras endorsed the idea of the foundation of a new city, already before the composition of the 7th Olympian in 464 BC. Pindar's hymn introduces a new mythology which would later shape the Pantheon of the new city.

[9] Kondis (1954) published the first sketch of the ancient city, introducing for the first time the conventional naming system of the street names, using the capital letter P.

[10] Konstantinopoulos 1968: 115–123.

[11] For one of the versions of the map, see Hoepfner 1999: fig. 1.

[12] M. Filimonos' contribution with the assistance of the illustrator S. Diakogeorgiou is crucial. This is the map which is still used today, with improvements by Filimonos-Tsopotou (2004) and revisions in Filimonos and Patsiada (2018). A new digital map will be published in Filimonos-Tsopotou (forthcoming, in *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ* 2021, 44, fig. 6).

[13] The map in the proceedings of the conference 'Rhodes 2400' (1999: 18) was digitised by the architect N. Zarifis. For the first time a coloured map was presented in Room IV (cults in Rhodes) of the exhibit in the Palace of the Grand Master.

[14] I extend my sincere thanks to the architect, Panagiotis Rovilos, for the digital reproduction of the map, published in this paper and based on data available in earlier maps. He helped me enormously to update the map based on past and current research and taking into account the latest publications. As a blueprint I used the 1999 map of the Ephorate. For an earlier map with our suggestion, I would like to thank the photographer Martin Mitton. I should also like to thank the illustrator of the Ephorate, Marirena Gkioni, always willing to assist my research. I am also grateful for discussions to Melina Filimonos, Vaso Patsiada, Katerina Manoussou-Ntella, Vana Machaira, and Stella Skaltsa. Grigoris Konstantinopoulos was the first to instill in me a passion for the study of the monuments of ancient Rhodes.

[15] A first idea about the diagonal arrangement of buildings in the grid plan of the ancient city was born nearly 25 years ago. The idea for the introduction to the article of Michalaki-Kollia (1997) and for the argument in the present chapter was born as part of my quest to better understand the view of the city through the eyes of an ancient visitor.

[16] According to the most recent results of the investigation about the street system, it seems that there are ten *plateies* (avenues) running N–S and another ten running E–S; see Filimonos-Tsopotou (forthcoming).

[17] Ael. Arist. *Rhodiakos* 6.

[18] In Miletos buildings laid out around the harbours were also arranged on a diagonal axis, see Martin 1974: figs 6, 15 and 57.

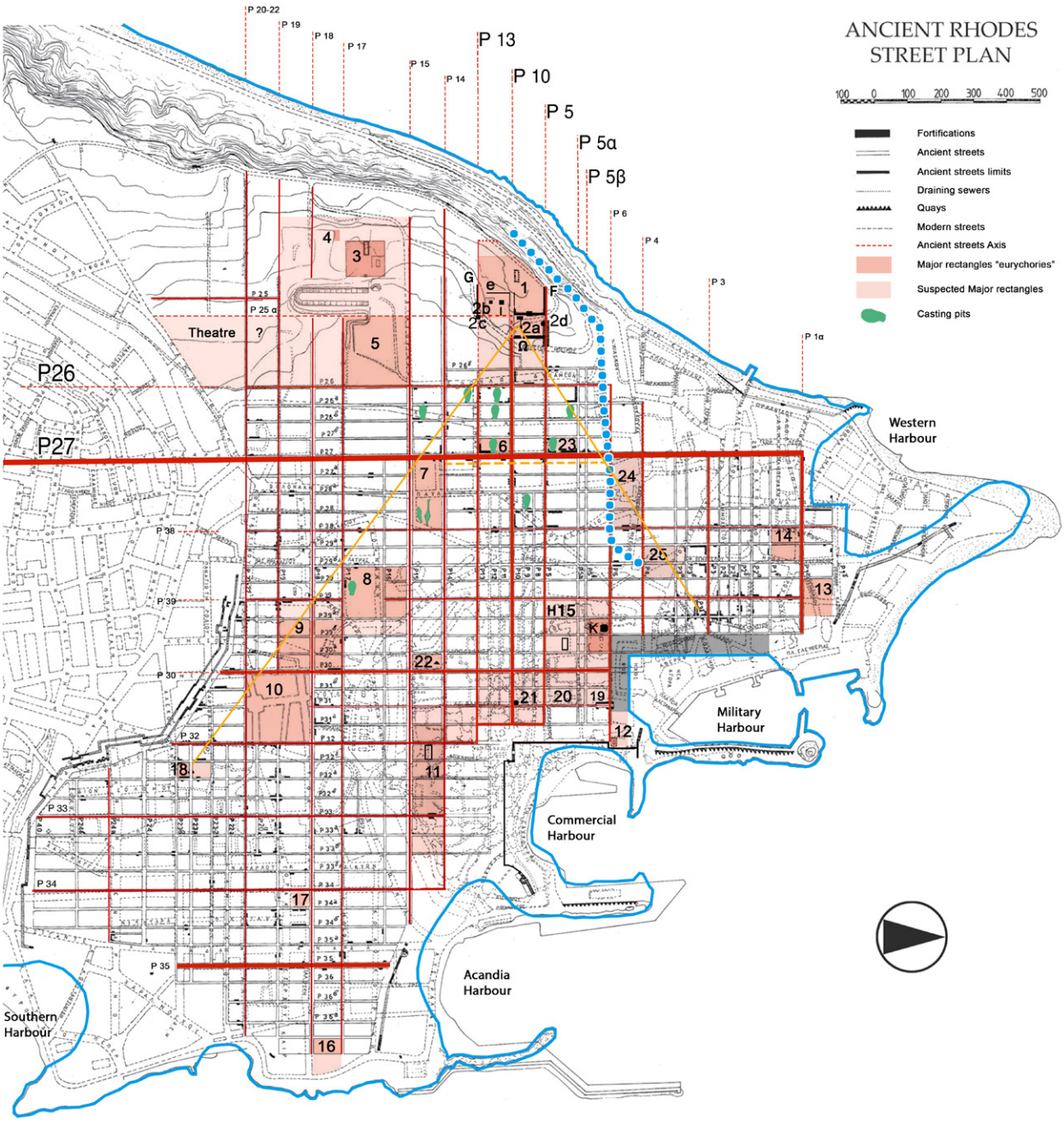


Table 1. Map of Rhodes. 1) Sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus; 2a) Great Nymphaeum; 2b) Small Nymphaeum; 2c) Subterranean grottoes; 2d) 'Opening' in the southwest end of P5; 2e) Vertical rock with three steps to the west of the 'Small Nymphaeum'; 3) Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios and Artemis; 4) Underground sanctuary; 5) Upper Gymnasium; 6) Monumental public building (Soichan-Minetou plot); 7) Pantheon; 8) Asklepieion; 9) Sanctuary of Cybele; 10) Ptolemaion/Lower Gymnasium; 11) Temple of the agora; 12) Temple of Aphrodite; 13) Sanctuary of Demeter (Thesmophorion); 14) Sanctuary of the Gods of Samothrace; 15) Temenos of Halios and the Colossus; 16) Sanctuary of Isis; 17) Underground shrine (hagiasma); 18) Nymphaeum/meeting place of association (Panagou II plot); 19) P31-Tetrapylon; 20) Dionysion; 21) Deigma-Roman arch (Mylonaki plot); 22) Monumental building-Roman Nymphaeum (Nikoli plot); 23) Monumental building (Kampouropoulou plot); 24) Unknown sanctuary; 25) Roman bathing complex.

In the SE corner of the map a major rectangle (*eurychoria*) is located; it has been identified with the Ptolemaion (Table 1, no. 10), the Lower Gymnasium of the *Paides*.[19] It has the form of a peristyle building. Built after the siege of Demetrios in 305/304 BC, it was dedicated to Ptolemy I, honoured with god-like honours by the Rhodians.[20] Immediately to the northwest, on a low hill, the open-air sanctuary of the Mother of Gods Kybele is located

[19] For the identification, see Filimonos and Kontorini 1989: 128–177.

[20] For the cult of the Ptolemies in Rhodes, see Habicht 1970: 109–110, 257–258; Morelli 1959: 171–172; Segre 1941: 35–39.

(Table 1, no. 9).[21] The next building arranged diagonally to the sanctuary of Kybele is the sanctuary of Asklepios, laid out on two terraces (Table 1, no. 8), already known from an earlier inscription and from literary sources.[22] In the area two insulae further up, again on the same northwest axis (leaving two insulae free in between), a spacious sacred space has been investigated (Table 1, no. 7). It has been identified with the sanctuary of All Gods (Θεῶν Πάντων), the so-called Pantheon.[23]

A little further to the northwest, a monumental public building (Soichan-Minetou plot) has been located; it demarcates the west side of the main avenue of the city, conventionally known as P 27 (modern Them. Sophouli) (Table 1, no. 6).[24] There, a large number of inscribed bases which originally supported bronze statues, were discovered (Figure 1).[25] 13 out of 44 pedestals were set up by the priests of Halios or in honour of victors. The remains of a small 'temple-like structure', 7.80 m x 4.20 m, were unearthed in the courtyard of the peristyle.[26] The 'temple-like structure' aligns on a N–E orientation with a casting pit for a bronze statue, lying under the north colonnade of the complex.[27] In light of this discovery, this structure was first attributed to the sanctuary of Halios.[28] This view was later revised after considerable thought;[29] according to some views the



Figure 1. Rhodes: Soichan-Minetou Plot. Fallen pedestals in the trench of the east stoa (photo by the author).

building has been identified with the house (*oikos*) of the priests of Halios,[30] or with a very important public building related to the eponyms of the Rhodian State (i.e. Priests of Halios),[31] or with the sanctuary of the Synod of the Boule.[32] The identification of the complex with the sanctuary of Halios cannot be supported by the evidence, especially if we take into account the honorific inscriptions engraved on the pedestals. Nearly all the statue bases are honorific in nature, mostly for civic officials: priests of Halios, victors at the Halieia, etc.[33] In light of a partly preserved, inscribed altar dedicated to Poseidon, Demeter, Dioskouroi, and Rhodos, a connection to the cult of Nymph Rhodos cannot be ruled out.[34] Besides the cult of Nymph Rhodos, this altar discloses the cult of deities connected to seafaring. Concerning the identification of the 'temple-like structure', it may have been used as an altar of Hestia and by extension the building may be identified with the Prytaneion, which has not been located yet in the city.[35] In other words, the identification of

[21] Patsiada 2013: 47–77; Zervoudaki 1975: 535–539, figs 1, 2, pl. 550α–ε. This sanctuary confirms the diagonal arrangement of buildings and was added to the map. The idea for this diagonal arrangement and its importance was first presented in 2017 in the conference of *K' Πολιτιστικό Συμπόσιο της Στέγης Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου* (the speech was entitled: *Χωροταξικός σχεδιασμός στην αρχαία πόλη της Ρόδου και προτάσεις για σύγχρονες παρεμβάσεις*). The paper was not submitted on time for publication as by that time I did not have comparative material from other cities laid out in the Hippodamian manner. But I had verbally announced it several times.

[22] Fantaoutsaki 2004: 31–51; 2014; 2011; Papachristodoulou 1999: 59–62; Zimmer and Bairami 2008: 73–77, 193–202.

[23] Kantzia 1999: 75–82; Karantzali 1999: 768–769.

[24] Kondis 1955: 269. This wide avenue (*plateia*) that coincides with modern street Them. Sophouli was a major street that connected the west harbour in the northern part of the city to the central Necropolis and the SW area of the island. It is 16.10 m wide and lies *c.* 3.15 m higher than main level. It separates the lower hill of the acropolis from the lower city. An impressive retaining wall to the east of this street has been located. Kondis noted that the buildings lying on the east side of the street would not obscure view to the buildings lying on the upper lever.

[25] Konstantinopoulos 1975. The pedestals were found placed upside down in trenches that correspond to the sub-foundations of the east and south colonnades of the building (Figure 1).

[26] The discovery of this structure was accidental; it was found thanks to the determination of one of most skilled workmen, Moustafas, who painstakingly swept the soil at bottom level, at a time when the excavation was closing down under immense pressure for the erection of new apartment blocks on the plot.

[27] A precinct wall, 30 m x 25 m, interpreted by Konstantinopoulos (1975) as a later addition, may be related to the temple-like structure as the latter lies almost in the centre of the area enclosed by the precinct. This affinity between the precinct wall and the 'temple-like structure' may be dated to later times if the 'temple-like structure' was still standing after the collapse of the monumental complex. Hoepfner shared this view in personal communication.

[28] Michalaki-Kollia 1989: 311. The inscriptions were published by Kontorini (1989), who also identified the complex with the sanctuary of Halios, as is mainly known in scholarship (Kontorini 1989: 129–184).

[29] Michalaki-Kollia 1999: 73–74.

[30] Personal communication with R. Martin in the 1990s, my professor, L'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes.

[31] See Hoepfner (2003) for an identification with the *koinon* of *Haliastai*.

[32] Michalaki-Kollia 1999: 74.

[33] Kontorini 1989: 129–184, nos 53–84.

[34] Kontorini 1989: 161, no. 71. The altar was found in secondary use together with other pedestals and architectural members in Kyprioti plot to the south of Cheimaras St., opposite the monumental building.

[35] The cult of Hestia is deduced by an inscription that mentions an association centered around its cult: *Hestiastai*, *IG* XII 1, 162.

this monumental public building is still open.[36] The complex was demarcated by three ancient streets to the east, south, and west, P 27, P 13 and P 27β respectively. It occupied a large insula which to the north was demarcated by the processional street P 10 that lead from the big harbour on the east all the way up to the Nymphaea and the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus on the acropolis.

The diagonal arrangement of buildings from NE to SW in the northern part of the city

A small diagonal axis can be discerned in the northwest part of the city with a NE–SW orientation. It is not as obvious as the one described above in the southern part of the city. It became possible to trace this diagonal axis in light of the archaeological remains and on the basis of the direction of streets in the grid plan; in some areas streets are interrupted. These finds confirm the principles of the Hippodamian planning; geometry and symmetry imbue the arrangement of major rectangles (*eurychories*). There is an apparent symmetry between buildings located in this northern part of the city and those located in the southern part of the city, mentioned above.

An important building was apparently located in the northern part of the wide avenue, P 27, in the Kambouropoulou plot[37] (Table 1, no. 23); a facade wall was unearthed at a length of 81 m with a monumental doorway, a niche and three more openings.[38] This building is demarcated by the narrow street P 5 to the south, modern Pindou St. It occupied an entire insula, 54.30 m long. It extended further to the north, incorporating the area lying between P 5α and P 5β, at a length of 27 m and rising 1 m higher from main level. The opening of the narrow streets P 5α and P 5β constituted, according to Kondis,[39] a deviation or an anomaly of the grid plan which disturbed the regularity of the Hippodamian plan. This was perhaps due to the sloping terrain between the acropolis and the terrace of the Palace of the Grand Master. P 5α is identified with the modern Street of the Knights, while P 5β is identified with the narrow street behind the building annexes in the area of the Archaeological Service of the Dodecanese. I firmly believe that the planning of these two streets was intentional, as we will see further below. It is interesting to observe that this monumental building (Kambouropoulou plot), which was enclosed within major rectangles in the grid plan, has been symmetrically laid out to the north of the monumental plot where the pedestals of the priests of Halios were unearthed (Table 1, no. 6).

There is one more large public building or important sanctuary (Table 1, no. 24) that is located in a diagonal axis to the Kambouropoulou plot, at a distance of one and a half building blocks to the northeast. It occupied the area of the Orphanage of the Italian Era and a small part of the adjacent insula. It was laid out between the wide (Plateies) avenues P 27 to the west and P 38 to the east and the narrow (parallel) streets P 6 to the south and P 4 to the north. Its eastern facade was unearthed in 1959 at a length of 54.30 m along P 38.[40] According to Inglieri, in the same location the Italians excavated a Hellenistic house with a subterranean gallery and part of a water reservoir; some sculptures such as the head of a young athlete and the head of a Silen came to light.[41] Due to the location of the building on P 6 and in light of the number of sculptures found, Konstantinopoulos came to the conclusion that a public Nymphaeum would have stood in this area.[42] It is interesting to note that this building corresponds with the so-called Pantheon on a N–S axis in the grid plan (Table 1, no. 7).

Another building, either a public one, or a sanctuary to the northeast of the one mentioned above, was located in the site of the Hotel Thermae and its gardens (Table 1, no. 25). During the Italian Occupation the remains of bathing facilities, a headless torso of Asklepios, now on display in the Archaeological Museum, together with the continuation of the subterranean water gallery found in the aforementioned plot, came to light.[43] In the same area an impressive mosaic floor depicting a hunting scene was unearthed a few decades ago.[44] Not

[36] This monumental building is currently being studied for publication by the author together with S. Skaltsa, as part of the 'Rhodes Centennial Project', a collaboration between the Archaeological Service of the Dodecanese and the University of Copenhagen. This complex has yielded among other finds some fragmented sculptures, as for instance a fragment of a life-size female statue (Machaira 2019: 21–22, no. 131).

[37] According to Kondis (1955: 270) this building would belong to 'εις μίαν, επισήμου ίσως χαρακτήρος οικοδομήν, κατείχε τον χώρον πλειόνων οικοδομικών τετραγώνων, μετά των άντιστοιχουσών οδών'.

[38] The wall reaches in most part a height of 1.80 m. It is still preserved along the sidewalk of modern Them. Sophouli at a height of one course. A column drum from a double half-column with plaster and semicircular base are preserved, while during excavations a casting pit for a bronze statue, many architectural members, plaster fragments and the Late Hellenistic head of youth were also found.

[39] Kondis 1955: 279–280.

[40] Kondis 1959: 189, n. 2. P 38 is 9.30 m wide.

[41] Inglieri 1936: 14–15, no. 9; with references: Jacopi 1927–1928; 518, fig. 9 and Maiuri 1932: 30, tav. 1.

[42] Konstantinopoulos 1992: 384–385, ns. 28, 29, pl. 83.2; Patsiada 2013: 68, where all the sculptures with references can be found. P 6 would connect this building with the Temenos of Halios, the agora and the sanctuary of Aphrodite and perhaps with the Dionysion too. Konstantinopoulos (1986: 123, fig. 112) thought that the Eros of New York was found somewhere in this area; see also Söldner 1986: 291–305, 605, cat. no. 17. The excavation of the plot was never concluded, but at least Konstantinopoulos was able to expropriate the plot, originally destined to house the new Tourist School of Rhodes.

[43] Jacopi 1927–1928: 514; Konstantinopoulos 1998: 76–77, fig. 1, who indicates on the map the location of the Orphanage and *Thermai*. He thought that important buildings or sanctuaries were located there. The route of the big water channel is marked in blue dots on the map (Table 1). It passes east of building no. 24 and turns northeast towards building no. 25 in Table 1.

[44] Kaninia 1998: 508–509.



Figure 2. Acropolis of Rhodes. General view from the southwest (photo by Ph. Philippou, no. 329).

far away from here, the remains of a hypocaust were revealed during construction works for the erection of the building of the National Bank.[45] Konstantinopoulos assumed that an important public building or sanctuary would have been located there. We can say with some certainty that a Roman bathing complex was laid out in this area.[46] A later inscription (*IG* XII 1, 24l, 3rd/4th *c.* AD), which mentions an Artemis Thermia and Pan, should be examined in connection to this area as well as to the acropolis, as we will see further below.

The sacred zone of the acropolis with the Nymphaea and the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus. Northern and southern cult nucleus

The meeting point of the two diagonal axes along which sanctuaries and public buildings were laid out is the sacred zone of the acropolis. On top of the acropolis hill the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus (north core) is located together with four subterranean structures carved in the rock, the so-called Nymphaea to the east of the temple terrace (Table 1, nos 1, 2a–b; Figure 2). Two major rectangles (eurychories) were allocated for this area, measuring 200 m x 200 m, to the west of P 26 (8.15 m wide). P 26 seems to demarcate not only the south nucleus of the acropolis with the athletic, educational and cultural facilities, but also the northern religious one.[47]

It is noteworthy that the main diagonal axis along which the Ptolemaion, the sanctuary of Kybele and the Pantheon were laid out, terminated in the area of the Great Nymphaeum. Even if this is accidental, it is nonetheless pretty obvious. The so-called Nymphaea in their present status of preservation comprise two complexes;[48] the northeastern complex is conventionally known as the 'Great Nymphaeum' (Table 1, no. 2a), while the southwestern complex is conventionally known as the 'Small Nymphaeum' (Table 1, no. 2b); they are laid out in a diagonal arrangement to each other. Each pair (Figure 3) consists of a larger rectangular space, with a N–S orientation, which had a religious function, and a small rectangular space, which was probably auxiliary in nature. The small rectangular space in the 'Great Nymphaeum' is located on the east side, while in the 'Small Nymphaeum' on the south side. Communication within each Nymphaeum is provided by narrow subterranean corridors cut in the rock; these corridors may have been later additions. Although detailed descriptions for these Nymphaea do in fact exist, I will briefly describe them to highlight some typical characteristics and add a few more observations. Unlike Sabine Neumann (2016) who argues that these structures were part of luxurious mansions built on the eastern slopes of the acropolis, I will retain the view

[45] Konstantinopoulos 1969: 531, pl. 8.
[46] Christodoulidis 2010: 481–499.
[47] There is a problem concerning the date of the insula laid out between P 26 and P 26γ. This is the insula occupied by a Roman house attributed to Tiberios (Dreliossi-Herakleidou 1996). The construction date of this dwelling should be further investigated as well as any earlier building phases (see further below).
[48] Inglieri 1936: 16, no. 17; Jacopi 1931: 476–478; Laurenzi 1936–1937: 133. For a detailed description, see Livadiotti 1996: 9 and 11; Michalaki-Kollia 2013b: 83–88; Rice 1995: 383–404; most recently, Neumann (2016), who argues that the Nymphaea were integrated into luxurious houses. Neumann's monograph provides an in-depth and thorough discussion of the Nymphaea in Rhodes. But with a completely different interpretation.

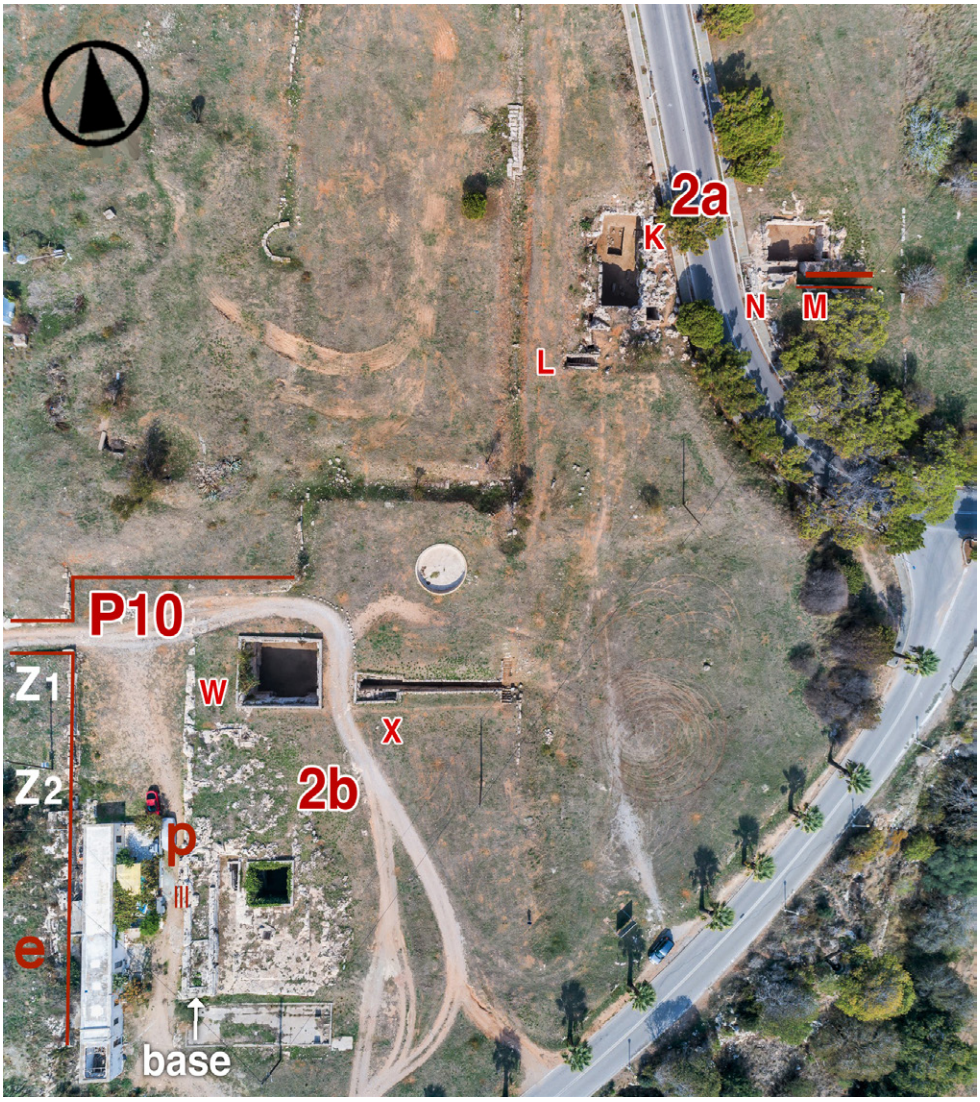


Figure 3. Acropolis of Rhodes. General view of the area of the two Nymphaea complexes (photo by Ph. Philippou).

that these structures functioned as Nymphaea, that is sacred places.

In the 'Great Nymphaeum' (Figure 4) the vaulted roofs on the north and south short sides of the oblong sacred space, are articulated with stalactites (Figures 5, 6). Furthermore, niches cut in the walls would have been used for statuettes, reliefs or votive tables. The north side of this oblong space has a curved arrangement, articulated by very small niches for the placement of statuettes, figurines or even small lamps (Figure 5a). The long sides, east and west (Figures 7, 8), are carved with niches of various shapes and dimensions for statues, while in some parts the rock is carved in a rural masonry manner, in imitation of a natural cave (as is the case with the stalactites mentioned above). On the long west side four small chambers have been cut in the rock, all of different sizes and shapes with a low ceiling, resembling small caves (Figure 4: 1, 2, 3, 4 and Figure 9).[49]

In the middle of this side there is a corridor vertically cut in the rock shaped with three semicircular steps that lead down to a shallow circular reservoir, resembling a small pond. A rectangular, open reservoir is located in the central part of the Nymphaeum. A large cylindrical altar, made of poros stone and covered in white plaster, lies fallen in the northeast corner of the reservoir (Figures 4 and 10).[50] In the southwestern corner of the southernmost chamber there is a very narrow staircase cut in the rock, which was used as an exit (Figure 4, L). Initially the entrance was located in the north-east

[49] It is important to note that the small, cave-like chambers are four and not five in total, as mentioned in Neumann 2016: fig. 23; she includes as the fifth one the vertically cut corridor going down to the small reservoir: Neumann 2016: fig. 41.

[50] The altar is not mentioned in the descriptions of the Italian archaeologists or any other scholar. It is visible, however, in the photographs (Neumann 2016: figs 26 and 37) of the Photographic Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, comprised of the photos from my personal photographic archive presented to the Ephorate. It was revealed during cleaning works by the Archaeological Service in the framework of the Exhibit 'Rhodes 2400 years' in 1993, without however conducting any digging in the area. As the altar is made of poros stone one can assume that it probably dates prior to Hellenistic times.

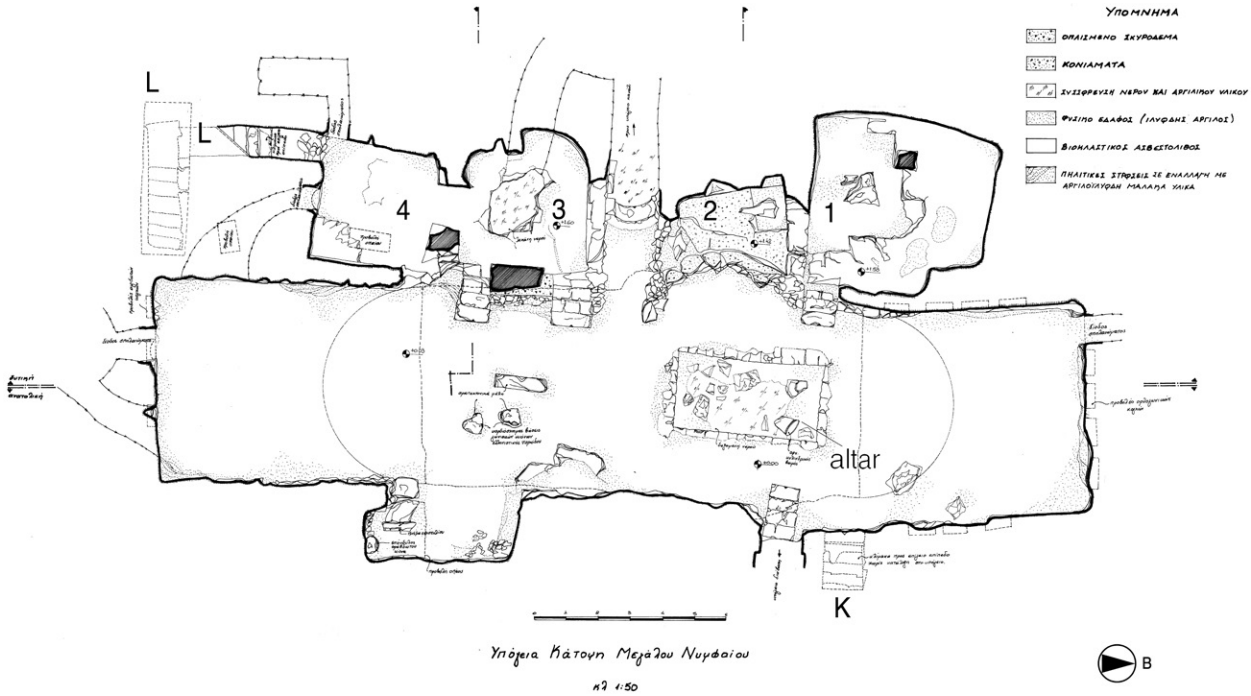


Figure 4. Acropolis of Rhodes. Ground plan of the 'Great Nymphaeum' (drawings by G. Antoniou).

side, where the traces of some steps are still visible (Figure 4, K and Figure 7). The last step of this dilapidated staircase is on the same level as the floor level of the four chambers (Figure 5a), the walls of which were covered in hydraulic plaster in later times. In the southwest corner, to the left and right of the staircase used as an exit, there are tunnels which lead to ancient aqueducts (Figure 4, L and Figure 10a) and from there water would have been distributed to the lower city. This Nymphaeum is not a natural cave, but an artificial, sacred grotto.

After these observations, some further remarks can be drawn. The 'Great Nymphaeum': presents the typical characteristics of a natural, sacred grotto, which are the following: the element of water in the small lake – perhaps a sacred fountain of the Nymphaeum, similar to holy-water in Christian religion – which would flow continuously in the tunnel of the subterranean aqueduct; the four rocky small caves on the west side; the vaulted chambers imitating natural rocks and stalactites; the niches in all sorts of shapes and sizes which would have been decorated with dedications and other ornaments. Similar sacred grottoes exist on the acropolis of Athens and in other areas in Greece and Italy.[51]

Nowadays, the 'Great Nymphaeum' is accessible through the adjacent, rectangular, open-air space in the east, after crossing an impressive, long and narrow corridor (Figures 3, back right, and 10b), cut in the rock (in the lower part of Voreiou Hepeirou St.).[52] This corridor starts in the west side of this area. Just before the entrance to the corridor the west side is flanked by two big niches, initially decorated with statues or reliefs (Figure 11).[53] There is also a rectangular niche covered in red plaster to the east, while large tunnels in the SW corner connect the Nymphaeum with the aqueducts. There are indications that this area was vaulted, as for example in the wall of the staircase to the south and on the remaining walls.[54] In other words, this area too was an artificial grotto.[55] Similar cuttings can be noticed in the uppermost ending of the wall in the sacred area of the 'Great Nymphaeum'; probably in its initial phase this area was also covered with a vaulted ceiling; a small opening in the roof would have been necessary for air circulation in this chamber during cult practices and sacrifices. The subterranean communication of these two areas probably dates to later times. It may have been built to give direct access to the 'Great Nymphaeum', especially if this Nymphaeum may have been one of the most important sanctuaries of Rhodes. One could also conjecture that

[51] For the cultic function of Nymphaea, see Amandry 1984: 395–425. For the cult of Nymphs in Rhodes, see Larson 2001: 206–207; Morelli 1959: 165; Rice 1995: 403; van Gelder 1900: 339.

[52] See Neumann 2016: fig. 44.

[53] There is a photograph taken during the Italian Occupation, perhaps the inauguration of the area, showing the governor Mario Lago(?) cutting the ribbon (Italian Photographic Archive, no. 4174). The Voreiou Hepeirou Street is first included in maps of Rhodes in 1929.

[54] Neumann 2016: fig. 47.

[55] Inglieri (1936: 16, no. 17) marks it with a different symbol and this has caused confusion among modern scholars. Inglieri marks with three different symbols five subterranean areas, while today only four are visible (Figure 14c).



Figure 5. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. North side of the vault with rectangular niches (photo by the author).

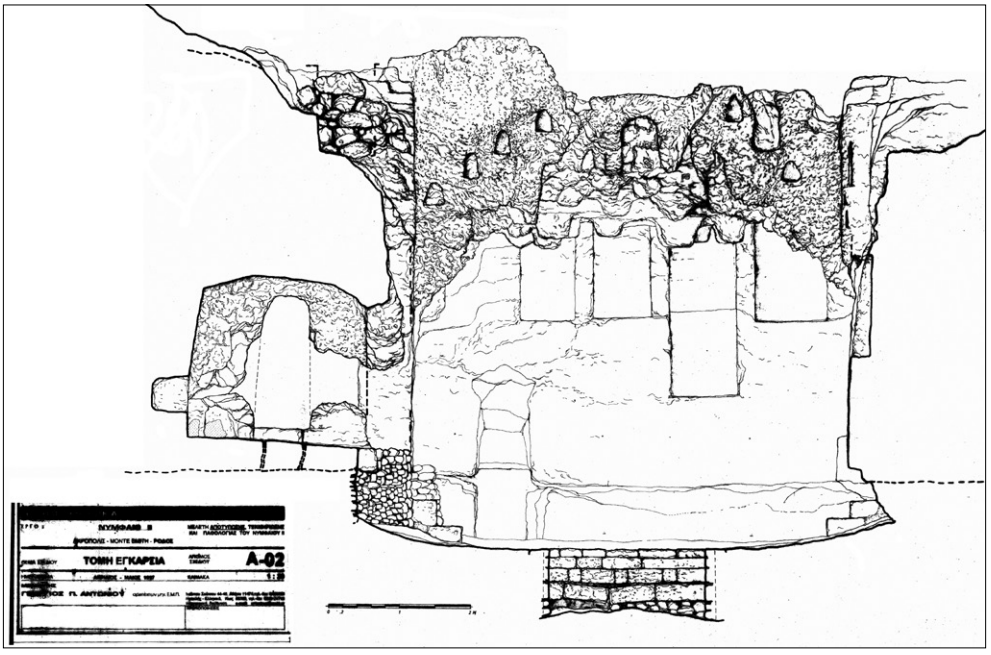


Figure 5a. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. Northern vault with small niches cut in the vertical facade (drawing by G. Antoniou).

this configuration may perhaps date to the Roman period when the entire area of the acropolis was connected to Roman officials and future emperors, exiled to Rhodes. For instance, Tiberios was exiled on Rhodes and a mansion attributed to him has been located in the area further to the east.[56] It was probably during the Late Hellenistic or early Imperial period when the Nymphaea were decorated with large sculptural compositions and were incorporated into a shifting landscape, setting or following the artistic tendencies of the period. It is interesting to note that the remains of a long corridor are still visible to the east of the staircase that gives access to the rectangular area (Figure 3, with red line, and Figure 12, M): it runs E–W, comes from the city, and has never been investigated. One may assume that initially the two areas were not connected to one another; if so, then the auxiliary, rectangular area in the east would have been equipped with a separate entrance from the east and an exit to the west (Figure 12, M, N). Ceremonial access to this area would have been gained through the processional street P 10, starting from the Great Harbour (see Tables 1, no. 2a and Figure 12, M) and was probably equipped with a monumental gate. However, P 5 an uninterrupted narrow street may have provided easier access to the Nymphaeum, as the ground is not as hilly as the route along P 10. Kondis[57] called P 5 an

[56] See above n. 47.

[57] Kondis 1951: 240, n. 3

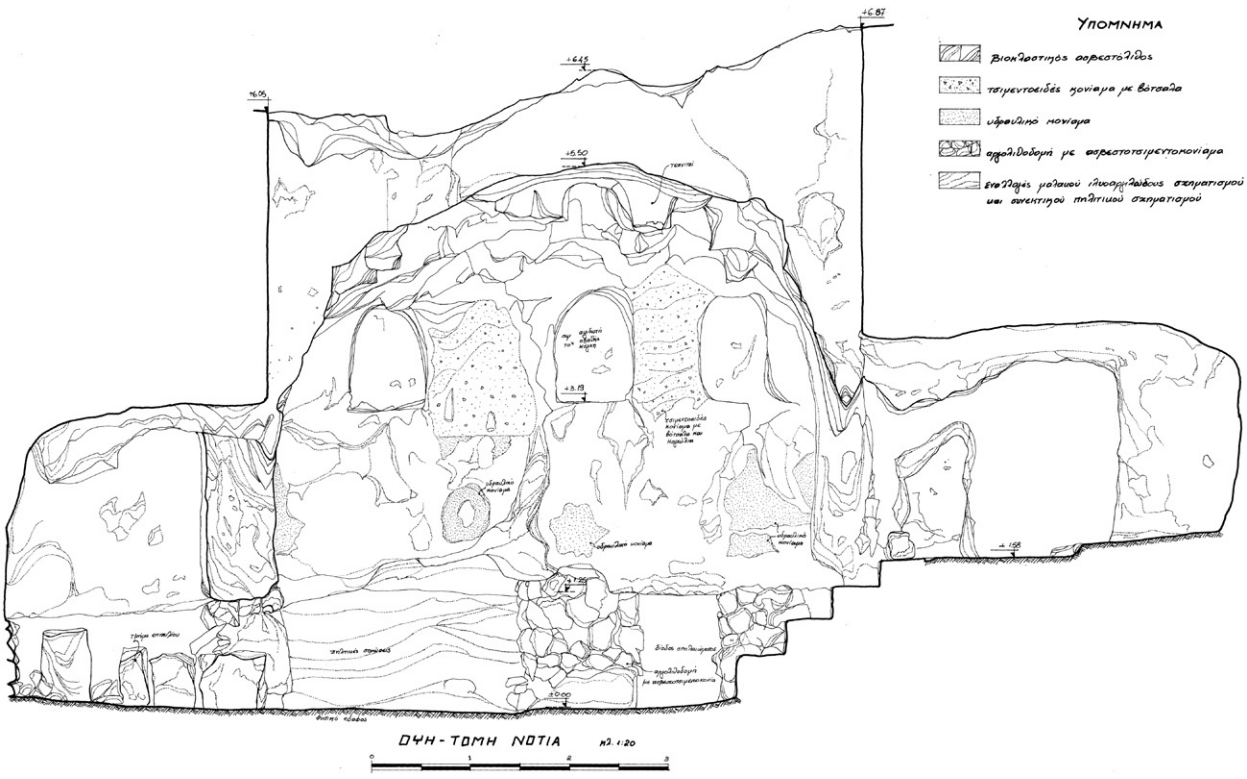


Figure 6. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. Southern vault with imitation stalactites and curved niches (drawing by G. Antoniou).

untirrerupted narrow street[58] and thought that this street reached the central area of the Great Harbour.

The 'Small Nymphaeum' (Figures 3 and 13), southwest of the 'Great Nymphaeum', presents similar features. Nowadays it is accessed through an impressive elongated corridor (Figure 12), running E–W, which was largely cut in the rock, while in some places in the west it seems that it was covered. This Nymphaeum was equipped with a separate entrance as well as a separate exit before the construction of the corridor. Traces of the eastern staircase are still visible on the ground in the westernmost part of the corridor (Figure 12, X). The west staircase of the exit is visible in the surface of the ground (Figure 12, W), to the southwest of the Nymphaeum.[59] The stalactites that decorated the vaulted ceilings and the niches cut in the walls are nowadays covered in hydraulic plaster after the reuse of the Nymphaeum as a reservoir in later times (Figures 14, 14a). A large niche is carved under the north vault and may have served cultic purposes (Figure 14b). At a later stage it may have been used for the display of a large sculptural composition. It is interesting to note the existence of a small rectangular chamber to the right before entering the main area (namely in the north). This room was located opposite the staircase, still standing in the south side of the west part of the corridor (Figure 12).[60] This small chamber, carved in the rock and resembling a grotto, would constitute something like an anti-chamber to the entrance of the sacred area. This small chamber, equipped with a small window towards the Nymphaeum (Figure 14), is completely covered in hydraulic plaster. A narrow, low 'passage' can be traced in the south side of the Nymphaeum, giving access to the southern subterranean structure (i.e. the fourth subterranean structure). Kondis dates this passage in the Second World War when the entire area was used for military purposes as indicated by the construction of guardhouses, still standing today. I believe that this passage dates to ancient times and is probably contemporary with the long, impressive corridor to the east. It was necessary, providing an exit from the area on this side.

The southernmost subterranean structure, south of the 'Small Nymphaeum' was initially roofed; niches were carved on the south wall.[61] A narrow staircase, built of poros blocks in the lower courses, is used as an exit and is located in the west. On the ground level the natural rock has been carved in various configurations, i.e. in

[58] This term *διηνεκής ἀγυιά* is encountered in Aelius Aristeides, *Rhod.* XLIII.3.

[59] Michalaki-Kollia 2013b: fig. 3a.

[60] Neumann 2016: 51, 52 and 54.

[61] Rice 1995: fig. 25. In Rice's photograph one can notice that the niches are carved in a semicircular arrangement, reminiscent of the niches in the north facade of the 'Great Nymphaeum'. In the past, as well as nowadays, this area was covered with vegetation, especially ivy, which climbs all the way up to the wall and hangs from the roof opening.

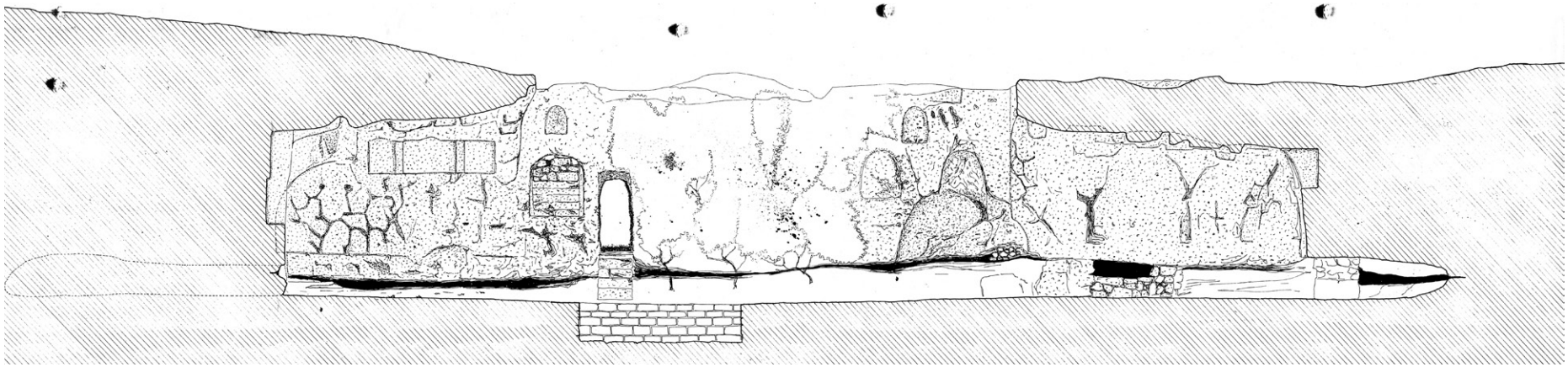


Figure 7. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. East side, showing the corridor that leads to the east rectangular area and the old staircase to the left (drawing by P. Varvitsiotis).

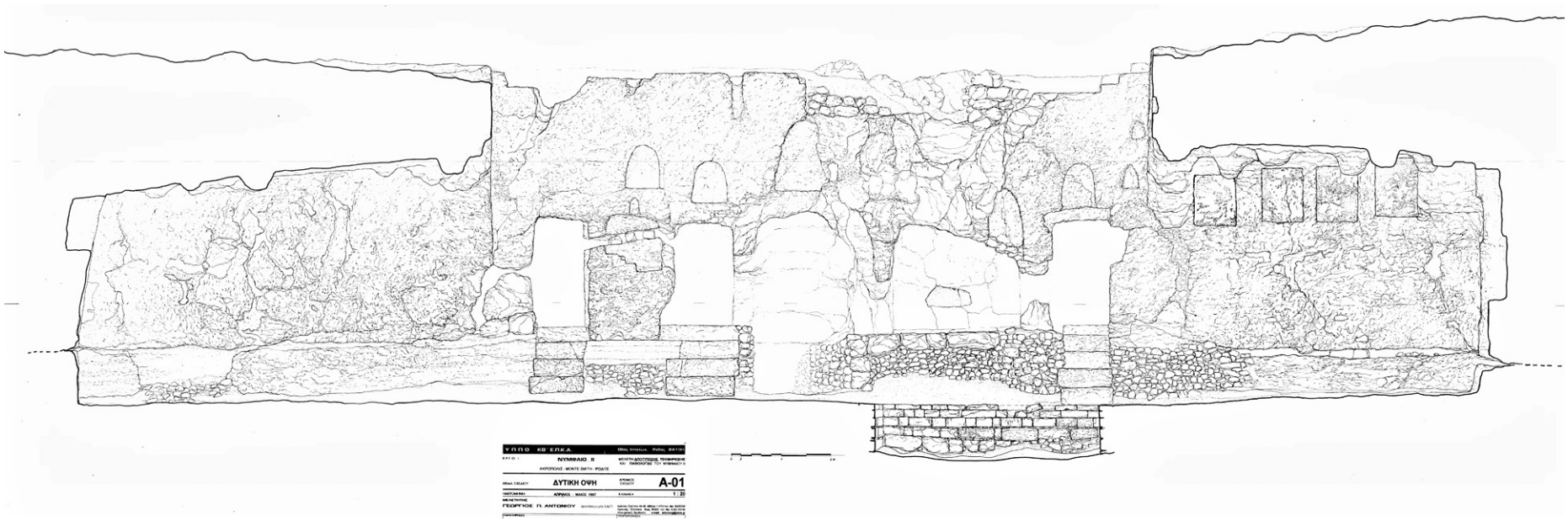


Figure 8. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. West side with four small grotto-like areas and in the middle the corridor that leads to the small pond (drawing by G. Antoniou).



Figure 9. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. West side with four small grotto-like areas and in the middle the corridor that leads to the small pond (photo by the author).



Figure 10. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. Poros altar in the northeast corner of the reservoir (photo by the author).

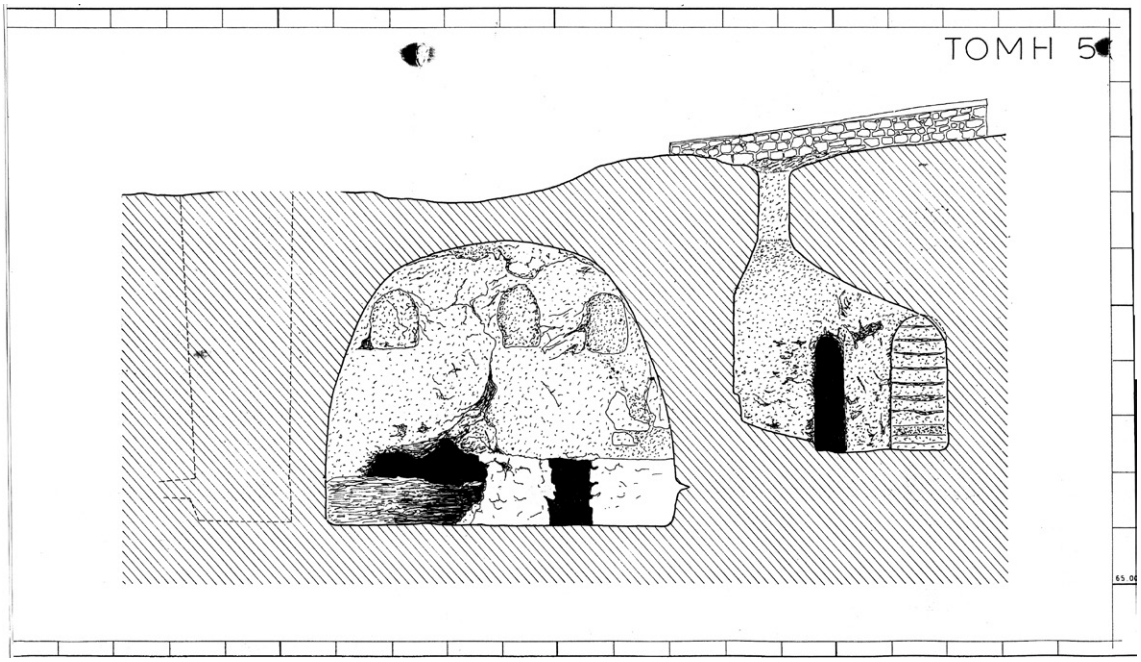


Figure 10a. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. Section of the Southern vault, one of the water tunnels and the staircase to the right (drawing by P. Varvitsiotis).

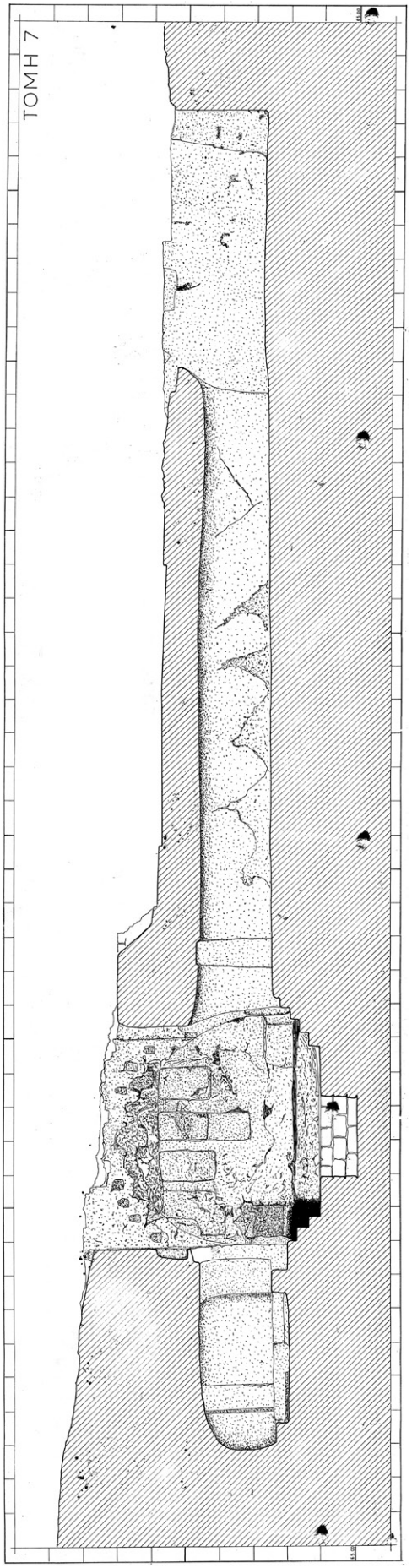


Figure 10b. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Great Nymphaeum'. Section of the long corridor that leads to the east rectangular area (drawing by P. Varvitsiotis).

the form of a table (running N–S), and in the form of steps cut on the west side (Figures 3 and 12, marked with a P). Inglieri interpreted this table as an altar,[62] while Konstantinopoulos thought that it was used to support a pedestal surmounted by a sculptural composition ('grosse plastische Gruppen').[63] These configurations date probably to later Hellenistic and Roman times.

The lack of archaeological evidence sets obstacles to the interpretation of these structures in their original phase. A lot of ink has been spilled on this topic and many assumptions have been made. The various building phases, the range of uses, and all the alterations these building have undergone over the course of time, are not always taken into account. Only a female portrait and two Roman male portraits are associated with the 'Great Nymphaeum',[64] one of which may be identified with a portrait of Cassius.

In 1934 the wider area of the four subterranean Nymphaea – explored between 1931 and 1936 after the opening of the street Voreiou Hpeirou – was declared a zone *dedicate al culto delle divinita delle acque* by Laurenzi. According to decree 187 of the Italian Administration the area was declared an archaeological park.[65]

More subterranean grottoes would have existed in the broader area of the sacred zone of the acropolis (Table 1). Inglieri marked five such structures in his map under number 17 (Figure 14c), while today just four are still visible.[66] One may wonder about the deities venerated in these subterranean, artificial grottoes. Were they dedicated to the Nymphs or the Muses, or Pan, to mention some deities recorded in inscriptions? A small cave-like articulation is visible southeast of the fourth subterranean structure (Table 1, no. 2c, and Figure 12), on a lower terrace below the modern Voreiou Hpeirou St. It is laid out along the west axis of P 13.[67] Some 35 years ago local residents converted this small cave into the chapel of Aghios Nikolaos. A small, round niche is carved in the facade of the rock and some holes in the remains of the vault are still visible, together with

[62] See above n. 55.

[63] On the Rhodian Nymphaea and their connection to landscape architecture and sculpture, see, e.g., Andreae 1988: 71–72, 115–116; Bairami 2017, for a revision of this topic and with earlier literature; Celani 2005: 328–334, presenting the various views about the Rhodian schools of sculpture; Conticello and Andreae 1974: 52; Konstantinopoulos 1986: 122–127; Lauter 1969: 171; 1972: 57–58; Lavagne 1988: 411, 551–558; Machaira 2011; Moreno 1994: 611–612; Rice 1995: 400, n. 34; Zimmer and Bairami 2008. Patsiada (2013) revisits the evidence about landscape architecture on Rhodes.

[64] See Neumann 2016: figs 81, 82, 83.

[65] Laurenzi 1936–1937: 133. One may assume that they were discovered and unearthed during the opening of Voreiou Hepirou St., when the Italian archaeologists were still busy with restoration works in Lindos, Kamiros, the Medieval Town, and other areas within Rhodes and other islands of the Dodecanese. This street features in a map dated to 1926.

[66] Inglieri 1936: no. 17. If it is not a mistake, then the fifth subterranean structure should be located in one of the sewers of the military outposts.

[67] cf. Rice 1995: 389, fig. 4.



Figure 11. Acropolis of Rhodes. West side of the rectangular area east of the 'Great Nymphaeum' (Italian Photographic Archive, no. 4174).



Figure 12. Acropolis of Rhodes. The area of the Nymphaea and of the stoic building (hypothetical layout is marked in the photograph by Ph. Philippou; digital editing by P. Rovilos).

four to five steps carved in the rock. More grotto-like articulations are to be seen on the facade of the rock, north and south of the chapel, which however have not been investigated, as this area is not easily accessible due to dense vegetation. Kondis located an unusual entrance further to the north, along the western part of the south side of P 5 (Pindou St.) (Table 1, no. 2d, and Figure 12); he wondered whether this site was the location of another Nymphaeum.[68]

A stoic building stood to the west of the 'Great Nymphaeum' according to Kondis (Figure 13, the North

[68] Kondis 1951: 244.

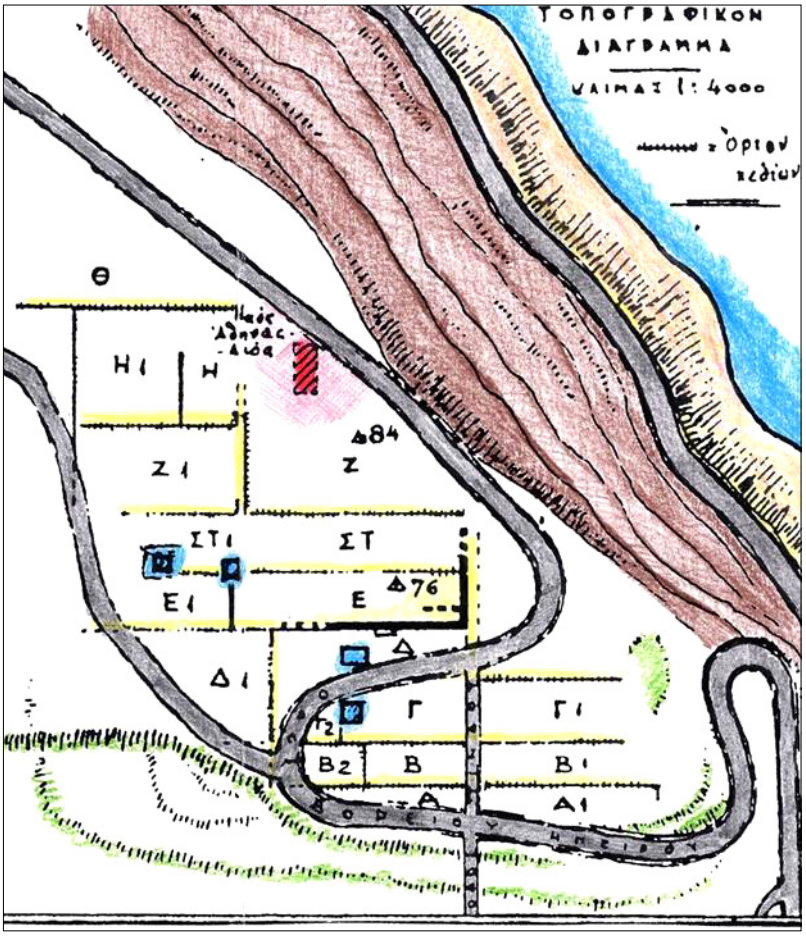


Figure 13. Acropolis of Rhodes (after Kondis 1952).



Figure 14. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Small Nymphaeum'. North vault with big niche in the shape of a 'table'. The small 'window' of the small room, (before the entrance) to the east wall (photo by the author).

is on the right side of the drawing). The architectural remains of this building consist of a stoa in the east, which was revealed along a length of 92 m, and a monumental staircase.[69] This building demarcated the Temenos of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus from the east. It was probably contemporary with the stoas in the sanctuaries of Athena in Lindos and Kamiros, as well as with the Asklepieion on Kos, as similar scenographic principles permeate its concept. The colonnade of the stoa would reflect on the water of the reservoir of

[69] Kondis 1952: 553–558, pl. 1.



Figure 14a. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Small Nymphaeum'. Southern vault at night (photo by the author).



Figure 14b. Acropolis of Rhodes. The 'Small Nymphaeum'. North vault with large niche in the shape of a 'table'. Cultural event with impromptu musical instruments of Eastern musical tradition (photo by the author).

the 'Great Nymphaeum'.[70] I think that the form of the Nymphaea and the monumental colonnaded entrance to the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus were crystallised during the Hellenistic period, when grandiose scenographic arrangements were favoured in the configuration of sanctuaries.

A terrace is laid out west of the 'Small Nymphaeum' with a N–S orientation (Figure 13, Z 1 on Kondis' plan). This terrace is retained by the rock vertically cut in the east, where three to four steps are still visible (Figure 12, e in the panoramic view). The vertical rock continues north. It extends all the way up to P 10 (Table 1, no. 2e, and Figure 12, Z1 and Z2).[71] Nowadays it is hidden behind the old military outpost/guardhouse. It constitutes another terraced configuration in the sacred area of the acropolis. Probably it demarcated the south annex of the 'Small Nymphaeum' from the west in a similar way as the stoic building (of Kontis) demarcated the 'Great Nymphaeum' in the west.[72]

[70] The reservoir and the opening in the roof of the Nymphaeum may also date in the Hellenistic period.

[71] An attempt to reconstitute the layout of this stoic building is presented in Figure 12. It was drawn by the architect, P. Rovilos, from an aerial photograph taken by P. Philippou. My warmest thanks to them both. An addition of all elements is due to the young graphic artist Petros Kalligas.

[72] A topographical map of the area was drawn in 1989 by A. Georgiou and Ch. Barbopoulou for the Archaeological Service of the Dodecanese. This map is incomplete due to the difficulties posed by the existence of war trenches and the military guardhouses in the area. The military guardhouses were occupied after WWII by poor families and are still

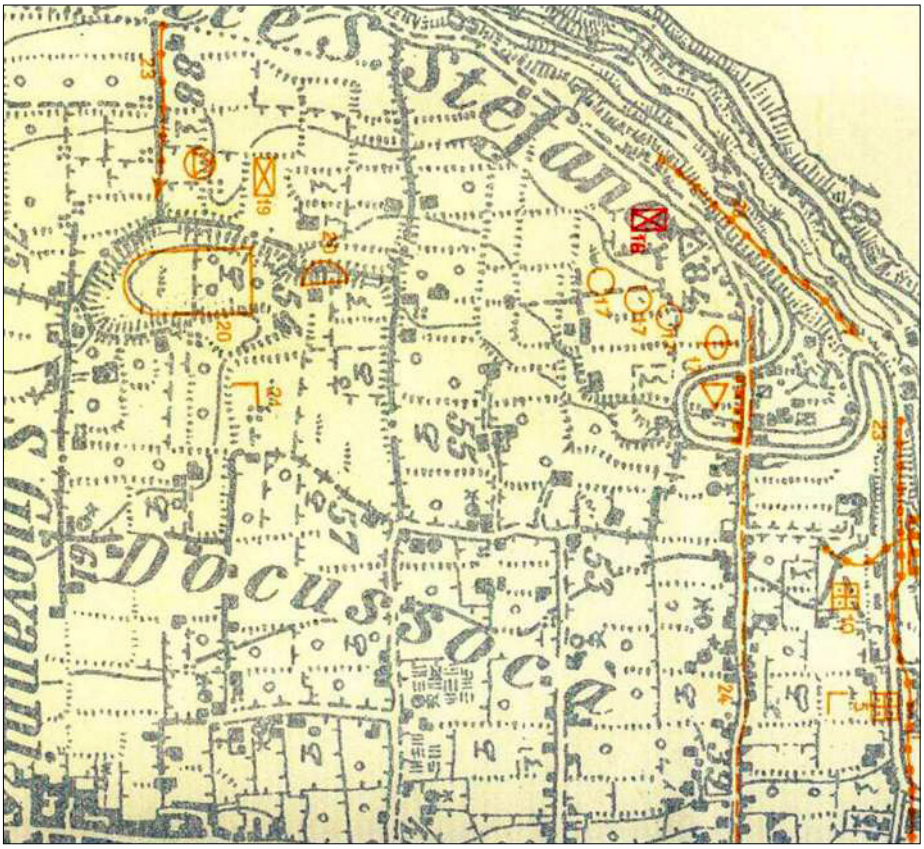


Figure 14c. Inglieri's map (1936, Foglio Citta, no. 17).

Would it be then conceivable that a colonnaded configuration articulated the area west of the two Nymphaea? Kondis[73] mentions a northern wing, which he places in the western extension of south side of P 5 (Pindou St.) (Figure 12, F and Figure 13, E, Δ76). South of the complex of the 'Small Nymphaeum' a rock is cut with an E–W orientation (Figure 2, bottom right on the photo). This rock is still preserved adjacent to the north side of the alley of Voreiou Hpeirou St. and it exactly corresponds to the west axis of P 13.[74] Taking into account the diagonal arrangement of the two Nymphaea, we could propose that the stoic building in the area north of the 'Small Nymphaeum' would have had a zigzag layout (Figure 12, O, S, T, Y). This arrangement allows us to suggest that the Nymphaea were built well before the Hellenistic stoa and probably laid out already from the foundation of the city.[75] It should be mentioned that two heart-shaped drums lie in the 'Great Nymphaeum', probably to be attributed to the corner columns of this unusual stoic building.

The stoic building constituted the facade of the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus (Table 1, no. 1, Figure 12 and Figure 13). It was placed on the top of the acropolis hill; a similar architectural configuration is present in the sanctuaries of Athena in the old three cities, Lindos, Ialysos, and Kamiros (see note 75). Excavations of the temple were conducted in the period of the Italian Occupation, between 1924 and 1926. The temple was peripteral in the Doric order and has been attributed to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus in light of inscriptions found in the area and on the basis of the descriptions of early travellers.[76] According to the epigraphic evidence, Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus are second in order after Halios, something that manifests the importance of their cult in the Rhodian State. After the treaty between Rhodes and Rome in 164 BC, the Rhodians set up a colossal statue of Roma in the sanctuary according to Polybios (31.4.4).[77] From this area come a female draped statue that dates to the late 2nd century BC[78]

inhabited by their descendants today. The Archaeological Service of the Dodecanese has attempted to evict them, but with no success.

[73] Kondis 1951: 245.

[74] Kondis (1954: 17) thought that this street did not reach the acropolis. However, I believe that this street did indeed reach the acropolis through staircases cut in the sloping ground.

[75] Without proper archaeological investigation, nothing definitive can be said about the configuration of this stoic building. Even the exact location of the temple is presently uncertain. Hoepfner places the temple further to the south, unlike Kondis and the maps of the Archaeological Service.

[76] Inglieri 1936: 17, no. 18; Jacopi 1927–1928: 516; Kondis 1952: 553–558; Kondis 1953: 283; Livadiotti 1996: 8–12; Maiuri 1924–1925: 335; Maiuri 1928: 48. Today *c.* 18 column drums are to be found in this area; some are partly preserved and are barely visible on the ground; there are also two huge capitals, several other architectural members, and an inscribed pedestal.

[77] It is open to question whether the statue of Roma signalled the cult of Rome in Rhodes.

[78] Gualandi 1978: 44; Kabus-Preisshofen 1989: 147, n. 584; Machaira 2011: 45–46, no. 5.

and a statue of Hekate (3rd/2nd century BC).[79] The processional street P 10 that began in the area of the Great Harbour, traversed the agora, passed north of the peristyle building with the pedestals of the priests of Halios (Table 1, no. 6), through the Nymphaea, and ending at the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus. This street (P 10), 11.40 m wide[80], would have been interrupted by steps at the junction with P 27, and probably with P 26 too, because of the sloping ground from the lower city up to the acropolis; for this reason, in this area the terrain is formed in terraces supported by retaining walls (Table 1, Ω High carved rock between Voreiou Hepeirou and Pindou St. -P 5), also known from the description of Aelius Aristeides.

The temple standing on the most conspicuous place of the acropolis hill at a height of 111 m above sea-level dominates the cityscape and provides panoramic vistas towards the nearby islands and the Peraia. It would have been a wonderful sight, visible from the west side of the island, as visitors would approach Rhodes by the sea from the west, and before reaching the harbours on the east. The temple of Apollo Pythios in the south nucleus of the acropolis (Table 1, no. 3) was placed on purpose at a lower level, like all other sanctuaries along the diagonal axes that we described above.

This amazing landscape has now been lost. The opening of Voreiou Hpeirou St. divided the monuments and spoiled their unity. The presence of guardhouses, war trenches, telecommunication antennas, and also the fact that the area is accessible without any demarcation, all this sets obstacles in the way we can nowadays visualise the ancient landscape.

The goddess Rhodos – the Nymph Rhodos – the Nymphaea

Rhodos, Halios's wife, according to the 7th Olympian of Pindar, has a strong presence in the founding myth of the island.[81] She features second in place after Halios in some Hellenistic inscriptions, such as in the treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna,[82] and in two dedications in Lindos.[83] An association named *Rhodiastai* was centred around the cult of Rhodos.[84] Likewise, the cult of the Nymphs is well attested in the three old cities. A dedicatory inscription from Kamiros mentions the priestess of Athena Pallas and the Nymphs,[85] while a votive relief from Kamiros shows Hermes Nymphagetes and the Nymphs.[86] The cult of Nymphs Telchiniai is attested in Ialysos, perhaps together with Hera Telchinia.[87] In Lindos, a later stele attests to the cult of the everlasting Nymphs.[88] In the Lindian deme of Klasioi or Pedieis (in the area between the modern settlements of Kalathos and Malona) a site was dedicated to the worship of the Nymphs, as suggested by a Roman inscribed lintel found in the area.[89] The Nymph Rhodos may gradually have been equated to the entire island of the Rhodian State; if so, her cult would have been equivalent to that of the demos of the Rhodians charged with political connotations.[90] Morelli, however, sees a clear division between the Nymph Rhodos and the goddess Rhodos, the latter a personification of the Rhodian State.[91]

In iconography, Rhodos is identified with the Nymph depicted on the reverse of Rhodian coins (350–300 BC).[92] Her symbol, the rose, is depicted in many and different artefacts.[93] It is interesting to note that a rose in relief is depicted in a large reservoir in a plot on P 13.[94] In 1982–1983, in an insula demarcated by the streets P 23a, P 32a, P 23b και P 32c, in the southeast part of the city (Panagou II plot),[95] a large complex came to light (Table 1, no. 18); originally used as a foundry, it consisted of a subterranean Nymphaeum with niches carved in two sides, a built altar with a ramp, a big courtyard, and a dining-room; a large number of votive offerings has come to light. According to the excavator, O. Kakavogianni, this area was probably the meeting and cult place of an association of metalworkers, centred perhaps around the cult of the Nymphs. In the adjacent plot, an inscribed sherd with the inscription ΝΥΜΦ came to light. It is noteworthy that this building

[79] Chatzinikola 2019: 121, 183, no. 14; Machaira 2011: 75, with references; Maiuri 1928: 48; Maiuri 1932: 12–15.

[80] P 10, one of the most important streets of the city, obtained an apsidal articulation in Roman times at the junction with P 31 (Table 1, no. 21), as indicated by the marble pillar surmounted by a pilaster in vegetal relief. This architectural member was found in the Mylonaki plot in Aghiou Fanouriou St. within the medieval town (Michalaki-Kollia 2007: 75, Table 43, no. 9).

[81] It seems that the Diagorids entertained the idea of the foundation of a new city already before 464 BC; see Bresson 1979; Konstantinopoulos 1997.

[82] *SGDI* 3749 (after 200 BC). For the cult of Rhodos, see Morelli 1959: 67 and Robert's comments in *BE* 1965, no. 272 and 1966, no. 294.

[83] *I.Lindos* 140 (*c.* 202 BC); 242 (*c.* 125 BC).

[84] *IG* XII 1, 157.

[85] *Tit.Cam.* 90a.

[86] For the relief, see Badoud 2015: 108–110, with references; di Vita 1995: 109–113; Farmakidi 2011. The history of this relief is of interest: it consists of three fragments, now in three different locations. The late Farmakidi was able to attribute all three fragments to one and the same relief. One of the fragments was found during excavation works in Rhodes (Jacopi 1936: 443), another fragment belonged to the D. Chaviaras collection, now in display in the Archaeological Museum in Symi, and another one is in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

[87] Diod. 5.55.2–3; van Gelder 1900: 338; Morelli 1959: 165; *contra* Maiuri 1932: 51.

[88] *I.Lindos* 456 ll. 3–4; see Robert 1952, 62.

[89] *IG* XII 1, 928.

[90] For this reason, I suspect that the temple-like structure in the complex of the priests of Halios may be attributed to Rhodos (see above).

[91] The cult of the Damos of the Rhodians is attested in one Roman inscription from Lindos (*I.Lindos* 348, AD 50), see Morelli 1959. On this subject, see now Monaco 2001: 112 ff.

[92] *BMC* Caria 238–240, pl. xxxvii, 10–14.

[93] Several artefacts carrying the symbols of Halios and Rhodos are on display in the exhibition (Rhodes 2400) in the Palace of the Grand Master.

[94] Marketou 1989: 309–311, pl. 159a.

[95] Kakavogianni 1999: 237–242; Kakavogianni 2014: 237–246.



Figure 15. Acropolis of Lindos. The temple of Athena, showing the cave of Panagia Spiliotissa below, with four grottoes (photo by A. Louizidis).

follows almost the same axis as other buildings in the south part of the city southeast of the Ptolemaion; it may have occupied a more extensive area.

What place did Nymph Rhodos occupy in the Rhodian Pantheon after the foundation of the city in 408 BC? This question gave rise to the thought that the diagonal arrangement of the sanctuaries in the orthogonal plan of Rhodes, which terminated in the area of the subterranean structures just below the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus on the acropolis, was symbolically charged.

The temple of Athena on the acropolis of Lindos is built at the edge of the hill; this is an unusual place for a temple (Figure 15). According to the excavators, this site was probably selected so that the temple would be situated on top of an impressive cave that lies just below (Figures 15a, 15b). Today this cave is known as Panagia Spiliotissa, with the name implying the existence of an earlier cult. The interior of the cave is shaped by four areas that communicate with each other. Would it be possible that the four subterranean grottoes in the area of the Rhodian acropolis resonate this cultic cave in Lindos? Would one go too far in assuming that the four grotto-like chambers on the west side of the 'Great Nymphaeum' on top of the Rhodian acropolis stand for a cult site for Nymph Rhodos, Halios' wife, connecting in this way old and new myths and traditions in the newly founded city? There are some features, like the great number of niches cut in the rock in the subterranean area of the 'Great Nymphaeum', the altar fallen in the

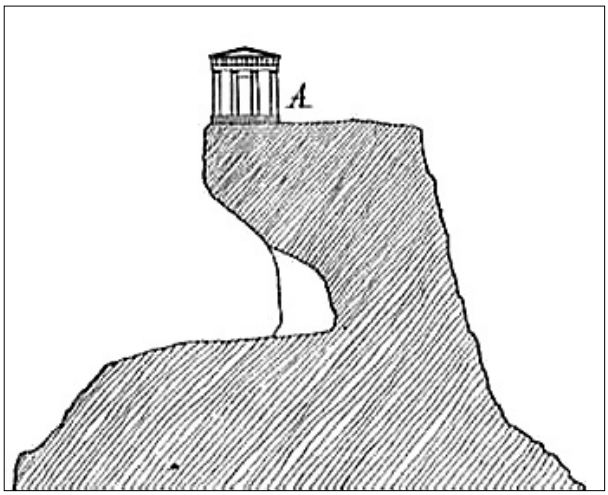


Figure 15a. Acropolis of Lindos. The temple of Athena, section with the cave of Panagia Spiliotissa (Lindos III, 148).

reservoir, but most importantly the location of the 'Great Nymphaeum' in the terrace below the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, that cannot be ignored.[96]

Regrettably, the four subterranean structures on the Rhodian acropolis have never been excavated and systematically investigated. Niches carved in the rock are to be found in all subterranean structures and they may have been dedicated to deities, such as Pan, Hermes, or the Muses, whose

[96] At Kamiros the cult of Athena Pallas is connected to the Nymphs.



Figure 15b. Acropolis of Lindos. The temple of Athena on the edge of the rock above the cave of Panagia Spiliotissa (photo by A. Louizidis).

priests are epigraphically attested. The diagonal arrangement of the sanctuaries in the lower city goes all the way up to the acropolis; the 'Great Nymphaeum' is situated in the culminating point of this arrangement. Due to its conspicuous position in the orthogonal plan of Rhodes, I think that the 'Great Nymphaeum' should be identified with the sanctuary of Nymph Rhodos.

Rhodes *theatroeides* according to Diodoros. 'The Lower Acropolis', the Sanctuary of Halios, and the Colossus

We have discussed so far the diagonal arrangement of buildings and sanctuaries along the SW–NE axis, as well the SE–NW one; these two axes meet at the acropolis, more specifically in the area of the 'Great Nymphaeum'. This arrangement gave straightaway the impression of a circle to the visitor approaching the city from one of the harbours to the east in antiquity. On the map this looks like a triangle (Table 1, plan of the city. See the yellow lines and dotted); Diodoros, on the other hand, saw Rhodes in three dimensions.

Diodoros, and any ancient visitor, were confronted with the two monumental buildings (Table 1, nos 6 and 23) on the west side of the wide avenue P 27, the east side of which was supported by a monumental retaining wall, 3 m high. Thus P 27 with its buildings and the retaining wall created something like a 'wall' that demarcated the zone of the acropolis. Bearing in mind the two diagonal axes and the impressive retaining wall (P 27), Diodoros would view this as a circle. For this reason, Diodoros calls Rhodes twice θεατροειδή.[97] This term has been much discussed,[98] ever since Kondis interpreted it as referring to different terraces and not to the amphitheatrical layout of the city. I believe that Diodoros used this term in its literary sense (i.e. theatre-like), because in his eyes the city looked like a theatre. It seems that Kondis changed his view in 1973, when he presented the supplement (Επίμετρον) to the second edition of the archaeological guide of Rhodes by Karouzos. There Karouzos describes the city as the *koilon* (curvature) of an ancient theatre.[99] As Karouzos had formed this picture of the city, he thought of a lower acropolis, a view that Kondis always rejected.[100]

This 'circular' layout seems to have been employed in connection to the most important sanctuary of Rhodes, the Temenos of Halios. Is it possible that Hippodamos designed the Temenos in such a way as to place emphasis on the importance of the cult of Halios for the newly founded city? If the *koilon* of Karouzos corresponds to the area of the city, then I will argue

[97] Diod. 19.45.3–4: 'θεατροειδοῦς δ'οὔσης τῆς 'Ρόδου'. Diodoros passage 20.83.2 refers to the great siege of Rhodes.

[98] On the term *theatroeides*, see now Caliò 2018: 27; Rocco 2018: 22, n. 47 citing Vitruvius. Unfortunately, I did not have the time to take into full account all the papers published in this very interesting volume about the concept of θεατροειδής in ancient cities.

[99] In the same volume (p. 118) Kondis cited Karouzos talking about the layout of the city (Karouzos 1973: 56): «Με τέτοιο σχέδιο και αγκαλιασμένη καθώς ήταν από τους νότιους και τους δυτικούς λόφους, έμοιαζε με κοίλο αρχαίου θεάτρου χωρισμένο σε κερκίδες». Without any comments Kondis just included in parenthesis: θεατροειδής Διόδωρος.

[100] Karouzos visited Rhodes twice, once before WWII, and once after. See Konstantinopoulos' observations (1988: 95, n. 41; 1997, 75, n. 255), where he poses the question about a possible change of view on behalf of Kondis. Even the Medieval Town constitutes a circle around the Commercial Harbour, occupying precisely the area of the *theatroeides* Rhodes of Diodorus.

that the Temenos of Halios constitutes the elevated *orchestra* of this theatre. Halios became the patron deity of Rhodes after the synoecism. His sanctuary evolved to a major religious site in the city, while the Halieia was one of the most important festivals of the island. The head of Halios is depicted on Rhodian coins and the priest of Halios is the eponym of the Rhodian State. It seems that the cult of Halios was not endorsed by the three old cities before the synoecism. The Rhodians consciously chose Halios as the patron deity; it was a decision politically charged as Halios alluded to a common past of the old three cities, during a period when the island was unified. The founders of the three cities, Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, were the grandsons of Halios; this highlighted parity between the three cities within the newly founded Rhodian State. Halios was promoted as a Pan-Rhodian deity and as a symbol of unity under the new political configuration.[101]

It seems that the area of the sanctuary of Halios was selected from the onset; the new deity would occupy the most prominent location in the lower city (perhaps a 'lower acropolis' of Karouzos) on a terrace to the southwest of the military harbour; it was surrounded by other sanctuaries and public buildings. Admittedly, the exact location of the sanctuary is still to be determined. However, the free zones in the grid plan together with archaeological evidence that has come to light are sufficient to endorse the old view that the Temenos of Halios would have been located on the hill of the lower city; this corresponds to the broader area that encompasses the ruins of the church of St. John, built probably on top of an older basilica,[102] and the area of the Palace of the Grand Master, built over the Byzantine castle.[103]

Konstantinopoulos collected all the evidence available to support the view that the sanctuary of Halios was located in the hill of the lower town and not in the public monumental building at the foot of the Rhodian acropolis.[104] Ever since, and even earlier I have been endorsing Konstantinopoulos' view.[105] The main arguments will be summarised. First, a decree that dates to AD 53 and refers to the *Temenos* of Halios (ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἁλίου) was found built into the floor of the church of Saint John on the top of the hill;[106] second, the large inscribed pedestal dedicated to Halios,[107] which was found built in the corner of a wall in the SW part of the Kollakion, according to Maiuri who published the inscription;[108] third, the famous head of Halios[109] that was found built in a wall of the Inn of the Tongue of Provence in the Street of the Knights to the northeast of the church of Saint John. There are more finds which can be adduced in support of the location of the sanctuary of Halios on top of the hill of the lower city, such as column drums, a number of dedicatory inscriptions, and architectural members built into the walls of houses. In the extant sources the sanctuary of Halios is mentioned as a *Temenos* (in the famous decree)[110] and as an *hieron* in Xenophon of Ephesos.[111]

According to the principles of Hippodamian planning, if the sanctuary of Halios was located in the area discussed above, then we believe that a large rectangle measuring 200 m x 200 m would have been reserved already from the onset, lying between two wide avenues, P 30 and P 39 to the east and west respectively, and between P 6 and P 5, to the north and south (Table 1, no. 15). In other words, the sanctuary of Halios would have given direct access to the sanctuary of Aphrodite, the agora, the sanctuary of Dionysos (Dionysion), and the 'unknown sanctuary' in the east (Table 1, no. 24), as well as to other buildings located on the acropolis in the west. It would have also given access to the sanctuary to Demeter in the north and to the Asklepieion, the sanctuary of Kybele, and the Ptolemaion in the south.

Another indication for the possible location of the sanctuary of Halios on the hill in the lower city is provided by the narrow streets P 5α and P 5β. We have already mentioned the inconsistency these two narrow streets present for the grid plan, according to Kondis. These two streets gave access to the monumental public building on the west side of P 27 (Table 1, no. 23). Furthermore, the Kostaridi and Vrouchou plots are located in the insula to the north of P 5β and south of the 'unknown sanctuary' (Table 1, no. 24);[112] important barrel-vaulted subterranean chambers have been located there, looking like small Nymphaea, filled with statuettes (i.e. Aphrodite, Asklepios, Apollo, etc.).[113] These areas have been interpreted as gardens of luxurious houses,[114] nevertheless, I think that they

[101] Morelli 1959: 95–97; Zervoudaki 1978: 1. It should be noted that the political criteria for choosing Halios as the patron deity can explain the absence of eastern elements in his cult on Rhodes, see Lala 2015: 220. Lala, in her unpublished PhD thesis has collected valuable evidence about the cults of Rhodes.

[102] Remains of an early Christian floor have been unearthed in Panaitiou St.

[103] This view was mainly supported by the Italian Archaeological School: Jacopi 1932: 218; Morricone 1949–1951: 359–360.

[104] Konstantinopoulos 1997: 66–70.

[105] Michalaki-Kollia 1999: 74; 2007: 71; 2013a: 21–28; 2015: 130–155.

[106] *IG* XII 1, 2. The decree specifies that the stele of the decree should be set up in the Temenos of Halios. See Konstantinopoulos 1997: 72–73, ns. 241–243. For references to ancient sources and further bibliography, see Schmitt 1957: 189, n. 4.

[107] *NS* 14 (3rd/2nd century BC).

[108] Konstantinopoulos 1997: 73–74; Maiuri 1921: 33. The pedestal is on display in the courtyard of the Palace of the Grand Master, supporting a statue unrelated to the base.

[109] Bairami 2017: pl. 50; Konstantinopoulos 1986: 130, fig. 121; now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.

[110] See above n. 106; *IG* XII 1, 2 and *SGDI* 3753.

[111] X. *Eph.* 5.10.6: Ὁ δὲ Λεύκων ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Ῥόδη διατρίβοντες ἐν Ῥόδῳ ἀναθήματα ἀνατεθείκεσαν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἱερῷ....

[112] Patsiada 2013: 66–67.

[113] Machaira 2011: 62–63, no. 25 (statuette of Artemis, Γ 2497), 103, no. 78 (statuette of Asklepios, Γ 2500), 107, no. 83 (statuette of a youth, perhaps Apollo, Γ 2498).

[114] Neumann 2016.

were charged with cultic connotations, functioning as domestic shrines or belonging to *koina*. South of P 5a the remains of gardens with large reservoirs[115] and bathing facilities have been found, as well as a fragment of an Hekataion, indicating that this area was much frequented.[116]

In the past two decades a number of scholars claimed that the sanctuary of Halios was located in the acropolis, in the area of the temple of Apollo Pythios.[117] In the early 2000, W. Hoepfner put forth that Halios was worshipped jointly with Apollo in the temple on the acropolis; he also argued that the chariot of Halios once stood in the area of the so-called Artemision.[118] U. Vedder suggested an exclusive cult of Halios in the temple of Apollo Pythios. She further supported that the Colossus stood in the area of the Artemision.[119] Recently, Lippolis revived the theory of the joint worship of Halios and Apollo in the temple of Apollo Pythios and reinterpreted the so-called Artemision.[120]

It is true that the ground plan of the so-called Artemision is not reminiscent of a temple. This may explain why so many suggestions have been put forth about the site.[121] We have to admit that the area has been subject to alterations, as have most monuments in Rhodes. The so-called Artemision could perhaps be an association with Artemis, originally in the vicinity of a natural cave dedicated to Pan. An inscription referring to the sanctuary of Pan and Artemis Thermia dates to 3rd/4th century AD, and it poses several questions.[122] We cannot rule out that a cult existed in this area in earlier times; the absence of relevant finds might just be accidental. In light of the inscription, the sanctuary of Pan would be located close to the temple of Artemis Thermia.[123] Along the north side of the Artemision runs a large channel, evidence of a water source in the area.[124]

Another open-air sanctuary has been located to the south of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios (Table 1, no. 4). Its architectural configuration points to an important sanctuary.[125] However, it is unknown to which deity it was dedicated (i.e. Mouses, Pan, or Nymphs).

In my view there may have been joint worship of Halios and Apollo Pythios at some point, but only in the framework of the contests of Halieia. Halios is occasionally identified with Apollo. Furthermore, major athletic installations are located in the area of the acropolis. At any rate, I think that an identification of the temple of Apollo with the sanctuary of Halios cannot stand scrutiny for a further reason: the area dedicated to the worship of the patron deity of the city could not be located at a level below the temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus. The priest of Halios is the eponym of the city, dating all decrees. There is no competition between Athena and Halios. The cult of Athena is traditionally located on the acropolis, as we see at the three old Rhodian cities. The sanctuary of Halios, the patron deity of the Rhodian State is located in the centre of the city, probably on a 'lower acropolis', standing out above the harbours and in direct connection to other major public buildings and sanctuaries.[126]

The Colossus, the statue the Rhodians set up as a thanks offering to their patron deity after the siege of Demetrios the Besieger in 305/304 BC, would have stood in the park of the sanctuary as we have already suggested.[127] Another argument in support of the location of the Colossus in the lower city comes from the existence of the 'unorthodox' narrow street P 5β. The opening of the street probably took place after the original layout of the city.[128] This street, running E–W, leads to the sanctuary of Halios and would have facilitated access to the sanctuary after the erection of the Colossus. Further arguments about the location of the Colossus are the following: according to the literary sources, the Colossus fell down on the walls, or, according to another source, caused the collapse of many houses.[129] Moreover, further indications about the location of the Colossus may be adduced by the

[115] Patsiada 2013: Poporou plot, fig, 18; all the plots with fountains and gardens are indicated on a map.
[116] Patsiada 2013: 63, n. 48.
[117] This view goes back to the 19th century; see, for example Dittenberger 1886; van Gelder 1900: 295. According to Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews* 16.147; *The Jewish War* 1.424) the temple of Apollo was burnt down and was then rebuilt by King Herodes in the late 1st century BC; see Lala 2015: 284.
[118] Hoepfner 2003: 33–43; Hoepfner 2007: 236–237, for the arguments.
[119] Kreutz 2007: 21; Vedder 2015: 364–368. See also Badoud 2015: 116–118, who connects *prophetes* with the cult of Halios.
[120] Lippolis (2016: 167) expresses the view that the sanctuary of Artemis Thermia and Pan would have been located in the broader area of the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus; this corresponds to the area of the Nymphaea.
[121] Hoepfner 2003: 33–43; Hoepfner 2007; Vedder 2015: 364–368.
[122] *IG* XII 1, 24.
[123] For the cult of Pan in Rhodes, see van Gelder 1900: 339 and Morelli 1959: 63, 167.
[124] This channel then turns southwards towards the area of the Library, which in my view should be identified with a large fountain complex (Michalaki-Kollia 2013b).
[125] Kondis 1954: 347–352; Konstantinopoulos 1973: 127–136; Pollitt 1986: 230.
[126] It is interesting to note that the cult of the patron god of the city is usually located in agoras. These sites are charged with symbolic meaning when it comes to the choice of the deity worshipped and the cult statue. In the case of Rhodes, the Temenos of Halios, as well as the Colossus, is located close to the agora. This constitutes another argument that the Temenos of Halios and the Colossus were located in the lower city and not on the acropolis.
[127] Michalaki-Kollia 2013a: 21–28; 2015: 130–155. There is an extensive bibliography about the Colossus with regard to its location and appearance; it suffices to mention the following: Moreno 1999: 194; Zervoudaki 1978: 15 ff. See also Hoepfner 2003: 13 ff., who thinks that the Colossus stood on the site of the tower of Saint Nicolas, thus echoing Gabriel's view (1932: 331, figs 1, 2), and most recently Badoud (2011; 2012).
[128] The archaeological evidence should be revisited in order to better understand when P 5β was laid out.
[129] Gabriel 1932: 349–359; Manoussou-Ntella 2013: 92–94; Michalaki-Kollia 2013a: 21–28; Michalaki-Kollia 2015: 130–155.

location of the Tetrapylon. Built in Roman times in the north part of P 31, this monumental structure may have facilitated access to the sanctuary directly from the Great Harbour; the fallen Colossus was probably a major sightseeing attraction of the city.[130] The imaginary reconstructions and the epigram inscribed on the base of the Colossus cannot be completely rejected and should be taken into account.[131] Recent investigations in the north bastion of the Palace of Grand Master has brought to light interesting archaeological remains; Manoussou-Ntella, the architect responsible for the works, has written that these remains could belong to the base of the Colossus.[132]

The agora of the Great Harbour and other agoras

Literary sources shed some light on the setting of the Deigma and the Dionysion in the lower part of the city. Diodoros refers to these monuments in connection to the flood of the city in 316 BC.[133] In Pseudo-Lucian there is a detailed description of the Dionysion: a visitor arriving by sea and getting off in the area of the temple of Aphrodite, rented a guest-room across the Dionysion.[134] He visited the Dionysion and spoke with admiration of the works of art housed there. It seems that two complexes (i.e. Deigma and Dionysion) would define the Great Harbour from the east; they could have been laid out in a diagonal arrangement to each other, like the other major buildings in the city on the way up to the acropolis (Table 1). This diagonal arrangement of buildings has already been noted in the configuration of religious spaces, such as the sanctuary of Apollo and the so-called Artemision, the sanctuary of Athena and the two complexes of the Nymphaea, the open-air sanctuary in the acropolis and the Pythion, and perhaps elsewhere. It is to his credit that the planner of Rhodes managed to lay out these buildings in such a way that visibility of all the sanctuaries along the sloping ground towards the acropolis is not obscured; they may have also been laid out in a diagonal arrangement to each other.[135] This presents another virtual view that resembles a theatre, according to Diodoros.[136] The Dionysion was probably articulated with colonnades and it may have created something resembling a colonnaded propylon on the lower terrace of the sanctuary of Halios, if we accept Konstantinopoulos' view of its location.[137] If so, then the Dionysion would have been located within a significant rectangle (*eurychoria*) to the east of the sanctuary of Halios. One can assume that the Deigma was located southeast of the Dionysion and was probably articulated with stoas. Notwithstanding the absence of evidence, on the basis of the principles of Hippodamian planning it can be assumed that the area around the Commercial Harbour was also laid out in a diagonal arrangement. The complex of buildings to the north was demarcated by the temple of Aphrodite (Table 1, no. 12).

I believe that the area described above corresponded to the 'commercial agora' of the lower city. A 'cultural agora', equipped with athletic and educational facilities, was perhaps reserved for the area of the acropolis.[138] The sanctuaries laid out within major rectangles (*eurychories*) and arranged diagonally to each other may in fact have constituted a 'religious agora'. Sacred zones would have been also laid out in the harbours, as Kondis maintains.

Sanctuaries and cult places in the harbours

As we have seen above, the sanctuary of Halios dominated the cityscape, as it was surrounded by all the sanctuaries of the city. Some further sanctuaries are to be found close to the five harbours: some belonged to deities worshipped in the three old cities, while in two instances the cult of foreign deities is attested. This is to be expected in a city like Rhodes: during the peak of its prosperity it was one of the greatest port cities in the Mediterranean. Each harbour was equipped with one temple in its proximity. In Rhodes, each harbour served as an anchorage for vessels, depending on the weather conditions. We may also add that each harbour served the differing needs of its users, i.e. visitors or worshippers, depending whether the purpose was commercial or 'religious' (e.g. participation in festivals, etc.).

At the northeastern end of the city, in the northern proximity of the Military Harbour, the sanctuary of Demeter (Thesmophorion) (Table 1, no. 13) was laid out in a large rectangle (*eurychoria*).[139] An inscription found near the West Harbour, close to the sanctuary of Demeter in the southwest, mentions the priest of the Gods of Samothrace. The cult of the Great Gods is related to the Dioskouroi and Korybantes; their cults were

[130] Michalaki-Kollia 2015: 130–132.

[131] Michalaki-Kollia 2007: 71–72; Michalaki-Kollia 2015: 140–142. In the imaginary reconstruction the argument is about the relation of the Colossus to the harbour. For a translation of the epigram inscribed on the pedestal of the Colossus, see Papaioannou 1985: 18 (Epigramme *...δεν τον στήσαν θεοκρέμαστο πάνω από τη θάλασσα μονάχα, αλλά και στέρεα πάνω στη γη...*).

[132] Manoussou-Ntella 2013: 93, fig. 33. She has proposed a credible reconstruction for the Colossus and the sanctuary. Personally, I would place the statue to the right and the temple to the left, as the archaeological finds mentioned above in the text come from the area of the church of Saint John.

[133] Diod. 19.45.2–5.

[134] Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores* 8.

[135] The urban planner worked as if he were designing a museum exhibit, where each find should not hide the view of its neighbours.

[136] In his recent paper on Piraeus, Steinhauer (2021: 234, Map 16.1) places in a circular arrangement the buildings around the three harbours. Perhaps this constituted a peculiarity in the planning of cities by Hippodamos, who is described as 'an eccentric philosopher of Perikles' according to ancient sources (Steinhauer 2021: 232).

[137] Konstantinopoulos 1998: 78.

[138] Lippolis (2016: 166) talks about a 'cultural agora', following Patsiada (2013: 57–59), who first suggested this idea and supports that the sanctuaries in the southern part of the city formed another sacred nucleus, after the Acropolis.

[139] Giannikouri 1999: 63–72.

very popular in the large harbours of the Hellenistic period.[140] It is interesting to note that in Rhodes, unlike other cities, there was a specially designated priest for the Dioskouroi, another for the Gods of Samothrace, and yet another for the Korybantes. This might suggest the presence of three different shrines,[141] unless these deities were jointly worshipped in shrines together with other deities. The location of the sanctuary close to the West Harbour, in a major rectangle (*eurychoria*) (Table 1, no. 14) east of the wide avenue P 38 (9.30 m wide), as suggested by the findspot of the inscription, is symbolically charged and fits perfectly the profile of the Gods of Samothrace, patrons of seafaring.[142]

On the east side of the city, squeezed between two harbours – the military and the commercial – is the temple of Aphrodite. The temple was excavated by the Italians in 1922.[143] As suggested by the epigraphic evidence, the earliest reference to the priest of Aphrodite appears in a list of 215 BC. This means that Aphrodite was not included among the most important deities of the Pantheon of the newly founded city.[144] Thus, her temple was not included in the original plan. This might explain the relatively tight space allocated for her sanctuary between the two harbours (Table 1, no. 12). Although her sanctuary lacks spaciousness, nevertheless her cult was quite well disseminated among the foreigners residing in Rhodes, as suggested by the large number of associations centred around her cult (i.e. *Aphrodiastai*). There has been an ongoing discussion about the location of the sanctuary, *intra* or *extra muros*.[145] According to Manoussou-Ntella, the sanctuary was probably located outside the wall near the harbours, as is the case at Kos.[146] This view is also endorsed by the fact that the sanctuary was not included in the original plan of the city, but was placed symbolically next to the military harbour.

The so-called 'temple of the agora' (Table 1, no. 11) that demarcated the Great Harbour from the south is located on a low mound south of the Commercial Harbour and west of the Akantia Harbour. Although this temple has not been unearthed, its existence has been postulated in the light of some drums of grandiose scale that are still visible on modern Pythagora St. These drums were reused in a Byzantine wall.[147] Due to the location of the temple not far from the sea, it can be assumed that the temple was dedicated to Poseidon; his cult was third in importance after Halios and Athena. A rite during which a quadriga was thrown into the sea has been connected to the festival of the *Hippokathesia* in honour of Poseidon.[148]

In antiquity, the Akantia Harbour, surrounded by the Hellenistic fortification wall, penetrated further inland. It seems that another religious site was located close to this harbour. Ten built square bases coated in hydraulic plaster, and arranged parallel to the wall, were once surmounted by altars or stelai. These bases point to the existence of a sacred site in this area. In particular, an inscribed stele found in the area bears a dedication to Zeus Soter and Poseidon Asphaleios.[149]

The Sanctuary of Isis (Table 1, no. 16) was unearthed nearly two decades ago on the east coast: it lies between the Akantia Harbour and the South Harbour – the latter also penetrated inland in antiquity.[150] The sanctuary lies close, and parallel, to the fortification wall; it is not incorporated into the grid plan, something that indicates that it was not included in the original design of the city. The sanctuary is demarcated by two ancient streets (P 17 and P 18) that facilitated access from it to the sanctuaries of Asklepios and Kybele, as well as the Ptolemaion.[151]

Conclusion

The cult of Halios and Rhodos became official with the foundation of the new city. It cannot be ruled out, however, that their worship, as pre-Hellenic deities, may have existed in parts of the island before the synoecism. If our assumptions about the location of the sanctuary of Halios are correct, and if the culminating point of the diagonal arrangement of the sanctuaries from the lower city up to the acropolis is the area of the Nymphaea (Table 1, yellow lines), then we could claim that the cults have been harmoniously set out within the grid plan. In this way, Nymph Rhodos, the new deity and personification of the city, found its place on the most prominent and symbolically charged location in the acropolis, just below the temple of Athena, as is the case at Lindos, with its cave of the Prehistoric deity.

It is unknown whether the location of the city and its orientation towards the East, i.e. towards sunrise, was dictated by an oracle, or whether it followed religious beliefs or practical needs. One may assume that it was a combination of all these factors, together with the astronomical perceptions of the time.

[140] Several associations centred around the cult of the Gods of Samothrace (*Samothrakiastai*) are attested in Rhodes in the 2nd and 1st century BC; see Kondis 1952: 559–561; Kontorini 1989: 73–85.
[141] Lala 2015: 207–209.
[142] Lala 2015: 208, n. 1059 with references.
[143] Inglieri 1936: 15, 12a; Jacopi 1927–1928: 518; Lala 2015: 280; Maiuri 1924: 238–239; 1928: 46; Rocco 2017: 9–15, with references. For a detailed presentation of the finds, see now Rocco 2018: 9–14.
[144] Morelli 1959 : 117–118.
[145] Bairami 2012; Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004: 134.
[146] Manoussou-Ntella 2020: 502–503. In the Table 1 we placed it inside, for reasons of symmetry but the subject needs further research.
[147] Kondis 1951: 225–234, pl. IV; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994: 66, fig. 51.
[148] Segre 1951; Kontorini 1989: 166–167.
[149] Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004: 54 with references.
[150] It should be noted that the morphology of the ground has changed significantly on the east coast, as the land gains ground; conversely, the land on the west coast is steadily sloping into the sea. This phenomenon is worrying, and the authorities are trying to confront it.
[151] Fantaoutsaki 2011; 2014.

It should be highlighted, however, that in 408 BC Rhodes implemented an amphitheatrical arrangement in terms of its layout, with all the sanctuaries and public building set around the official cult of Halios. The Temenos of Halios stands prominently out not just above two harbours but above all five harbours. In a lower terrace the agora is laid out, while at a higher level the sanctuaries are set diagonally to each other, i.e. what Karouzos calls κερκίδες (according to the description of an ancient theatre); further up, a wide avenue P 27 (16.10 m wide and 3.15 m above ground level) traversed the city from north to south, corresponding to the *diazoma* (corridor) of an ancient theatre, we would say. The sanctuaries on the acropolis formed the backdrop to this setting on a higher level: the temple of Apollo Pythios to the left and the Temenos of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus to the right, dominated the landscape from the west.

Around 370 BC, the satrap Mausolos built Halikarnassos. It is tempting to think that he may perhaps have taken Rhodes as his model. A detailed description of Halikarnassos is provided by Vitruvius, who visualised the city in the shape of an ancient theatre.[152] The agora was located near the harbour; a wide avenue, corresponding to the *praecinctio* of a theatre, crossed the city lengthwise, similar to P 27 in Rhodes; the Mausoleum was located in the centre of the city, corresponding to the sanctuary of Halios in Rhodes; the temple of Mars was located on the upper terrace, while the sanctuaries and palace were located at either ends respectively.

Seventy years of rescue excavations have contributed to a better understanding of the urban layout of Rhodes; unfortunately, leading figures in the study of the urban plan of Rhodes, such as Kondis and Konstantinopoulos, did not live long enough to see the fruitful results of these efforts. The implementation of the principles of Hippodamian planning in the layout of the city, such as the allocation of free zones for future development, facilitated the gradual shaping of the cityscape with new architectural forms, such as colonnaded buildings and monumental complexes, over the course of time. Although my thoughts and observations on the layout of the city presented in this contribution started to take shape many years ago, future research and systematic investigation may shed more light on issues of urban planning within the city of Rhodes.[153] The area of the Acropolis of this splendid city, which drew the admiration of many in antiquity, is nowadays poorly preserved, while the damages caused during WWII are still visible in the landscape. As has been stressed many times elsewhere, 'what looks impossible today is the reality of the future';[154] this should inspire our future work on Rhodes.[155]

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Manolis Stefanakis for his immense patience. My thanks extend to Stella Skaltsa for the effort and time she gave me for the English translation of my text and her interesting comments. Finally, I thank Ms. Achiola for her meticulous corrections in the final text.

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[152] Vitr. II.8.11. See now Pedersen 2018 for a critical assessment of Vitruvius' description in light of the archaeological remains.

[153] Besides the contribution of the scholars who studied and still study the archaeological remains of Rhodes, one should always pay tribute to all the anonymous workers, who, painstakingly and under harsh weather conditions, brought these remains to light.

[154] Michalaki-Kollia 2004: 485.

[155] We hope that a large inter-disciplinary research team in collaboration between the Archaeological Service of the Dodecanese and the University of Aegean, but perhaps also with other Greek or foreign institutions, will take over this task to systematically investigate the area and preserve the monuments.

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Early Iron Age Kamiros and its sanctuaries: Some observations

Isabella Bossolino

Abstract

The site of Kamiros, located on the north-western coast of the island of Rhodes, is renowned for the beauty and importance of its archaeological remains. Extensively excavated by the Italian Mission led by Giulio Jacopi between 1928 and 1933, it is still unfortunately widely unpublished. Through the review and study of the Proto- and Geometric contexts, it was possible to investigate the acropolis and Temple A areas in more detail, as they were most important for the religious history of the site.

As already proposed by d'Agostino and D'Acunto, Desborough's and Coldstream's idea that the first sanctuary of Athena originated in the 10th century BC is probably the result of a wrong understanding of the finds, which were arbitrarily collected and published by Jacopi as coming from the votive deposit. The aim of this contribution is thus to shed some new light on the excavations conducted on the acropolis and on the Temple A terrace – with the help of the results from the new study of the EIA graves – in order to understand the likely foundation period of the two sanctuaries and connect them with the birth of the Kamirian polis.

Key words: Kamiros, Greek Iron Age, archaic Mediterranean, ancient Rhodes, archaeology of cult, archaeology of death, ancient topography

Introduction

The ancient city of Kamiros, located on the north-western coast of the island of Rhodes, on the northern slopes of Profitis Ilias hill, is organised on various terraces degrading towards the sea. The southern hill (121 m above sea-level), where the acropolis is located, is occupied by the poliadic sanctuary of Athena, of which some structures of the 4th century BC peripteral temple remain. On the northern side the hill is limited by the long Doric stoa that is set on an archaic cistern of rectangular shape and overlooking the Hellenistic settlement. The remains of the archaic city, probably destroyed by the 228 BC earthquake, were never identified, whereas the cemeteries are distributed on the hills and in the valleys surrounding the area.[1]

The first excavations were carried out, between 1859 and 1864, by the French archaeologist Auguste Salzmann, together with the British Vice-Consul on the island Alfred Biliotti, and were mostly focused on the acropolis area and on some cemeteries, bringing to light some structures and a great deal of findings – including an epigraphy that clearly named the city of Kamiros, thus allowing the identification of the ancient city.[2]

Right after the annexation of the Dodecanese to the Reign of Italy, in 1912, the Italian activities on the site were launched by Gian Giacomo Porro's topographical exploration, who, in a brief note in the first issue of the *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, highlighted the great possibilities still available to archaeologists at such a site.[3]

The work was thus resumed, full-scale, fourteen years later, between 1928 and 1930, when Giulio Jacopi became director of research. At first, the researchers worked on a review of the old excavations, for which they accounted in *Clara Rhodos* IV, which also illustrated the new excavations in the cemeteries around Kamiros, Makri Langoni and Checraci in particular.[4] Between 1930 and 1933, the activities continued in the area of Checraci, while new explorations were carried out in the cemeteries of Papatislures, Patelle, Calavarda, Calatomilo, and Fikellura; a large excavation area was opened on the acropolis and an Italian team started exploring also the lower part of the town. The last campaigns were published in *Clara Rhodos* VI–VII.[5]

This contribution will focus on the excavations of the acropolis and of the so-called Temple A. Following Giulio Jacopi's notes in his excavation journals[6] and Chiara Bernardini's analysis of the metal finds[7] coming from the so-called *Stipe Votiva*. I will look at the different phases of the excavation and on the materials

[1] Bernardini 2006: 11–12; on the topography of Kamiros, see Caliò 2011; Di Vita 1990; 1996: 66–70.
[2] Salzmann 1861.
[3] Porro 1914.
[4] Jacopi 1931a.
[5] Jacopi 1932/33.
[6] Jacopi 1928; 1929; 1930; 1930/31; 1931b; 1931/32; s.d. Patelles; s.d. Tempio A.
[7] Bernardini 2001; 2006.

published in *Clara Rhodos*, tracing, when possible, their provenance. My aim is to highlight the processes that took place at the end of the Geometric period from a sanctuary perspective, recollecting all the information available and cross-checking it with the burial evidence from the same areas. The creation of the two city-shrines as well as the birth and development of a political community seem to be part of this process.

The sanctuary on the acropolis

The sanctuary located on the acropolis of Kamiros, dedicated to the goddess Athena, is renowned in the history of Greek archaeology: surely for its extraordinary architectural setting of the Hellenistic period, but mostly for the numerous finds collected from the so-called 'Stipe'.[8]

As it is possible to understand from the excavation journals, Jacopi started to work on the area of the acropolis as soon as he got to Rhodes, already by the 24th of September 1928.[9] As it seems from his account, however, he mostly excavated the area of the stoa and just a superficial layer of the upper plateau. He recounts having collected some bronze fibulae, fragments of faience, clay and limestone statuettes, and archaic pottery.[10] But his understanding of the whole situation appears rather poor, as he himself states. At some point, he even thought he was dealing with a Phoenician sanctuary.[11] By the 20th of October the excavations on the acropolis were interrupted.[12]

The real excavations on the acropolis, as far as our topic is concerned, started from the large rectangular cistern that is located on the north side of the acropolis hill. This reservoir, after small works performed between August 25th and October 24th 1930,[13] was emptied in June 1931.[14] Inside the cistern, the excavators recognised a thick level made of black soil and a big, single dump on top of it.[15] During this excavation, Jacopi reports to have found lots of materials: pottery sherds, statuettes, fibulae, bronze elements.[16] In September,

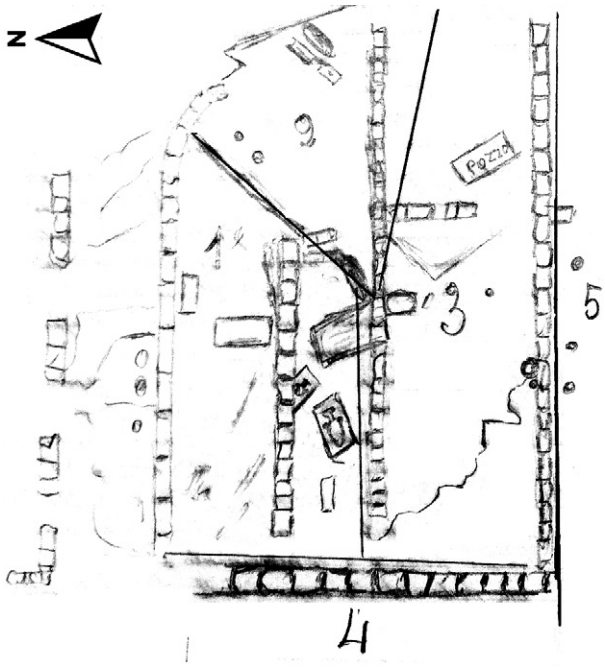


Figure 1. Freehand sketch of the temple located on the Kamiros acropolis, with the identification of the different sectors excavated (elaboration after Jacopi 1931b. Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Dodecanese).

the excavation of the cistern was completed, after the impressive removal of 1049 m^3 of soil.[17]

In October, excavations on the upper plateau were resumed.[18] Starting from November 1931, Jacopi and his workers excavated the temple area, dividing it into four sectors that are duly noted in his journals.[19] The most interesting finds, as the excavator himself acknowledges,[20] seem to come from the areas that he calls 3A and 1 in his journal (Figure 1, and the spots highlighted on the map in Figure 2).[21]

[8] Giulio Jacopi collected under the title 'La stipe votiva' (Jacopi 1932/33: 279–365, figs 1–114) more than 350 artefacts relative to different classes that are, in fact, by his own admission, an arbitrary grouping of all the materials collected on the acropolis and around the underlying Temple A, with a selection of pottery sherds (see Bernardini 2001: 253).

[9] Jacopi 1928.

[10] 'Durante questi scavi si sono raccolte diverse fibule di bronzo, frammenti di statuette in faience, in terracotta e in pietra di Cipro, e poi molta ceramica arcaica' (Jacopi 1928).

[11] 'La presenza di resti della stipe indicano che vi preesisteva un tempio, ma è da ritenersi che piuttosto sia stato un santuario di epoca fenicia e come tale sia rimasto fino alla tarda epoca romana' (Jacopi 1928).

[12] 'Sabato 20 Ottobre cessa il lavoro di scavo' (Jacopi 1928).

[13] Jacopi 1931b.

[14] Jacopi 1931/32.

[15] Jacopi 1931/32; Jacopi 1932/33: 240.

[16] 'Fu in questo che si sono raccolti alcuni frammenti di ceramica nera lucida, alcuni a figure nere, un frammento di statuetta di basalto con sul davanti una iscrizione arcaica incisa, poi quelli di due statuette in terracotta acefale, una piccola con un uccello presso il petto, l'altra, più grande, con panneggiamento del vestito, una fibula placcata oro e alcuni frammenti di un grosso vaso nero lucido sul quale sono state incise delle grosse lettere e un piede di uccello di bronzo' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[17] 'Lo scavo della vasca o piscina è terminato: da essa furono estratti ben 1049 m.c. di terra' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[18] Jacopi 1931/32.

[19] 'Durante la mia licenza, cioè dai primi di Novembre alla metà di Gennaio, fu eseguito lo scavo di una buona parte del tempio raccogliendovi gli oggetti della stipe sparsa un poco da pertutto [*sic*] in una zona compresa tra il muro principale esterno e un muro secondario interno, dove vi era un interramento di circa un metro e mezzo' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[20] 'In questo spazio che noi chiameremo Sezione N. 1 vennero raccolti gli oggetti migliori e interessanti di questa stipe' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[21] The first image, edited from Jacopi's drawings preserved in his notebooks, shows the sectors in which the archaeological team had divided the area of the sanctuary plateau, progressing then to excavate one sector at a time. The addition of the north arrow should help understand the site orientation. The second image highlights the location of the two most interesting areas of the 1931/1932 excavation on a modern map of the acropolis. It is to be noted, though, that the plan of Athena's temple was possibly different: as proposed by M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco (1999: 116–117), the traditional idea of a peripteral building is to be reconsidered, since a careful observation of the temple's foundations suggests that a wall ascribed to the

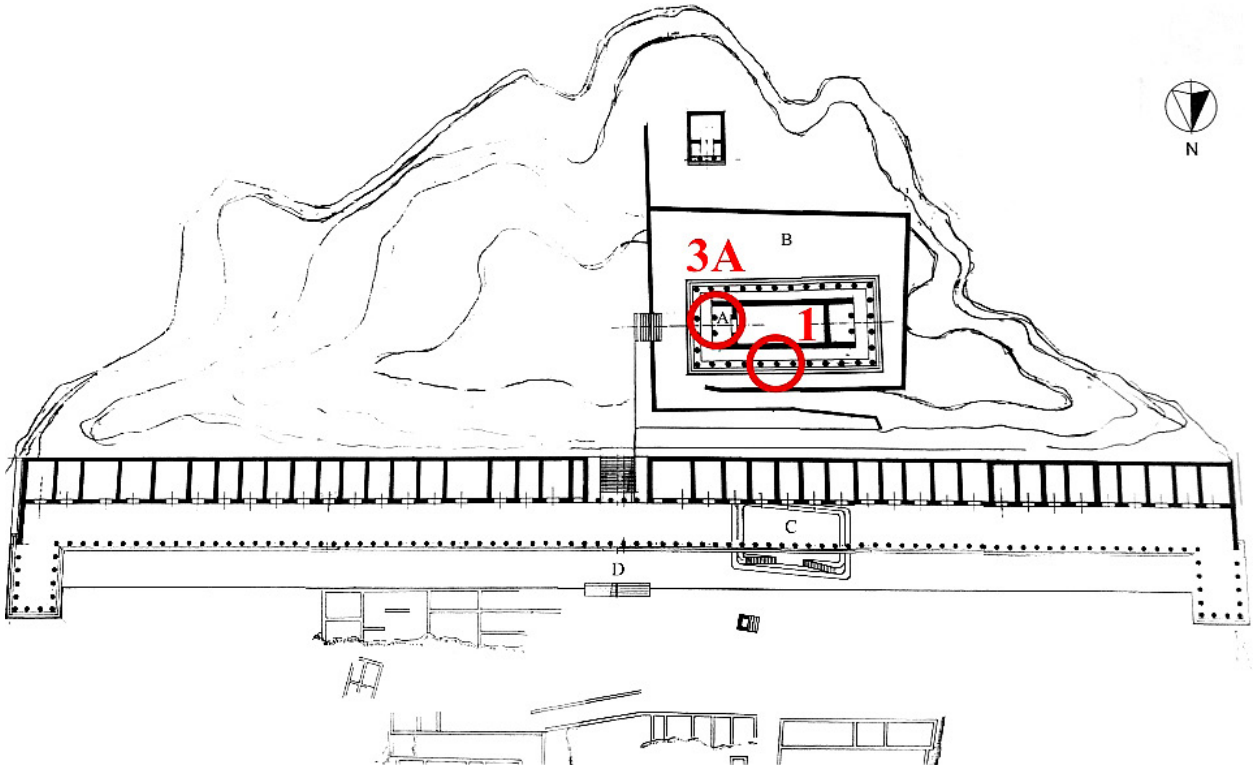


Figure 2. Map of the Kamiros acropolis area with the identification of the two most interesting sectors of the excavation (elaboration after Bernardini 2001).

In area 1, excavated in January 1932 (and wrongly located by C. Bernardini on the southern side of the temenos, with the letter B),[22] some faience and clay statuettes, bronze and gold pins, bone and ivory objects were brought to light.[23]

During the month of February, the Italian mission started excavating sector 3A (correctly identified already by C. Bernardini with the letter A),[24] where a deep well was discovered.[25] Superficially, among a loose and dark layer of soil, Jacopi records the discovery of some Geometric pottery.[26] He understood the different texture of the soil after some meters and figured that the well had likely been excavated already by the French/British mission of A. Salzmann and A. Biliotti.[27] He then stopped the excavation at the depth of 10 m, when the situation became dangerous. The works were resumed in April and a great number of fibulae and glass beads, a gold thin plate, a broken gold ring, some copper rings, a bronze statuette, a bronze horse, bronze pendants, and fish pendants made out of bone, among other artefacts, were collected from the well.[28] Eventually, the work of emptying was interrupted soon after, when the excavation reached the remarkable depth of 35 m.[29]

One of the reasons for the popularity of Kamiros, except for the impressive state of preservation of the Hellenistic and Roman buildings at the site, is the fact

peristalsis should be regarded instead as part of the terracing walls (and I warmly thank them for drawing my attention to this issue during the conference).

[22] Bernardini 2001: 254, fig. 1. The comparison between the modern plans and Jacopi's sketches in the notebooks, together with an autopsy of the current state of temple's foundations, made me realise that the correct location of the so-called sector 1 lies not in the southern half of the plateau, but rather on the northern edge, between the actual temple northern wall and the terracing structures.

[23] Jacopi 1931/32.

[24] Bernardini 2001: 254, fig. 1.

[25] 'Sezione 3a. Febbraio 1932. Si trovò un pozzo di forma rettangolare che si scavò fino a una decina di metri' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[26] 'Dentro a questo pozzo da prima la terra era nerastra e si rinveniva diversa ceramica geometrica' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[27] 'ma giunti a tre metri di profondità la terra che era più dura di quella superficiale (il che dimostra che fu scavato fino a quella profondità e poi abbandonato dal Biliotti) diventa chiara e piena di oggetti' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[28] 'Dentro a questo pozzo si sono raccolte un gran numero di tronconi di fibule di rame e altrettanto dicesi di grani vitrei e frammenti di ceramica generalmente geometrica. Oltre a questo si deve aggiungere una piastrina circolare in oro, una vera pure in oro ma rotta, due scarabei, diversi anelli di rame, una statuettina di bronzo, un cavalluccio in bronzo, tre minuscoli vasettini pure di bronzo e un frammento di arco di fibula terminante a faccia umana. Inoltre, due pesci in osso, altri frammenti di pendagli in osso e una minuscola bipenne di pietra nera, una armilla placcata in oro, un sigillo in pietra nera. Tutta roba che io ritengo sfuggita ai precedenti scavatori, poiché, un pozzo come questo in prossimità del tempio avrebbe dovuto dare altro materiale molto più importante. Infatti non abbiamo trovato né statuette di terracotta o in faience né frammenti di queste; le fibule sono solamente tronconi informi che gli scavatori precedenti non raccolsero come non raccolsero i grani di pasta vitrea.' (Jacopi 1931/32).

[29] 'Il lavoro di svuotatura continuerà ancora un poco e se col materiale ritrovato si avrà la prova che il pozzo fu scavato è consigliabile abbandonare questo lavoro dato anche il pericolo che rappresenta per il personale addetto. Si sospende lo scavo del pozzo a 35 metri, risultando essere stato scavato.' (Jacopi 1931/32).

that the sanctuary of Athena was included by Nicholas Coldstream in his 1977 list of shrines dated to the 10th century BC,[30] making the sanctuary one of the earliest in the Greek Iron Age.

It was not the first time, though, that the Kamirian contexts were taken into account in works involving the Greek Iron Age. Vincent R. d'A. Desborough had already mentioned the Protogeometric pottery uncovered by Jacopi fifteen years before,[31] noting, however, the difficulty of recognising with certainty the precise dating of some artefacts.[32] He proposed an *amphoriskos* and a fragmentary pilgrim flask[33] as likely PG, while he remained cautious about some other sherds.[34]

The real problem with this type of finds, though, is that the only PG artefacts are some sherds or, at best, some better-preserved vessels. Moreover, as we saw in Jacopi's accounts, most of the pottery came from the superficial layers of the excavation, both in the well and around the temple. To recap, I believe that the evidence is too scanty to propose a sacred destination of the area already during PG times: in fact, at a closer and more detailed look, there is no object undoubtedly votive among the artefacts.

In this context, some elements have been overlooked in the history of research, and I will specifically look into them in the following pages.

As already proposed by Bruno d'Agostino,[35] Coldstream's idea of a very early sanctuary may come from an incorrect interpretation of sherds that are probably related to graves. Indeed, we know, as reported by Mario Benzi,[36] that the area of the acropolis was used as a cemetery already in Mycenaean times.[37] Unfortunately, the accounts about the burials excavated on the hill of the acropolis are extremely poor, both on the French/British side and on the Italian one. We do know, however, that a feeding bottle, accompanied by two monochrome cups, was found by Biliotti in a chamber grave on the south-western slopes of the acropolis hill, and then, in December 1885, sold to the Berlin Museum.[38] The cups got lost soon after, but the feeding bottle was seen



Figure 3. Amphora without context collected on the Kamiros acropolis (photo: I. Bossolino).

and published by Adolf Furtwängler one year later.[39] The style of the feeding bottle,[40] uniformly painted in black with a decoration of concentric circles on the shoulder, clearly connects it with an infant burial[41] of the LPG period.[42] Slightly more recent, probably from the first years of the EG period, is the amphora without context that the Italian archaeologists collected[43] (Figure 3): it cannot provide any information about the burials topography in the acropolis area, but it can testify to the presence of another infant grave, dated to the first years of EG.

More importantly, burials in the area do not disappear after the PG period. Even more significant is the cremation discovered on the eastern slopes of the acropolis,[44] which appears extremely rich and surely prominent. The grave goods present some telling elements that allow us to ascribe the whole grave to the full MG II period. The pendant semi-circle *skyphoi* imitating Attic prototypes and the *lekythoi* decorated with battlement, zigzag and hatched triangles motifs, for example, are strong candidates for a dating in the first half of the 8th century BC (Figure 4).

This quick excursus aims to show the burials that were discovered and excavated in the area of the acropolis, in order to support the hypothesis that sees the most

[30] Coldstream 1977: 312.
[31] Desborough 1952: 228–229.
[32] Desborough 1952: 229.
[33] Jacopi 1932/33: 346–347, figs 92–93.
[34] Jacopi 1932/33: 356–357, figs 103 and 105. In my opinion, it is possible to identify some likely PG sherds also in fig. 100, namely the first and the fifth ones from the left in the first line, and the fourth, sixth and seventh from the left in the fourth line.
[35] D'Agostino 2006: 46–47.
[36] Benzi 1992: 418.
[37] On the Kamirian material of the Mycenaean period, see Mee 1982: 50–54. See also Benzi 1992. For the dispersal of these Mycenaean artefacts among various European museums, see Hope Simpson-Lazenby 1970: 141–143.
[38] Furtwängler 1886: 133.
[39] Furtwängler 1886: 136.
[40] Term usually employed for Bronze Age pottery to describe vessels connected to liquid consumption by non-adult individuals, see Benzi 1992: 65–67.
[41] Vases with a lateral spout are usually associated with child burials, see Lemos 2002: 91.
[42] Coldstream 2008: 263. The shape, too, recalls LPG prototypes: during the G period, proportions change, and the vessel becomes slenderer, while the mouth tends to be the trefoil one typical of *oenochoai*, see Palmieri 2009/10: 71–72.
[43] Jacopi 1931/32: 204, figs 244–245.
[44] Tomb LXXX, see Jacopi 1931/32: 189–192.



Figure 4. Grave goods assemblage of Tomb LXXX, eastern slopes of the Kamiros acropolis (after Jacopi 1932/33).

ancient sherds from the so-called 'Stipe' as relative to disrupted and partially excavated graves rather than to a cult frequentation. Furthermore, I believe it would be difficult to assume a religious destination of the area, if the hill was still being used as a cemetery.

At this juncture, the real issue to address is whether there are actual votive objects of an early date from the area and, if so, what is their chronological span.

Of the objects that undoubtedly come from the sanctuary of Athena, the earliest is the small horse of local production but Peloponnesian influence, found in the deep well east of the temple.[45] The statuette is characterised by a protruding face, a zigzag decorated neck and long and flat legs. Probably conceived as a pendant, because of the hole in the neck, it is dated to the second half of the 8th century BC.

Three bronze feet associated with hawk statues, lost-wax cast, come from inside the archaic cistern.[46] Outside of Egypt, only the Samian Heraion in the Greek world has yielded one of these hawks and a series of metal claws like these. They are considered of Egyptian production and to be dated to the 25th Dynasty, the so-called Nubian one (719–656 BC).[47]

The badly corrupted, bronze human figurine[48] coming from the well of the temple is also relative to the LG period. The small bronze represents a male character, standing, with open arms, slightly bent. The most convincing comparisons are to be found among Peloponnesian examples[49] and suggest a dating in the second half of the 8th century BC.

The last bronze items, likely votive objects coming from the sanctuary of Athena are two small, *oenochoe*-shaped, pendants.[50] This type of pendant, recurrent at Ialysos, Lindos and Exochi, is also common in continental Greece. The closest parallels to these two, in fact, seem to be produced in Central Greece and Thessaly during the LG period.[51]

The same type of pattern appears if we turn to other types of votives as well. Among limestone or clay statuettes, ivory and bone pendants, and faience objects, in fact, the evidence for cult dedications earlier than the second half of the 8th century BC remains virtually impossible to assess. A quick overview of the items collected (with some certainty) in the sanctuary or in its surroundings will help to better explain my point.

Two Egyptian stone statuettes,[52] coming from the archaic cistern and from one of the wells of the stoa superimposed,[53] show the great number of pilgrims that dedicated votives in the sanctuary, even of foreign origin. But in which period? The fragment of a seated male figure,[54] made from basalt, has been dated differently by various scholars, but cannot be firmly considered older than the end of the 7th century BC.[55] The other Egyptian votive, a male head of black granite, is of bigger proportions. It was probably created in the

[45] Jacopi 1932/33: 345, no. 10, fig. 80. See also Bernardini 2006: 42, no. 9, with previous bibliography.
[46] Bernardini 2006: 35–37, nos 3–5; Jacopi 1932/33: 346, nos 16–18, fig. 80.
[47] Bernardini 2006: 36.
[48] Bernardini 2006: 37–38, no. 6; Jacopi 1932/33: 345, no. 6, fig. 80.
[49] From Olympia (Floren 1987: 46, pl. 1, no. 8) and the Argive Heraion (Strøm 1995: 42, fig. 3).
[50] Bernardini 2006: 51, nos 20–21; Jacopi 1932/33: 347, no. 25, fig. 81. One has been unfortunately lost and it is now untraceable in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.
[51] Bernardini 2006: 51.
[52] Jacopi 1932/33: 286–287, nos 1–2, figs 11–12.
[53] Bernardini 2001: 255.
[54] Kourou 2003: 253–254, fig. 3; Kourou 2004: 12–14, figs 1–3, with previous bibliography; Kourou 2015: 248–249, fig. 3.
[55] A dating to *c.* 550 BC was proposed on the basis of its inscription (Boardman 1980: 142; Jeffery 1963: 348), but the comparison with other Egyptian stone figurines and the reconsideration of the whole 'Stipe' context made some scholars propose an earlier date (Kourou 2004: 13–14).

royal workshops of Thebes and belongs to a block statue of a type recurrent during the end of the 25th Dynasty or the beginning of the 26th (725–610 BC).[56]

The clay figurines discovered in the sanctuary appear to be dated at least to the LG period. Among the large number of statuettes collected by Jacopi and his workmen, it is possible to locate with certainty in the area of the acropolis only a small human figure with stumps instead of arms[57] and a small head characterised by a pointed beard and a spiked hat,[58] while the well no. 3 of the northern stoa probably yielded a fragmentary monkey head, characterised by an elongated face and a distinctive expression.[59]

Among the numerous faience objects collected in the excavations, we can trace back the provenance of just few of them, since the reports are extremely casual. Reading the excavation journals, it is possible to identify the small bird images and pendants[60] as coming from the archaic cistern, whereas the small figurine 'con testa sormontata da un'aureola'[61] is probably to be identified with the Horus statuette collected in the temple area.[62] The small hawks[63] have all a stand and are often characterised by suspension hooks, a fact that implies that they could have been used as amulets. They have the characteristic white glaze and details drawn with a black-brownish paint.[64] All this material can be related to the second phase of faience production in the Eastern Mediterranean, that falls between the two main phases of vase production. The small figurines are 'of distinctive, crude work' and are widely spread, from the Black Sea to Naukratis; they are traditionally dated to the second half of the 7th century BC.[65]

The last category of votives that can reveal useful information for the aim of this contribution is that of Cypriot limestone statuettes, common across the Eastern Mediterranean, and typical of sanctuary contexts. A consistent group of statuettes identical to those found by the Italian excavators, dated to the very end of the 7th century BC, are today in the British Museum[66] and were probably discovered by Biliotti in a votive deposit in the NW area of the temple.[67] It is thus possible to assume that also some of the limestone statuettes[68] published by Jacopi without a definite context could come from the sanctuary area, in particular from the sector of the plateau marked as 1 on the journal's sketch.

Through this brief digression into the material from the so-called 'Stipe votiva', I believe it is quite safe to state that the most likely date of foundation for the cult of Athena on the acropolis hill is *c.* the mid 8th century BC and surely not before. Moreover, with the birth of such a poliadic cult, it is perhaps possible to envisage the nucleation of the city of Kamiros as such during the same period.

This impression is strengthened also by the fact that the burial assemblages of the end of the 8th century BC show some strong changes in their composition and appear to hint at some form of community reorganisation.[69]

The so-called Temple A

In order to have an overall view of the sanctuaries of Iron Age Kamiros and to understand the likely processes of cult creation and city formation, it is useful to describe the situation of the so-called Temple A as well. The possible date for the foundation of the temple is in this case easier to establish – there is virtually no discussion about it – but other elements appear less clear and yet very meaningful.

The area of the terrace north of the acropolis, on the way to the coastline, was first excavated on the 9th of August 1930.[70] On day one of the excavation some badly preserved sectors of walls were discovered, allowing Jacopi to postulate the presence of some small chambers. Close to these walls, a small rectangular well was subsequently found, a fact that made the excavators immediately eager to understand whether that context was votive.

On the 10th of August, that is during the second day of work, the digs conducted at the bottom of the

[56] Kyrieleis 1996: 110. See also Kourou 2004: 14.
[57] Jacopi 1932/33: 287, no. 3, fig. 15.
[58] Jacopi 1932/33: 294, no. 15, fig. 21. This terracotta head, of a likely Cypriot origin, is even more recent, not earlier than the beginning of the 6th century BC (see Karageorghis-Merker-Mertens 2016: 73–92 for some comparable examples of male Cypro-Archaic II figurines).
[59] Jacopi 1932/33: 300, no. 42, fig. 37.
[60] Jacopi 1932/33: 314–315, nos 28–34, fig. 57.
[61] With the head topped by a halo, quoted in Bernardini 2001: 255.
[62] Jacopi 1932/33: 320, no. 46, fig. 63.
[63] Webb 1978: 96, nos 516, 538–539, 544–547; 97, no. 557; 105, nos 676, 682, 684, 686–687.
[64] Webb 1978: 92.
[65] Webb 1978: 5–7. For an interesting overview of Egyptian votives in Kamiros and the religious world connected to them, see Hölbl 2016.
[66] Pryce 1928: B 330–390, figs 198–210, pl. 35–38.
[67] Higgins 1954: 22–23; Webb 1978: 138.
[68] See Bernardini 2001: 254–255; Jacopi 1932/33: 281, nos 4–10, 13 or 14 (moreover, Jacopi 1931/32: 15–16 explicitly speaks of a small lion torso).
[69] On these contexts and generally, see Bossolino 2018b: 91–95.
[70] 'Il 9 agosto, nell'esplorare un saliente di roccia situata di qualche centinaio di metri sotto l'insellatura dell'acropoli, lungo il margine di un profondo torrente che scende e si forma poco sotto l'acropoli, si trovò un muro di blocchetti di tufo bene squadrati lungo m. 4.30 e dello spessore di m. 0.60, più sotto si misero in luce alcuni muri formati di pietre più piccole irregolari; piatte ed alcune anche lavorate per renderle bene aderenti, collocate senza calce. Questi muri formano il basamento di alcuni ambienti di limitate dimensioni [...] Questi muri erano sotto uno strato di terra alto circa un metro; alla distanza di circa 5 metri, sempre sull'orlo del torrente, si è trovato una specie di pozzo di forma rettangolare che verrà scavato per vedere se si tratta di una stipe votiva, ciò dimostrerebbe la presenza di un piccolo santuario o sacello come al principio dello scavo abbiamo creduto o supposto.' (Jacopi 1930/31).

cliff yielded some material that Jacopi immediately supposed would come from a votive *favissa*. On the same day, the bronze protome of a griffin[71] was unearthed under a small rock, 100 m from the main excavation, together with some small terracotta statuettes and archaic pottery.[72] A second griffin protome,[73] less sinuous and of smaller proportions than the first, was probably found in the same spot.[74] These two bronze heads pertain to a cauldron and were included by Ulf Jantzen in his second group of bronze protomes, dated to the first half of the 7th century BC, and ascribed to Samian production.[75] Objects of prestige widespread in Greece, exclusively in sanctuaries and religious contexts,[76] these large cauldrons decorated with griffin heads have also been discovered in non-Hellenic areas, but are mostly concentrated at the sites of Samos and Olympia.[77] The presence of these two griffin heads allows us to postulate the creation of a cult, and therefore of the so-called Temple A, since at least the middle of the 7th century BC.[78]

Four days later, under the drop that Jacopi calls 'Salto di roccia' in his sketch, a rectangular structure, closed on three sides, came to light, together with a small group of Cypriot statuettes.[79] These figurines, altogether similar to the ones collected in the area of the acropolis, can also be dated to the end of the 7th century BC.

During the last week of excavation (18th – 22nd August 1930), two squared aligned blocks and the cuts of a temple foundation were located on the terrace north of the acropolis. No other significant material, even less of votive type, was found, except for some more recent statue fragments.[80]

To conclude this brief overview on the excavation of Temple A, there are some elements that are useful to point out. Even though the data about this sanctuary remain poor, and it is impossible to even speculate about the temple structure or the name of the deity, however the likely date of foundation is probably to be found in the second half of the 7th century BC, as most of the votive objects coming from here seem to suggest.

What is really interesting about this area in terms of our focus now, however, is what was excavated here two years later, in 1932, when works resumed.[81] In the search for other votives or parts of the temple, a very small necropolis was found.[82] The exact location of the cemetery is now uncertain, but it is possible to understand from the sketches included in the journals that it must have been extremely close to the temple (Figure 5).

The necropolis consisted of six burials[83] – two chamber tombs, one stone sarcophagus, one cremation and two *enchytrismoi* – dating from the end of the MG II period to the beginning of LG II. Some of the burials, especially the chamber tombs, stand out, not only for their peculiar typology,[84] but in particular for their rich grave goods that hint both to the Homeric world of brave heroes and sumptuous banquets, as well as to the long-distance relationships that leading Kamirian families were able to establish. Tomb LXXXII (2) (Figure 6), for example, is characterised by a rich set of high-quality vessels, both local and imported, where drinking shapes, mostly craters and cups, play a major role. At the same time, the presence of a spearhead with its *sauroter*, along with a short sword and two knives, makes it the only burial

[71] Bernardini 2006: 65–66, no. 59; Jacopi 1932/33: 343, no. 1, fig. 76.

[72] 'Nell'eseguire un saggio per la ricerca di tombe fatto presso un rialzo di roccia, distante in linea retta un centinaio di metri dallo scavo sopra descritto, dove poi vi è un limitato pianoro diviso dal torrente menzionato, e dall'altro da un salto di roccia di circa due metri, in modo da formare una bene distinta pianura, si trovò alla profondità di mezzo metro i seguenti oggetti: Grande testa di grifone in bronzo. Alcuni frammenti di statuette arcaiche in terracotta. Molti frammenti di ceramica arcaica.' (Jacopi 1930/31).

[73] Jacopi 1932/33: 344, no. 2, fig. 77. See also Bernardini 2006: 66–67, no. 60.

[74] Bernardini 2001: 256.

[75] Jantzen 1955: 16–18, nos 49–60, pl. 18–22, 60–62. Bernardini 2006: 66 analyses these specimens even further and ascribes them to the middle of the 7th century BC, during the heyday of the production of cast-bronze protomes.

[76] Hawkes-Smith 1957: 166; Markoe 1985: 117.

[77] Bernardini 2001: 66.

[78] D'Agostino 2006: 48.

[79] 'altri oggetti sono stati recuperati anche a tre metri di profondità, e cioè: Una statuetta femminile di offerente in pietra di Cipro, di forma piatta e intiera. Frammento di statuetta in pietra di Cipro rappresentante due gambe di uomo sopra una delle quali sta appoggiato un capretto. Frammento superiore di un "moscoforos". [...] La parte anteriore di due leoni in pietra di Cipro. Collocato sulla roccia alla profondità di 3 metri e mezzo si è trovato un chiuso sottangolare formato da ruvide pietre, lungo m. 1.55 largo 0.49 profondo 0.70 presso il quale vennero ricuperate le statuette in pietra di Cipro e due antefisse a palmetta. Siccome a questo chiuso mancavano le pietre da un lato, è da supporsi che contenesse una stipe la quale sarebbe stata derubata e dispersa' (Jacopi 1930/31). They can possibly be identified with Jacopi 1932/33: 280, nos 1–3, figs 1–3; nos 11–12, fig. 9.

[80] '18 agosto. Tempio. Presso il pozzo segnato sull'annesso graffito si è trovato due grosse pietre in "situ", forse appartengono allo stilobate perché seguendo la direzione di queste due pietre abbiamo osservato che si mette a nudo la roccia, sulla quale poggiavano le fondazioni del tempio leggermente segnate da un taglio sulla roccia. 22 agosto. Tempio. Continuando lo scavo si segue il taglio della roccia dove poggiavano le fondazioni. Nulla di notevole si osserva o si trova, all'infuori di una grande quantità di pezzi di marmo appartenenti allo stilobate distrutto. Qualche insignificante pezzetto di statua di epoca ellenistica di scarso interesse si trova con questi marmi.' (Jacopi 1930/31).

[81] 'Dopo il ritrovamento della mezza testa di marmo arcaica, della testa di grifone in bronzo proveniente da un lebete con altri oggetti di stipe votiva, si procedeva alla identificazione delle fondazioni di un tempio distrutto e del quale non possiamo sapere a chi era dedicato e perciò detto da noi tempio A. Lo scavo fu sospeso e poi ripreso dopo due anni, allo scopo di potere trovare qualche epigrafe e raccogliere eventuali ex voto dispersi nelle vicinanze, dato che in alcuni luoghi l'interramento raggiunge anche più di tre metri' (Jacopi s.d. Tempio A).

[82] 'Sepolcreto arcaico o geometrico. Poco lontano da questo ritrovamento, risalendo nello scavo verso le fondazioni del tempio si è trovato un piccolo sepolcreto arcaico' (Jacopi s.d. Tempio A).

[83] Jacopi 1932/33: 193–203. See also Bossolino 2018b: 27–30.

[84] These are the only chamber tombs in the Eastern Aegean, Crete excluded, after Mycenaean times; see Bossolino 2018a: 152.

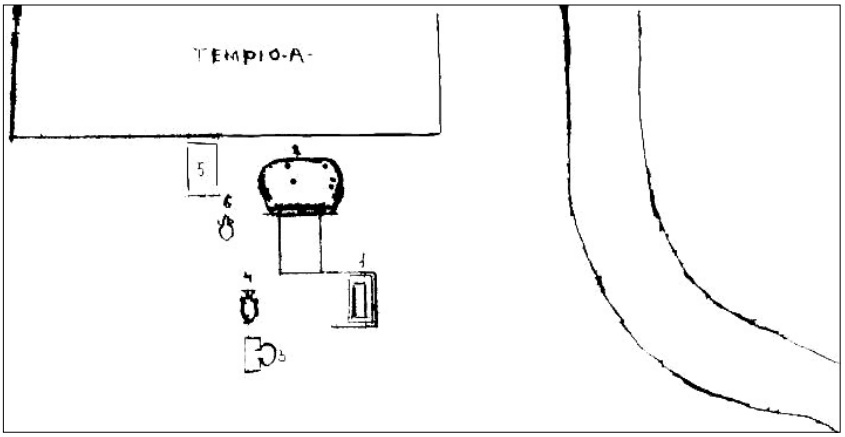


Figure 5. Map of the Kamiros terrace where the so-called Temple A and the nearby necropolis are located (elaboration after Jacopi s.d. Tempio A. Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Dodecanese).



Figure 6. Grave goods assemblage of Kamiros Tomb LXXXII (2), necropolis by the so-called Temple A (after Jacopi 1932/33).

with weapons[85] in Kamiros to date. Tomb LXXXIII (3) (Figure 7) appears equally significant with its rich grave goods: the lustrous imitations of Black-on-Red pottery,[86] in fact, clearly highlight the commercial relationships established by the family with the Levant, and Cyprus in particular.

The most recent deposition of this necropolis seems to hint to connections with the Eastern Mediterranean as well. The beautiful cylindrical pyxis with its modelled lid is the only remaining grave good from tomb LXXXV (5)[87] (Figure 8). While the treatment of the surface with an orange-reddish slip is similar to the local imitations of Cypriot pottery already discussed earlier in this paper, its decoration with concentric circles and small dogtooth motifs and the technique employed to make the incisions on the pottery closely recall Assyrian prototypes, in particular the ornamental scheme of Nimrud's ivories.[88]

Why, then, are the necropolis and the temple in the immediate proximity so critical for this paper's main topic? And how to explain the spatial relationship between the two?

Even though Jacopi's explanation of the peculiar situation is quite entertaining – he talks about some

[85] For the differences between so-called 'warrior graves' and 'burials with weapons', see Georganas 2018.

[86] See Bourogiannis 2009.

[87] Initially, the burial should have contained also a footed crater and a trefoil *oinochoe* decorated with concentric circles; these artefacts, though, were collected but not restored by the Italian archaeologists and are thus now lost: 'Furono ancora raccolti, ma non si poterono ricomporre, vari frammenti di un grande cratere geometrico combusto, su piede munito di vasto echino, solcato da incisioni circolari orizzontali, con zona decorata di meandri e tratteggi sotto l'orlo e il corpo uniformemente verniciato di scuro salvo poche fascette in risparmio, e di un'oinochoe a bocca trilobata di tipo ciprioto, con decorazione dipinta a cerchielli concentrici disposti verticalmente' (Jacopi 1932/33: 203).

[88] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014: 302.



Figure 7. Grave goods assemblage of Kamiros Tomb LXXXIII (3), necropolis by the so-called Temple A (after Jacopi 1932/33).



Figure 8. Cylindrical pixis from Kamiros Tomb LXXXV (5), necropolis by the so-called Temple A (photo: I. Bossolino).

kind of human sacrifices related to the temple[89] – it is hardly likely and certainly difficult to prove. We must instead, as d'Agostino perceptively points out,[90] focus on the time elapsing between the last burial and the earliest votive objects known from this area.

Tomb LXXXV (5), dated to the end of the 8th century BC,[91] is the most recent among the burials of this necropolis. As far as the votive material is concerned, on the other hand, the earliest artefacts with likely votive character dedicated in the sanctuary are the bronze griffin heads, dated to the middle of the 7th century BC. From what is possible to understand through this contextual analysis, then, probably no more than 50 years passed between the abandonment of the cemetery and the creation of the temple.

The picture that emerges from the analysis of the archaeological data of this area is thus of great interest because of the implications it offers about the earliest political organisation of Kamiros. Indeed, by the strong decision to clear away a whole necropolis, however small, for the purpose of installing the foundations of a sanctuary, it is possible to appreciate the consolidation of the same city community that was probably born only a few decades previously.

Conclusions

Through this brief overview, the aim has been to outline and present all the archaeological data connected to likely cult activities collected in the area of Kamiros during the various excavations involving the site. Having verified some of the assumptions proposed by the old scholarly tradition and having reviewed the early publications on the site, as well as the original excavation journals, it is clear that it is helpful to highlight some of the most interesting elements that derive from this analysis.

The first point that deserves attention is the one concerning N. Coldstream's hypothesis[92] that the first cultic manifestations on the acropolis of Kamiros

[89] 'ma il ritrovamento di tombe, se tombe si possono chiamare quelle da noi trovate, darebbero adito a una supposizione di grande importanza. Si potrebbe affacciare l'ipotesi che queste tombe in prossimità e quasi a contatto col tempo abbiano attinenza a pratiche di culto nelle quali si usava forse dei sacrifici umani. Infatti come verrò esponendo qui sotto nelle tombe non furono trovati avanzi di ossa umane provenienti da salme di adulti.' (Jacopi s.d. Tempio A).

[90] D'Agostino 2006: 48.

[91] The pyxis with the beautiful *guilloche* motif is, as stated, the only grave good surviving for us to see today. The surface treatment, tending to orange and very shiny, the intertwined pattern, the small circles on the lid and the engraved sequence of small wolf teeth allow us to date the burial to the last years of the G period.

[92] Coldstream 1977: 312.

were to be dated to the 10th century BC, thus making the temple of Athena one of the earliest sanctuaries in the Greek world. As the first part of this paper reveals, crossing the data from Jacopi's journals and publications together with a new study of the PG and G burials excavated in the area, there are no artefacts of absolute votive type at such an early stage, but only pottery sherds and small vessels, hardly linkable to the future temple with any certainty. Moreover, the first votive objects to be dedicated in all likelihood to Athena are no earlier than the second half of the 8th century BC and consist of a small group of bronze statuettes, mostly of local production.

The second interesting element of this discourse emerges in continuity with the first. Since it seems possible to assume that the sanctuary of Athena was probably founded during the second half of the 8th century BC, i.e. when the first votive objects are dedicated on the acropolis and when the composition of grave goods changes from an elitist and 'Homeric' nature to a more shared and less distinctive characterisation, it is perhaps possible to envisage during the same period the nucleation of the polis of Kamiros.

This hypothesis can be reinforced also by the analysis of the so-called Temple A's context, mostly through the (unfortunately scarce) information that it is possible to gather from the excavation journals. If the sanctuary of Athena was likely founded during the second half of the 8th century BC, then it is necessary to wait nearly one century more to see the creation of the temple on the terrace north of the main archaeological site: the first votive artefacts to be collected in the area (two bronze griffin heads), in fact, are quite clearly dated to the mid-7th century BC. What is important to highlight about this context, though, is the sudden change that can be perceived in the usage and purpose of the area: the location where the temple is founded and eventually built was not an empty terrace, but one occupied by a small and rich cemetery until the very end of the 8th century BC. In this sense, it is legitimate to suppose that the powerful action of occupying a former high-ranking burial plot of family character could suggest the existence and strengthening of a social community, probably of the polis type. This community, likely gathered for the first time around the acropolis sanctuary during the second half of the 8th century BC, establishes itself even more strongly a century later, when, together with the foundation of a new city sanctuary, it decides to obliterate the personal power, or that of certain small groups, represented by the aristocratic necropolis located on the terrace.

Acknowledgments

I started working on some of the material stored in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes in 2016, when I began my thesis on the Iron Age contexts excavated by G. Jacopi as the concluding step in my studies at the Italian Archaeological School in Athens. To the Director, Prof. E. Papi, and to the staff of the School go my warmest thanks for the unique help they provided me over these years, both scientifically and logistically. I am equally indebted to Prof. E. Greco, who first encouraged me to work on this project and on the site of Kamiros. My thanks also go to Prof. M. Harari and Prof. M. D'Acunto, who gave me invaluable suggestions and insights on a context of such importance, and to Prof. M.E. Gorrini, for her constant interest in my work and willingness to discuss ideas and hypotheses. Lastly, I would like to thank the organisers of this conference for the interesting opportunity, and the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, especially E. Farmakidou, T. Marketou, V. Patsiada, and F. Seroglou, for allowing me to study contexts from Kamiros and to benefit from the Museum's facilities.

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Revisiting the Archaic shrine, 'La Chapelle', of Vroulia (Rhodes)

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Abstract

This contribution reconsiders the Archaic suburban shrine, called 'La chapelle', at Vroulia (Rhodes), excavated at the beginning of the 20th century. More specifically, it aims at replacing the building into the typology of Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean 'hearth temples', and also to investigate the influences throughout the regions in connection with the island of Rhodes. The Archaic settlement of Vroulia is one of the most important early settlements in the Aegean, dating from the 7th – 6th century BC. The site was excavated by the Danish Archaeological Expedition in Rhodes in the early 20th century under the supervision of K.F. Kinch. On the southeast foot of Vroulia hill, outside the settlement, Kinch investigated the remains of a small archaic temple ('La chapelle'), belonging to the early 7th century BC, and therefore considered to be one of the earliest temple-buildings known from the Archaic period. The typology of this 'in antae' building with a central (hearth?) altar, fire-pit, and a wall bench, as well as the artefacts associated, have been interpreted in terms of influences with Crete. The multiplicity of new archaeological contexts since its discovery allows us today to re-examine this strategic Rhodian settlement and to better understand this particular, and still quite unparalleled, building.

Key words: Greek temple, hearth temple, Orientalising period, Archaic period, altar, hearth, syncretism

The site

The archaeological site of Vroulia lies on the south coast of Rhodes, an island which, as noted by N. Kourou, lies directly on the coastal route of anyone sailing from the Levant or Cyprus to the Aegean'.[1] Therefore, the Archaic settlement of Vroulia, at the southernmost cape of the island, occupies a strategic position, providing an anchorage at the crossroads of sea-routes between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean regions (Figure 1). Built on the crest of a small headland, the site is also one of the most ancient settlements of the Aegean, with an organised and rectilinear arrangement plan.[2] Another specificity is that the majority of the houses were placed in a row, directly built against a wall, running across the isthmus of the promontory and following the ridge of Vroulia hill. It should also be noted that Vroulia is amongst the cities provided with a fortification wall (of which *c.* 300 m are still preserved),[3] although this feature is not uncommon, especially for coastal sites, on the Cycladic islands, Crete, or in Ionia/Asia Minor,[4] without forgetting Cyprus.[5] The excavations also revealed a fortified tower, associated with an open-air space (sanctuary?) characterised by a rectangular 'altar', as well as an empty space, thought to be an agora, a possible gate of the settlement, and a necropolis. At the southeast foot of Vroulia hill, *c.* 50 m outside of the settlement, a small archaic temple was discovered, opened to the east, just above a deep natural harbour (Figure 2).

Generally speaking, considering the distinctive characteristics of this site (fortifications, strategic situation), as well as its isolated location, Vroulia was first identified as the place of a military garrison.[6] Afterwards, I. Morris, on the basis of the necropolis material, suggested that the inhabitants seemed rather to belong to a rural population (living in 'an ideal peasant world').[7] This last hypothesis, however, has been challenged, taking into account Vroulia's barren landscape, which seems unsuitable for farming ('not a farmer's dreamland'), even though one cannot totally exclude that drastic changes have occurred since antiquity.[8] More recently, the focus has mainly been placed on the commercial aspect of the fortified settlement of Vroulia, which would have played a significant role in the trading network for those sailing along the Rhodian coast to

[1] Kourou 2003: 249.
[2] For a synthesis of the site, see Hoepfner 1999: 194–199 (significantly, the shrine that interests us here is not mentioned, nor even represented on the site plan).
[3] The defensive character of this wall has, however, been challenged by A. Snodgrass (1992: 24, and legend 25).
[4] Cf. Coutsinas 2013: 276–277.
[5] Cf. Balandier 2002.
[6] Following Kinch's first interpretation, T. Melander (1988: 83) considered Vroulia as being the last port of call on the territory of the polis of Lindos.
[7] Morris 1996: 198–199.
[8] Wriedt Sørensen 2002: 252.



Figure 1. Map of Rhodes (adapted from Google Earth by the author).

Crete and the Aegean islands.[9] The dating attributed to the foundation of this small settlement, with its short occupation period, has been a matter of debate. Traditionally dated to *c.* 700 BC,[10] some scholars have successively suggested different chronologies, ranging from the 7th to the 6th century BC.[11] In any event, it seems that the pottery finds suggest that there was an earlier phase, to which no corresponding structures have been linked, going back to the end of the 8th century BC.[12]

History of a discovery

In the early 20th century, the excavation of Vroulia was conducted by the Danish Archaeological Expedition in Rhodes, under the direction of Karl Frederik Kinch.[13] In 1902, when the latter received the official permission to start excavation campaigns on Rhodes from the Turkish government in Constantinople, the island was still part of the Ottoman Empire (until 1912). After initial work on the site in 1905, during which the shrine ('La chapelle') was explored, proper excavations took place at Vroulia over two main campaigns in 1907 and 1908, with the results being published in a remarkable and significant monograph in 1914.[14] Until recently this volume was the only publication for the site for more than a century. It was not until 2011 that the Ephorate of Antiquities of Dodecanese began a new project of restoration, consolidation, and enhancement of the exposed remains of the archaic settlement. This project consisted also of a study, as an opportunity to reconsider the first publication, in collaboration with the National Museum of Denmark.[15]

Architecture: description of the archaic temple, 'La chapelle'

Not far from the fortified settlement a small suburban shrine was discovered, the typology of which was at that time unparalleled on the island, and named 'La chapelle' by its discoverer.[16] Actually, this small building by the sea was the first monument excavated on the site by Kinch in 1905. More precisely, he re-excavated the building, which had already been unearthed the same year by local farmers from the village of Kattavia (situated less than 10 km north of Vroulia), resulting in certain tensions with the latter.[17]

Entirely open to the east, i.e. without façade, the building is rectangular or slightly trapezoidal (8.38 m x 4.66 m [antae] – 4,70 m [back wall]),[18] and belongs to the typology of temples 'in antae' (Figure 3). To the west, against the rear wall, it was equipped with a bench or podium of rough stones (*c.* 40 cm in height; *c.* 54 cm deep), while the entrance of the building in the front

[9] Kourou 2003: 257.

[10] On the basis of the pottery, Kinch (1914: 89) dated the settlement from the beginning of the 7th century BC until *c.* 570/560 BC. For the scholars who place the foundation of Vroulia to *c.* 700 BC, see Melander 1988: 83, referring to Kardara 1963: 31.

[11] I. Morris (1996: 174, 175, note 1) places this occupation between *c.* 625–575 BC; diversely, Fr. Lang (1996: 194) dates it between the mid 7th and mid 6th century BC, while W. Hoepfner (1999: 198) places the beginning of the settlement in the first half of the 7th century BC. The latter also suggests that the settlement would have only survived for two generations, suggesting a final destruction by pirates, who would have enslaved the population. J. Boardman (1971: 144) dates the first occupation of the site from the later 7th century BC, followed by Heilmeyer 1986: 108f; Kourou 2003: 256; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 202.

[12] Kourou 2003: 256–257, with references.

[13] For an overview of the Danish expedition to Rhodes, see Rasmussen and Lund 2014. For K.F. Kinch and the excavation of Vroulia (1905, 1907–1908), cf. Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 96–108.

[14] Kinch 1914.

[15] Kaninia 2019, in particular 206–208; Kaninia and Schierup 2017, in particular 108–118.

[16] Brockmann 1968: 24; Drerup 1969: 51–52; Kalpaxis 1976: 83; Kinch 1914: 8–12; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 202, figs 389–391; Vermeule 1974: 135; Yavis 1949: 64, 66, fig. 24.

[17] For the history of this discovery, see Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 98f.

[18] External dimensions.

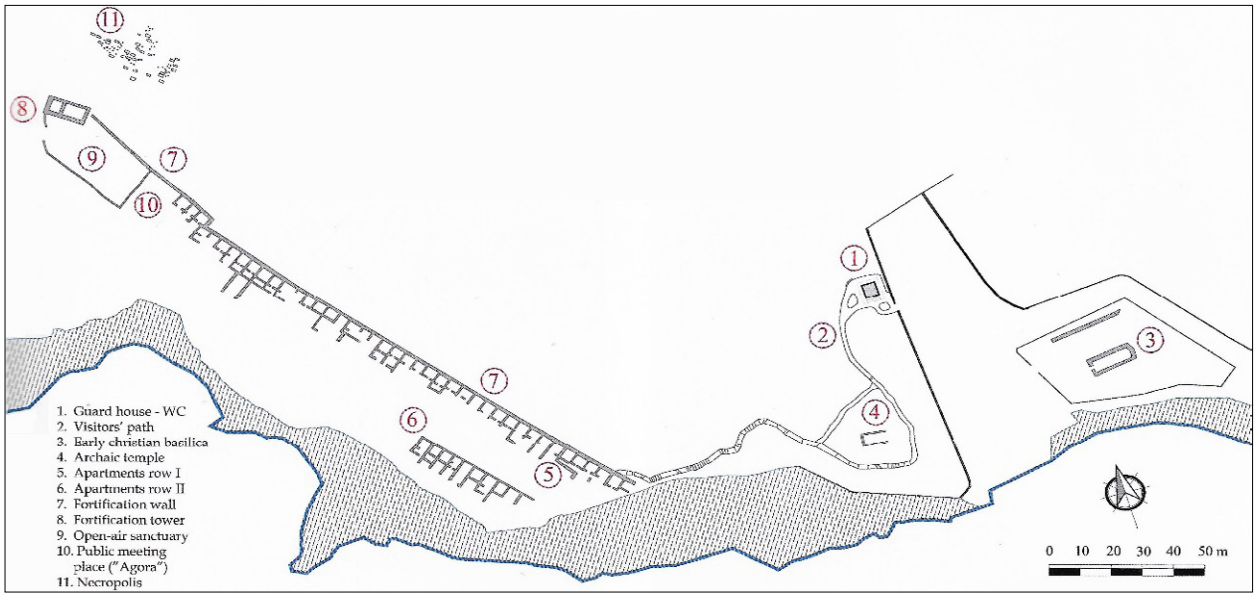


Figure 2. General plan of Vroulia
(after Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 93, fig. 5).

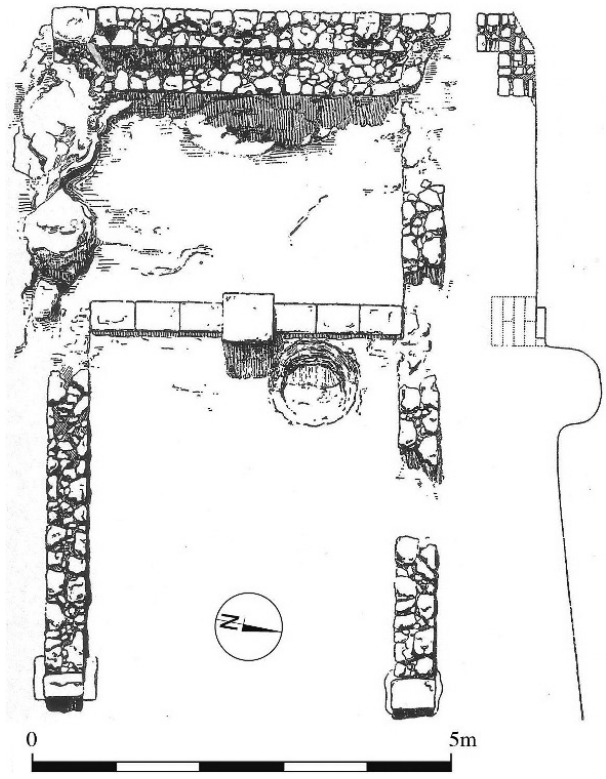


Figure 3. Plan and section of 'La chapelle'
(after Kinch 1914: pl. 1).

was left open. The room was divided into two parts by a line of slabs, or rectangular square blocks, forming a kind of course, at *c.* 2.50 m from the west wall, the rear part of the building being 70 cm higher than the entrance. The bases of the walls were made of poros stone and limestone; they were preserved between 14–17 cm (for the long walls) and 55 cm (rear wall) in height, with a thickness of *c.* 47–50 cm, while the elevation was very probably in mud bricks.

In the centre of the room, a rectangular space for an altar (55 cm x 60 cm; h. 65 cm) has been recognised. Unfortunately, at the time of Kinch's excavation, the first 'excavators' had damaged this structure: several stone slabs from the altar, as well as others from the course dividing the room, had been removed, and broken.[19] In his personal diary, it appears clearly that Kinch worked hard to get the stones of the altar back and to try to replace them in their original positions.[20] They consisted of five courses of rough poros, carefully worked; the three top layers being constituted of quadrangular stones, while the two lower courses were composed of two rectangular stones laid side by side.

A pit excavated by the locals just behind this platform, slightly to the north of it, revealed charcoals, which, according to Kinch's statement, were probably from bone rather than wood. This hearth-pit, that he labelled 'fosse à offrandes (*bothros*)', was circular and dug to the rock (largest diameter 0.90 m – 1 m, depth 53 cm).[21] In his typology of Greek altars, C.G. Yavis has interpreted this structure as an altar for sacrifices, considering that the content of the pit was constituted of sacrificial leftovers.[22] M.P. Nilsson refers to the feature as 'a *bothros* near the altar'.[23]

According to Yavis, a (wooden) cult statue might originally have been placed on the rear bench (mentioned above), which afterwards would have been placed on a base against the wall, while the bench would have been transformed into an offering table.[24]

[19] Kinch 1914: 7.
[20] Cf. Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 98.
[21] Kinch 1914: 10.
[22] Yavis 1949: 66.
[23] Nilsson 1968[2] (1927): 454.
[24] Yavis 1949: 66.

The material from the shrine

The main objects from the buildings had already been removed by the locals and Kinch set about collecting these finds, which, according to his own account, he successfully did.[25] Apart from fine and coarse-ware fragments (from the backfill of the shrine), pebbles, and small shells (especially limpets), these finds can be identified as follows:

Pottery

- A large, North Ionian late 'Wild-Goat'-style *dinos* (h. 31 cm, d. 37.5 cm) and stand (h. 25 cm) (some fragments of which have been found in Kinch's excavation), dated to *c.* 600–575 BC (Figure 4a).[26]
- Two Milesian late 'Wild-Goat'-style stemmed dishes, one of which is dated to the late 7th/early 6th century BC.[27]
- A transitional/early Corinthian clay alabastron (h. 8.4 cm), dated to the late 7th/early 6th century BC.[28]
- A trefoil *oinochoe* (jug).[29]
- Four Ionian cups,[30] three skyphoid cups,[31] at least five other fragmentary drinking cups,[32] and 'une quantité considérable' of fragments belonging to other drinking cups (some of which of Vroulian type).[33]
- Some small Corinthian perfume vases.
- Two fragmentary Cypriot vases decorated with concentric circles.
- A small amphora.[34]

Figurines (the artefacts marked with an asterisk [*] were found near the built altar)

- A small terracotta figurine of a horse with a rider (wearing a pointed cap) of Cypriot origin (h. 16.2 cm, l. 13.8 cm) (Figure 4b).[35]
- A fragmentary terracotta figurine of a man holding an animal offering (a pig?) with his right hand up to the chest, an iconography well attested elsewhere on the island (Lindos), in Cyprus and in the Levant (Sidon) (preserved h. 13.5 cm).[36]
- A sphinx statuette in limestone on a rectangular plinth (preserved h. *c.* 18.5 cm) of Cypriot origin, with a Phoenician inscription on its right wing



Figure 4a. *Dinos* and stand from 'La chapelle' (after Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 98, fig. 11).



Figure 4b. Terracotta figurine of a horseman from 'La chapelle' (after Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 99, fig. 12).

[25] Kinch 1914: 12–26.
[26] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11275 (*dinos*) and 11276 (stand)]. Cook and Dupont 1998: 53–54 (fig. 8.19); Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 119, 1.1, with more references. Kinch 1914: 11,18–19, no. 1, pl. 15, 1, 3–4.
[27] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11280 (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art of Aarhus University)]; h. 6 cm, d. 34.5 cm; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 119, 1.2, with references. [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11290]; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 120, 1.3, with references.
[28] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11322]; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 120, 1.4, with bibliography.
[29] Kinch 1914: 20.
[30] Kinch 1914: 20–22.
[31] Kinch 1914: 22–23.
[32] Kinch 1914: 23.
[33] Kinch 1914: 23–26.
[34] Kinch 1914: 26.
[35] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11274]; Kinch 1914: 12–14, pls. 13.1, 14.1; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 99, fig. 12, but erroneously referred to as a 'limestone' figurine in the publication (cf. p. 99, legend fig. 12, and note 44).
[36] Kinch 1914: 14.

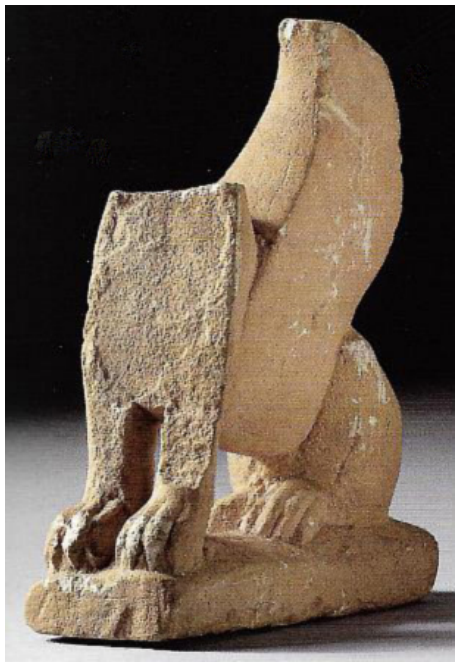


Figure 4c. Limestone sphinx of Cypriot origin, found in 'La chapelle' (after Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 95, fig. 9a).

(head and chest entirely missing), dated *c.* 600–575 BC (Figure 4c).[37]

- *The upper part of a Cypriot limestone statuette of a standing woman wearing a blousing *chiton* (h. 9.8 cm), right hand in front of her breast, the left lowered, dated *c.* 600–575 BC.[38]
- *The upper part of a Cypriot limestone statuette of a beardless double-flute (*aulos*) player (h. 9.4 cm), dated *c.* 600–575 BC.[39]
- *A seated bird of prey (falcon?) mounted on a rectangular plinth, limestone, of Cypriot origin (h. 5.5 cm, l. 6.8 cm).[40]
- A standing beardless male (?) limestone statuette, of which only the upper part of the body is preserved (h. 9.7 cm); the figure is represented wearing a *chiton* and a *himation* and holding his right arm up to the chest, while his left (badly damaged) hangs down along the body.[41]

[37] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11328]; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 120, 1.5; Kinch 1914: 16, pl. 14.4; Kourou 2003: 255–256. Previously this figurine was dated *c.* 625–565 BC, cf. Riis *et al.* 1989: 51–52, no. 34, or late 7th century BC, cf. Bourogiannis 2019: 69; Bourogiannis 2015: 163. See also *infra*.

[38] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11326]; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 120, 1.6, with bibliography; Kinch 1914: 15, no. 1, pls. 13.2, 14.2. Previously this figurine was dated *c.* 625–565 BC, cf. Riis *et al.* 1989: 36, no. 17.

[39] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11327]; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 121, 1.8, with bibliography; Kinch 1914: 15–16, no. 2, pls. 13.3, 14.3. Previously this figurine was dated *c.* 625–565 BC, cf. Riis *et al.* 1989: 34, no. 15.

[40] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 11329]; Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 120, 1.7, with bibliography; Kinch 1914: 16–17, pl. 14.5. Previously this figurine was dated *c.* 625–565 BC, cf. Riis *et al.* 1989: 55, no. 38.

[41] [The National Museum of Denmark, inv. 12216]. Kourou, Karagheorgis *et al.* 2002: 55–56, VR-4, pl. II:6.

Various Finds

- A small bronze bowl; a bronze fibula; a silver ring; an iron spearhead (preserved l. 9.5 cm); a fragmentary iron knife; some glass fragments.[42]

According to the Kattavians, no objects were found on the bench, nor in the pit; almost all of these artefacts had been collected in the higher section of the room, i.e. between the bench and the slab course. From this area come the *dinos* (found near the NW corner of the altar), the small amphora (also found near the altar), and the horseman figurine. With the exception of these latter items, most of the figurines were discovered in the lower section of the room, close to the stone-altar.[43]

At the time of Kinch's work, some of the material excavated at Vroulia was taken to Denmark, while most of the objects were either possibly sent to Istanbul, or have been lost. First steps in trying to locate the archaeological material were undertaken by St. Schierup, who published an appendix with the Vroulia collection preserved in the National Museum of Denmark.[44]

As for the dating of the finds, they have traditionally been dated from the Late Minoan to the 7th century BC. The building itself, originally dated to the 8th century, or to an earlier period,[45] had for a while been dated to *c.* 700 BC, just like the settlement. More recently, the shrine has been roughly dated to the 7th century, according to a new dating which ranges the material of 'La chapelle' from the second half/end of the 7th century to the beginning of the 6th century BC (cf. *supra*).

Replacing the suburban shrine of Vroulia in the typological series of Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean temples

Ancient comparisons

At the time of its discovery, since the typology of this building remained unparalleled on the island, this shrine has been considered in terms of Cretan influences, both because of the interpretation of its plan[46] and of the material which was inside,[47] but, more curiously, also because of a vase found on the island, but unrelated

[42] Kinch 1914: 26.

[43] Kinch 1914: 11.

[44] Cf. Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 119–127.

[45] Yavis 1949: 66.

[46] Kinch (1914: 8–12, and n. 3, pl. I) suggested certain Cretan influences, comparing this Rhodian building with the Double-Axe chapel of the palace at Knossos. See also Nilsson 1968[2] (1927): 435f, fig. 199.

[47] E.g. Kinch (1914: 17) compared a bird statuette found in the shrine with the birds represented on a Late Minoan sarcophagus from Haghia Triada (Crete).

to this archaeological context.[48] On the one hand, the vases found in the shrine induced Kinch to parallel it with the 'Shrine of the Double Axes' at Knossos, a Post-palatial context dating back to the Late Bronze Age.[49] On the other hand, the bench for cult objects and idols and 'the resemblance of the disposition of this shrine to the one in the palace of Knossos' has led Nilsson, following Kinch,[50] to assume that it constituted a proof of continuity with the Bronze Age, i.e. 'that the traditions of the late Minoan age persisted as late as the seventh century BC'.[51] In the 1940s, Yavis considered that the shrine of Vroulia 'shows clear Minoan affinities', and that it would have contained finds 'dating from Late Minoan', by relying also on Minoan/Mycenaean finds reported at Ialyssos as a proof of the 'strength of Minoan and Mycenaean penetration in Rhodes'.[52] This supposed Cretan influence continued to be cited, and, in the 1970s, E.T. Vermeule drew comparisons between the chapel of Vroulia and Cretan cult buildings, characterised by a central hearth (Olous, Dreros, Prinias), which he considered as primitive temples.[53]

However, the Cretan central-hearth buildings mentioned by Vermeule, namely the pseudo Temple A at Prinias and the Delphinion at Dreros, are not the best examples, as they are both urban buildings. Certainly the 'Temple A' at Prinias can be taken as close in chronology to the shrine of Vroulia, but the total absence of votives speaks against its classification as a cult building at all; this absence of votive deposition and cult symbol, combined with its architectural features, rather seems to point to an aristocratic banquet hall.[54] Moreover, the plan is not really comparable, in the sense that since then it has been demonstrated that the pseudo 'Temple A' at Prinias is not exactly an independent building, not to mention that its façade is, in no way, comparable to the open front of the Vroulia shrine. The building sometimes referred to as the temple of Apollo Delphinos, on the saddle at Dreros, is not unproblematic either when trying to compare it with Vroulia, its dating not being based on the stratigraphy. The three statuettes discovered inside this building, generally dated stylistically from the end of the 8th century BC, might not have been placed inside it during its first phase of occupation. Moreover, the orientation of the building follows exactly the lines of a stepped agora, whose definitive monumental aspect dates to the Hellenistic period.[55] Finally, the context of the extra-urban, or rural, sanctuary of Olous (Sta Lenika) should be dismissed, since the hearth, apart from the fact that it is rectangular in shape, was situated outside the building, and also because this context ranges between the 10th and the 9th century BC.

A methodological consideration

Following M. Cosmopoulos: 'typological similarities in architecture and artifacts of distant regions [...] should be treated with caution when not backed by other evidence. They should be particularly questionable when referring to very simple forms of artifacts and plans of buildings: a large number of vague affinities does not necessarily suggest contact.'[56]

Therefore, to avoid multidirectional comparisons, we propose here to focus mainly on contemporaneous contexts, selecting as far as possible relevant criteria, such as suburban cult places, but at the same time avoiding restricting ourselves to the geographical framework of the Aegean. Indeed, we might broaden our exploration to the Eastern Mediterranean, following the thread of ancient and firmly attested contacts between these different regions: a good starting point being provided by our knowledge of the ancient maritime routes (Figure 5).[57] Also, to make relevant comparisons, it is crucial to take into account buildings characterized by a centrally built altar, and not only by a hearth at the level of the floor.

The island of Crete

Staying at first within the Cretan context, a solid point of comparison in Crete, and perhaps the best of them, is to be found at Kommos' Temple B (*c.* 800–600 BC), in southern Crete.[58] There, on the Libyan Sea, a natural harbour site, a bay situated on the western coast of the Messara plain, has provided all the evidence for a stopping-off point for Levantine merchants; Cypro-Phoenician pottery is attested mostly before *c.* 800 BC, and, to a lesser extent, until *c.* 750 BC.[59] Crucially, the oriental presence is also visible in the construction of an indoor altar of Levantine inspiration, characterised by three small pillars (or *baetyls*), and in use during the two first phases of Temple B, i.e. *c.* 800–650 BC. However, material evidence from the Levant seems no longer to show up on the site after *c.* 630 BC. Additionally, more than just its harbour context, at the crossroads of sea-routes, like Vroulia, the site of Kommos seems to correspond to an extra-urban, or rural, sanctuary.[60] In comparison with the suburban shrine of Vroulia, the characteristics of Temple B at Kommos are strikingly close (Figure 6): both in dimensions (Kommos: *c.* 8.08 m x 6.40 m; Vroulia: *c.* 8.38 m x 4.66–4.70 m) and plan;

[48] Cf. Kinch 1914:12, 26–34, and fig. 13 (R. Zahn).
[49] Kinch 1914: 11.
[50] Kinch 1914: 12: 'la chapelle de Vroulia me semble descendre directement de celle de Knossos'.
[51] Nilsson 1968[2] (1927): 454.
[52] Yavis 1949: 66.
[53] Vermeule 1974: 135.
[54] Lamaze 2020.
[55] Gaignerot-Driessen 2016: 226–227.
[56] Cosmopoulos 1991: 155–156.
[57] Negbi 1992.
[58] Shaw and Shaw 2000.
[59] Shaw 1989: 182; Shaw 1998: 19.
[60] This aspect has been challenged by R.M. Anzalone (2015: 117).

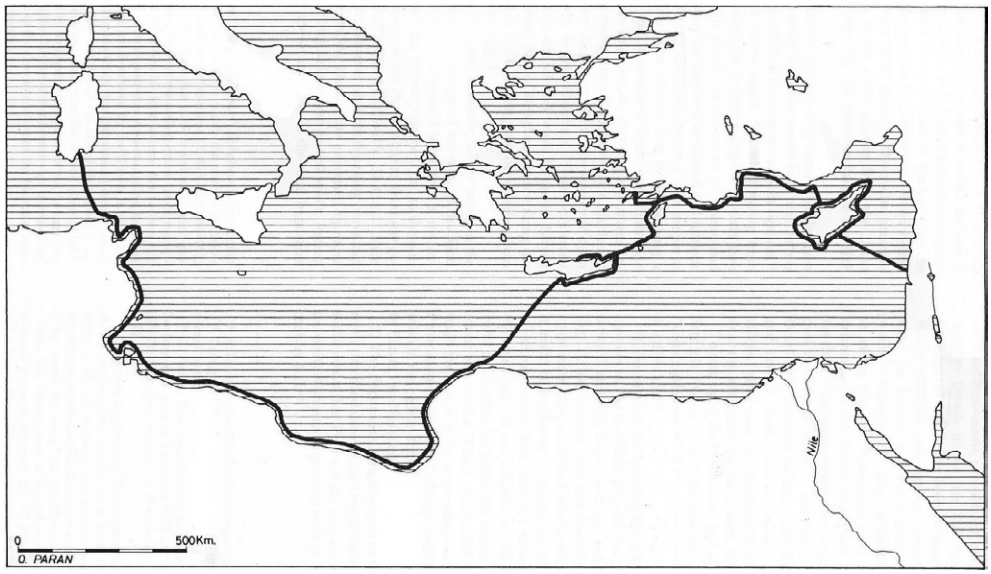


Figure 5. Hypothetical maritime routes from the Levant to the Western Mediterranean for the 'pre-colonial' era (after Negbi 1992: 612, fig. 3).

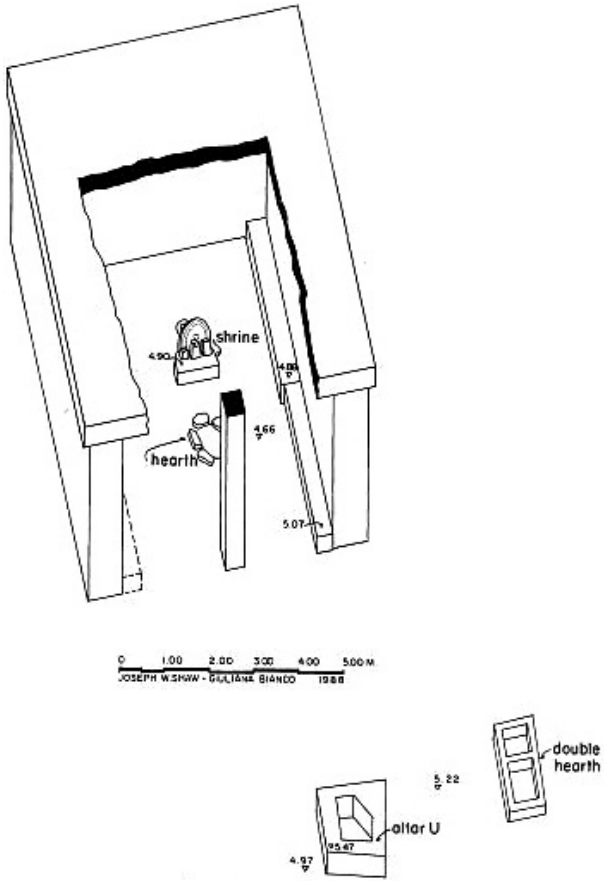


Figure 6. Kommos, isonometric restitution of the Temple B (phase 2), view from the East (after Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl. 1.31).

both are oriented to the east and are characterised by an open front, which represents a unique feature in terms of cult buildings across the Aegean.[61] The eastern façade of the Kommos building, however, might have been divided by a central pillar, as attested by a quadrangular stone block,[62] even if all scholars do not accept this restitution.[63] Both in Vroulia and Kommos no element seems to indicate internal supports. At the same time, it seems to us that the presence in each building of hearths and benches inside along the walls strongly argues against the hypaethral hypothesis.[64] Another common point is the bench arrangement, which is typical of 'bench sanctuaries'. Inside Temple B at Kommos, the wall bench(es) running along the north (and probably also the south) wall seem to have been used for seated sacred meals, and perhaps also for the placement of gifts.[65] The Kommos shrine has revealed evidence of animal sacrificial practices (burnt bones) and of consumption of (sacred) meals, including marine fauna. Next to the so-called 'Tripillar Shrine', i.e. the built altar described above, a succession of well-delimited hearths have been found, built just in front of it, a juxtaposition that recalls the interior arrangement of Vroulia's shrine. Finally, amongst the votives, one interesting comparison with Vroulia might be the presence of a (bronze) horse figurine.

The Aegean islands

The typology of hearth-shrines equipped with a platform, as a place for an altar, and sometimes benches, is not unknown on certain islands in the Aegean. From north to south, the first example is the Archaic temple of Athena, on the acropolis of Emporio, Chios. There, a small oikos building, mid 6th century BC, enclosed an earlier altar (Altar A) in the centre of the back part of the main room (Figure 7). As suggested by A. Mazarakis

[61] Shaw and Shaw 2000: 699–700.

[62] Dimensions: 46 cm x 54 cm, preserved h. 80 cm; Shaw and Shaw 2000: 14.

[63] Pappalardo 2002: 264.

[64] *Contra* Pappalardo 2002, who sees in the Temple B of Kommos an 'open shrine' for an hypaethral cult.

[65] Shaw and Shaw 2000: 679–680. The North bench (h. 40 cm, 44 cm wide) is only securely attested during the first phase of the building (*c.* 800–760 BC).



Figure 7. Emporio of Chios, aerial view of the Temple of Athena (after Vlachopoulos 2005, p. 127, fig. 165).

Ainian, the traditional dating of this trapezoidal built altar (h. 80 cm) to the last quarter of the 7th century BC may actually only date a repair to an earlier structure, which was already the centre of ritual activities from the late 8th century BC.[66] But there is more: according to J. Boardman, there might have been a first temple there, whose foundations were rubbed out by the bedding trenches of the archaic temple.[67] Indeed, the good state of conservation of local Chios fine-ware pottery found inside, around the altar, led the excavator to suggest that this altar had never been an open-air one.[68] This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the discovery of a fragmentary chimney pot, dating to the first phase of the sanctuary.[69] Thus, even if the material evidence that the built platform was used as a hearth-altar is rather limited (the top part of the structure is not preserved), the chimney pot might argue in its favour. Be that as it may, when, during the 6th century BC, a monumental altar was built outside the building ('Altar B'), as well as the quadrangular base for a cult statue against the SW corner of the interior trapezoidal 'Altar A', it is highly probable that from that moment the central platform lost its primary function as hearth-altar, and from then on became (only) an offering table. In relation to this shrine, a large quantity of cups is mentioned, as well as *obeloi*, knives, a spearhead, and votives. Some vases bore incised inscriptions dedicated to the goddess Athena, at least from the second quarter of the 6th century BC.

On the island of Andros in the Cyclades, a credible comparison with Vroulia is to be found at the coastal site of Zagora, an early fortified settlement on a plateau framed by two small bays that form ideal natural harbours. There, during the second quarter of the 6th century BC, while the settlement was abandoned (late 8th century BC) and in ruins, a temple was built in the form of an independent building, most likely dedicated to Athena. Situated a few meters away from the ruined houses – and more specifically from a significant building recognised as a ruler's dwelling (Building H19) – it consists in an *oikos*-type building (10.42 m x 7.65 m) which encloses, approximately in the centre of the main room, an earlier built-altar (Figure 8). This structure is slightly trapezoidal in shape and is dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BC. Numerous drinking cups, and banquet ware, as well as knives, *obeloi*, charcoals, bones, and ashes in association with the altar, all testify to consumption and sacrificial practices inside the building; the faunal remains are associated with the altar from its earliest phase in the open air.[70]

Also on the west coast of Andros, on the promontory of Ypsili, another temple, sharing many similarities with the archaic temple of Zagora, is characterised by a central platform (1.63 m x 1.33 m, h. 44 cm) against the back wall, presumably an altar[71] or a base for a cult statue.[72] With its two built rectangular tables and stone benches along the three internal walls, it belongs to the 'temple-*hestiatorion*' typology, indeed representing one of its best illustrations.[73] Situated in the centre of a fortified acropolis, the temple presents two phases, ranging between *c.* 750 and *c.* 450 BC (Figure 9). In its first phase (*c.* 750–700 BC), the building was composed of in antae *pronaos*. It is only during a second phase (second quarter of the 6th

[66] Boardman 1967: 8; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 287, and note 130.
[67] Boardman 1967: 8.
[68] Boardman 1967: 8.
[69] Boardman 1967: 38, 39, fig. 17c; Lamaze 2011: 253, 15.
[70] Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988: 165–171.
[71] The excavator Ch. Televantou labels this structure as '*bomos*'.
[72] Mazarakis Ainian 2016: 27.
[73] For this typology, see Mazarakis Ainian 2016.

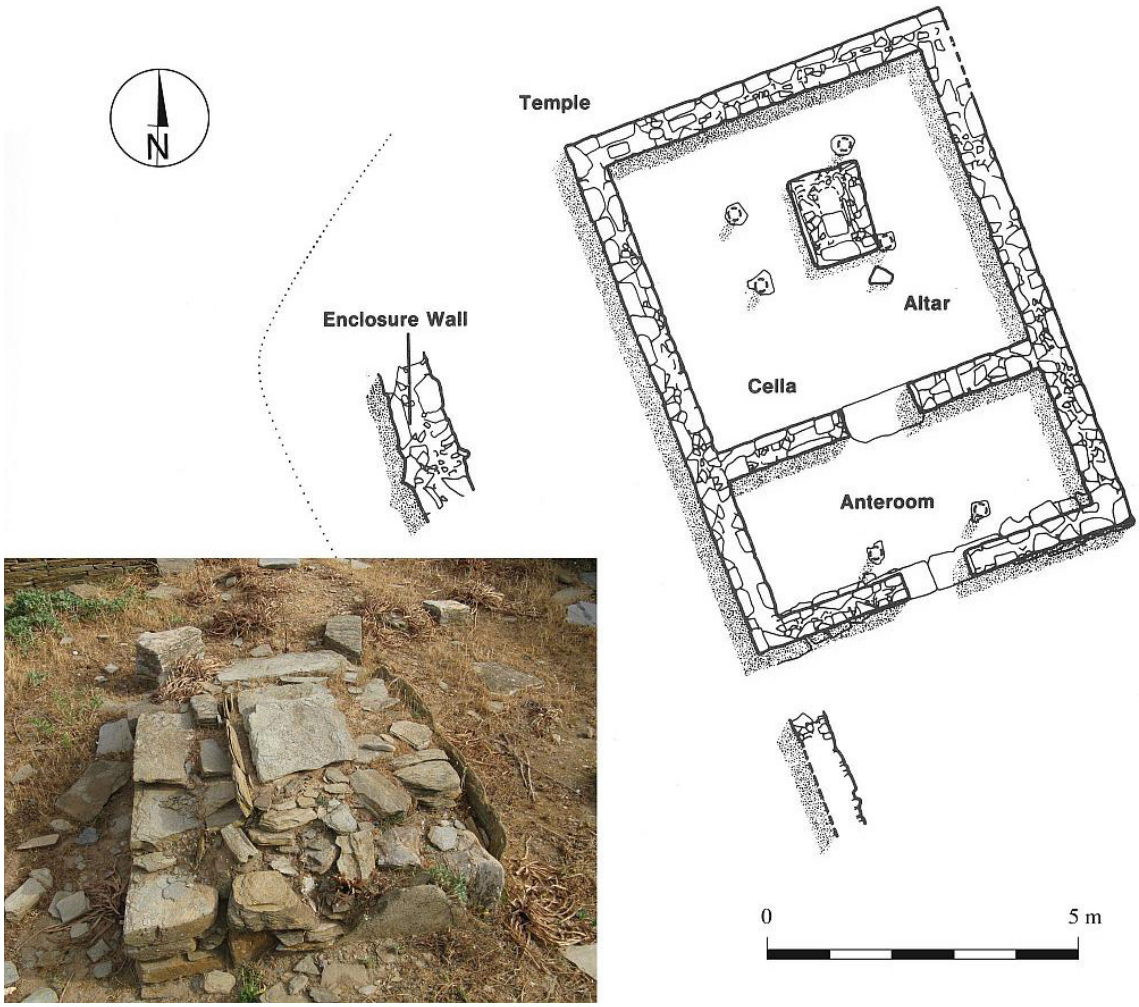


Figure 8. Andros Island (Cyclades), Temple of Zagora with central built-altar (after Cambitoglou 1991, fig. 11); detail of the built-altar made of schist slabs (photo by the author).

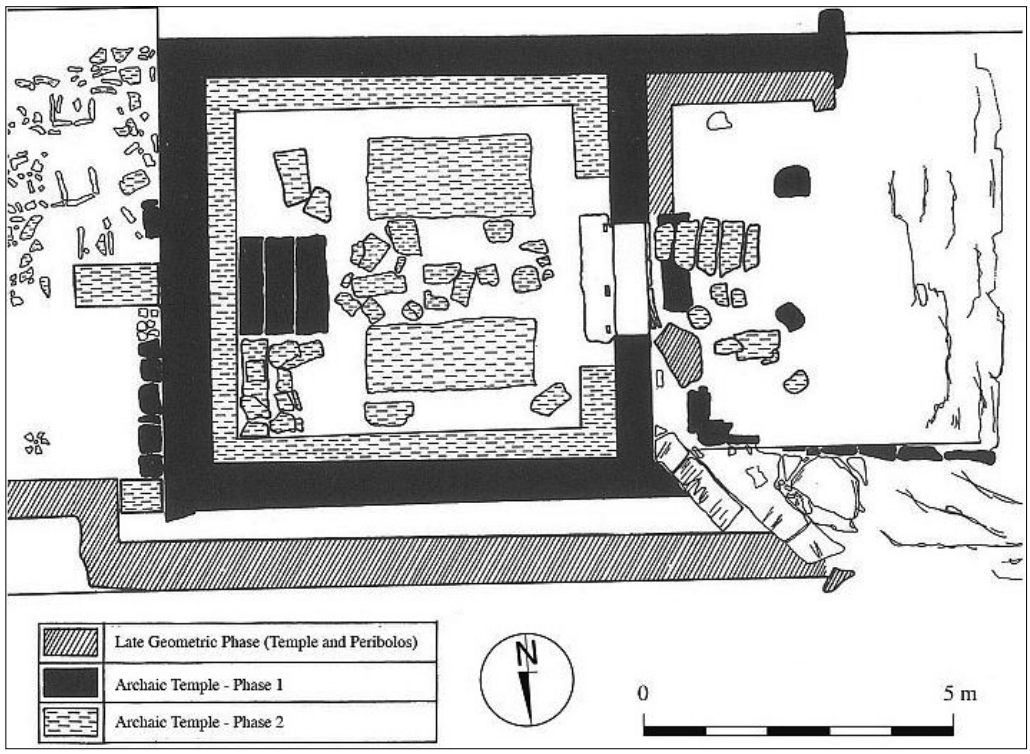


Figure 9. Andros Island (Cyclades), Temple of Ypsili (after Televantou 1999:138, pl. 1, with modifications by the author).

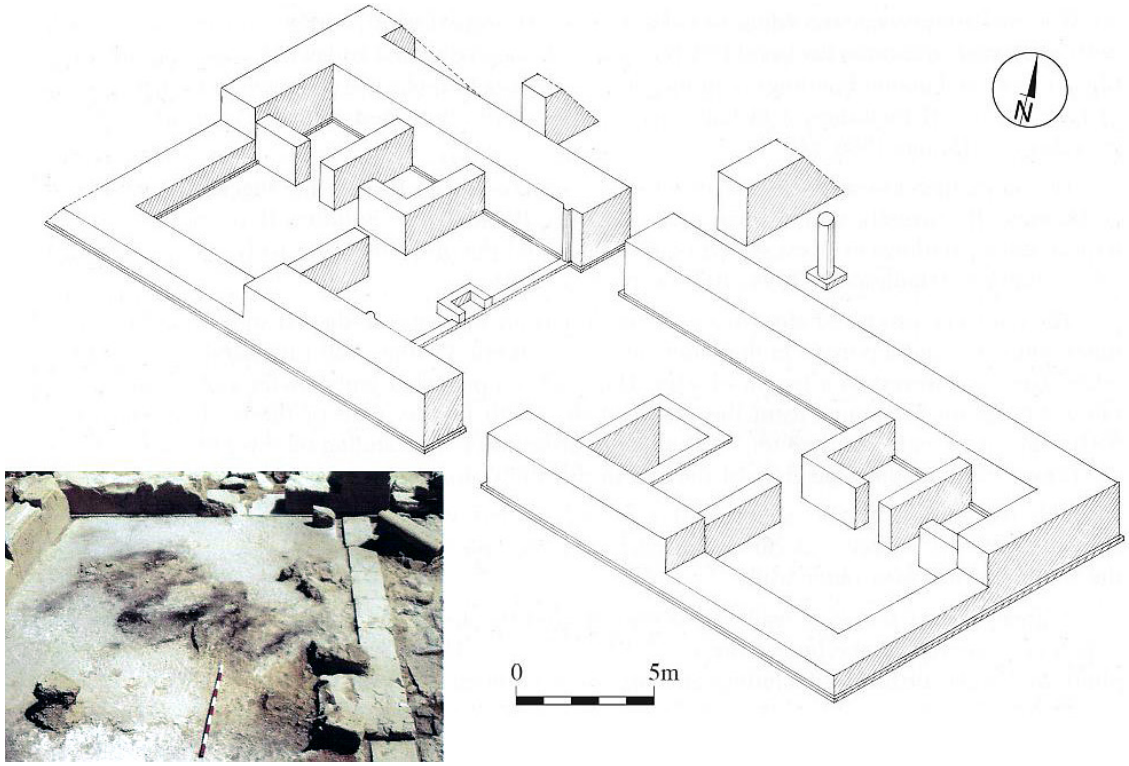


Figure 10. Alassa-Paliotaverna (Cyprus), the South Wing, general view from the east (after Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997: 144, fig. 1); detail of the built-hearth and 'stylobate', with a semi-cylindrical column at the back (after Hadjisavvas 2017: 155, fig. 4.34).

century BC) that the benches and tables were added. During this last phase the *pronaos* was actually an open porch with two columns, while the soil floor of the main room was paved and two steps (or tables?) were added to the northern part of the central platform. Many miniature vases, figurines (amongst which a statuette of a pig), and pebbles were associated with the altar, some being found on top of it, others inside its masonry. The analogies between the archaic temple at Zagora and the temple at Ypsili, especially in the shape and in the method of construction of the altars, both made of schist slabs, has been underlined by the excavator of the site.[74] Additionally, the high plateau-settlement of Ypsili was fortified, like the one of Zagora, and also flanked on either side by bays.

Regarding the architectural features of interest to us (i.e. central built-altars enclosed in a building), both the temple of Zagora and Ypsili are contemporaneous (6th century BC) and it is assumed that they probably fulfilled more or less the same function. They were used after their associated settlements were abandoned, the inhabitants having moved to a site that will in time flourish as the Classical city of Andros (Paleopolis). It is also very probable that a similar scenario occurred at Emporio of Chios, since the settlement was abandoned *c.* 600 BC and the monumentalisation phase (or first construction) of the acropolis temple dates to the middle of the 6th century BC. Accordingly, as clearly these Aegean cult-buildings were not city temples, these three Cycladic contexts are not comparable to the suburban shrine of Vroulia.[75]

The island of Cyprus

While bench sanctuaries have a long tradition on Cyprus, going back to the Bronze Age,[76] the architectural feature of a course of stone blocks dividing a room into two different spaces, together with a hearth-platform in the middle, seems also attested on the island, at least within the palatial context of Alassa-Paliotaverna (southern Cyprus). There, an ashlar masonry building (Building II), one of the largest structures on the island, has a Π-shape plan, composed of three wings. During the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1190 BC), the internal arrangements of the South Wing were modified to create what might have been a ceremonial space (cf. *infra*), presenting a symmetry unusual for Cypriot Bronze Age architecture. The central space (114 m^2), labelled 'Hearth Room', is characterised by a monolithic square base (64 cm on each side) for a hearth, set in the middle of a kind of 'stylobate' (h. 30 cm) composed of 14 rectangular blocks running from the north to the south wall of this space, thus dividing the room into two parts (Figure 10). Some semi-circular columns were found in the room;

[74] Televantou 1999: 135.

[75] Gounaris 2005: 18.

[76] Lamaze 2014: 247–253; Pritchard 1975: 19.

originally two of these were most probably set at each extremity of this stylobate, mortised against the north and south walls. According to S. Hadjisavvas, this type of column is unique in the Mediterranean at this period, and their presence, together with the central hearth, is interpreted as an influence of Aegean palatial architecture.[77] The contemporaneous floor was covered with ashes and sherds. Based on the architecture and finds, the ceremonial character of the room has first been suggested by the excavator, which mentioned 'a public building containing a cult place',[78] followed by K.D. Fisher, who considers this hearth room as dedicated to ritual activities for an exclusive group of participants.[79] However, recently, this interpretation has been challenged in the final publication.[80]

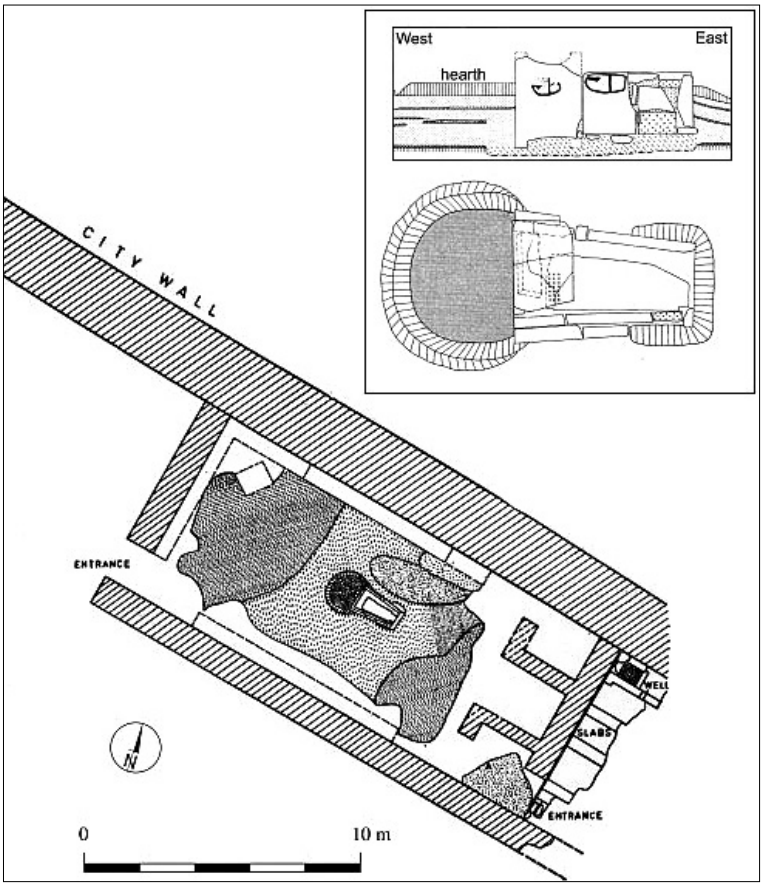


Figure 11. Kition-Kathari (Cyprus), Temple 4, floor I (after Karageorghis 1976: 93, fig. 15; Smith 2009: 82, fig. III.2).

The association between hearths and platforms is, however, also characteristic of the Cypriot culture from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. At the site of Ayia Irini, on the western part of the north coast of Cyprus, a small hearth room of the 13th century BC, with an L-shape bench in the SW corner, was identified in relation with a court. Ashes and animal bones were collected in the hearth, as well as over all the floors of the edifice. Together with the other elements described above, stone offering tables and bovid figurines suggest a cultural building linked with the preparation and consumption of ritual meals.[81]

Similarly, at Kition-Kathari (modern Larnaca), on the southeast coast of Cyprus, a monumental building (Temple 4) was characterised by the juxtaposition of a (pit-) hearth in relation with a platform or altar, over successive periods ranging from the Late Bronze Age to the Archaic period. The site of ancient Kition offered ideal conditions for a harbour, especially when sailing westwards from the Levant. For obvious reasons, this prominent port for trade was chosen by the Phoenicians. The construction of Temple 4 (Area II), built directly against the city wall and oriented E–W, dates to the 12th century BC. Leaving aside the Late Bronze Age phases of this edifice – although not in themselves lacking of interest for us, as this latter temple was already characterised by a central-built platform, in front of which was a circular (pit) hearth (Figure 11)[82] – we will now focus on the EIA phases. They correspond to the Phoenicians levels, thus getting closer in chronological terms to the Vroulia shrine on Rhodes. After an abandonment of *c.* 150 years (from *c.* 1000 BC), a new temple was built at Kition, more or less on the foundations of its Late Bronze Age predecessor. The new temple from the Phoenician period (floor 3: *c.* 800–725 BC) included Rooms 37 and 37A (Figure 12).[83] In the centre of the main room, a hearth (surrounded by a low horseshoe-shaped enclosure wall in mud bricks, covering a previous hearth pit) was built to the west of a reused trapezoidal table of offerings, labelled Altar D (and corresponding to Altar E during the previous phase).[84] The hearth contained ashes, and a few bones and sherds. However, during a second phase of Floor 3, several changes are visible. Both the hearth and table were enclosed within a wall made of mud brick and poros stone. The hearth

[77] Hadjisavvas 2017: 157.
[78] Hadjisavvas 1997: 32.
[79] Fisher 2014: 191–193.
[80] Cf. Hadjisavvas 2017: 176-177. Moreover, according to the author, there is also a possibility that the hearth would have been in an open-air courtyard, which makes even more problematic the architectural restitution of this space.
[81] Lamaze 2014: 252, fig. 13; Webb 1999: 53–58.
[82] Lamaze 2022.
[83] Karageorghis 2005: 65–67.
[84] Lamaze 2022.



Figure 12. Kition-Kathari (Cyprus), Temple 4, floor 3A, view from the south (after Karageorghis 2005, pl. XIV, 1); detail from the hearth and altar (after Smith 2009: 82, fig. III.2).

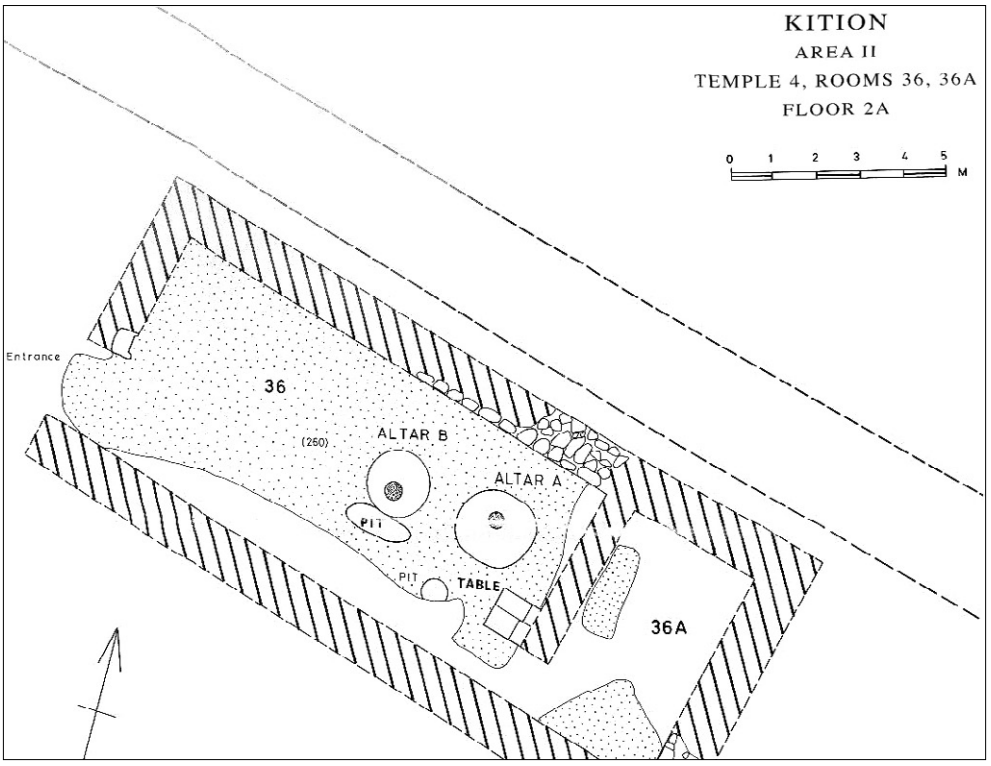


Figure 13. Kition-Kathari (Cyprus), Temple 4, floor 2A (after Karageorghis 2005: plan XI).

contained many successive layers of ashes. In addition, according to the excavator, three E–W aligned bases for pillars may indicate that only one half of the room was roofed. The finds, apart from a small number of pottery vessels, included a fragmentary small terracotta horse figurine, a stone anchor, a fragmentary terracotta mask, beads, and several bronze items. Later, during Floor 2A (*c.* 725–550 BC), the internal arrangements of Temple 4 (Figure 13) featured two circular mud brick and clay altars, one of which (d. 1.40 m, h. 23 cm) was overlaid by layers of ashes, while two shallow bowls have been collected on its edge. Interestingly, in the

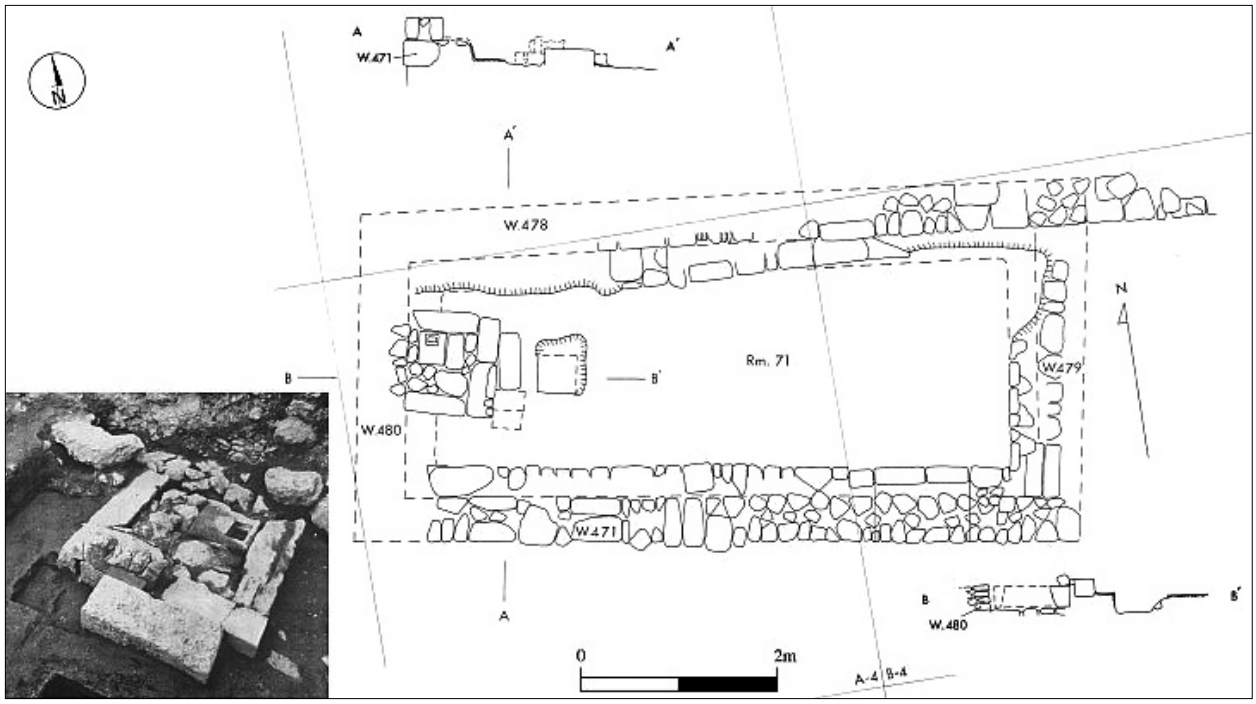


Figure 14. Sarepta (Lebanon), plan of the shrine (after Pritchard 1978, fig. 125); detail of the altar (after Pritchard 1975, fig. 35).

southeast corner of the room (presumably a courtyard) a quadrangular offering table (1 m x 1 m, h. 35 cm) made of two rectangular slabs was associated to a circular pit.[85]

The Syro-Palestinian coast

In the Levant, the temple of Tanit at Sarepta (actual Sarafand), in southern Lebanon, is dated from the 8th–7th centuries (first phase of use) to the 6th–5th centuries BC (second phase). The shrine area was separated from a pottery-making sector by a street running along the south side of the temple. Oriented E–W, the internal dimensions of the temple are 2.56 m x 6.40 m. It is thought that it was built in ashlar blocks. This little shrine belongs to the typology of bench sanctuaries. Stone-cemented benches (h. 20 cm, 30–40 cm wide) have been recognised along the internal north, south, and east walls. At the west end of the shrine, there is a built central arrangement (Figure 14) quite similar to both Kommos B and the Vroulia shrine. Many interpretations have been given for this altar or 'offering table' (1.02 m x 0.92 m), preceded by a step, namely a base for a standing object or *baetyl*, or an incense altar. But, unfortunately, the top of this platform had been robbed, making it impossible to determine the appearance of the top, or how high it originally was. A layer of charcoals and ashes covered the area around the altar. Moreover, the presence of many votive objects all around might suggest that this structure was also partly used to receive some offerings, as well as burnt offerings, because of the existence of a deposit of burnt material on the floor, in the eastern part of the room. Interestingly, according to J.B. Pritchard, the benches present in this temple were not used for displaying offerings, as the votives were found near the altar.[86]

On the Syrian coast, 250 km north of Sarepta, is the EIA settlement of Tell Sukas (Figure 15). Not far from the antique city of Ras Shamra, this settlement superimposes an important Bronze Age site; it features two natural (bays) harbours to the north and south. Since the 12th century BC until the beginning of the EIA, a built open-air altar associated with figurines (Mycenaean Psi figurine, head of a ram, a bull), ceramics (Protocorinthian vase, amphoriskos), and burnt animal bones (notably exotic species: monkey, gazelle, horse, turtle, etc.), argue for the existence of elitist banquet and sacrificial practices around this hearth-altar. Some rooms excavated around have yielded evidence of a small palatial complex. During the successive period, *c.* 675–588 BC, an independent building, superimposing exactly the ancient open-air altar, was constructed on a terrace. The Tell Sukas shrine is oriented E–W and has a slightly trapezoidal plan. It is highly probable that the entrance to the building was on the eastern side, although this is conjectural, as is the proposition that it had an open façade. The role of a (holed) limestone slab on the floor in the centre of the western part of the edifice is unclear; it is thought that this slab

[85] Karageorghis 2005: 72.

[86] Pritchard 1975: 13–40; Pritchard 1978: 131f.

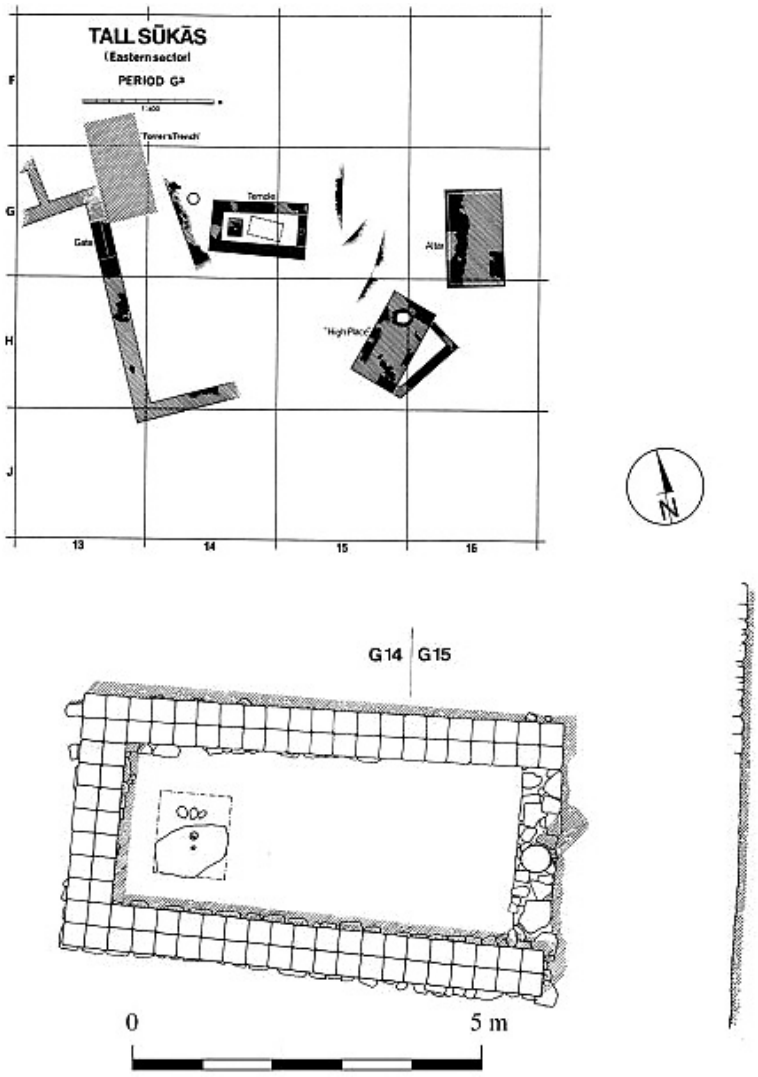


Figure 15. Tel Sukas (Syria), general restored plan of the sanctuary and palatial complex (after Riis 1970: 59, fig. 19); and restored plan of the shrine (after Riis 1970: 57, fig. 18).

(1.20 m x 0.95 m, h. 17 cm) constitutes the vestiges of a quadrangular platform that might have been used as a base for a primitive cult symbol (or an idol?), or as an offering table or altar. The grey soil of the room contained many charcoals, ashes, as well as faunal material and some olive stones. Just in front of the platform, along the longitudinal axis of the building, a concentration of charcoals superimposes exactly the rectangular hearth-altar described above (which was probably in use until *c.* 675 BC, i.e. just before the construction of the building). If the excavator did not actually recognise a hearth there, the hypothesis is very tempting. It is supposed that the elevation of this building was in mud bricks; the presence of roof tiles is particularly well documented, even if the arrangement might not have existed from the first phase of the building; nevertheless, in a second phase the tiles of the temple are incised with Greek letters. To the east of the temple, an imposing altar in association with a palatial complex ('High Palace') was enclosed behind a wall recognised as a *temenos* wall, but whose function might have been more mundane. Between this step-altar, as large as the temple itself, and the shrine, many ovicaprid and bovid bones, as well as donkey bones, are mentioned, while directly on the altar were discovered deer bones. These bones have been identified as leftovers of sacrificial parts, also because, according to P.J. Riis, the donkey was not an animal usually consumed.

The nature of this site is controversial. At the time of its discovery, the features (Greek pottery, tiles with incised Greek letters, faunal material, etc.) led the excavator, P.J. Riis, to recognise at Tell Sukas a Greek sanctuary. Moreover, he suggested that this sanctuary was devoted to the cult of Apollo, from the evidence of an incised cup that reads: 'I belong to Helios', Helios, being one of the avatars of the god Apollo, at least from the 5th century BC. Moreover, the oriental version of the god Apollo, in the form of the Phoenician Reshep, is documented on the site by at least one mould of this iconographic type (Reshep figurine), and perhaps by the remains of deer found both on the altar and inside the palatial complex, an animal associated with this divinity, both in its Greek and oriental version.[87] The presence of Corinthian, Cycladic, and Euboean pottery, documented on the site from the end of the 11th century BC, had first been used as an argument to suggest the presence of Greek colonists at Tell Sukas. But since then, the interpretation of a Greek presence at the site has received criticism, i.e. the importance of the Greek pottery is perhaps exaggerated, while local Phoenician pottery was also documented; and, with the exception of the tiles (from the second half of the 7th century BC, onwards), the architecture of the building does not seem to represent a Greek tradition. Additionally, there is no evidence of the use of the Greek language before the 6th century BC.[88] Some scholars also have pointed out the absence of (distinctive) Greek tombs that might argue in favour of a Greek population at Tell Sukas.[89] Actually, from the words of

[87] Burkert 2005: 143.
[88] Muhly 1985: 269–270; Niemeier 2001: 12–13; Perreault 1993; Waldbaum 1997.
[89] Brisart 2011: 36.

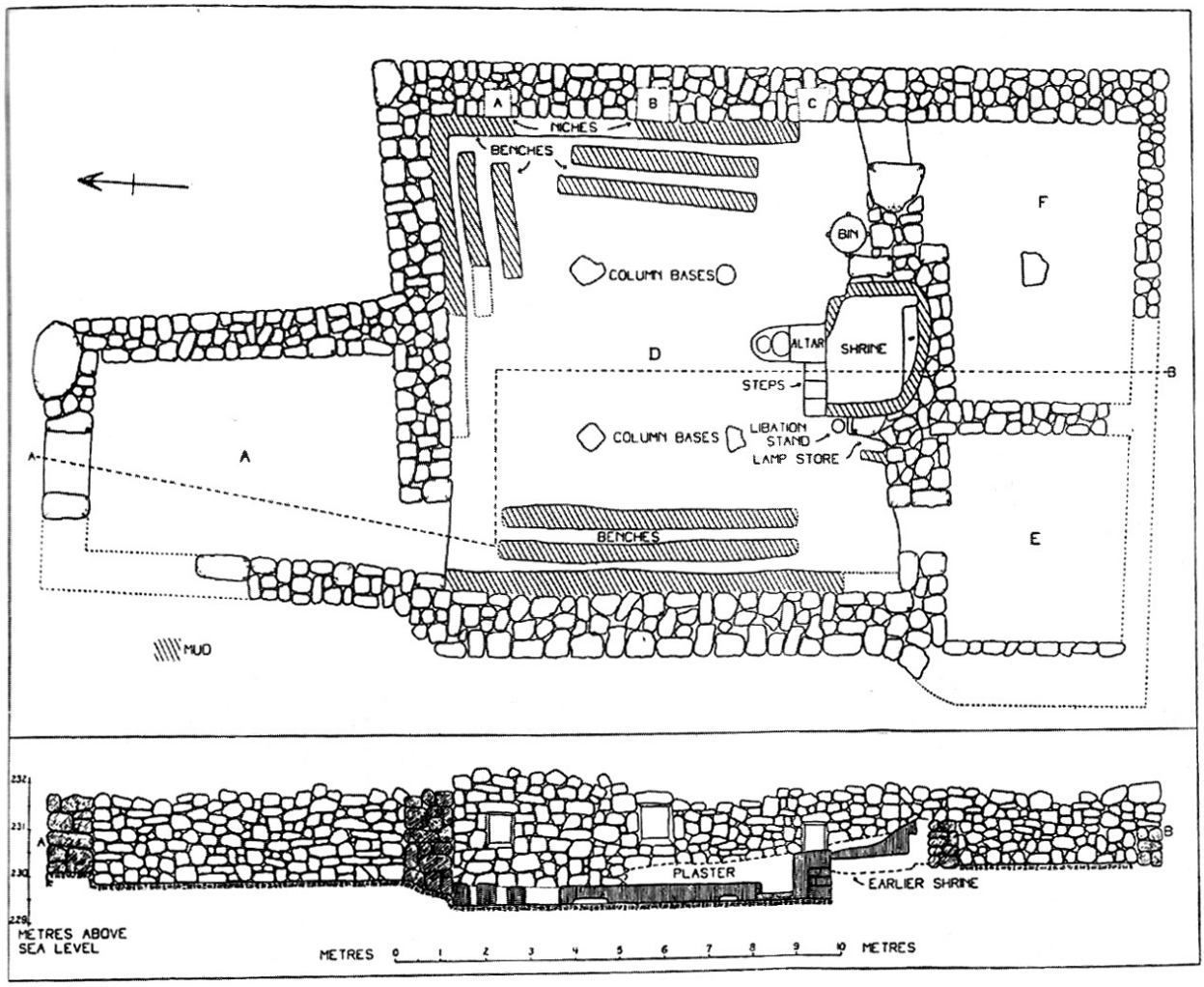


Figure 16. Lachish (Israel), plan and section of the Temple Fosse (after Tufnell *et al.* 1940, pl. 118).

Riis himself, this settlement was not a 'real colony';[90] he suggests, instead, that the site might have been a Greek *enoikismos*. The excavators never concealed the fact that the Greek ceramics represented a minority when compared to the Eastern Mediterranean imports, suggesting that the local pottery was used as coarse ware, while the imported pottery corresponded to fine tableware.[91] In any case, the local imitation of shapes or motifs of Greek origin, occasionally with Greek graffiti, argues for the presence – even if temporary – of 'Greeks'. Moreover, the funerary material should, perhaps not totally be considered as unspecific, since in some 7th century BC tombs, Ionian cups were placed near the head of the deceased.[92] One hypothesis might be that these Greeks were merchants, most probably of Cypriot origin, *a fortiori* since Cyprus was already deeply influenced by Phoenician culture. Tell Sukas is indeed situated at the confluence of commercial routes from inland, and provided with two natural harbours, making the site perfect for trade. One of the major interests of this site is the possibility of contacts between different populations and consequently the possibility of religious syncretism, in particular regarding the figure of the god Apollo, an hypothesis also suggested for the situation at Kommos.[93]

Before closing this short overview of Levantine temples and their possible Vroulian echoes, it seems appropriate to consider briefly the pseudo 'Fosse Temple' at Lachish. Even though this context dates to the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1450–1200 BC), it is interesting to notice that it shares some similarities with the shrine of Vroulia. First because it is an independent building outside the city, close to a necropolis, and, secondly, because of its interior arrangement, characterised by benches and a central platform at a higher level in the rear part of the room, and partly used as a hearth-altar (Figure 16). Moreover, the pottery (including both kitchen ware and fine ware, luxurious pottery) and the massive quantity

[90] Riis 1969: 442.
[91] Riis 1969: 444.
[92] Riis 1969: 442.
[93] Melfi 2013: in particular 361.

of fauna testify to the practice of banquets at the site. However, no votives found here are comparable to those documented at Vroulia, and M. Bietak has convincingly demonstrated that, rather than a temple, the 'Fosse Temple' at Lachish should be seen as a banquet hall in relation to an ancestor cult.[94]

Evidence for Phoenician and Cypriot 'presence' at Vroulia

The harbour of Vroulia is at the crossroads of sea-routes to and from Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt. This is illustrated by 'Vroulian'-style pottery found in North Africa, in the Nile Delta (Naucratis[95] and Tell Defenneh), in Libya (Cyrene), and in North Levant, along the coast (Tell Sukas).[96] An object found in the archaic temple, bearing a Phoenician inscription, has led some scholars to suggest a Phoenician presence at Vroulia.[97] This interesting object, a limestone sphinx of Cypriot type (Figure 4c),[98] has an inscription on the wing clearly of Phoenician origin, but unfortunately it cannot be deciphered, the characters being illegible. Nevertheless, on both stylistic and palaeographic grounds, it seems that the object dates to the late 7th century BC.[99] In itself it constitutes the best example of an early Phoenician inscription on the island of Rhodes.[100]

Concluding remarks

Belonging to the early 7th century BC, the small Archaic temple at Vroulia has been considered as one of the earliest temples in the Greek world.[101] Influenced by the first vision of Kinch, corresponding also to the research trends of the time, scholars have searched for points of comparisons or influences in the Aegean, i.e. with Greek temple-buildings. In particular, they focused their attention on the island of Crete, following Kinch in his parallel with the Shrine of the Double Axes uncovered by Evans at Knossos, although with a context *c.* 500 years older. Despite the fact that wall-benches constitute a commonly shared feature of sanctuaries, both in the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant, this architectural element was considered as an Aegean influence.[102] A further element explains this parallel with Crete made by the scholars: the existence of a hearth, more or less centrally placed inside the building, then supposedly thought as an exclusively Cretan characteristic. Actually, when we compare the situation of the 7th century BC Cretan suburban cult buildings, with the exception of the temple of Kommos, sharing several features with the Vroulia shrine, it seems that there is no credible point of comparison on the island. Among other elements, pit-hearths, for instance, are not the rule for Cretan central-hearth buildings; they adopt, rather, a rectangular plan and are carefully surrounded by slabs.[103] However, Kommos' Temple B, with its harbour situation, open façade, flat roof, and its hearths-floors against an altar, surrounded by syncretic paraphernalia, seems very close to the Vroulian shrine context. Of course, one might wonder how far the Kommos shrine should be considered as representative of a 'Greek' temple.

In addition, we saw that the contemporaneous temples in the Aegean islands fail as true points of comparison, as their activities mainly developed after the abandonment of the city, at least in the form of a built-altar table enclosed in a building. In fact, the closer specimens seem to be found in contexts deeply influenced by oriental elements, i.e. the Tell Sukas shrine, sharing with Vroulia, apart from the quite comparable plan, a mud brick elevation. One striking link between all the examples gathered in the Eastern Mediterranean is the importance of their relation with the sea, namely always in harbour contexts. Indeed, for Vroulia, it has to be stressed that the harbour, and in general access to the sea, seems to have had a great importance for this quite isolated settlement.[104] If, for Cyprus, the context of Alassa-Paliotaverna can be dismissed, firstly because of its chronology, but above all because the hearth platform is not confirmed, the succession of cult-buildings (Temple 4) from Kition seems enlightening regarding the origin of such altar-like tables in association with a pit-hearth, a feature documented at Kition since the Late Bronze Age.

In this way, if we follow N. Kourou, who argued that the character of the settlement at Vroulia seems better explained as a 'port of call for a Cypriot trade network directed mainly towards the Aegean', from the beginning,[105] it seems highly tempting to identify the shrine of Vroulia as the expression of a Cypriot cult-building. This idea seems confirmed by the origin of the finds of the shrine, unambiguously pointing to Cyprus, in particular the several limestone statuettes. Perhaps the best *témoignage* of the shrine itself lies in the limestone sphinx, of Cypriot origin, but with a Phoenician inscription. The role of Cypriot traders seems to have been central, within a framework of

[94] Bietak 2002; Bietak 2003.
[95] According to Herodotus (2.178), the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes were involved in the foundation of Naucratis.
[96] Cook and Dupont 1998: 114–115.
[97] Kourou 2003, in particular: 257.
[98] This sculpture is preserved in The National Museum of Denmark [inv. 11328]. On the symbolism of the sphinx in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Petit 2011.
[99] Bourogiannis and Ioannou 2012: 10; Bourogiannis 2015: 163–164, figs 4–5. It has been recently dated to *c.* 600–575 BC, cf. Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 220.
[100] Kourou 2003: 256.
[101] Kinch 1914: 8–26.
[102] On the question of 'La chapelle' at Vroulia, Mazarakis Ainian (1985: 31) has suggested that: 'le banc contre le mur du fond rappelle les temples crétomycéniens'.
[103] Lamaze 2012.
[104] Kaninia and Schierup 2017: 95.
[105] Kourou 2003: 257. See also Bourogiannis 2017: 68.

Rhodo-Levantine relations, alongside Phoenicians traders or *metoikoi*. To conclude, the shrine of Vroulia represents a remarkable testimony of syncretism between the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean in the 7th century BC.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the organising committee of this colloquium, in the person of Prof. Manolis I. Stefanakis, and also to express my gratitude towards Prof. A. Mazarakis Ainian for having shared with me some important updates concerning the bibliography related to the archaeological site of Vroulia.

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The Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt Atavyros, Rhodes: Some preliminary notes on its architecture

Giorgio Rocco and Monica Livadiotti

Abstract

No temple was ever built within the Rhodian sanctuary of Zeus *Atabyrios*, whose open-air cult focused on a monumental altar. Excavated in 1926, the sanctuary has been recently studied by the Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies in cooperation with the Polytechnic University of Bari. Thanks to the analysis of several architectural fragments reused in a Christian basilica and a monastery built on the same site, the altar has been now reconstructed as a 'court altar' of Ionic type, accessible by a ramp. It dates back to the 3rd century BC and is similar to the altar in the agora of Kos. In addition, through comparison with similar buildings, a *hestiatorion-thesauròs* has been identified nearby. The overall architecture of the altar and some architectural aspects of the *hestiatorion-thesauròs*, with the preference for simplified profiles and bossed surfaces, aim to create a sort of 'naturalistic' look and find parallels in buildings in rural districts of Rhodes and of the Carian coast, revealing a deep interconnection between these areas.

Key words: Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Zeus *Atabyrios*, sanctuary, altar, Hellenistic architecture

As already illustrated by Pavlos Triantaphyllidis on other occasions,[1] the Italian research on Mt Atavyros[2] brought to light several buildings made from a large quantity of reused stone materials, but the architectural ensemble of the pan-Rhodian sanctuary of Zeus, currently testified by the remaining ruins, was left hitherto unpublished. That is the reason why, when in 2012 the Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies of Rhodes undertook new investigations, a cooperation agreement with our team from the Polytechnic University of Bari was signed in order to study the architectural development of the sanctuary. Over four campaigns, several large areas have been explored, especially to the north and north-east of a Medieval monastery built on the top of the hill (Figure 1a), and significant remains of the ancient sanctuary and of the later monuments were unearthed, in addition to important discoveries of votive materials.[3]

Before the first campaign, the topographers of the Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies drew a general map of the area, providing a first distinction of the different building phases. Then the map has been gradually implemented by the survey, at a scale of 1:50, of the emerging structures realised by the Bari team (Figure 1b).

The architectural evidence makes it possible to identify the remains of a basilica with three naves and narthex, datable to the 5th/6th century AD, located at the highest point of the area, at 1205 m above sea level. The basilica was clearly built where the altar of Zeus originally stood, as evidenced by the many architectural fragments re-used in the walls of the proto-Christian building. Some 33 m north of the monastery, on the steep slope of the mountain, another building stands, rectangular in shape and pertaining to the same phase of the altar. The construction is made of thick walls that use large, carefully squared limestone blocks. The northern side consists of a retaining wall, a sort of *analemma*, made by a beautiful work of rusticated ashlar blocks (Figure 2a).

The building, measuring 21.68 m x 12.35 m, is divided longitudinally into two sectors: the southern one consists of a single elongated room, while the northern one, slightly wider, is in turn divided into three rooms by two transversal walls (Figures 2b, 3). The access to the edifice could be on the south side, the only one where it is possible to have an entrance. Further south, beyond a narrow passage, two stairways (Figure 4) carved into the natural rock bed led to the altar, located *c.* 6 m higher, on the top of the plateau. The total absence on the site of fragments pertaining to column drums, capitals, epistyles, and friezes, already noticed by the first explorers, leads to the exclusion of a colonnaded arrangement for the southern front; some details of the south wall suggest the possible reconstruction of a wall with two doors instead, in correspondence with the stairs leading to the altar.

Some details of the building technique, such as the particular type of rusticated ashlar masonry with

[1] Triantaphyllidis, in Triantaphyllidis, Rocco, Livadiotti 2017; Triantaphyllidis 2018.

[2] Coordinates 36.206712 N, 27.864451 E. The sanctuary is located at the highest peak of the homonymous mountain, in the south-west part of Rhodes, at an altitude of 1215 m above sea level. Its location was known, thanks to the 19th century explorations of Ludwig Ross, William Hamilton, Louis Lacroix, Victor Guerin, Cecil Torr, and Henry Tozer, but systematic excavations were undertaken only in 1927 (Jacopi 1928).

[3] See n. 1.



Figure 1a. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. View from east (courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies, Rhodes 2012).

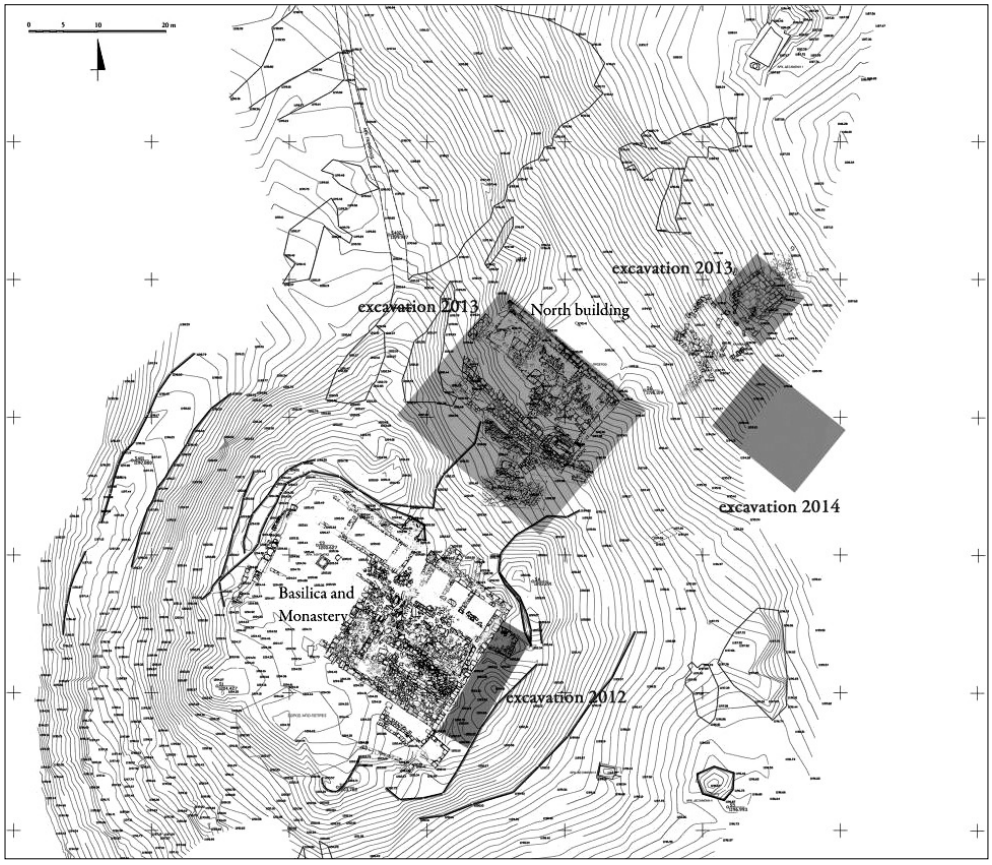


Figure 1b. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. General map. In grey the zones recently excavated (Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies in cooperation with the Polytechnic University of Bari, 2012–2016).

bevelled corners and Π-shaped metal clamps (Figure 5), place the construction of the building in a period not earlier than the 4th century BC.

The excavation of 2013 in the southern and western sectors of the building revealed considerable quantities of ash and burnt animal remains, left over from the sacrifices that took place over the altar.[4] As for the intended use of the northern building, which Ludwig Ross conceived as a temple to Athena[5] and Giulio Jacopi the *propylon* of the sanctuary,[6] its typology recalls the type of tripartite *hestiatoria*, with two rooms on either side of a common vestibule, which is attested in Rhodes by the internal layout of the rear rooms of the upper stoa of Kamiros, in the

[4] According to Triantaphyllidis 2018.

[5] Ross 1840: 107.

[6] Jacopi 1927: 520; Jacopi 1928: 90.



Figure 2a. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus, Northern building. The north side of the building seen from the north-west (photograph by M. Livadiotti).



Figure 2b. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus, Northern building. View of the interior from the east (photograph by M. Livadiotti).

hypothesis of Luigi Caliò[7] (Figure 6), and, in Lindos, perhaps by the rear compartments of the west portico in the upper terrace of the *Athanaion*.[8] Another parallel can be established with the *hestiatorion* of the *Artemision* of Keos, dated to 480–470 BC, formed by three almost square rooms, of which the central one is a peristyle court onto which the two lateral rooms open.[9] Also at Kos, the 6th-century BC *prytaneion* of Kos Meropis, excavated by Charis Kantzia and Elpida Skerlou on the acropolis hill, had a similar tripartite arrangement of what has been interpreted as a *hestiatorion*, as evidenced by the remains of burned bones and the associated ceramics.[10] The same typology has also been recognised by E. Skerlou in some structures of the sanctuary she discovered at Psalidi, 2 km east of Kos town, dated to the Archaic period.[11] The last two examples give interesting data about the ancientness of the architectural typology, which evidently does not derive from more recent Macedonian prototypes.[12]

[7] The stoa must have been built after the earthquake of 228 BC: Caliò 2001; 2004; 2012; Livadiotti 2017: 233.
[8] Livadiotti 2017: 234–235 with previous bibliography.
[9] Roux 1973.
[10] Kantzia and Skerlou 1997; Skerlou 1996; 1998a.
[11] The remains have been discovered in Bakaloglou property: Skerlou 1998b; 2001; 2012.
[12] Livadiotti 2017: 231–232, n. 5.



Figure 3. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. Survey of the northern building with hypothetical reconstruction of the plan (survey, scale 1:50, by A. Fino, F. Giannella, and V. Santoro; graphic elaboration by M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco).



Figure 4. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. One of the two stairs which led from the northern building to the altar (photograph by M. Livadiotti).

However, in the case of the Atavyros building, the considerable quantity of votives found inside and in the nearby *stipe* suggests that at least a part of it was used as a *thesauros*. On the other hand, a mixed function (*lesche/thesauros/hestiatorion*) has been established by Gottfried Gruben for the Oikos of the Naxians on Delos,[13] while for the Nordbau on Samos Friederick Kienast hypothesised a function of banquet hall with the contextual deposit of votives.[14] In Sicily, some circular buildings pertinent to Geometric sanctuaries seem also to have performed functions of banquet halls with deposition of *ex votos*.[15]

During the 2012–2016 campaigns, the Bari team also carried out the identification of the ancient architectural fragments found collapsed or reused in the later structures and uploaded the related data to an electronic catalogue; at the end of 2016, 420 blocks have been identified.

The stone material used is a grey limestone marl coming from the same site, somewhat frail, not suitable for a detailed processing; it was an economic choice, determined by the difficulties due to the isolated

[13] Gruben 1997: 308.
[14] Kienast, in Kienast-Furtwängler 1989; Sinn 2006, 1.a: 3.
[15] Palermo 2016.



Figure 5. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. Northern building: detail of the north wall with bevelled corner and Π-shaped metal clamp (photograph by M. Livadiotti).

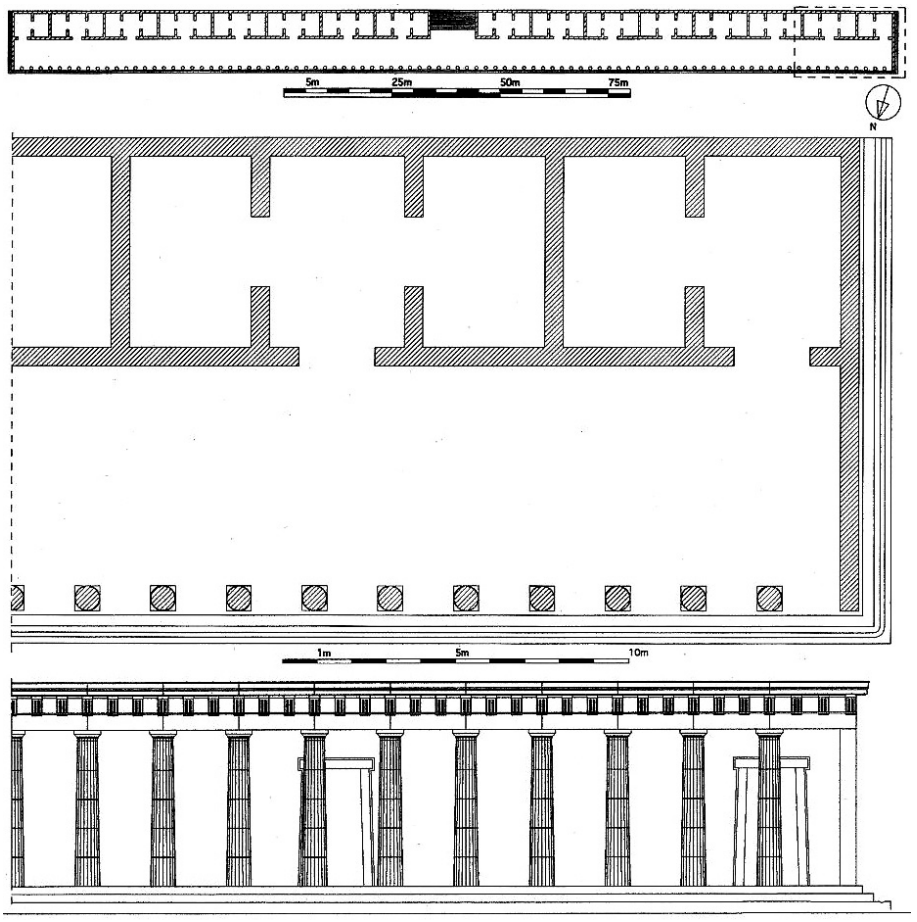


Figure 6. Kamiros, Upper Stoa. Hypothetical reconstruction of the compartmental units with two rooms facing a common vestibule (after Caliò 2001).

location of the sanctuary, as confirmed by its use also for inscribed bases of monuments. The remote and inaccessible position of the site has, however, discouraged the systematic robbing that other archaeological areas underwent. Most of the building materials are, in fact, still on the site, collapsed or reused in the later buildings.

The identified blocks pertain both to the altar, especially those re-used in the basilica and the adjoining monastery, and to the northern building. Although there are no remains of the altar still *in situ*, the many architectural elements recently identified are, however, sufficient to allow a reliable reconstruction of its elevation (Figure 7).

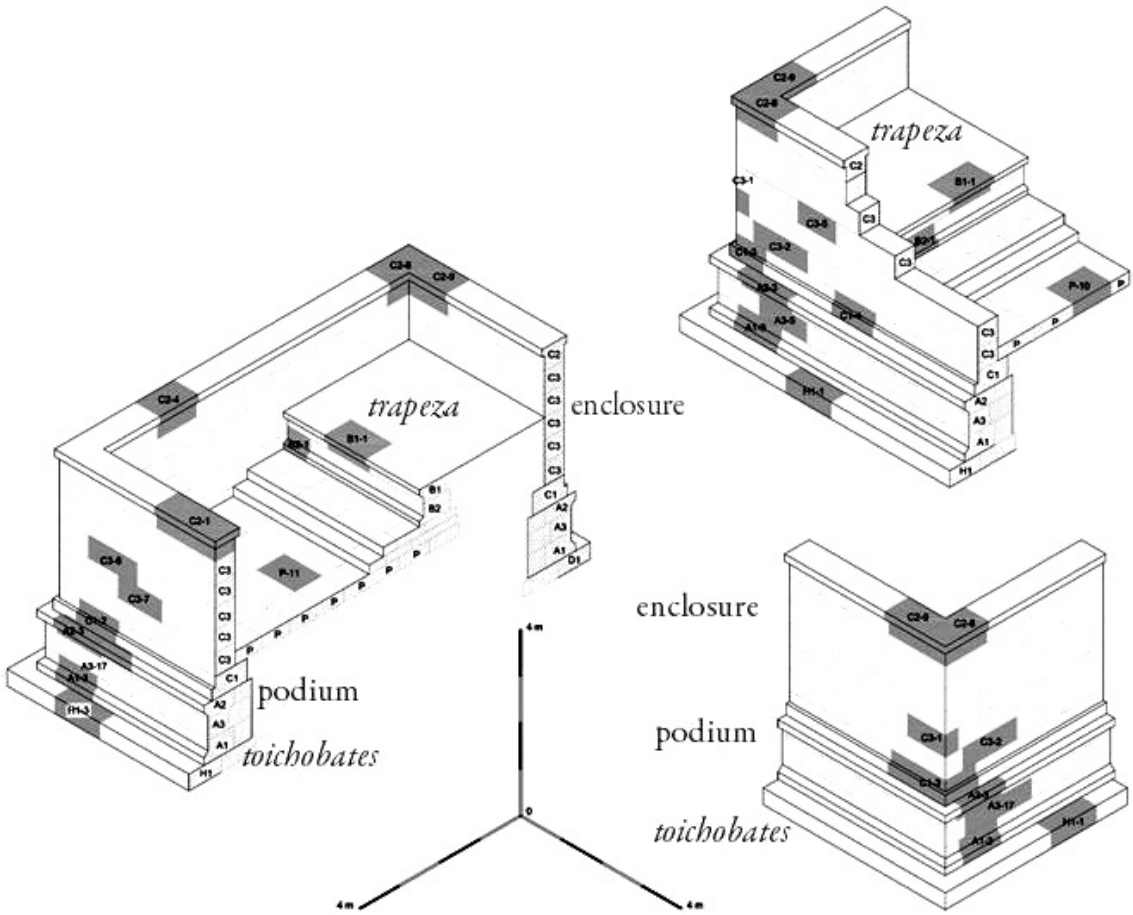


Figure 7. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. Placement of the identified blocks pertaining to the altar (drawing by G. Rocco).

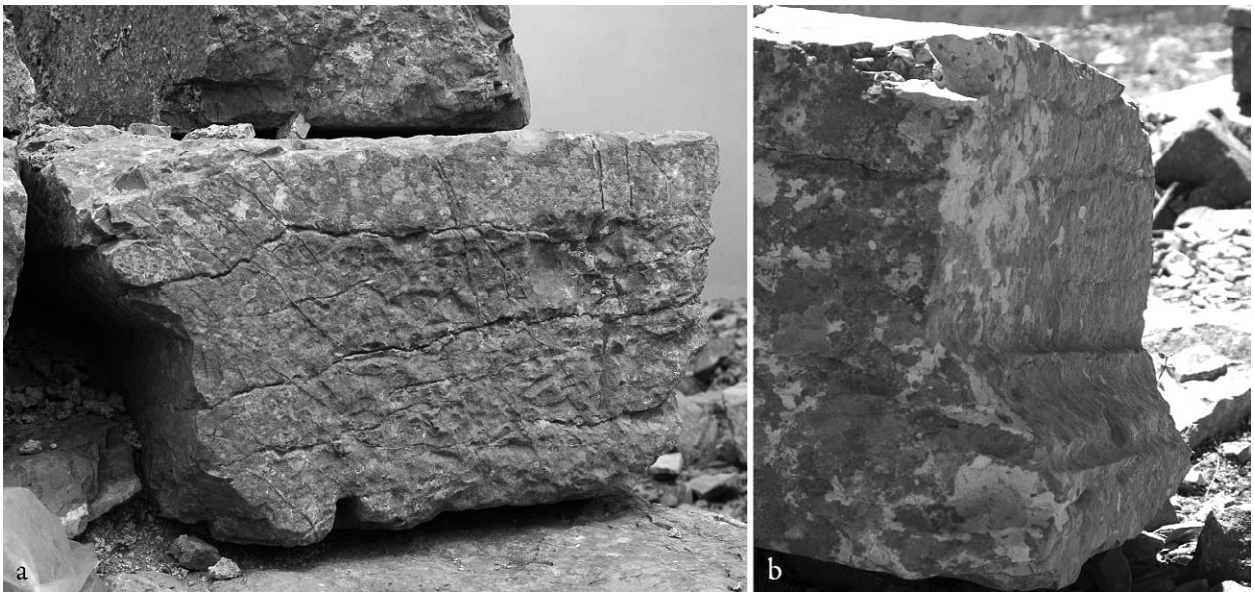
The altar was in fact elevated on a podium 1.655 m high, made of three rows of ashlar masonry on a *toichobates*. The base and top row of the podium are articulated with very schematic cornices: a projecting band connected by a simple inclined plane. Above this basement, a wall, 3.43 m high, enclosed the *trapeza* and an open area in front of it; the base and the top of the wall were ornamented by simple raised *fasciae*. The inner space surrounded by the wall, the *prothesis*, was paved with regular, thick slabs and the *trapeza* was probably preceded by one or two steps. Only a few blocks can be attributed to the *trapeza*, the only ones characterised by mouldings, with a Lesbian *kyma* at the base and a crowning Ionic *kyma* with fascia at the top[16] (Figures 8a, 8b).

On the west side, the way to reach the *prothesis* from outside is not certain, but the identification of a very few steps makes us exclude the presence of a stairway, probably replaced by an inclined ramp.

The resulting configuration (Figure 9) attested that the altar was of the Ionic type,[17] with a high perimeter wall enclosing the *trapeza*. The probable presence of a ramp makes the altar very similar to that in the agora of Kos (Figure 10), datable in its first phase to the 4th/3rd century BC;[18] the ramp would have been in fact intended to introduce the animals in the space immediately in front of the altar where they were to be sacrificed. The structure would then be designed as a 'court altar' and the perimeter wall probably did not consist of a simple Π-shaped structure but turned over on the access side to enclose an interior space, as some details on the upper surface of the blocks seem to confirm; the fence then stopped only at the ramp, to allow the entry to the court. The closest comparisons, besides the altar in the agora of Kos, is the court altar of the sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace, also dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC.[19]

It is almost impossible to identify the foundations of the altar under the proto-Christian basilica. The only possible location, however, seems to be the most eminent area of the plateau, on the same site of the basilica. The area occupied by the later building covers *c.* 20 m in the E–W direction, and 14 m in the

[16] They are the blocks catalogued with nos B1.1–B1.3, and B2.1.
[17] On this topic, see, in general, Ohnesorg 2005.
[18] On the monument, see Stampolidis 1987; 1991.
[19] Lehmann and Spittle 1964.



Figures 8a and 8b. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. Moulded fragments pertaining to the trapeza: a) detail of block Cat. B1.1, with Ionic *kyma*; b) detail of the block B2.1 with Lesbian *kyma* (photographs by G. Rocco).

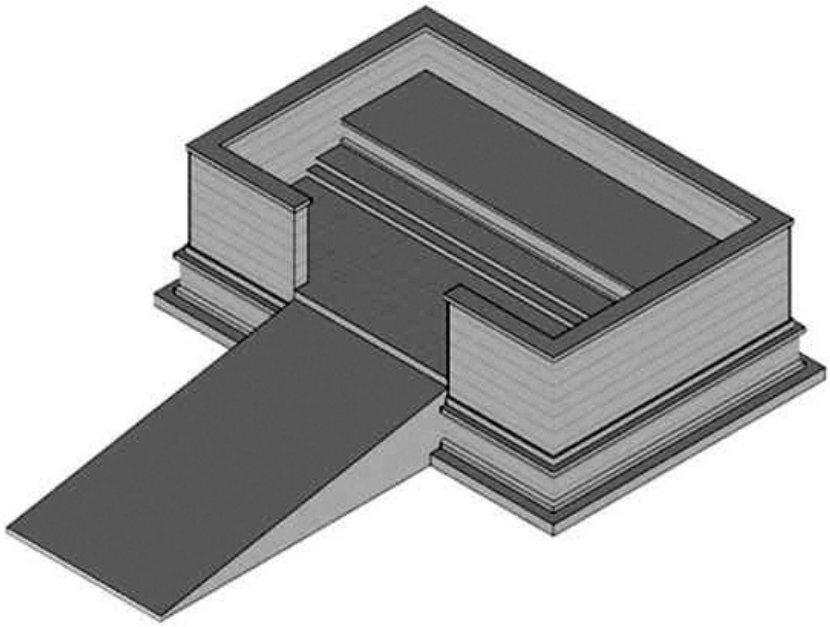


Figure 9. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. Hypothetical reconstruction of the altar (drawing by G. Rocco).

N–S direction. In this area, the natural rock, sloping from west to east, appears artificially smoothed; if the basilica occupied, as it seems likely, the same site of the altar, the limits of the latter had to be contained in this smoothed surface and its access had to be from the west, with the *trapeza* occupying the opposite eastern side.

As far as it is possible to assume from the compartments of the basilica, the rock level appears homogeneous in the narthex and in the naves, while it sharply rises immediately to the west and to the north, where the entrance of the basilica is, and possibly the ramp to the altar was also. The rock then descends eastwards rapidly, and, at the eastern boundary of the basilica, reaches a height of *c.* 1.20 m below that of the smoothed area. The maximum dimensions of the altar are therefore conditioned and suggested by the regularised surface of the rocky bank, which gives a maximum size of *c.* 13.00 m in a N–S direction, for 8 m in an E–W direction (Figure 11), essentially the same dimensions as the altar in the agora of Kos (13.40 m x 8.80 m).

The orientation of the altar, however, seems to be slightly different from that of the basilica. The orientation of a monument foundation located beneath the southwest corner of the church provides indirect indications in this regard; in fact, this structure, perhaps pertinent to a monument leaning against the altar, has an inclination that diverges eleven tenths of a degree towards the east compared to that of the later basilica. The altar, therefore, was more precisely oriented according to the cardinal points than the proto-Christian building.

Given all this, we have to conclude that within the Zeus *Atabyrios* sanctuary there was not a real temple,



Figure 10. Kos, agora. The altar in the south sector, from the north (photograph by G. Galliani).

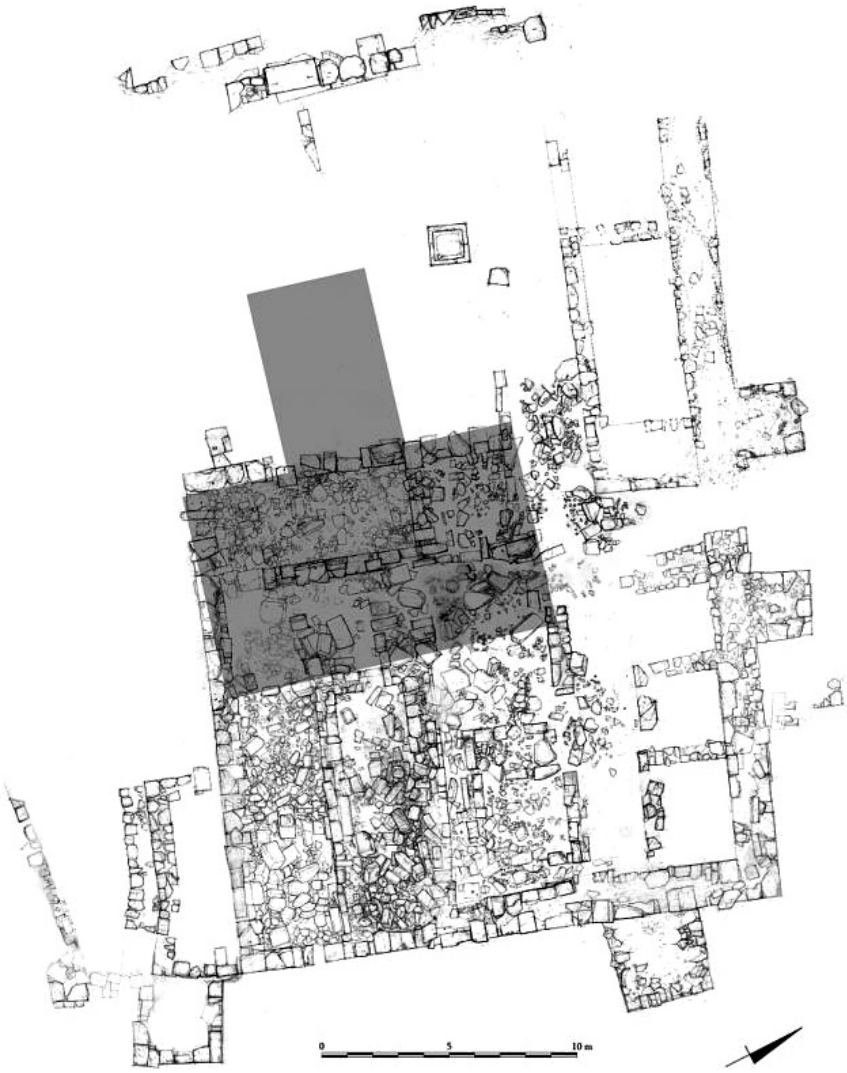


Figure 11. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus. Survey of the area of the proto-Christian basilica with the surface possibly occupied by the altar (graphic elaboration by G. Rocco).

but only an altar, for an open-air cult. The structure, which must have been visible from a considerable distance, was quite monumental, both in its typology, and in its dimensions, with a total height of about 5 m. However, the processing of the architectural elements should be highlighted, being deprived of any decoration and lacking any reference to the language of Greek architecture. In fact, as already noted by the first travellers – Hamilton, Ross and Guerin – the standard elements of the architectural orders (bases, columns, capitals, architraves, friezes, cornices) are completely absent on the site. Besides, the few existing mouldings are schematic and simplified, and this could be the result of a preference for a more natural, almost brutalist architecture, visible in other monuments on Rhodes, like the so-called 'Tomb of Cleobulus' on Hagios Emilianos promontory, near Lindos (Figure 12),[20] or the

[20] Dated by Maiuri to the 5th century BC (Maiuri 1924: 457–458) and by

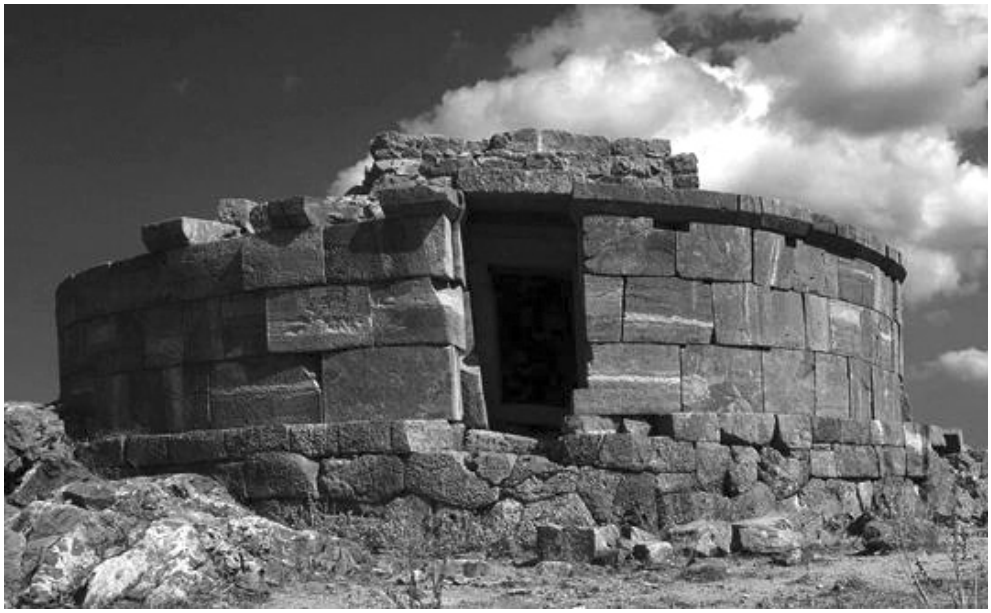


Figure 12. Rhodes, Lindos. The so-called 'Tomb of Cleobulus' on Hagios Emilianos promontory (photograph by G. Rocco).

simple architecture of the temple of Hagios Phokas, in the ancient deme of Kymissala.[21] They belong to the same architectural tradition of the opposite Carian coast,[22] like the similar tumulus tomb of Pedasa,[23] the temple of Arkonnesos (Kara-Ada), an islet off of Halicarnassus, and many other buildings of Alazeitìn.[24]

This contact with the Carian coast deserves attention, as it proves the existence in the Rhodian architecture, together with elements coming from the Alexandrian artistic culture, of an ancient Carian substratum,[25] more easily perceptible in the rural demes of the interior where the architecture, far from the great *polis*, seems to have retained its simplest and less sophisticated character.[26]

If, from a stylistic and constructive standpoint, the altar of Zeus seems to be part of this architectural local tradition, the possibility of framing it within a precise chronological phase is hampered by the lack of reliable stratigraphic data, and by the simplified mouldings of the elevation, which gives few clues to the morphological analysis of the profiles. The only data available are the typological parallels, the study of the *trapeza* mouldings, and the technical details of the construction.

The typology of the altar, as it has been reconstructed (see Figure 9), is, as already mentioned, referable to the Ionic area and presents notable similarities with altars pertinent to a chronological horizon in the 4th/3rd century BC (see *supra*). The *trapeza* mouldings, an Ionic and a Lesbian *kyma,*[27] can be dated in the same period, and, in the case of the latter, more precisely in the second half of the 4th century BC.

The vertical and horizontal fastening systems do not contrast with the proposed chronology: they are Π-shaped metal clamps, widely used from the beginning of the 4th century BC,[28] and rectangular metal dowels. The absence of channels for pouring the melted lead seems to confirm a date still in the 4th or at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, but not beyond.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a stone element, which could not be catalogued between the architectural blocks (Figure 13a); it is located north-west of the basilica. It is probably a block, placed near the *trapeza*, which would hold the animal's head, bound by the horns with ropes tied to bronze rings, in turn fixed to the block by metal dowels, whose recesses are preserved. The procedure is illustrated by some votive reliefs, studied by Folkert T. Van Straten,[29] according to which the animal was forced by the ropes to incline the head in a bow, interpreted as a sort of consensus towards its own sacrifice. Blocks of similar function have been identified in Kamiros,[30] Pergamon,[31] Dion,[32] and Claros,[33]

Dyggve between the 2nd and the 1st century BC (Dyggve 1960).

[21] Maiuri 1916; 1928: 83–84; Stefanakis and Patsiada 2009–2011: 72 ff. See also Rocco 2017: 32.

[22] On the close relationship between Rhodes and the Carian cities in Hellenistic period, see Berthold 1984: 113–122, 167–178, 202, 219–220.

[23] For Pedasa (Gökçeler Mevki), on the peninsula of Halikarnassos, which dated back to the Geometric period and was used over a very long time, see Diler 2016, with further bibliography: it displays the same simple architecture, visible, for example, in the simplified form of the cornice (see also Rocco 2017: 32).

[24] Maiuri 1924: 425–459; 1928: 123–126.

[25] According to A. Maiuri (see n. 22).

[26] Rocco 2017: 31–32.

[27] See n. 16.

[28] Martin 1965: 273–279.

[29] Van Straten 1995; see also Sassu 2017: 197–198.

[30] Bertelli 2017.

[31] Kasper 1972: 69–93, fig. 19.

[32] Pandermalis 1998: 291–298.

[33] De la Genière 2001: 79–84.



Figure 13a. Rhodes, Mt Atavyros, Sanctuary of Zeus; block Cat. 269, possible sacrificial stone (photograph by M. Livadiotti).



Figure 13b. Detail of a relief from Cyzikus (after Perdrizet 1899, tav. V).

while some are depicted in relief at Cyzicus[34] (Figure 13b) and Ephesos.[35]

In conclusion, the oldest structures found on the site do not seem to be prior to the 4th century BC, even if the votive objects attest that Zeus was worshipped on Atavyros at least from the Geometric period.[36] We hope that the combined researches concerning the pan-Rhodian sanctuary of Zeus *Atavyrios*, with its rural character, will further clarify the topography and architectural phases of the sacred complex and will shed light on the cult actions aimed at praising Zeus, honoured through ritual performances, the roots of which are lost in the depths of prehistory.

Acknowledgments

We should like to warmly thank the organising committee of the Congress for the kind invitation to illustrate here the results of our work on Mt Atavyros. And, very specially, we must thank our friend Pavlos Triantaphyllidis, director of the research, for having involved us in this fascinating adventure.

[34] Perdrizet 1899: 594–595, and pl. V.2.
[35] Nasrallah 2011: 156–158, and fig. 7.5.
[36] See n. 1.

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Forms of private and public devotion in the Dodecanese in the Hellenistic Age: The cases of the Great Gods and Hecate

Romina Carboni and Emiliano Cruccas

Abstract

The aim of this contribution is to underline some topics concerning the main features of some cults connected to personal and civic protection, like those of Hecate and the Great Gods of Samothrace, in the islands of Dodecanese, between the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. It will further focus on influences in the evolution of cultural phaenomena through a global analysis of archaeological, epigraphical and iconographic sources. In fact, there are some examples of *leges sacrae* and private forms of devotion for Hecate that show a strong influence ascribable to a Carian cultural substrate. Another important vector of influence comes from Samothrace and its popular and Panhellenic cult of the Great Gods. Forms of private and public devotion for these gods are indeed testified by some epigraphical texts concerning lists of so-called *Samothrakiastai*. We shall also emphasise syncretic links between external influences and local cultural tradition in the Hellenistic Age.

Key words: Hecate, Great Gods of Samothrace, Cabiri, Rhodes, Kos, Caria, Creta

Foreword

From the age of Alexander, major cultural and political changes characterised the Eastern Mediterranean, within which religious cults were seen in a different light, compared to the late Classical period. If, until that time, the cults seemed to have played a role essentially connected with the different communities of the *poleis*, with the exception of the so-called Panhellenic sanctuaries, the Hellenistic period shows syncretic phaenomena between the local *pantheon* in different regions and 'universal' and foreign cults.[1] In the case of the Dodecanese, and in particular with regard to the island of Rhodes, these aspects are identified in some cults that show a strong allogeneic nature, such as that of the Gods of Samothrace and Hecate, topics of this work. In this chapter, we will try to build a hermeneutical path that will lead to the formulation of some interpretation proposals and hypotheses concerning the cultural vectors that contributed to the spread of these cults in the Dodecanese area, with particular reference to Rhodes, Kos, and the so-called *Rhodian Peraia*.

It should first be noted that there is no doubt that the two-year period from 408–407 BC, when the Rhodes synoecism (*Diod*. XIII, 75) was established, was a turning point for the analysis of social and cultural structures in this area.[2] The institutionalisation of the cult of *Helios/Halios* as a patron deity is definitely an element that confirms an important change.[3] It was an event that, through political and cultural dynamics, marked the beginning of a process that led, starting from the age of Alexander, to the introduction of different cults in this geographical area. The importance of this innovation is also linked to the fact that *Helios/Halios* was not an extremely widespread cult and, in any case, even where identified, it was not so important,[4] and this can explain the choice of a deity who was not too close to one of the three cities that were protagonists of synoecism.[5]

The Great Gods of the sailors

Among the cults which, starting from the Hellenistic period, spread widely in Rhodes and in the Dodecanese area, we should mention the cults of Samothrace.

The cult of the Great Gods, which became popular starting at least from the 7th century BC in the Eastern Mediterranean, is characterised by regional differences concerning mainly relationships with local deities.[6] Confused and identified with the so-called Cabiri, these deities had their main sanctuaries on the islands of Samothrace and Lemnos, and in Thebes, in Boeotia. The

[1] On this topic, see Cruccas 2015 (with previous bibliography).
[2] On this topic, see Gabrielsen 2000.
[3] Morelli 1959: 94–99 and Paul 2015 (with previous bibliography).
[4] Morelli 1959: 94.
[5] Morelli 1959: 95. Morelli (1959: 96) also points out that the worship of Athana Lindia already fulfilled this pan-Rhodian function. In this regard, the introduction of the cult of *Halios* can be seen as a desire to strengthen the image of the aristocracy of Ialyssos, to which this deity was clearly linked.
[6] On this cult and his features, see Blakely 2006; Bremmer 2014 (here 21–54); Cole 1984; Cruccas 2014; Hemberg 1950.

etymology of the ancient name *Kabiros/Kabiroi* seems to derive from the Semitic root 'kabir-' (= big), connected to the word *Megaloi Theoi* (Great Gods) of the Greek tradition.[7]

The name *Kabiros* and its plural date back to the most archaic phases of Lemnos and Thebes, while they seem almost entirely absent on Samothrace, where the deities were identified by the name Great Gods, and never by the word *Kabiros/Kabiroi*, except for one epigraphic document dating to the 2nd/1st century BC.[8] A plausible hypothesis is that the most archaic theonym was the one associated with sacred mystery ceremonies, and, therefore, was a sort of secret name that could only be pronounced during the religious ceremonies to which the uninitiated were not admitted.[9] In fact, this cult seems to show clear 'Eastern' elements, but through a complex and varied reality, resulting from cultural stratifications of different origins and chronology. This is confirmed by the sanctuary of Samothrace, which, starting from the age of Alexander, plays a central role in the development of the Greek religion through the diffusion of a cult that begins to have its own characteristics, making it different from the original ones of the cult of the Cabiri, expanding from the island throughout the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and then also in the Romanised world.

In the case of the Dodecanese islands, the presence of citizens sent to Samothrace for the periodic ceremonies in honour of the Great Gods is confirmed by several elements: the devotion by the inhabitants of Rhodes to the gods of Samothrace in the Hellenistic period can be explained by their function as the protectors of sailors, in relation to the main activities carried out by the inhabitants of the island.[10] At least from the beginning of the 4th century BC, in fact, the port of the new capital, Rhodes, was expanded to accommodate more and larger vessels.[11] The strategic position of the island and the regular arrival of merchants and sailors from all over the Mediterranean was undoubtedly an incentive for the development of the cult of the Gods of Samothrace.

The oldest inscription dedicated to these deities comes from Lindos and dates to the 3rd century BC (*IG* XII. 1. 788);[12] the second, probably of the 2nd century BC, is from nearby Karpathos and was discovered near the temple of *Poteridan Porthmios* (*IG* XII. 1. 1034).[13] This inscription refers to the priests of the cult of the Great Gods.[14] In addition to this document, we have two epigraphic texts concerning the sending of *mystai* to the sanctuary of Samothrace.[15]

Another document, which seems to date between the 2nd/1st century BC, comes from the city of Rhodes and confirms the presence of priests who were simultaneously in charge of the worship of several deities:[16] in addition to the Gods of Samothrace, we find Dionysus, Asclepius, Heracles, and the Dioscuri,[17] figures often associated with the Great Gods.[18] Dating to the same period, there is also another inscription from Kamiros, which refers to the gods of Samothrace and the gods of Lemnos.[19] Other finds from the same chronological period show the words Σαμοθραικιασθαί,[20] which refer to members of religious congregations of devotees of the gods of Samothrace.[21]

[7] Beekes 2004.
[8] Dimitrova 2008: 83–90.
[9] Cruccas 2014: 21.
[10] Hemberg 1950: 236–237.
[11] Diod. Sic. 14. 79. 4–7; 20. 85. 4; 20. 86. 2. Other sources and bibliography in Schipporeit 2016.
[12] '[---] θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράικαι'. On this epigraphic source, see Cole 1984: 65, 158–159, no. 40 and Morelli 1959: 153.
[13] '[---] θεῶν Σαμοθράικων ἱερεῖς [---]'. On this inscription, see Cole 1984: 65 and 159–60, no. 42.
[14] Hemberg 1950: 234.
[15] The first (*IG* XII 8, 184) is a text with a list of initiates coming from different cities of Asia Minor. The second (*IG* XII 8, 186) is an epigraphic stone inscribed on two faces: on side A there is a document with a list of initiates, dating to the 1st century BC ('[ἐπὶ βασιλέως] | Πυθίωνος τοῦ Ἀριδήλου | Ῥοδίων ἱεροποιοὶ | μύσται καὶ ἐπόπται | εὐσεβεῖς· | Σωσικλῆς Εὐκράτευς | Πεισικράτης Τιμαράτου | Δαμάτριος Ἀμφοτεροῦ | συνέγδαμοι· | Καλλικράτης Δαματρίου | Ἀναξικράτης Ἀναξικράτε[υς] | Θεύδωρος Ἡραγόρ[α] | Ἰσίδοτος — — — — | Δαμασα— — — — — | Ἀγασ— — — — — —)'. The inscription on side B also contains a list of *mystai* sent to Samothrace, dating to 137–134 BC ('ἐπὶ βασ[ιλέως — — — —] | ὡς δὲ ἐνῬόδ[ωι ἐπὶ ἱερέως] | τοῦ Ἁλίου Ἀ[ριστ]άκου | Ῥοδίων | ἱεροποιοὶ μύσται εὐσεβε[ῖς]· | Δαλιάδας Ἀντιπάτρου | Ἀριστογένηςνικομάχο[υ] | ναῦται· | Διονύσιος Ἐφέσιος | Θήρων Περίνθιος | Εὐσύης Ἐφέσιος | [Ἀγ]αθάνγελος | .5ιος ἐνῬόδω[ι] | [ἀγορανομ]οῦντος') (Dimitrova 2008: 126–128).
[16] Maiuri 1929: 320–321, no. 3: 'Δι[ονύσου?], | Ἀγεφῶν .[---] | Ἀσκλα[πιοῦ], | [Κ]λεταῖος Ξενο[τίμου?] | Ἡρακλεῦ[ς], |[Ε]ὐφράνωρ Σωσι[κρά[τευς] | Διοσκ[ούρων], | [Ἀ]ριστομαχίδας Ἀρισ[τομάχου] | Θεῶν Σαμο[θράκων], | [Ἴπ]παρχος Εργ[ιάδευς]'. On this document, see Cole 1984: 155, no. 33.
[17] Morelli 1959: 31–32, 37–38, 42, 55–56.
[18] Hemberg 1950: 234.
[19] Hemberg 1950: 235–236; Morelli 1959: 57.
[20] *IG* XII 1, 43: 'στρατευσάμενον κατὰ πόλ[εμον] | ἔν τε ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ | καὶ ἐντριημιολίαις καὶ τιμαθέντα | ὑπὸ ἁλικιωτᾶν τοῦ κοινοῦ θαλλοῦ | στεφάνωι καὶ χρυσέωι ἀρετᾶς | ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς· | ——— καὶ στρατευσάμενον ὑπὸ ἄρχοντα | Ἀντίοχον καὶ τιμαθέντα ὑπὸ | Σαμοθραικιαστᾶν μεσονέων τοῦ | κοινοῦ χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ἀρετᾶς | ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας | ἃν ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸΣαμοθραικι-| αστᾶν μεσονέων κοινόν· ——— καὶ | τοὶ συνστρατευσάμενοι ἐτίμασαν | Σαμοθραικιαστᾶν καὶ Λημνιαστᾶν | τὸ κοινὸν ἐπαίνωι χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας | ἃν ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ Σαμοθρᾳκιαστᾶν | καὶ Λημνιαστᾶν τῶν | συνστρατευσαμένων | κοινόν· ——— καὶ πρωρατεύσαντα τριηρέων | καὶ ἄρξαντα ἀφράκτων | καὶ ἐπιστάταν γενόμενον τῶν παίδων | καὶ ἱεροθυτήσαντα | καὶ πρυτανεύσαντα. θεοῖς. | Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεύς, ὧι ἁ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται, | καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος Ἐπιχάρμου Ῥόδιος ἐποίησαν'; IG XII 1, 163: '[τὸ] κοι-| νόν | Σαμοθραικιαστᾶν Σωτηριαστᾶν |Ἀριστοβουλιαστᾶν. | Απολλωνιαστᾶν Θεαιαιδητείων Θεαιδητείων | Ἀστυμηδείων'; Hiller von Gaertringen, Saridakis 1900, no. 108: 'χευς, Εὐστράτα Μεθυμναία Μ<η>θυμναία Μ<α>θυμναία καὶ Ἀριάδνη τὰν ἀ[νεψιάν, τιμαθεῖσαν μὲν]| ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις καθ'[ἔτος παναγύρεσι(?) εὐσεβείας]| καὶ ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας [ἃς ἔχουσα διατελεῖ ἐς τὸ]| Ἀσκλαπιαστᾶν Νικασιωνείων Ὀλυμπιαστᾶν [κοίνον, τιμαθεῖσαν δὲ]| καὶ ὑπὸ Σαμοθραικιαστᾶν Ἀφροδι<σια>στᾶν [κονοῦ ----------]|versus duo desunt|συνθυτᾶν [----------]| versus duo desunt| εὐεργεσίας [τᾶς ἐς <τᾶν> πάτρα]ν τὰν Ἐρατιδᾶν [----------][τιμαθεῖσαν δὲ καὶ] χρυσέωι καὶ [εἰκόνι(?) ------]'.
[21] Hemberg 1950: 235. The devotees can be identified with the sailors of the ships that carried the Rhodian *mystai* to Samothrace (Cole 1984: 85; Morelli 1959: 153–154).

The link with the sanctuary of the Great Gods seems to be confirmed by the dedication of the famous Nike in the island sanctuary, supposedly dedicated by the inhabitants of Rhodes after the naval victories of 190 BC against the Seleucid fleet.[22]

This connection with the island is also confirmed by some inscriptions with lists of *theoroi-proxenoi* of the 2nd century BC.[23] Most of the epigraphs from the island date to the 1st century BC: a document referring to a priest of Serapis, Heracles, Aristomenes, of the Gods of Samothrace[24] and of the Korybantes[25] also comes from the city of Rhodes. These mythological figures, together with the Curetes[26] and the Telchines, are often associated and confused with the so-called Cabiri. The Telchines, in fact, were decisive in the case of Rhodes: their name is attested on the island as epicleses of other divine figures, including Apollo, the Nymphs, and Hera.[27]

According to Strabo, the Telchines arrived on the island from Crete, and then from Cyprus, and because of them the island was named Telchinia.[28] However, the cultural root that seems to refer to a substrate compatible with these cults is probably the one linked to the Curetes-Korybantes. The presence of these mythological figures, usually connected and often identified with the Cabiri/Great Gods, can provide a key to clarify the cultural background to the origin of certain myths and cults. These figures are described and represented as young men in armour, engaged in apotropaic dances, according to the mythical tales of the births of Dionysus Zagreus and Zeus. These dances are often associated with the so-called *pyrriche*, which, according to Plato (Pl. *Lg.* 796), was one of the peculiarities of Athena in the capital of Attica, the Dioscuri in Sparta, and the Curetes on Crete.

With regard to this geographical area, there may be a connection between the Dodecanese islands and the main island sanctuary, the cave of Mt Ida. On this island, in fact, one of the most famous mythical events of Greek religion took place, when the new-born Zeus was hidden to prevent him from being killed by his father, Kronos, an episode also told in the famous hymn of Palaiokastro,[29] dating to the period between the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC.[30] In this episode, which took place in the cave of Mt Ida, the Curetes,[31] called Telchines by Statius,[32] played a central role.[33] This was the site of a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, where materials from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods have been found.[34] The protagonist of the mythological story told by Hesiod (Hes. *Th.* 459–491) is Rhea, who, after giving birth to little Zeus, gave him to Amalthea, so that the nymph could raise him. Lest her infant's cries should reveal his presence to his father Kronos, his mother asked the Curetes to execute noisy movements in their armour while dancing to prevent Kronos from finding and swallowing him.

The most typical iconographic representation of the Curetes-Korybantes is that of dancers around the little Zeus as they try to protect him from his father, Kronos.[35] This connection seems to be evident also in Caria. According to Diodorus Siculus (*D.S.* 5, 60), a group of five Curetes from Crete colonised Cnidian Chersonesus and forced the Carians who lived there to leave. In the nearby Panamara centre, the cult of the god *Panamaros*, identified with Zeus[36] and with one of the Curetes, seems to be confirmed: in fact, *Panamaros* probably arrived with the brothers *Labraundos* and *Spalaxos*, from the island of Crete in Caria.[37] The connection between these semi-gods coming from the religious world in Crete and Zeus Carius[38] finds an exegetical explanation in the mythical role that the

[22] On this topic, see Moreno 1994: 366–367: the scholar thinks that the dating of the statue coincides with the victory over the Seleucids in 190 BC; *contra* Ridgway 2000: 150–160, who believes that a dating *c.* 160 BC is more likely. On this topic, see Palagia 2010, who connects the Nike with the capture of Perseus in 167 BC.

[23] *IG* XII 8, 170e, 65–69: '[Ῥοδί]ων· | Εὐάρατος Εὐαράτου | Τιμάπολις Εὐφραγόρου | καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Τιμαπόλιος'; Dimitrova 2008: no. 23: 'Ῥόδιοι· | -------- | ΑΛ[-------]| ΗΡΟ[------]'.

[24] Hemberg 1950: 235.

[25] Here identified by the name *kyrbanthoi*. On this topic, see Laumonier 1958: 283; Morelli 1959: 158.

[26] For the presence of a cult of Poseidon Κυρήτειος in Kamiros, see Laumonier 1958: 657.

[27] Diod. Sic. 5, 55, 2: 'εἰς τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσηγητάς. ἀγάλματά τεθεῶν πρῶτοι κατασκευάσαι λέγονται, καί τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀφιδρυμάτων ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐπωνομάσθαι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Λινδίοις Ἀπόλλωνα Τελχίνιον προσαγορευθῆναι, παρὰ δὲ Ἰαλυσίοις Ἥραν καὶ Νύμφας Τελχινίας, παρὰ δὲ Καμειρεῦσιν Ἥραν Τελχινίαν'.

[28] Strabo 14, 2, 7: 'In earlier times Rhodes was called Ophiussa and Stadia, and then Telchinis, after the Telchines, who took up their abode in the island. Some say that the Telchines are "maligners" and "sorcerers", who pour the water of the Styx mixed with sulphur upon animals and plants in order to destroy them. But others, on the contrary, say that since they excelled in workmanship they were "maligned" by rival workmen and thus received their bad reputation; and that they first came from Crete to Cypros, and then to Rhodes; and that they were the first to work iron and brass, and in fact fabricated the scythe for Cronus. Now I have already described them before, but the number of the myths about them causes me to resume their description, filling up the gaps, if I have omitted anything' (Translation from Perseus). On this Strabo quote, see Biffi 2009: 230.

[29] Jeanmaire 1939: 430–436.

[30] *InscrCret* III 2, 2. On this topic, see Willetts 1962: 211–212.

[31] The fact that the Mt Ida area was a place of worship of these divine figures seem to be also confirmed by the toponym of a small neighbouring village, *Κουρούτες* (Sporn 2002: 222).

[32] Stat. *Silv.* 4, 6, 47: 'tale nec Idaeis quicquam Telchines in antris'.

[33] Sporn 2002: 218–223.

[34] Sporn 2002: 218 with bibliography at n. 1591.

[35] Cruccas 2014: 40–41.

[36] Laumonier 1958: 339.

[37] Laumonier 1958: 340. EM s.v. 'Εὔδωνος: Ποταμὸς τῆς ποτὲ μὲν Δίας τε καὶ Ἐρύμνης καὶ Λαρίσης, νῦν δὲ Τράλλεων καλουμένης τῆς Ἀσίας· ὅτι Λάβρανδος καὶ Πανάμορος, καὶ Πάλαξος, ἢ Σπάλαξος, οἱ Κούρητες, κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ὁρμῶντες, νυκτὸς ἐπικαταλαβούσης, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις αὐτοῦ κατεκοιμήθησαν. Παρὰ τὸ εὐδῆσαι οὖν Εὔδωνον τὸν ποταμὸν ὠνόμασαν'. Laumonier (1958: 730, n. 7) also assumes that the name of Caria may be connected with the Cabiri and that they may come from this area.

[38] Laumonier 1958: 349.



Figure 1. Lagina. East Frieze. Birth of Zeus (© Deutsches Archäologisches Institut D-DAI_ IST78/252; photograph by W. Schiele 1978).

Curetes-Korybantes played in the episode of the birth of the Father of the Gods and in their protection of the infant from his father Kronos.[39] Now we will see how these aspects related to the Cretan and Carian substrates are also connected with the cult of another deity who seems to play an important role in the *pantheon* of the Dodecanese islands.

E.C.

Hecate between Caria and the Dodecanese

One of the most famous representations of the birth of Zeus is the one depicted on the frieze of the temple of Hecate in Lagina (Caria). On the eastern side, in fact, the central area is occupied by the birth scene of the Father of the Gods (Figure 1).[40] This choice, which is definitely not accidental, seems to reflect the desire to show the bond that united the goddess receiving the cult of the sanctuary with its main 'benefactor',[41] and, at the same time, to bring together the two most venerated deities in Stratonicea. Under Roman domination, in fact, within the city *bouleuterion*, public events of devotion in honour of Hecate and Zeus, the *proestotes* of the city,[42] were held to thank these deities for using their great divine powers to save their city from serious dangers.[43] In this regard, we should mention the erection of two statues in their honour in the chapel of the *bouleuterion*, the granting of the right to seek asylum by the senate to the sanctuary of Hecate in Lagina and to that of Zeus in Panamara, in addition to the formation of a choir of children singing a hymn in honour of Zeus and Hecate in Stratonicea.[44] If a series of the Stratonicea mint shows, on the obverse and on the reverse, respectively, a l*aureate* head of Zeus and Hecate with torches,[45] a confirmation of this link also comes from Chalki, one of the Dodecanese islands, in which the goddess replaces Zeus' bride on a double-rock throne.[46]

In the Dodecanese islands, particularly Rhodes and Kos, the cult of Hecate is confirmed by finds that seem to date between Hellenistic and Roman times. This widespread diffusion could be traced back to the strong influence of Caria, the geographical area where probably the cult originated. Although, in fact, identifying the exact place of origin of Hecate is not simple, many aspects seem to refer to the Eastern area, and more precisely to the southern area of the Anatolian peninsula; in fact, the oldest evidence of the cult of the goddess seems to come from here. This thesis seems to be confirmed by both philological-literary data[47] and strictly archaeological data. With regard to this aspect, we should mention the archaic evidence from the

[39] On this subject, see also the hypothesis that the theme of the childhood of Cretan Zeus had particular popularity in the Hellenistic period among the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties (Mastrocinque 2002).

[40] Baumeister 2007: 35–36; Carboni 2015: 70–75 (with previous bibliography).

[41] In a passage from Hesiod's Theogony (Hes. *Th.* 411–452), Zeus honours Hecate by granting her powers extended to the earth, sea, and sky.

[42] Le Bas and Waddington 1870: 142, no. 519.

[43] Cfr. *IK* 22, 1, 1101, 5–6. See Boffo 1985: 301–302; Laumonier 1958: 417; Williamson 2013.

[44] Carboni 2014.

[45] Meadows 2002.

[46] *IG* XII 1, 958. Susini 1965: 249, 252 (with previous bibliography).

[47] Adiego 1994.

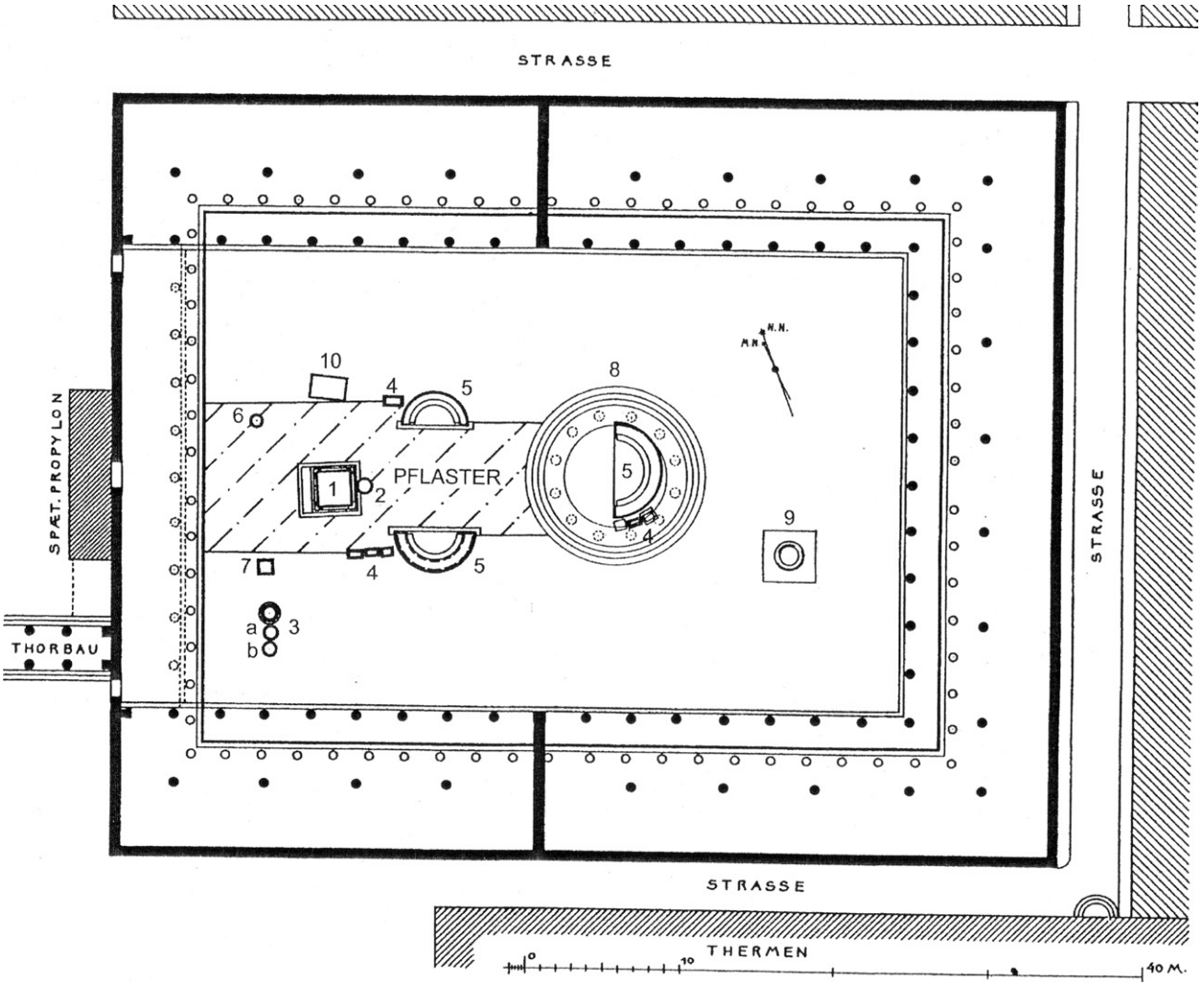


Figure 2. Milet. *Delphinion* plan: 1) altar of Apollo; 2) Altar of Hecate (after Herda 2006a: 262, fig. 17).

Ionian cities of Miletus and Didyma,[48] in relation to the cult of Apollo, and the already mentioned sanctuary in Lagina, the most important place of worship dedicated to the goddess in this region. Although it dates to the Hellenistic-Roman period, the sanctuary refers to a more ancient substratum, and is, therefore, another element confirming the micro-Asian origin of the cult.[49]

Among the oldest evidence of the cult of Hecate, we find an inscription engraved on an altar dedicated to her in Miletus by two Prytaneis, later placed within the *Delphinion* (Figure 2).[50] It was found in a stratum of Hellenistic date, but the typology clearly refers to that of the altars of the Archaic period, as is also confirmed by the characters of the epigraph.[51] An inscription engraved on the side of the throne of a seated female sculpture, found near Didyma, where Hecate and Apollo are mentioned together, is also of the same period.[52] In addition to the archaic nature of the evidence, an interesting element is also provided by the association of the goddess with Apollo, which confirms a consolidated devotional practice that sees Hecate sharing places of worship with other deities. In Miletus, in fact, the goddess is celebrated as the ἐντεμένιος θεός,[53] and it is no coincidence that Hecate is mentioned with Apollo, in the so-called *Molpoi inscription*,[54] a religious regulation coming from the *Delphinion* that lists the cathartic prescriptions intended for different deities, including

[48] See Carboni 2015: 103–107 (with previous bibliography); Herda 2006a; 2006b.

[49] See Carboni 2015: 59–89 (with previous bibliography).

[50] 'Εὐθρᾳσ...../...Λᾳωδάμας / Ὀνάξο πρυτ[α]/νεύοντες ἀ/νέθεσαντὴ/κάτηι' (Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 275–276).

[51] Herda 2006b: 285–286.

[52] Garden of Istanbul Archaeological Museums, inv. 1883: 'ἐπιπέσσεν τὰ ἔλατρα ἐξ ἡμεδίμνο τὠπόλλωνι πλακόντινα, τῆι ῾Εκά/τηι δὲ χωρίς' (500 BC ca). See Herda 2006b: 285, n. 2018 (with previous bibliography); Tuchelt 1970: 91, K 61, tav. 59.2; 116–118.

[53] Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 279.

[54] The term *Molpoi* referred to a religious but also political association of musicians linked to the cult of Apollo *Delphinios* who performed during religious ceremonies: the establishment of the congregation dates back at least to the 6th century BC. See Georgoudi 2001: 156ff. (with previous bibliography); Johnston 1999: 206–207 and, more generally, about the history of the association, Sokolowski 1955: 132.

Apollo and Hecate, thus confirming the important role assigned to the goddess:[55]

ὅταν στεφανηφόροι ἴωσιν ἐς
Δίδυμα, ἡ πόλις διδοῖ ἑκατόνβην τρία ἱερῆια τέλεια· τούτων ἓν θῆλυ, ἓν
δὲ ἐνορχές. ἐς μολπ<ῶ>ν ἡ πόλις διδοῖ Ταργηλίοισιν ἱερ<ῆι>ον τέλειον καὶ Μεταγε[ι]-
τνίοισιν ἱερ<ῆι>ον τέλειον, Ἑβδομαίοισιν δὲ δύο τέλεια καὶ χὸν τὸμ παλαιὸν ὁ[ρ]-
τῆς ἑκάστης· τούτοισι τοῖς ἱεροῖσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρίσταται, λαγχάνει δὲ
οὐδὲν πλῆον τῶν ἄλλων μολπῶν. καὶ ἄρχονται οἱ στεφανηφόροι Ταυρεῶ-
νος θύειν᾽ Απόλλωνι Δελφινίωι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀπαρξάμενοι, καὶ ΚΡΗΤΗ
ΡΙΣΑΣ τέσσερας. καὶ γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ τίθεται παρ᾽ Εκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν
πυλέων ἐστεμμένος καὶ ἀκρήτω κατασπένδετε, ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ
θύρας τίθεται· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔρχονται τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν πλατεῖαν μέχρι
ἄκρο, ἀπ᾽ ἄκρο δὲ διὰ δρυμῶ. καὶ παιωνίζεται πρῶτον παρ᾽ Εκάτῃ τῇ πρόσθεν πυ-
λέων, παρὰ Δυνάμει, εἶτεν ἐπὶ λειμῶνι ἐπ᾽ ἄκρο παρὰ Νύμφαις, εἶτεν παρ᾽ Ερμῆ᾽ Εν-
κελάδο, παρὰ Φυλίωι, κατὰ Κεραιΐτην, παρὰ Χαρέω ἀνδριᾶσιν. ἔρδεται δὲ τῶι παν-
θύωι ἔτει παρὰ Κεραιΐτηι

The stele on which the inscription is engraved seems to date between the end of the 3rd[56]/early 2nd century BC,[57] even if the original nucleus of the inscription harks back, once again, to the Archaic period. The regulation, in fact, was approved around the mid 5th century BC, but the central body dates to the second half of the 6th century BC.[58]

According to this regulation, the first paean of the procession was dedicated to the goddess, to whom a sacrifice was made;[59] reference is also made to two *gylloi*[60] decorated with garlands, one of which was placed 'in front of the Hecate facing the doors', and the second 'over the threshold'.[61] The implicit reference to a statue of the goddess, or to a place of worship in her honour near the city gates,[62] is unsurprising, given her role as the guardian of crossroads – as often found both in iconography and in literature.[63] This role, in fact, associates the goddess *Propylaia* with Apollo, both known as protectors of roads and gates;[64] furthermore, *Hekatos* is used as an epithet, or even a synonym for Apollo, already by Homer,[65] confirming the close relationship between the two deities and the archaic nature of their association.[66]

Among other evidence for understanding the origins of the cult of Hecate, the previously mentioned sanctuary in Lagina plays a key role (Figure 3). Although, in fact, the monumental structure is Hellenistic/Roman, some discoveries of the Classical period, which allow us to date the first practices of the cult to it, come from the same area.[67]

The feature shared by evidence of the cult of Hecate in Caria is the absence, in pre-Classical times, of temples dedicated to her, whose number, even in later periods, is always small. This can be explained both by the fact that Hecate was worshiped as a complementary figure within temples dedicated to other deities, and to evidence supporting the private nature of the cult.

Despite the difficulties in identifying the origins of Hecate, it seems likely that the cult of the goddess belongs to Asia Minor, probably in Caria or in the neighbouring regions; hence this cult spread then spread, probably, to peninsular and insular Greece, where religious practices in honour of the goddess took new forms, thanks to the addition of elements from the Greek *pantheon.*[68]

It is not surprising, therefore, that the influence of Caria is also evident in the islands of the Dodecanese, in particular Rhodes and Kos. On Kos, the goddess is given different epithets emphasising the complexity of her nature in relation to evidence related both to the public/official and to the private spheres. The many finds of the Hellenistic period related to Hecate and coming from the island seem to be a consequence

[55] Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 18–31, 277–284, no. 133.
[56] Herda 2006b: 16.
[57] Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 277.
[58] Herda 2006b: 15–20, 31–34, 404–414, 425–427. On this topic, see too Carbon 2013 and Faraguna 2011: 7–8.
[59] 'ἐπιπέσσεν τὰ ἔλατρα ἐξ ἡμεδίμνο τὼ πόλλωνι πλακόν τινα, τῆι Εκά/τηι δὲ χωρίς' (Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 277–284, no. 133, 36–37). On this topic, see Herda 2006a: 262; 2006b: 396–399.
[60] In *Hsch*. *γυλλός* refer to a *κύβος, ἢ τετράγωνος λίθος*, but *γυλλοί* refers to †*στολμοί*. See Georgoudi 2001: 163–164 and Laumonier 1958: 574, n. 7 (according to whom it makes little sense that they were first placed and then moved every year).
[61] This second expression refers to a point located at the end of the path, near the door of the sacred enclosure of the *Didymeion*. Although it can be hypothesised that reference is also made, in this case, to the threshold of a *sacellum* dedicated to Hecate, there are no elements supporting this hypothesis.
[62] Here three *hekataia* were discovered (Gödecken 1986: 236–237, no. 48).
[63] Carboni 2015.
[64] Consider, in this regard, the evidence found in Asia Minor (Hillarima, Kos, Rhodes, etc.), as well as Delos and Delphi, in Greece. See Carboni 2015: 49.
[65] See, with regard to its use as an epithet: Hom. *Il.* 7, 83; 20, 295. For its use as a synonym, see, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 1, 385; 20, 71.
[66] This supports the hypothesis that the two could have formed since the Archaic period '[...] *ein altes, karisches Kultpaar*'. Herda 2006b: 285–289.
[67] Sahin 1976: 19, n. 63. In this regard, an inscription in which reference is made to a temple for Hecate in Lagina and to the related priest during the satrapy of Asander, who, in 323 BC, acquired Caria instead of Philoxenus. See, in this regard, Robert 1937: 569–571; Simonetti Agostinetti 1993: 47.
[68] See Carboni 2015 (here 157ff.).



Figure 3. Lagina. Temple (photograph by R. Carboni).



Figure 4. Kos. Hekataion (after Laurenzi 1957: 145, fig. 205).

of the strong influence exerted by Caria on the area. With the exception of a relief representing Hecate with torches (Figure 4),[69] most of the finds are dedications and cult calendars in which the name of Hecate is mentioned along with different epithets, which refer to the different areas of relevance for which the goddess was invoked on the island. The first time Hecate is mentioned in Kos is on a cult calendar of the early 3rd century BC (Ἐκ]άται ἐμ πόλει),[70] while a second calendar, whose interpretation is more controversial, dates to the end of the same century.[71] Another proof is provided by a *lex sacra*, where several chthonic cults are mentioned, including the cult of Hecate *Megala*, to whom infernal characteristics are attributed;[72] the name *Megala* could refer to the *megiste* form that spread in Caria in the Imperial era.[73]

It is no coincidence that the poet Theocritus from Siracusa, who lived on Kos for a while, associates the goddess Hecate with demons:[74]

> ἀλλὰ Σελάνα,
> φαῖνε καλόν: τὶν γὰρ ποταείσομαι ἄσυχα, δαῖμον,
> τᾷ χθονίᾳ θ᾽ Εκάτα, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι
> ἐρχομέναν νεκύων ἀνά τ᾽ ἠρία καὶ μέλαν αἷμα.
> χαῖρ᾽ Εκάτα δασπλῆτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄμμιν ὀπάδει.
> φάρμακα ταῦτ᾽ ἔρδοισα χερείονα μήτέ τι Κίρκης
> μήτέ τι Μηδείας μήτε ξανθᾶς Περιμήδα
> [...]
> τὺ δ᾽, ῎ Αρτεμι καὶ τὸν ἐν῎ Αιδα
> κινήσαις ἀδάμαντα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἀσφαλὲς ἄλλο.
> Θεστυλί, ταὶ κύνες ἄμμιν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὠρύονται.
> ἁ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι: τὸ χαλκίον ὡς τάχος ἄχει.

The reported quotation seems to be a reflection of the veneration of the deity on Kos as a demonic and evil goddess, the goddess of crossroads, who terrifies even the wild dogs. The goddess is associated first with Selene, and then, as a more benevolent deity, also with Artemis, according to the principle of

[69] Kos, Museum. Hellenistic age. Laurenzi 1957: 143–144, no. 205, fig. 205; Sarian 1992: 995, no. 71.
[70] Paton and Hicks 1891: 85–286, no. 401, 5; Pugliese Carratelli 1965: 158, no.1.
[71] Here the sacrifices to the Nymphs and to other deities, including perhaps Hecate, are mentioned. Segre 1938: 192–193.
[72] Herzog 1929: 15, no. 5 A, 8–9 (mid 4th century BC); Sokolowski 1969: 272, no. 156 (first half of 3rd century BC).
[73] Müller 1913: 335–336.
[74] *Theoc.* 2, 10–16, 33–36. Cf. García Teijeiro 1999: 77.

syncretism that characterises her multifaceted nature.

The goddess is also mentioned on Kos in association with Asclepius,[75] and, above all, with Apollo, as we see in Didyma and Miletus. With the epiclesis *Pontia* she is mentioned along with Apollo on an inscription from the 2nd century BC engraved on a circular altar from Halieis,[76] or even in Halasarna where Ecate, here called *Stratia*, is mentioned, once again, in association with the god in five dedications by the priest of Apollo and the *hieropoioi*.[77] Their dedication to Hecate suggests that the cult of the goddess was deep-rooted, and that it played a significant role in the area. The association between *Stratia* and *Soteira* epicleses, equally widespread on the island, and referring to military dedications,[78] suggests that these dedications can be dated to the period between the Cretan Wars and the war against Philip V.[79]

Hecate is also known as Soteira on Rhodes, here in her syncretic relationship with Artemis, as confirmed by Suda.[80] The presence of a cult of the goddess on the island in the Hellenistic period is confirmed, in fact, by several finds from Rhodes, Ialysos, Kamiros, and Lindos. In the Archaic period these cities all belonged to the same sacred federation, known as the Doric Hexapolis, together with Kos, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus. In the 6th/5th century BC the name of the confederation that included these cities located opposite the coast of Caria was changed to the Doric Pentapolis when Halicarnassus was excluded from it.[81]

Among the different epicleses[82] with which the goddess was invoked on Rhodes, we should mention *Propylaia*, which refers to her function as protector of crossroads and gates. Two epigraphs with the name of Hecate with the epiclesis in question come from the acropolis of Camirus, and not just by chance from the area of the Propylaea:

> Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀποτροπαίου / Ἑκάτας Προπυλαίας[83]
> Ἑρμᾶι Προπυλαίωι πέσσε ταύτα[ι]. / Ἑκάται Προπυλαίαι[84]

In both inscriptions, the goddess is mentioned as *Propylaia*, immediately after Apollo *Apotropaios* in the first case, and Hermes *Propylaios* in the second.[85] The association with the two gods is not new, but it seems well established in several other cities in Asia Minor and Greece, as we have seen in the above-mentioned example of Apollo on Kos.[86]

Hecate and Hermes are often invoked together near the propylaea of the acropolis, e.g. Athens,[87] in their apotropaic role of protectors and guardians of gates. The expression '*πέσσε ταύτα[ι]*' = *coque hic*, found on the second epigraphic document reported above, refers to the ritual prescription of a votive meal regularly dedicated to Hecate, but also to the goddess and Hermes together, which consisted of *deipna* that also included puppies and fish cooked on the spot.[88] With regard to the similarities with the Acropolis of Athens, we should also mention Rhodes, on whose acropolis an Hellenistic *hekataion* was discovered, characterised by an archaic style, perhaps a replica of an attic one (Figure 5).[89] The *hekataion* was located on a high plinth in the area of the temple of Athena *Poliàs*, and there is clearly a correspondence with the situation of the Athenian fortress, where the triple image of Hecate was probably located near the temple of Athena Nike (*Paus.* 2, 30, 2). The *hekataion* on Rhodes, with a total height of *c.* 2.50 m, was perhaps one of the most impressive *anathemata* within the acropolis of Rhodes.[90] Hecate and Hermes on Rhodes are also associated in the celebration of the mysteries,[91] and then on an inscription together with

[75] Inscription dating to between the mid/end of 4th century BC. Riethmüller 2005 (I): 214–216; Schazmann 1932: 26.
[76] Herzog 1899: 223, no. 217; Vallarino 2009: 202.
[77] Vallarino 2009: 201–202.
[78] Maiuri 1925: 235, no. 676; Sherwin-White 1978: 321; Vallarino 2009: 203.
[79] Sherwin-White 1978: 321.
[80] Suid. s.v. Ασφόδελος. The passage mentions Artemis *Soteira* in connection with a plant, the asphodel, linked to the cult of the dead and the gods of the underworld. The reference context suggests an interpretation of the deity mentioned as a hypostasis of Hecate. See Amigues 2002: 7–14.
[81] *Hdt.* 1, 144: κατά περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὧν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς, [2] ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. [3] ἀνὴρ ὧν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἁλικαρνησσόν. Τούτοισι μέν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.
[82] The goddess is also mentioned on the island as *Daidoukhos* (*IG* XII 1, 141, 2nd century BC) and *Phosphoros Enodia* (*IG* XII 1, 914, 3rd century BC); this epigraph refers to a dedication on a throne of Hecate found on the island (Hiller von Gaertringen 1895: 4).
[83] *Tit. Cam.* 119, unknown chronology.
[84] *Tit. Cam.* 116, *c.* 3rd century (Morelli 1959: 128).
[85] A herm of Hermes comes from the 'sacred square' of the acropolis of Camiros (Maiuri 1932: 437ff.).
[86] See above.
[87] *Paus.* 1, 22, 8. Carboni 2015 (with previous bibliography); Torelli 2010: 90ff.
[88] Paoletti 2004: 33; Zografou 2004: 230; Zografou 2005: 196–197. Recently, Carboni 2016; Carboni 2017.
[89] Rhodes, Museum no. 5289. Ridgway 2002: 145–146, tav. 53 a–c; Sarian 1992: 998 no. 116; Werth 2006: 301, no. 20 (with previous bibliography). Zografou (2010: 240–241) hypothesises that the sculpture was used as a support for a tripod. According to L. Laurenzi, it was three *korai* inspired by the type of sacred girls at Athena (Laurenzi 1965: 754–755).
[90] Maiuri 1932: 13. For other *hekataia* in Rhodes see Werth 2006: 335–336, no. 88; 367, no. 163; 373–374, no. 182.
[91] *IG* XII 1, 141 (early 2nd century BC): [γ]ράμματ' ἐδίδαξεν ἔτεα πεν[τήκ]ον[θ' ὅδε] | δύο τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εὐσεβῶν [χ]ωρός [σφ'



Figure 5. Rhodes. Hekataion (after Maiuri 1932: 15, figs. 3–5).



Figure 6. Ialysus. Hekataion (after Jacopi 1931: 81, fig. 53).

Athena.[92] Moreover, a *hekataion* from the acropolis of Ialysus features the three typical figures arranged around a central pillar and wearing a chiton, a *himation*, and a single *polos*, from which two braids fall over the shoulders (Figure 6).[93] The sculpture is a small specimen (h. 40 cm) probably belonging to the group of *Hekataia Prothyraia* which, according to Aristophanes,[94] all Athenians kept outside the doors of their homes.

An example of Artemis *Soteira* depicted as Hecate, and placed to protect the entrance of a stonemason's *atelier* at Lindos, also belongs to the private sphere.[95] The inscription comes from a cave between the *latomie*, at the entrance to which, on the right, Hecate is represented holding two torches as a dog looks at her.

Concluding remarks

With regard to the cults analysed above, the aspects examined show a cultural matrix that seems closely connected to a general micro-Asian sphere. However, some elements clearly refer to a *koinè* that can generally be defined as coming from Caria, but which clearly shows some archaic elements connected with another geographical area, i.e. around the island of Crete. It seems evident, in the light of these considerations, that the cults of Hecate and the Great Gods of Samothrace, the latter in their syncretic relationship with the Cabiri, the Telchines, and the Curetes/Korybantes, show, characteristics linked to the local substrate, combined with elements of the Archaic period. The aspects connected with Zeus from Mt Ida (Crete), and the myth of his birth, play a central role in these cult processes. The figures of Hecate and the armed dancers, the protagonists of the mythical episode which is also represented on reliefs, seem to be the *trait d'union* that, through a process of slow crystallisation and reinterpretation of myths and cults, connects the Dodecanese area and the opposite micro-Asian coast to the island of Crete, where these cultural phenomena probably originated.

R.C.

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ἔχει]. | Πλούτων γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Κόρη κα[τ]ώικισ[αν], | Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ δαιδοῦχος Ἑκάτη προσφ[ιλῆ] | [ἅ]πασιν εἶναι μυστικῶν τε [ἐ] πιστά[την] | ἔταξαν αὐτὸν πίστεως πά[σ]ης χά[ριν]. | vacat | αὐτὸς ἐσελθὼν ξεῖνε σαφῶς μά̣θε [πόσσα μαθητῶν] | [π]λήθη τοὺς πολιοὺς στέψαν ἐμοὺ̣[ς] κ[ροτάφους].

[92] Suppl. Epigr. rodio XII: ἔτυχα παρὰ | τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ | καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης | καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς | τὰ αὐτοὶ ἠθέλησαν.

[93] Rhodes, Museum 13651. Chronology: 2nd century BC. Jacopi 1931: 81–82, fig. 53; Kraus 1960: 180, A 50; Sarian 1992: 998, no. 117; Werth 2006: 312, no. 42.

[94] Ar. *V.* 802–804: κἀν τοῖς προθύροις ἐνοικοδομήσοι πᾶς ἀνὴρ / αὑτῷ δικαστηρίδιον μικρὸν πάνυ, /ὥσπερ Ἑκάταιον, πανταχοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

[95] *IG* XII 1, 915: Ἀρτέμιδι / Σωτείραι. On this topic, see the description on the epigraphic document.

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Divine travellers from Egypt settling on Rhodes: Some issues for discussion

Charikleia Fantaoutsaki

Abstract

The evaluation of old and new archaeological evidence relating to the cult of the Egyptian gods in Rhodes raises fresh questions. The particular features of the sanctuary of Isis, the identity of the deities worshipped there in the 3rd century BC, and the scarcity of information on the priesthood of the Egyptian gods in the city of Rhodes, compared to the large number of inscriptions from Kamiros and Lindos mentioning the names of many priests who served Sarapis in both cities, are only some of the issues requiring further discussion. Far from being definitive, this paper constitutes an attempt to provide solutions to the new riddles and investigate the character that the Egyptian cults developed in Rhodes, as well as their impact on the society of the island.

Key words: Egyptian cults, Isiac cults, Egyptian priests, Isiac priests, sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods, Hellenistic Rhodes

Travelling from the valley of the Nile across the sea, and settling in numerous regions of the Mediterranean area, during the Hellenistic period is considered a well-known story in relation to the primeval divinities of Egypt. The cults of the divine couple Isis and Osiris or Sarapis, their son Horus or Harpocrates, as well as Anubis, were rooted in newly founded sanctuaries, initially in the Aegean region and the Greek mainland and later on the Italian and Iberian peninsulas.[1] The spread of the Isiac cults[2] beyond their natal land was stimulated by a mixture of politics, social interactions and commercial activities within a world receptive to constant religious change; it forms a procedure neither simple nor expeditious which is perceived through differentiated features in individual geographic regions.

Rhodes stands among the earliest recipients of the Egyptian cults in the Aegean, as is attested by the recent discovery of the sanctuary of Isis within the ancient capital of the island.[3] As early as in the first three decades of the 3rd century BC the temple of the sanctuary was erected[4] and the religious life of the Rhodian federal state was enriched by the addition of new official cults. There is no doubt about the identity of the gods worshipped there: the Hellenised forms of Isis[5] and Sarapis[6] mark clearly their presence in the sculptures found in the subterranean 'Nile water crypt' together with Horus in the form of a falcon[7] and possibly Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis.[8] A votive plaque with a dedication to Osiris,[9] recovered from a wall foundation trench of the sanctuary enclosure, also bears witness to the concurrent piety demonstrated towards Sarapis' Egyptian counterpart.

This blending of Egyptian and Greek elements, evident in the divinities venerated in the precinct, the adoption of Egyptian architectural forms, i.e. the 'Nile water crypt',[10] and, furthermore, the discernible presence of both Greek and Egyptian or Egyptianising sculptures, shape the peculiar character of the Rhodian sanctuary, which cannot be paralleled to any of the contemporary sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods in the Graeco-Roman world.

The material evidence yielded from the excavation, albeit limited, proved indicative in reconstructing major aspects concerning the plan, decoration, and dating of the sanctuary, while the nearly total absence

[1] A succinct presentation for the dissemination of the cults of the Egyptian gods around the Mediterranean has been lately given by L. Bricault (2018).

[2] The term 'Isiac cults', when it is used outside the geographical territory of Egypt, is applied generally not only to the cult of Isis, but also to that of Sarapis, Harpocrates, and Anubis, as well as of other secondary Egyptian deities. For the implications caused by the use of this term, see Bricault 2004: 548, 554 (no. 3). For a detailed general discussion of the term 'Isiac', see Malaise 2005: 23, 25–31.

[3] For further information about the excavation of the sanctuary, see Fantaoutsaki 2011; 2014; 2015.

[4] A deposit found next to the foundation of the temple, consisting mostly of broken Early Rhodian amphorae, contributed significantly to the dating of the cult building: Fantaoutsaki 2011: 52, fig. 8; 2014: 1332, fig. 20; 2015: 189–190. A detailed study of the Rhodian amphorae from the deposit of the sanctuary has been published in Seroglou 2012.

[5] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 56, fig. 13; 2014: 1328, fig. 14.

[6] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 56–57, fig. 14; 2014: 1328, fig. 15.

[7] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 57, fig. 15.

[8] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 61, fig. 21.

[9] Bricault 2011: *RICIS* 204/0114; Fantaoutsaki 2011: 49, fig. 3.

[10] The term 'Nile water crypt' refers to the underground structures of Graeco-Roman sanctuaries dedicated to the Egyptian gods and was first applied to them by R. Wild (1981), who studied the importance of the element of water in the cults of Isis and Sarapis. These structures consist of a staircase leading to a basin or some other source of water (Kleibl 2007: 212) and it is generally believed that they reproduce in a small scale the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic Nilometres. The crypt of the Rhodian sanctuary, consisting of a staircase and a well, can be classified in this category of crypts. For details on the crypt of the sanctuary, see Fantaoutsaki 2011: 53–55, fig. 9–11; 2015: 190–191, pl. 4.

of epigraphic material holds back the comprehension of its function at deeper levels. As a matter of fact, the lack of inscriptions, combined with certain evidence offered by the excavation, raises new questions about a series of issues such as the *modus operandi* of the early period of the *Iseion*, the identity of the deities worshipped there, the priestly personnel who served them, and to whom exactly the sanctuary was addressed. Therefore, as supplementary, yet necessary, sources for discussing the issues above, one is obliged to turn to the testimony not only of the *corpus* of Rhodian inscriptions in relation to the Isiac cults, but of ancient writers as well.

Ambiguities of the early years: coexistence of more than one cult in the sanctuary of Isis?

Having defined with certainty the construction of the temple in the first three decades of the 3rd century BC,[11] it is surprising that the earliest mention of a priest of Sarapis and Isis in the city of Rhodes dates at least 50 years later.[12] Such a relatively large gap can be only partially justified by the scarcity of information on the priests of the Egyptian gods in Rhodes, when one compares it to the numerous relevant inscriptions of Kamiros and Lindos, where the priestly office related to the cult of Sarapis is attested shortly after the mid 3rd century BC.[13] Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine the circumstances under which the older cities of the island could have adopted a new foreign cult almost simultaneously and before its official establishment in the administrative centre of the state. Curiously enough, this inconsistency is further highlighted by the fact that the subterranean crypt, a distinctive and essential facility in the Graeco-Roman sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods, seems to have been omitted from the initial land-planning of the precinct, as implied by the fact that its staircase consists of a later addition to a pre-existing well.[14]

Keeping in mind that the archaeological finds from the Rhodian sanctuary point unquestionably to the worship of the Egyptian gods, and yet architectural evidence and epigraphic sources lead to ambiguous conclusions as far as its early period of function is concerned, a reasonable explanation can be sought through an alternative approach and re-evaluation of the available data.

While examining the issue from a historical point of view, one easily comes up with the conclusion that in the early years of the 3rd century BC, just after the unsuccessful attempt by Demetrius to occupy Rhodes in 304 BC,[15] the new cult that penetrated the group of the official cults of the Rhodian city-state was that of Ptolemy I. Diodorus Siculus[16] clearly mentions that the citizens of Rhodes, complying with the oracle of Libyan Zeus-Ammon, proceeded to Ptolemy's deification[17] and dedicated a *temenos* to him, as a reciprocal act for his active support during the siege of the city by Demetrius. This historical fact fits well with the construction date of the temple, and it is quite reasonable to consider that the Rhodian sanctuary was initially dedicated to the cult of Ptolemy I. As a logical development, it can be assumed that the cults of Sarapis, patron deity of the Ptolemies, and his consort Isis must have been added a little later, following the Rhodians' wish to strengthen the friendly and economic ties between the two states.[18] In this way both the early dating of the temple and the posterior addition of the crypt would be sufficiently explained. What needs to be examined, though, is how and when the cult of the Ptolemies was relocated from the sanctuary near Acandia, known at a later date as *Iseion*, to the so-called 'Ptolemaion', the second *gymnasion* of Rhodes, which, besides the athletic exercising of the city's youth, is considered to have hosted the Ptolemaic ruler cult as well,[19] as we find in several *gymnasia* of the Late Hellenistic period.[20]

The 'Ptolemaion' *gymnasion*, an almost square building measuring 189 m x 202 m,[21] fits accurately with the Diodorus' description of the *temenos* dedicated to Ptolemy I by the Rhodians; its remains have been located in another part of the ancient city, to the west of the *Iseion*, but not far from it. Although the narrative of Diodorus leaves no doubt that during his era the impressive *gymnasion* was consolidated to the collective memory as the only place where the cult of the Ptolemies was practised, practically it cannot ensure that a predecessor of it did not exist. As a matter of fact, while the excavation results in different parts of the monumental complex point to a general dating in the 2nd century BC, as well as its continuous use throughout the Roman period, the proposed dating for its erection in the late 4th century BC relies only on scant

[11] See above note 4.

[12] An inscribed pillar from Lindos, dated to 215 BC, bears the earliest mention of a priest of Sarapis in the city of Rhodes: Blikenberg 1941: 379–381, no. 134; Bricault 2005: *RICIS* 204/0206; Vidman 1969: *SIRIS* 202.

[13] So far Kamiros has provided the earliest inscription with a name of a priest of Sarapis (*c.* 249 BC): Bricault 2005: *RICIS* 204/0201; Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1949–1951: 186, no. 30; Vidman 1969: *SIRIS* 182. The corresponding inscription from Lindos dates *c.* seven years later (*c.* 242 BC): Blikenberg 1941: 328–332, no. 102; Bricault 2005: *RICIS* 204/0301; Vidman 1969: *SIRIS* 200.

[14] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 52–53.

[15] Berthold 1984: 67–77.

[16] Diod. XX, 100, 3–4.

[17] Berthold 1984: 78; Dunand 1973, III: 19; Mahaffy 1899: 44; Seibert 1969: 81–82.

[18] The relations between Rhodes and Egypt had been developed on a strong economic and commercial basis and the historic conditions were nothing else but favourable for the Rhodians to adopt the cult of Sarapis just after the cult of Ptolemy I, in order to reinforce their traditionally friendly ties with the Egyptians: Dunand 2000: 70; Fraser 1972, I: 263–264. Consequently F. Dunand's older suggestion that the Ptolemaic ruler cult in Rhodes preceded the cult of the Egyptian gods seems to be affirmed (Dunand 1973, III: 19).

[19] Filimonos 1989: 152–154.

[20] Filimonos 1989: 152, no. 82.

[21] Filimonos 1989: 142.

stratigraphic data.[22] Hence, it cannot be excluded that the 'Ptolemaion' *gymnasion* was constructed later, most probably just after the destructive earthquake of 228 BC, when the Hellenistic kings, including Ptolemy III, contributed financially to the restoration of Rhodes.[23] Inscriptions also testify that architects and builders travelled from Egypt to help with the reconstruction of the city,[24] and perhaps they have to be credited for the monumentality of the building, a feature also evident in the Alexandrian architecture.[25] If this assumption is accurate, it is reasonable to think that once the construction of the new *gymnasion* was completed, its affinity to the Ptolemaic evergetism motivated the Rhodians to relocate the dynastic cult from the *Iseion* to a place that seemed more appropriate at that particular moment. Thus, the cult of the Ptolemies was separated from the cult the Egyptian gods and the latter remained unmingled thereafter in the earlier sanctuary. Consequently, the modified cultic background created the need of constructive adjustments to the spatial planning of the sacred *temenos*. The renovation that followed aimed to fulfil the requirements of a sanctuary dedicated to Sarapis and Isis; therefore, it was deemed necessary to build a proper underground crypt for the Isiac rituals, the lack of which until then would have been resolved either by the pre-existing well itself or by another receptacle in which to hold the 'sacred Nile water'. A large basin, for example, would have easily served this purpose, as is assumed to have been the case in other sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods outside Egypt.[26] Nevertheless, the alterations must have been completed by 215 BC, when the name of a priest of Sarapis appears for the first time in a catalogue of the priests of the official cults of the city,[27] marking the beginning of a new era for the sanctuary.

Egyptian priests in Rhodes: questions of time and space

Speaking of the city officials appointed to serve the Egyptian gods in the sanctuary of Isis in Rhodes, priority has to be given to explaining their absence from inscriptions dating before 215 BC. On one hand this results from the fact that the available evidence from Rhodes is totally circumstantial, because very few catalogues of the city's religious officers have been recovered compared to the abundance of inscriptions coming from Kamiros and Lindos.[28] On the other hand, although the names of two priests of the Ptolemies appear in the earliest catalogue listing priests of the official cults of Rhodes (dated shortly after 221 BC),[29] the name of the priest of Sarapis and Isis is not cited. This serious omission cannot be overlooked, since it could only mean that either a priestly office for the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods did not exist at that specific time, or its holder was not a Rhodian citizen. The key to the riddle lies perhaps in the original coexistence and primacy of the Ptolemaic ruler cult over the cults of the Egyptian gods in the city sanctuary: hence, during its early period the chief officer of the sanctuary must have been a priest of the Ptolemies and the person charged with the duty of conducting the Isiac rituals must have been a foreigner, otherwise his name would appear in the earliest catalogue of the Rhodian priests. In spite of the fact that Rhodes lacks relevant archaeological evidence for this specific period, as already stressed above, it is not hard to imagine the presence of Egyptians in the Rhodian sanctuary in the mid 3rd century BC at the latest, in order to expedite the establishment of the new cult; after all, the cases of Delos and Demetrias can easily stand as concurrent examples in the Greek world.

In Delos, the first sanctuary on the island dedicated to the Egyptian gods, known as *Sarapieion* A, was founded by a notable Egyptian priest, Apollonios of Memphis in the early 3rd century BC. Apollonios introduced the cults of Sarapis and Isis to the island and established a hereditary priesthood according to Egyptian standards,[30] with an active role in promoting the cult of the gods of his native land.[31] Following Delos, the Greek mainland presents an example of another Egyptian priest; dated around 250 BC, the tombstone of Ouaphres from Bousiris, son of Horus and priest of Isis, provides the earliest evidence on the cults of the Egyptian gods in Thessalian Demetrias[32] – although his religious profession was most probably practised within a private cultic circle rather than the public sphere.[33]

In Rhodes, as mentioned above, the presence of Egyptian priestly servants in the sanctuary of Isis during the 3rd century BC cannot be ascertained on

[22] For the dating of the 'Ptolemaion' *gymnasion*, see Filimonos 1989: 150–152.

[23] Berthold 1984: 92; Hölbl 2001: 53; Segre 1940: 36–37.

[24] The name of the architect Amphilochos, son of Laagos, was recorded in an inscription located near the city harbour. The present whereabouts of the inscription remain unknown; see Caliò 2008: 59–68.

[25] The building seems to reflect the influence of the Alexandrian architecture, already evident in the Aegean area in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC. On this subject, see Caliò 2010: 4–22, especially 7–12 (for Rhodes).

[26] Wild 1981: 20–22. For example, it has been assumed that in sanctuaries lacking underground water crypts, i.e. in the sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods in Priene, and the sanctuary of Isis in Cyrene, water basins for lustral rites were placed near the outflows of water pipes.

[27] See above note 12.

[28] Lala 2015: 197.

[29] Segre 1940: 29–39.

[30] Clarysse 2010: 287; Dunand 1973, III: 138; Moyer 2011: 163.

[31] See Bricault 2008: 50; 2013: 134–135; Bruneau 1970: 461; Dignas 2008: 75–77; Dunand 1973, III: 138; Martzavou 2018: 139–140; Vidman 1970: 35–36. The history of Apollonios is known from the 'Delian Chronicle' inscribed on one of the columns of the sanctuary (Bricault 2005: *RICIS* 202/0101), part of it written by his homonymous grandson, himself also a priest of Sarapis.

[32] Bricault 2005: *RICIS* 112/0701; 2013: 134; Dunand 1973, II: 49; Martzavou 2018: 132–133; Stamatopoulou 2008: 249–257.

[33] Martzavou 2018: 133; Stamatopoulou 2008: 254.



Figure 1. The funerary inscription of Chaeremon of Memphis (photograph by author).

the grounds of present archaeological proof; such a possibility might be suggested, however, as a perfect explanation of the absence of references to Greek priests of the Egyptian cults in the city of Rhodes before 215 BC, when the earliest mention of a priest of Sarapis appears. Nonetheless, the presence of Egyptian priests in Rhodes is actually attested at a later date by a funerary inscription found in a rescue excavation in the area of the Korakonero *necropolis*.[34] The inscription (Figure 1), carved on a grave stele and dated in the late 2nd century BC, mentions the name of the deceased without a patronymic, followed by his nationality and priestly status:

Χαιρήμων
Μεμφίτας
ἱερεὺς Ἴσιος
(Chaeremon of Memphis, priest of Isis)

Chaeremon of Memphis was one of the numerous foreigners,[35] many of them Egyptians,[36] who had left their place of origin to resettle in Rhodes, a commercial centre of great importance during the Hellenistic period.[37] He must have spent the last years of his life in the city and passed away, obviously known by the title inscribed on the stele which marked his grave. His name appears to be Greek and not Egyptian, probably due to the high grade of his Hellenisation. However, the possibility that the name Χαιρήμων represents the Greek transliteration of an Egyptian name like Χαιρημμων or Χαιράμμων[38] cannot be excluded. In any case, Chaeremon was a fairly popular name in Ptolemaic Egypt,[39] whose most famous representative was an Egyptian priest and stoic philosopher from Alexandria, head of the Alexandrian scholars and tutor of Nero.[40]

Notwithstanding that the brief epitaph gives poor information on the Egyptian priest's personal details,[41] it is enlightening in terms of a determinative feature of his office. The use of the noun ἱερεὺς for Chaeremon of Memphis, instead of the past participle ἱερατεύσας, a common formula for those who had previously held a priestly office, reveals that his tenure was not limited in time, following the general rule for Greek priesthoods, but he was appointed to this position for life. One question seeks an answer however: did he serve as a priest of Isis in the city sanctuary or in a private cultic space? Since there is no clue as to how to reach a documented conclusion for the time being, the truth will continue to be elusive until additional evidence comes forward.

Regardless of an answer to the previous question, the case of Chaeremon of Memphis demonstrates undeniably that Egyptian priests of Sarapis and Isis were actually present in Rhodes, perhaps in the Rhodian sanctuary itself. Providing that this hypothesis proves real in the future, one has to admit that Egyptians must have been incorporated within the priestly staff of the sanctuary soon after its foundation, as specialists in Isiac rites,[42] and even if their competence was gradually attenuated after the establishment of the Greek corresponding priestly office, they were never totally supplanted by their Rhodian homologues, probably because of their deep knowledge of the sophisticated Egyptian rituals, as F. Dunand and L. Bricault have already supported.[43]

[34] The inscription is unpublished. It has been briefly mentioned by Dr I. Papachristodoulou (2001: 179 [= SEG 51: 1015]).

[35] For the foreign residents of Rhodes see Morelli 1955: 126–190; Sacco 1980: 517–528.

[36] The Egyptians formed a major group of the population of Rhodes; the only foreigners who exceeded their number were the Antiochians from Syria, along with citizens from various cities of Syria, and the Ephesians from Asia Minor (Morelli 1955: 136). In the catalogue which accompanies his study, D. Morelli mentions 24 individuals from Alexandria (1955: 143), two from Naukratis (1955: 163), and one from Memphis (1955: 181). The total number of Egyptian individuals given by Morelli cannot be considered representative, however, due to the massive volume of unpublished inscriptions from the ongoing excavations in the city of Rhodes. One has to expect a significant increase in this number as soon as the new epigraphic material (especially the funerary inscriptions) is published. In addition, according to Morelli, there were many Egyptian slaves in Rhodes, perhaps the majority among the group of slaves of African origin (Morelli 1955: 137, 178–179).

[37] Morelli 1955: 126–127.

[38] Preisigke 1922: 470.

[39] For the frequency of the name see Foraboschi 1971: 338; Peremans and Van't Dack 1950: nos 613, 958–959, 1118, 1282–1283, 1317, 1744, 1817; 1952: 8: nos 2431, 2561, 2708–2710, 3618, 4133; Preisigke 1922: 470.

[40] Van der Horst 1984: ix–xi.

[41] In Rhodian inscriptions it is customary for a foreigner to be defined only by his personal name and ethnic.

[42] A similar practice is testified at the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods in Priene, where, according to a public decree (Bricault 2011: RICIS 304/0802), sacrifices had to be performed by an Egyptian: Dignas 2008: 83; Stavrianopoulou 2005: 185–189; 2009: 216–220. Moreover, it is generally accepted that Egyptian priests were also present in the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods in Italy during the Imperial period: Malaise 2005: 207–208, no. 34.

[43] Bricault 2013: 264–266; Dunand 1973, III: 140.

Expressions of Egyptian influence on the Rhodian *Iseion*

The presumable presence of Egyptian priests in the sanctuary of Isis, stemming from the epitaph of Chaeremon of Memphis, is just one of the factors suggesting the influence of Egypt on the organisation and operation of the sanctuary; the most telling evidence can be sought in its spatial arrangement and decorative settings, indicative of a serious effort to present an authentic 'Egyptian experience' to the public. The adoption of Egyptian architectural features in the construction of the 'water crypt', which imitates the form of Egyptian Nilometres, the use of heraldic sphinxes,[44] most probably flanking a doorway or a traditional Egyptian *dromos*,[45] and the remarkable number of Egyptian and Egyptianising statuary, obviously consisting offerings of the pious worshipers, not only reflect the great impact of the Egyptian culture, but also give some clues as to the identity of those visiting the sanctuary, the majority of whom would have been foreign residents of Rhodes, maritime travellers, and merchants.

The Egyptian style sculptures from the *Iseion*[46] fall into a category of artefacts to which the term *pharaonica* can be applied; this term was recently adopted by M. Malaise in an attempt to distinguish between the *aegyptiaca* of the Geometric and Archaic periods and the Egyptian and Egyptianising works of art found in public and private sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods outside Egypt.[47] The *pharaonica* of Rhodes can be considered as an exceptional characteristic of the city sanctuary, representing the precursor of the *pharaonica* appearing in the Roman *Iseia* and *Sarapeia* of the Western Mediterranean.[48]

Many theories have been devised by scholars to interpret the presence and use of *pharaonica* in the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods, although no consensus has yet been reached: some have supported their mere aesthetic function, aiming at the creation of an exotic scenery and enabling the worshippers' perception of visiting an authentic Egyptian sanctuary,[49] while others have believed in their religious character and essential role in the comprehension of the hidden symbolism in the ritual practice.[50] Given the fact that none of the theories can be totally rejected, it would be more realistic to state that no one is able to assure that imported Egyptian or Egyptianising objects maintained their original symbolism, as long as their continuous exposure in a differentiated cultural environment would inevitably cause their semantic mutation.[51] Simultaneously, no one can deny the sensory impression emanating merely from their sight, which could elevate devotees' religious experience to a higher level, bringing them closer to Egypt and its deities. In spite of everything, it is not unreasonable to think that not only personal beliefs and experiences of the pilgrims should be the central axis of the interpretive approach of *pharaonica*, but also their effect on them, either direct or indirect, would also be equally diversified.[52]

In this respect, the *pharaonica* of Rhodes can be considered a valid means of exploring aspects of the city sanctuary which otherwise would have remained obscure. The Egyptian sculptures could serve as material testimony for visitors to the sanctuary, exposing their beliefs: it is clear enough that they meant to be offerings to the gods of Egypt by those who venerated them in their authentic Egyptian form, unaffected by the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic period. This leads to the speculation of ascribing a foreign identity to the majority of those who dedicated such sculptures, it being only natural to think that their choices would have been defined by their cultural and religious backgrounds. The coexistence of sculptures of Greek style only affirms the wide range of the devotees who wished to honour the Egyptian gods in the sanctuary of Rhodes: if at first there were gifts to the gods by devotees of non-Greek origin, then what followed must have been offerings made by Greeks, whether Rhodian citizens or not.

Nonetheless, the significance of the Egyptian-style sculptures from the Rhodian *Iseion* should not be confined only to their religious and social interpretation. The question of whether they were imported or locally manufactured is still to be examined, since no stone analyses have been conducted. It should be noted, though, that even if they were not imported from Egypt, their strict adherence to the rules of Egyptian art indicate that they were created either by Egyptian artists settled in Rhodes, or by sculptors of other ethnicities trained in the techniques of Egyptian art, as occured later on the Italian peninsula.[53] Despite

[44] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 60–61, fig. 20.
[45] Following the Egyptian standards applied in sanctuaries from the period of New Kingdom onwards: Roullet 1972: 29–30, no. 4.
[46] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 57–60; 2015: 192–196.
[47] Malaise 2005: 201–210.
[48] Malaise 2005: 209. For the variety of the Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts in Italy, see Sist 2008: 68–69. The *Iseia* and *Sarapieia* in Rome and its suburbs exhibit the majority of these works of art (Roullet 1972: 23–42), while a significant number of the Roman *pharaonica* comes from the *Iseum Campense* (see generally Lembke 1994). It must also be pointed out that the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianising works of art was not an exclusive privilege of the territory of Rome. A torso of Harpocrates of the Late Ptolemaic period and the lower part of an Egyptian male striding figure were among the finds of sanctuary 'M' at Sybaris; see Greco and Gasparini 2014: 64, fig. 15, 17.
[49] Malaise 2005: 205.
[50] Malaise 2005: 206.
[51] Focusing on the *aegyptiaca romana*, M. Versluys (2018: 230–236) has recently presented major aspects of the debate on their use, function and interpretation mainly in domestic contexts, which can also be applied to the case of Rhodian *pharaonica*.
[52] The correlation between art and experience in the Isiac sanctuaries has been explored by Swetnam Burland (2018: 594–595).
[53] Malaise 2005: 210; Roullet 1972: 18–22.

the absence of archaeological proof for the existence of Egyptian art workshops on the island, the multi-ethnic population of cosmopolitan Rhodes favours such a possibility,[54] along with the fact that the *pharaonica* found in the sanctuary are only a part of the group of Egyptian and Egyptianising sculptures found elsewhere in the city.[55] Furthermore, no one can overlook the demand for votive offerings by those who wished to venerate the Egyptian deities in Rhodes, and it is not farfetched to think that an Egyptian art workshop was active nearby to satisfy this demand.

Closing the discussion on Rhodian *pharaonica*, a brief comment has to be made on the male striding figures:[56] regardless of the fact that they cannot be directly related to a specific deity, their function as exclusively decorating objects seems to be an unsatisfactory interpretation. Some of them, like the statue of Dionysius of Iasos,[57] now in the Louvre Museum, or the *naophoros* block statue,[58] depict common devotees, but others are reminiscent of Ptolemaic royal portraits.[59] Taking into consideration that similar statues are uncommon in the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods in the Aegean region during the Hellenistic period, the practice of the Ptolemaic ruler cult along with the cults of the Egyptian gods in the early period of the sanctuary arises once more as a reasonable assumption.

Conclusion

It is true that more steps have to be taken in order to turn the assumptions into historic reality and perhaps this is a task almost impossible to accomplish. Yet one has to admit that the sanctuary of Isis in Rhodes, due to its placement near the harbours of one of the greatest Hellenistic commercial centres of the Eastern Mediterranean, was *a*, if not *the* decisive stepping-stone for the journey of the Egyptian gods from Egypt to other parts of the ancient world, expediting the spread of their cult. However, despite its unique features and unquestionable appeal to a wide range of pilgrims of Greek and non-Greek origin, its impact on Rhodian citizens can hardly be traced. In the light of the indirect testimony of the theophoric names appearing in inscriptions from the island,[60] only 10% of the people bearing names which derive from the Egyptian deities were actually citizens of Rhodes; on the other hand, it is not surprising that the majority of the foreigners named after Sarapis, Isis, and Ammon come from Asia Minor, a region where the Hellenised Egyptian cult was widely diffused,[61] as well as Egypt and Libya, the homelands of the divinities under discussion. The low percentage of Rhodians bearing Isiac theophoric names demonstrates either a Rhodian reluctance to make new additions to the catalogue of their old family names, or their lack of enthusiasm for the new religion. Thus, perhaps in the framework of the continuous effort of the conservative Rhodian society to keep its identity unaffected by the effects of its multicultural environment, the cult of the Egyptian gods, although an official state cult, flourished mainly among the 'foreign' inhabitants of the city, metics, and slaves; these groups of the Rhodian population, struggling for a better life without the political rights and benefits stemming from Rhodian citizenship, were susceptible to the new religion represented by the Hellenised gods of Egypt, the divine power of whom remained at the disposal of common and unfortunate people, a belief widely spread in Hellenistic times and later periods.

[54] Berthold 1984: 54–55; Morelli 1955: 126–188, especially 137.

[55] Fragments of Egyptian-style statuary have been found in various sites of the modern and the medieval city. A male statue carved in black-grey basalt is the only one yet published, see Jacopi 1931: 87, no. 21, fig. 56.

[56] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 58–59; 2015: 193–195.

[57] Louvre Museum, cat. no. AM 1317/AF 10853. Bricault 2005: *RICIS* 204/0111; Revillout 1905: 341–342; Spielberg 1912: 24–27, pl. III.1; Vleeming 2001, 73–74, no. 104.

[58] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 59–60, fig. 19; 2015: 192–193, pl. 6.

[59] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 59; 2015: 194–195.

[60] The group of inscriptions from Rhodes citing theophoric Isiac names is currently being studied by the author.

[61] See Magie 1953: 163–187.

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Ἴσ[ει] Σωτείρα. The cult of Isis on the island of Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age

Panayotis Pachis

Abstract

Due to its geopolitical location, the island of Rhodes has been in cultural and commercial communication with various regions of the Mediterranean, for example with Egypt, since the late 7th century BC. Their commercial relations particularly developed at the beginning of the Hellenistic age, mainly as a result of the trade of cereals from Egypt first to Rhodes and then to various other ports and regions of the Mediterranean Sea. This further contributed to the dissemination, through merchants and priests, of the Egyptian deities' cults (Isis, Sarapis, Anubis) with the establishment of important centres of worship on the island (Rhodes, Lindos, Kameiros). An example of the cult of Isis in the city of Rhodes that bears special significance is an inscription (1st century BC) in which the Egyptian goddess is described as 'saviour' (*soteira*). This characterisation of Isis is indisputable proof of her character. The omnipotent and benevolent nature of the goddess can be seen through her help to people who were greatly exposed, more than others, to the dangers of their occupations (merchants, soldiers, etc). In this case, the person who devoted this inscription should be related, as a metic, to the world of commerce and, consequently, to the risks faced by seafarers while trading in the Mediterranean. The importance of this dedication is further reinforced by the location of the goddess' sanctuary in the city of Rhodes and by its direct connection with the world of navigation. Isis is considered to be the foremost patroness goddess of seafarers and merchants, which is why she is honoured as Isis *Pelagia* and *Euploia*.

Key words: Rhodes, maritime (grain) trade, seafarers, merchants, Isis-Sarapis, Osiris, Horus-Carpocrates, Isis *Sôteira*, Isis *Pelagia*, Isis *Euploia*

Introduction

In the study of a given culture or society – particularly, for our purposes, those that developed in and around the territories of the Mediterranean Sea – the researcher is receiving significant assistance by the available historical sources, for they constitute the safest means for achieving a stated research goal and for shaping the historical context of an era. However, the simplistic and naive use of the historical sources, as well as their non-critical assessment, not only hinders the researcher's objective but often leads to excessive historical generalisations. Therefore, good research practice must be based on certain fixed presuppositions that will in turn produce research parameters that allow for the most complete depiction of an era. The researcher is *de facto* obligated to try and understand the sources in depth, and, more specifically, to detect the reasons for their production and composition. Historical research has shown that in all periods of human history each particular element is closely interdependent with a host of other factors, which all together constitute an inseparable whole. The research effort could be compared to the assembly of a complex mosaic, wherein if each tile is not properly arranged in relation to the rest the final depiction remains incomplete. This is the only presupposition that can serve as the basis for research that is both comprehensive and as objective as possible.[1]

This reality can be better understood if we consider the spread of Egyptian deities in the environment of the Hellenistic world, which was directly dependent on the political and economic factors of this era. We find an example of this in an inscription of the 1st century BC from the site of a sanctuary of Egyptian deities in the city of Rhodes, which is dedicated to Isis *Soteira* by a Knidian citizen. This epigraphic evidence is of particular importance when one considers that Rhodes is one of the first places where the Egyptian deities were received and disseminated throughout Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. The first incidences indicating their worship on the island come from the 3rd century BC. The presence of these practices can be understood as a typical case of foreign cult being introduced 'from above', that is, through the influence of authorities and eminent citizens.[2] Furthermore, one should also consider at this point the existence of specific commercial and cultural relations that had developed between Rhodes and Egypt since Archaic and Classical times. These relationships reached their zenith

[1] Pachis 2003a: 14.
[2] Gabrielsen 1997; 2001; Maillot 2013: 206–207.

during the Hellenistic era. The main reasons for this development are the *Zeitgeist*, the political aspirations of the Ptolemies, as well as the development of commodity trading, mainly of Egyptian cereals. Traders of the time, along with the priests of various cults carried on their ships, were the main agents of spreading these cults from the East to the whole Mediterranean region. A typical example is the case of the worship of Egyptian deities, which became particularly popular all over the *oecumene* during this period.

The characterisation of Isis as a saviour goddess on the inscription from Rhodes can be considered, according to contemporary research, as the equivalent of her devotional epithet *Pelagia*. It is precisely this devotional epithet that renders her the protector of merchants and sailors. The significance of this inscription lies in the fact that it proves, as do the plethora of other relevant testimonies, Isis' particular popularity and, at the same time, her omnipotent nature. She is the goddess that the people of this time resort to by asking for her personal assistance in order to be saved from the great dangers present in their everyday lives (i.e. shipwrecks, illnesses, and so on). Among her devotees were merchants and seafarers who faced all types of risks in their daily lives. These groups of people addressed her as Isis *Pelagia*, whom they considered to be their primary protector, an additional characteristic that further adorns the multitude of her devotional epithets during Greco-Roman times.

Rhodes as a commercial centre during the Hellenistic Age

The island of Rhodes is the most characteristic example of a dominant commercial centre, which, due to its geopolitical location, came into cultural and commercial contact with various regions of the Mediterranean, such as Egypt, since the late 7th and 6th centuries BC.[3] Many mythological traditions, as well as references made by ancient writers, provide indisputable evidence of the specific relationships that developed from very early on between Rhodes and the country of the Nile.[4] Within a very short time, the main cities of the island (such as Lindos, Kameiros, and Ialysos) were in direct contact with the Egyptians.[5] This is readily apparent when one considers the rapid development of the island's material culture, which typically followed the Egyptian techniques (such as Egyptian-style faience).[6] From the time of Alexander the Great onwards, Rhodes acquired great economic and commercial importance.[7] The island developed especially after 200 BC, when it took over the 'hegemony of the sea'. The Rhodians were particularly occupied with shipping, trade, and banking in the 3rd century BC. Due to the difficult and precarious reality of the sea, they became the true guardians and patrons of maritime trade.[8]

Their commercial relations especially developed at the beginning of the Hellenistic Age, mainly as a result of the trade of Egyptian cereals, first to Rhodes and then to various other ports and regions of the Mediterranean Sea. From the end of the 4th century BC there was a constant rivalry between Athens and Rhodes, as the latter was the exclusive commercial representative of the Ptolemies. Its power was similar to that of Piraeus on mainland Greece.[9] The citizens of Athens and their political leaders, however, did not hesitate to display compassion when Rhodes faced difficulties: they assisted the inhabitants of the island in 225 BC following a massively destructive earthquake that afflicted the city.[10]

In 332/331 BC, Rhodes was the seat of Egypt's commercial traders, especially for grain trade.[11] According to contemporary research, another important element that demonstrates their direct relationship is the distribution of Rhodian amphorae in the Egyptian environment.[12] This decisively contributed to the development of close trade links, not only between Rhodes and Alexandria, but with Phoenician ports as well. The commercial power of the Ptolemies at sea increased noticeably after their cooperation with the Rhodians. According to V. Gabrielsen, their network of commercial ties quickly expanded due to the geographical proximity between Alexandria and Rhodes, becoming one of the 'golden sea routes' for the movement of goods and people throughout the Mediterranean region.[13] Very soon this commercial route acquired great importance and became one of the main sources of wealth for the citizens of the island. Attempting to highlight the role of this important commercial centre of the time, L. Casson argues that Rhodes, due to its geographical position, became a crossroads between major grain-producing areas, such as Egypt and the Crimea.[14]

Rhodes maintained an aristocratic system of governance to the end, following the old ideals of the classical city-state. The Rhodian rulers took care of their people

[3] Gabrielsen 2000; 2013: 66–67, n. 2; Kousoulis 2017: 36–37, 39–43; Kousoulis and Morenz 2007: 181–183.
[4] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 62; Kaiser 1968: 221 and n. 1; Kousoulis and Morenz 2007: 182–183.
[5] Hdt II 182. Gabrielsen 2000; 2013: 66–67, n. 2; Kousoulis 2017: 39–40; Kousoulis and Morenz 2007: 182–183.
[6] Boardman 1980: 112, 127; Kousoulis 2017: 37–39; Kousoulis and Morenz 2007: 184, 190; Webb 1978.
[7] Diod. Sic. 20, 81; Strab. 14, 2, 5. Pachis 2003a: 135–136.
[8] Polyb. 4, 47, 30, 31; Strab. 14, 2, 9. Gabrielsen 1996: 146.
[9] Pachis 2003a: 136–137 and n. 157.
[10] Pachis 2003a: 137 and n. 158.
[11] Bouraselis 2013: 106–107; Pachis 2003a: 137 and n. 159.
[12] Bouraselis 2013: 67–68; Empereur 1982; Finkielsztejn 2004; Lund 1999.
[13] Casson 1971: 287; Gabrielsen 2013: 69–70 and map 4.1, 77.
[14] Casson 1954: 169; Pachis 2003a: 148.

even though their system of government was not democratic; it supported the monarchs of the time but did not adopt the monarchical governance. Until their confrontation with Rome in 168 BC, the Rhodian ruling class managed to maintain peace and prosperity, but also to curb all internal social problems by employing a kind of institutionalised charity.[15] According to Strabo, the wealthy citizens of Rhodes organised a program of financial assistance, mainly through the distribution of cereals to the poor of the island.[16] Nevertheless, in 168 BC, during the Third Macedonian War (171–168 BC) and following a misguided choice, the aristocrats lost their power and were overthrown by the next great power of the time, the island of Delos. The commercial rise of the latter did not initially affect the domestic and foreign trade of Rhodes. The ever-increasing interventions of Rome, however, constantly exacerbated their political and economic situation. A series of measures eventually demoted Rhodes from its position as a trade patron throughout the Aegean Sea. After the battle of Pydna in 168 BC, they lost control over many of their territories in Asia Minor, including Pergamus. This had devastating effects on the trade of Rhodes, resulting in a period of anarchy in the broader area. Trade relations between Rhodes and Rome continued after the battle of Pydna. Yet, the Rhodians, who up until then had dominated the grain trade, now had new opponents: Italians as well as Syrian traders who dealt mainly in the environment of Delos, which became a link between the world of the East and that of the West. In addition, at this juncture, special ties developed between Delos and the Black Sea cities (due to the sanctuary of Apollo).[17]

Another factor that favoured the particular development of Rhodes was the presence of associations (*thiasoi*) of merchants and seafarers, examples of which we encounter in various cities of mainland and island Greece, Asia Minor, and the Eastern Mediterranean. The groups of foreign traders and others who regularly travelled between the regional cosmopolitan centres of the *oecumene* created communities wherein their own social and religious activity developed. One also encounters bankers and lenders among the members of these groups. Such an example is the creation of *thiasoi* in the environment of Rhodes. The more trade increased, the more their membership and property grew.[18]

The ecumenism of the Hellenistic era provides the most appropriate framework for the unobstructed communication and circulation of people, ideas, and worldviews, which proved to be decisive in defining the overall character of this period. People progressed from the organised social and religious life of the city-state to a world of unlimited freedom, change, and constant wandering. This was increasingly enhanced by their 'centrifugal' tendency, which proved to be crucial for their lives, as well as for their overall way of thinking.[19] The people of the time were scattered within the limits of the Hellenistic o*ecumene* and blended with the natives of the East. Communication between the various areas of the o*ecumene*, despite the endless antagonistic warfare between the Successors, was easier than in earlier times. This was intensified during Imperial times with the enforcement of the *pax romana*, when an unprecedented movement of populations took place, gradually contributing, along with a plethora of epoch-making events, to the practical transformation of the traditional world.[20]

The above data contributed, *inter alia*, to a radical change in the political and socio-economic *status quo* at the beginning of the Hellenistic era. The *homo politicus* of the 5th century BC gave way to the *homo economicus* of the Hellenistic age.[21] Major changes in the environment of the rural economy constituted the key factor for these rearrangements. Agriculture, of course, continued being the main source of wealth, although new perceptions were gradually emerging that would decisively contribute to the creation of a new type of economy. Of course, even in this new economy, the standards of the so-called 'agricultural economy' continued to determine and shape the living conditions for the inhabitants of the Mediterranean. Consequently, even greater attention was paid to agriculture. The new economic centres that were created determined the price of products (e.g. cereals) and played a regulatory role in the overall economy of the time. Furthermore, the movement of the Greek populations to regions of the East further amplified the flourishing of agriculture. Cultivation of the land was of paramount importance for the development of new cities within the Hellenistic kingdoms. Their kings were interested in the development of agriculture and implemented new methods of irrigation and cultivation. The kingdom of the Ptolemies was one of the most prominent examples in the pursuit of economic politics.[22]

The dissemination of Egyptian cults on Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age

The ecumenical spirit of the era led to the development of an ecumenical trade. Thus, alongside the development of the Mediterranean commercial centres, others were also created beyond the borders of the well-known traditional world. The markets

[15] Pachis 2003a: 137–138.
[16] Strab. 14, 2, 5, 30–35. Pachis 2003a: 138.
[17] Pachis 2003a: 137–140.
[18] Fantaoutsaki 2017: *passim*; Harland 2013; Pachis 2003a: 64–68; 2010b: 57, 150–152.
[19] For this 'centrifugal' tendency of Hellenistic Age, see Pachis 2002: 275–297; 2010b: 68, 124, 147; Smith 1973: 101–102, 131–132.
[20] Pachis 2002: 288 and n. 44, 290–293; 2003a: 61–63; 2010a: 220, 270.
[21] Pachis 2003a: 90.
[22] Pachis 2002: 280–281; 2003a: 88–95, 106–131.

of the East became a pole of attraction as well as the commercial hubs from which their products (e.g. wheat and wine) were sent to the cities of the new kingdoms as well as to mainland Greece. The strengthening of trade during the Hellenistic period triggered intense competition between groups of merchants of the time and an unprecedented development of the broader Mediterranean region. Rhodes, and later Delos, constituted the most typical examples of dominant places of commercial activity during this period. Meanwhile, Alexandria grew in significance and evolved into one of the most important commercial areas in the Mediterranean.[23]

Some of the wandering people of this era were also agents of different cults of Eastern origin. Among them, the priests of Isis, who were located within the Greek world since the 4th century BC, played a leading role. Along with all the agents of the so-called 'Eastern cults', the priests usually followed the routes used by the merchants. In this way, nascent cores of cultic societies were gradually formed in important trade centres of the insular and continental Greece (e.g. Delos, Piraeus, Thessaloniki, *inter alia*). Far from their homelands, travellers often felt the need to worship their home deities. For a long period they remained foreigners, speaking a language incomprehensible to the Greeks and performing cultic rites that seemed strange to the locals.[24] In the beginning, the fulfillment of their religious needs was limited within the narrow frame of the cultic associations (*thiasoi*).

This contributed to the spread of the Egyptian deities in these new environments, firstly of the Aegean islands and then of mainland Greece. These deities gained a dominant position both in Rhodes and more broadly in the region. Examples of their presence are found, according to historical sources, in Kameiros (249 BC), Lindos (242 BC), and the city of Rhodes (170 BC).[25] These direct lines of communication soon familiarised people not only with the Egyptian goods but with their pantheon as well. Added to this was the tolerance demonstrated by political leaders who acted as 'social agencies' for the introduction and acceptance of these new ideas in the environment of the island.[26] This can be substantiated by inscriptions of this time indicating that eminent members of the island society held positions within the *thiasoi*.[27] The attitude of Rhode's ruling class towards Egyptian cults constituted the impetus for the introduction of many new gods (e.g. Osiris), as well as worship practices, which were received on the island unaltered, maintaining similarities with the forms they had in the environment of their origin.[28] This was unprecedented in relation to the usual process of reception of a foreign deity or custom in the context of the Greek territory. The ancient Greek pantheon normally only accepted the introduction of foreign deities into its environment as long as the unfamiliar adapted to the familiar habits of the Greeks. Thus, Rhodes was an exception to the standard process of *interpretatio Graeca* (or later, the *interpretatio Romana*), which was indeed an essential factor for the acceptance of a foreign cult in the Greek environment and the broader *oecumene*.[29]

This element continued to exist in the milieu of the Greek cities during Hellenistic times, when communication and the movement of people, as well as the acceptance of foreign concepts, were more flexible than in previous years. A typical example of this is the worship of Isis. The earliest testimony for the introduction of the goddess' cult into the Greek environment dates to 333/332 BC in Piraeus, where it remained in isolation compared to the pantheon of traditional gods.[30] This changed gradually, especially during the 2nd century BC, when the Athenian cleruchs of Delos encountered the goddess and identified her cult with that of Demeter, contributing to its final establishment within the Athenian and other Greek city-states.[31] Isis' particular character gradually overcame the Greeks' feelings of disbelief and distrust. Osiris, on the other hand, continued to be considered a chthonian god, even during the Graeco-Roman era. This god maintained, until the end of the ancient world, his rigid Egyptian hieratic appearance and no attempt was made by the representatives of his worship to Hellenise his form. This is why the Osiris cult spread on a very limited scale compared to the other deities, and usually separately from that of Isis. The Greeks perceived the god as completely foreign to Greek reality and he was accepted only in the environment of certain cities that were known for their ecumenical character (Delos, Eretria, Thessaloniki).[32] This god enjoyed the same reception from the early years of communication between Rhodes and Egypt in the environment of the island. This constitutes additional proof of the innovative mindset held by the inhabitants of the island regarding their acceptance of the 'Other'. This is further evidenced by the multitude of votives found in the sanctuary of the city of an Egyptian or Egyptian-like style, known in modern research as *pharaonica*.[33] Many

[23] Pachis 2003a: 92–105, 130–135.
[24] Gasparini and Veymiers 2018: 61–279; Kowalzig 2018; Pachis 2002: 281–282; Turcan 1996: 139, 166, 248, 259; Vidman 1970: 33–37.
[25] Bricault 2001: 54–55, 62–63; Bricault 2005: 204/0101–204/0401; Fantaoutsaki 2017: 9, 15, 38–46, 72–111, 116–117, 121, 148–228; Vidman 1969: 101–128, nos 173–240.
[26] See above n. 2. Alvar 2018: 233–236.
[27] Alvar 2018: 264; Pachis 2003a: 64–68.
[28] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 46, 49, 58; 2017: 9, 14, 23, n. 54, 88, 91–93, 116–117, 181–182, 186.
[29] On the *interpretatio Graeca* and *interpretatio Romana*, see Ando 2008: 43–58; Martin 2000: 51; Schwenk 1989.
[30] See Bricault 2005: 101/0101; Mikalson 1998: 8, 30–31, 45, 143, 146; Pachis 2010a: 206–212; Vidman 1969: 3–4 and n. 1; 1970: 11–12.
[31] Pachis 2010b: 54–55.
[32] Pachis 2010a: 220–221 and n. 39.
[33] Kousoulis 2017; Kousoulis and Morenz 2007: 184–192.

modern researchers believe that these findings were not dedicatory gifts but merely decorative items with a strong Eastern element, devoid of any connection with the worship of this cult. This appears, one thinks, to be a one-sided approach that diminishes the real significance of these findings, a view that finds support with Fantaoutsaki:[34]

> '[It] is impossible to support with irrefutable arguments that the imported Egyptian works retained the religious symbolism they bore in the sanctuaries of the country of the Nile. A more modest interpretation is that far from Egypt, the *pharaonica*, apart from clearly contributing to the creation of an atmosphere that would bring the pilgrims closer to their natural environment of worship, could not have been completely deprived of their religious orientation as merely decorative elements of the sanctuaries; at the same time, however, they could not avoid being subjected to some alterations due to the change of the cultural background to which they were now exposed. Therefore, all pilgrims of such temples that were located outside Egypt had the opportunity to give their own explanation for their presence in the temple, based on their knowledge and personal experience, thus creating new interpretative approaches.'

A similar situation continued to exist on the island during the Hellenistic age. Besides the open trade route between Alexandria and Rhodes, the exclusive transportation of cereals from Egypt to the rest of the Mediterranean by Rhodian merchants conduced to this end. This contributed to even closer ecumenical and cultural relations between the world of the island and the Egyptians. Moreover, at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, one may observe an increase in the presence of Egyptian cults, which were adapted to the circumstances of this era.[35] This is immediately understood if we consider the above-mentioned commercial ties mainly between the powers of the time. Nor should we overlook that the main actors for the dissemination of the so-called 'eastern cults', besides their native priests, were the merchants (mainly of grain) who were carrying their cargo to various parts of the *oecumene*. At the same time, of course, one should make note of the Ptolemaic expansionist policy in the areas of the Eastern Mediterranean.[36] This policy considered the establishment of Egyptian deities and the introduction of the Sarapis cult into the religious life of the island to be issues of primary importance. The presence of this ecumenical god and the erection of his sanctuary on the island date back to the time of the reign of Ptolemy I the Saviour.[37] This is exactly the time that Sarapis dominated the religious pantheon of Alexandria as a characteristic example of the religious reformist policy of this ruler. The original construction date of his sanctuary is placed between the reigns of Ptolemy I the Saviour and Ptolemy II Philadelphus. However, according to Fantaoutsaki, the most likely time for the erection of this sanctuary is during the reign of Ptolemy I.[38] She further reinforces her position by considering the testimonies of ancient writers, according to which this ruler sent help to the inhabitants of Rhodes to help them withstand the siege of their city by Demetrios (304 BC).[39] As a sign of gratitude both to the ruler and Sarapis, they constructed this sanctuary to preserve his intervention in their memory.

Originally, the worship of Sarapis took place in the same sanctuary as the worship of the Egyptian ruler that we find in other Greek cities. Initially, the Egyptians were the leading agents, performing the typical worship of the god as well as of the ruler. Over the years, the Ptolemies' worship was transferred from this sanctuary to the Second Gymnasium of the city, the so-called 'Ptolemaion'.[40] According to epigraphic references of the time, the common worship of Sarapis and Isis in this sanctuary of the city has been testified since 170 BC.[41] Another innovation was the performance of priestly duties by Greek priests who, over time, eventually replaced the Egyptians. This is how religious power on the island was transferred from the Egyptians to the Greeks. This development is characteristic of the worship of Egyptian deities during the 2nd century BC in Rhodes, and then throughout insular and continental Greece.[42] This is also evidenced in the accurate description by Il. Arnaoutoglou of the formation of the cultic associations that developed in the environment of the island, as well as in other Eastern Mediterranean locations, à la grecque:[43] '[In] Rhodes, the denomination of the groups, almost exclusively, follow the derivation of an adjective formed from the name of the worshipped deity (or hero) accompanied by the term κοινόν.'[44]

At some other point the same scholar also characteristically states that: 'Isiac associations, as almost all associ-ations in the Greco-Roman world, *display a high degree of social conformism, as far as their denominations and their epigraphic habits are concerned* (emphasis added). In

[34] Fantaoutsaki 2017: 40–41.
[35] Bricault 1997; Glomb *et al.* 2018; Pachis 2010a: 179–293; Vidman 1970.
[36] Glomb *et al.* 2018.
[37] Fantaoutsaki 2017: 24–25, 37–39, 41, 46–54, 78–88, 185–189, 194, 197.
[38] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 52; 2017: 11, 38, 116.
[39] Paus. I 8, 6. Fantaoutsaki 2011: 62; 2017: 115.
[40] Fantaoutsaki 2011: 48 and figs 1, 3, 50; 2017: 19 and n. 28, 21 and n. 33.
[41] Bricault 2005: 204/0104; Fantaoutsaki 2017: 38, 77, 150; Vidman 1969: 116, n. 207.
[42] Fantaoutsaki 2017: 40, 93–94, 117.
[43] Arnaoutoglou 2018: 253–258.
[44] Arnaoutoglou 2018: 255–256 and n. 29 (for exceptions).

other words, they call themselves in variety of ways that follow closely their respective polis-contexts (κοινόν in Athens, and in Rhode, θίασος in Kos) and they adopt the native associations' habits in deciding which texts to inscribe.'[45]

The above constitute clear evidence that the cult of Isis and Sarapis came undoubtedly first among the preferences of the Greeks. This is one of the main reasons for their particular popularity in the environment of Rhodes throughout the Graeco-Roman era, as attested by the multitude of archaeological finds, inscriptions, and coins.[46]

Isis Soteira: the face of an Egyptian goddess during the Hellenistic Age

Among the testimonies directly related to the Egyptian cults, we may focus on an inscription from the environment of the sanctuary of Isis in the city of Rhodes, more specifically near the city walls between the two ancient harbours of the city.[47] This epigraph, which forms part of the rectangular base of a cylindrical altar, dates to the 1st century BC according to modern archaeological research.[48] It reads:

῞Ιππων Κνίδιος / μέτοικος /
῾Ισ[ει] Σωτείραι / χαριστήριον.

This text becomes particularly important once we take into consideration the conditions of the time as well as the one who is dedicating this inscription as a *charistêrion* to Isis. We find ourselves in a time where people were increasingly overwhelmed by the difficulties of their everyday lives and felt an imperative need to resort to the protection of the divine element. W. Burkert was right to characterise all these cults that dominated the entire Graeco-Roman world as 'cults of votives'.[49] In this way people felt more confident for overcoming the hardships that plagued their lives. In this case, Isis, especially in the way she is presented in the texts, undoubtedly provided people with a feeling of protection and salvation from the daily adversities. The salvation granted by the divine world was related to the overcoming of such difficulties.[50] People had confidence in the goddess' favour and constant protection. They believed that the goddess, who is also characterised as *epêkoos*, listened and responded to their supplications.[51] Isis belonged to the group of deities characterised as saviours.[52] The omnipotent and benefactory nature of the goddess could be compared to the royal authority of the Hellenistic kingdoms and, later on, to that of the Roman world. The term Saviour (*Sotêr*) was, since the beginning of the Hellenistic period, connected to the environment of secular power. The people of that era were desperately waiting for salvation, namely help in addressing their everyday problems, from the representatives of the state. In time, though, this prescriptive factor of the Graeco-Roman era (i.e. imperial omnipotence) became essentially connected to the divine world. The characteristics attributed to the monarchs were at the same time passed along to the gods, eventually comprising two sides of the same coin. Therefore, I believe that the special concepts of salvation and ultimate power were only natural in the environment of the Isis' cult. Hence, Isis *Soteira* enjoyed a great deal of admiration in the devotional life of the people of this era.[53]

The omnipotent nature of the goddess, at least as it was displayed in the Aretalogies, constituted irrefutable proof of her decisive and benefactory influence on the life of her believers. Similar texts were devoted to other Egyptian deities during the Graeco-Roman era, such as to Sarapis and Horus-Carpocrates. The existence of hymns was a very common phenomenon in the ancient Egyptian literature, and in this way manifested divine omnipotence. As P. Pakkanen aptly argues:[54] '[This] idea may also be interpreted from the point of view of change by looking at the concepts of power and potentiality of the gods of Classical times and Hellenistic times, which were manifest in their *dynamis* and *energeia*. In Classical time, this power manifested itself in the gods, in the form of their persons, but in Hellenistic period the gods themselves became merely manifestations of power.'

Thereby, Isis as *megalê*, *megistê*, *mêtêr megalê hê megalê hê pantôn kratousa*, *ploutodoteira*,[55] and *pantokratôr*[56] had the 'power' to satisfy the personal expectations of her followers. This demonstrates the idiomorphic relationships that evolved between the goddess and

[45] Arnaoutoglou 2018: 267.
[46] Bricault 2005: 204/0101–204/0401; 2008: 17, 20, 38, 80–81, 88–89, 115–121, 123, 203, 234–235, 237–238; Fantaoutsaki 2017: 69–71.
[47] X. Eph. *Ephes*. 5, 13, 2–4; App. *Mith*, XII 27. Fantaoutsaki 2011: 47–49; 2017: 13–15.
[48] Bricault 2005: 204/0108; 2006: 105–106; 2020: 159; Fantaoutsaki 2017: 184; Vidman 1969: 104, n. 179.
[49] Burkert 1987: 12.
[50] Sfameni Gasparro 1985: XVII–XXII; Smith 1990: 85–143; Turcan 1996: 4–27.
[51] Baslez 1977: 60–61; Bricault 2005: 102/1101, 113/0529, 113/0551, 115/0201, 202/0197–198, 202/0301, 202/0363, 202/0365, 303/0201, 501/-201; Grandjean 1975: 30 and n. 33–34; Pachis 2010a: 234, 288; Pakkanen 1996: 87, 117–118 and n. 208; Roussel 1916: 99, 189, 194; Vidman 1969: 20, n. 34, 25, n. 47, 134, n. 259, 141, n. 274.
[52] Dunand 1973b: 258 and n. 3; Pachis 2003a: 269 and n. 59, 275 and n. 69, 280–281 and n. 85; Sfameni Gasparro 2018: 100–101.
[53] Bricault 1996: 67–68; Dunand 1973a: 109 and n. 3; 1973b: 30, 32, 49 and n. 6, 260 and n. 2; Malaise 2005: 86; Pachis 2010b: 173–174; Sfameni Gasparro 2002: 202–253, 327–342; Sfameni Gasparro 2007: 56; 2018: 100–101.
[54] Pakkanen 1996: 109. See also Isis' appellation as *dea omnipotens*, Apul. *Met*. XI 16. Griffiths 1975: 256; Keulen *et al.* 2015: 296–297, 367–382, 442–449, and *dea potens* in Apul. *Met*. XI 7, 22, 26. Cf. Keulen *et al.* 2015: 192–193, 369, 442–443.
[55] Bricault 2005: 202/01401; Malaise 1986: 28; Pachis 2010b: 175; Roussel 1916: n. 50a; Sfameni Gasparro 2007: 51; Vidman 1969: 87–88, n. 136.
[56] Bricault 2005: 102/1702; Pachis 2010b: 176 and n. 56; Vidman 1969: 23–24, n. 42.

her believers. The most usual strategy in this instance was the use of the notion of power, which was a very important factor of divine intervention in human life. In this case, we encounter a redefinition of this element that had already been a quality of the divine world.

The dynamic intervention of the goddess and the guarantee of favourable living conditions for people revealed her omnipotent and dominant nature, while it created the presuppositions for the development of a personal relationship between the goddess and the adherent who addressed her. He knew that the goddess would constantly provide him with help to overcome the problems and dangers of life and, especially, the interventions of ill-tempered Tyche.[57] The only thing that the goddess asked through her priest in return, according to the hero Lucius of Apuleius *Metamorphoses* (2nd century AD), was the adherent's absolute dedication to her worship. Thus, she urged the initiate of her worship: '[but] to be safer and better equipped, enroll your name in this holy military service, whose solemn oath you were asked to take not long ago, and vow yourself from this moment to the ministry of our religion. Accept of your own free will the yoke of service. For when you have begun to serve the goddess, then will you better realise the result of your freedom.'[58]

The mutual relationship that developed between the world of the gods and that of the people expressed the deeper meaning of the so-called mystical and mystery cults of the Classical and Greco-Roman times.[59]

The virtues of the gods, and especially of Isis, were related to the power and the granting of offers to people, resulting in a radical change in their life and way of thinking. In this way, the agents of the cult aimed to legitimise divinity in the eyes of the people because the goddess was represented as omnipotent and mainly as a benefactor of humanity. These were the main factors of the transition from an 'anomic' to a 'nomic' situation for the whole of humankind.[60] Proselytism of new believers justified the tendency to place greater emphasis on the wanderings of divinities aiming to propagate their cultural goods.[61] This contributed to the establishment of the idea concerning the fundamental role of 'cultural heroes' in the development of civilisation.[62] This is also evidenced by the fact that they presented the goddess as acting in a manner comparable to the rulers of the Hellenistic kingdoms, who recorded their benevolent acts in inscriptions in order to proclaim their political charity to their subordinates, as well as to the entire world.[63]

This Rhodian inscription, like many others from various sanctuaries of Egyptian deities, was aimed at improving, in a catalytic way, the psychological mood of all those who visited their temples to seek help. Therefore, all who entered the environs of the sanctuaries were confronted with all these testimonies that proved the deities' omnipotence. Votives presented in the temples, as well as *graffiti* found on the walls, also played an important role. They constituted important evidence of the deities' power as well as their decisive influence upon the lives of people. For this reason, the priests of these cults made sure, as already mentioned, to place the relevant offerings in prominent positions since they constituted irrefutable proof of the deities' fulfillment of personal promises and interventions that helped their adherents to overcome the hardships of everyday life. At the same time, they are indisputable evidence of the deities' omnipotence and personal providence towards the adherents. All these constituted yet another explicit form of propaganda. After all, the agents of these cults knew very well that whoever propagated the messages of their cult in the most effective manner would eventually acquire the greater influence among the people. Propaganda should be thought of an act of persuasion. The most common strategy in these instances is the use of the notion of power, which is a very important factor of divine intervention.[64]

At this point we should return to the identity of the individual who dedicated this inscription to Isis. His name was Hippon and he was a Knidian metic who resided in the city of Rhodes during this time. The social status of this person might indicate his direct connection with the world of trade and navigation. Moreover, the metics, who came from different regions of the Mediterranean and resided mainly in commercial centres, were mostly involved in trade.[65] It should not escape our attention that Rhodes, due to the historical conditions of the time, was no longer the main commercial hub for the transportation of goods, and especially of grain. Nevertheless, I maintain that, even at the regional level, it could be a pole of attraction for merchants from different Mediterranean cities. This can also be confirmed by noting the place of origin of this metic, namely Knidos. His place of origin is of particular importance for two reasons that allow us to understand the background of this dedication.

The first reason is directly related to the fact that Knidos formed, together with the three cities of Rhodes (Lindos, Kameiros, and Ialysos), as well as Kos and

[57] Apul. *Met* XI 15. Bricault 2005: 113/0531, 113/0566, 113/0514–015; Griffiths 1975: 254–256; Keulen *et al.* 2015: 280–291; Pachis 2003a: 56–57, 317–324, 329, 336; Pachis 2010a: 168 and n. 18, 324–325, n. 37; Pachis 2010b: 267–270.
[58] Apul. *Met*. XI 15. Griffiths 1975: 240–256; Keulen *et al*. 2015: 288–291.
[59] Bianchi 1979: 5; 1982: 5.
[60] Berger 1969; Pachis 2010b: 178.
[61] Pachis 2010b: 178 and n. 61.
[62] Pachis 1998; 2010b: 179; Sfameni Gasparro 2007: 52–53.
[63] Pachis 2010b: 179–180 and n. 63.
[64] Pachis 2003b: 101.
[65] Pachis 2010a: 183–184, 209, 212.

Halikarnassos, the so-called Dorian Hexapolis.[66] The connection between these cities may be one of the main reasons for the dedication of an inscription to Isis on Kos (2nd century AD), bearing the same epithet as that of Rhodes.[67] This becomes even more evident when we consider the dedications of similar content to the goddess by inhabitants of various Aegean islands (such as, for example, Delos), who usually depended directly on trade and shipping.[68] Therefore, it is to be expected that residents of these cities offered votives to Isis *Pelagia*[69] in order to qualify for her protection, or as a sign of gratitude for their salvation from a shipwreck or following a dangerous journey.[70] The law of reciprocity appears once again in the most characteristic way and proves, in this case, the direct relationship and dependence of people on that goddess.

The second reason is based on the prominent position of the worship of Aphrodite (*Euploia*), who is regarded, in Knidos as well as in many other trade centres of the Mediterranean, as the chief patroness of sailing and hence merchants.[71] It is important to note here that, in Egypt, Isis has been considered since the time of the Ptolemies to be the *alter ego* of Aphrodite and consequently the primary protector of sailors and merchants.[72] The cult adjective *epiteuxidia* (i.e. she who brings the rich promised profits from a successful journey to the seafaring merchants) constitutes confirmation of this as evidenced by its use in the environment of a *thiasos* in Thessaloniki, directly related to the world of merchants and seafarers.[73]

The same characteristics of this goddess are also found in the worship of Isis, since the time of Ptolemies, first in Egypt and later in the whole Hellenistic universe. In this way, both are considered to be the main protectors of traders and the sailors on their risky journeys. So, the status of Isis as a *Pelagia* goddess, is also clearly demonstrated by the position of the goddess' sanctuary in the city of Rhodes, which was located, according to archaeological excavations, in the harbour area of the city. It is from this place that the inscription of the Knidian medic devoted to the goddess comes. This confirms the ancient testimonies related to the description of the site of Isis' sanctuary in the city of Rhodes.[74] At this point, we can call to mind an extremely relevant example, namely, a sanctuary of the goddess which was characterised by a similar topography to that of Rhodes, this time associated with the city of Corinth. This city was an important place of the Isis *Pelagia* cult and one of the most important trading centres of the Graeco-Roman *oecumene*.[75] According to information from Pausanias, the goddess was characterised as 'Egyptian' in Corinth, an epithet that connected Isis with her place of descent – but also as *Pelagia*.[76] With the latter epithet, her special connection with sailors as their protector is better understood. This was why her cult held significance in the port of Corinth, an important centre of the Greek Peninsula at this time. She appeared to protect the trading world of the city and, in particular, those who dealt with the transportation of grain both to the East and to the West.[77]

The goddess, as well as her companion Sarapis, became the protectors *par excellence* of sailors and merchants on their seafaring trips, explaining why the former was honoured as Isis *Pelagia* and *Euploia*.[78] The goddess gave particular help to people exposed, more so than others, to the dangers of their occupations (merchants, soldiers, and so on).[79] A typical example of this can be, in this case, her association with the world of navigation. According to testimonies, there was a prevalent custom among sailors placing representations or figurines of the goddess in prominent positions on their ships, which were often named *Isis* to honour the goddess – these were, of course, vessels solely used for the transportation of cereals from Egypt to all the harbours of the Graeco-Roman *oecumene*. The above-mentioned epithets, and especially that of *Pelagia*, were used over the next centuries in the Greek Peninsula, and later across the whole Roman world, and were connected

[66] Hdt I 144; Thuc. VIII 35. Papachristodoulou 1994; Stefanakis 2012: 15 and n. 60 (where bibliography); 2015: 23 and n. 28. I would like to thank M. Stefanakis for his valuable bibliographic information.

[67] Bricault 2005: 204/1004; 2006: 106; 2020: 159. See also *IG* XII 4, 546 (Cos, last quarter of the 4th century BC) in honour of Aphrodite Pontia Astarte 'for the sake of all sailors' cf. n. 68. Bricault 2005: 204/1004; 2006: 106; 2020: 159. See also IG XII 4, 546 (Cos, last quarter of the 4th c. BC) in honor of Aphrodite Pontia Astarte "for the sake of all sailors". Cf. n. 68.

[68] See Bricault 2005: 202/0170, 202/0365; 2006: 20–22, 101 and n. 3; 2020: 21, 40, 150, 158–159; Kravaritou 2013–2014: 215 and nos 47–48; Krug 2004.

[69] Bricault 2005: 205/-302, 305/1402; 2006: 104–105; Dunand 1973b: 256–258; Pachis 2010a: 174, 212, 226, 250, 280, 332; 2010b: 57, 293, 300.

[70] See also the inscription from Kameiros. Bricault 2005: 204/0218: *sotheis apo megalôn kindynôn*; Vidman 1969: 112–113, n. 198. According to Dunand 1973b: 30, n. 2, the above reference 'doivent être les dangers marins'; Dunand 2018: II, 639. See also Roussel 1916: 72. Cf. also Bricault 2005: 305/0503, 202/ 0230 (Delos), 501/0145 (Rome); 2006: 123–124, 129–130; 2020: 184–187, 197, 201, 241 and n. 45, 242 and n. 48; Fantaoutsaki 2017: 93; Fassa 2011: 278–279. Vidman 1969: 145, n. 280, 203, n. 406 (Rome).

[71] Bricault 2006: 105–106; 2020: 158–159; Demetriou 2010; Pachis 2010a: 209–210; 2010b: 291 and n. 151.

[72] Pachis 2010a: 209-211; 2010b: 291 and n. 151. See also the immediate connection of these goddesses in Kyme (Asia Minor). According to Dunand 1973b: III, 85: "[o]n que sur l'acropole de Kymé à été exhume, il y a environ un demi-siècle, un sanctuaire du IV siècle a.C., conscacré sans doute à Aphrodite ou á une autre divinité feminine, qu'Isis aurait eremplacée au II siècle a.C.".

[73] *IG* X II, 1 1354. Voutiras 1992.

[74] See above n. 46. Bricault 2006: 126–127; 2020: 201; Sanzi 2004.

[75] Bricault 2006: 104–105; 2020: 158–160; Canales 2018: 37–46; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000: 64–68; Pachis 2010b: 293–294 and n. 159; Sanzi 2004.

[76] Paus. II 4,7. Bricault 2005: 205/0302; 2006: 49–51, 68, 101–102, 104–105, 133–116; 2008: n. 2, n. 6, 9–10; 2020: 10, 30, 39, 142–152, 170, 289–290; Pachis 2010b: 293–294; Papachatzis 1976: 81–83. See also Vidman 1969: 134, n. 259.

[77] Angels 1990; Friesen *et al.* 2010.

[78] Bricault 2005: 202/0329, 202/0365, 205/0302, 305/1402; 2006: 168–170 and figs 76–77; Fantaoutsaki 2011: 49; Pachis 2010b: 270–271 and n. 98, 295; Vidman 1969: 134, n. 259.

[79] Malaise 1972b: 264–314; Vidman 1970: 106–124.

to the trading world of that period, in which the main figures were the traders shipping grain from Egypt to the rest of the Mediterranean.[80]

A supplementary capacity of Isis was her characterisation as *Pharia*, which was found not only in Egypt but also in the rest of the Graeco-Roman world.[81] As already mentioned, she was the goddess who guided sailors to the safety of the ports, not to mention the one who guided the wandering people of this period.[82] This capacity of the goddess could also be associated with the world of agricultural production and trade, both of which constituted the basis of the economy during this period.[83] We also observe this particular capacity of the goddess and her connection to the Pharos of Alexandria and therefore to the safe passage of ships throughout the Mediterranean through the presence of her image on coins during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, where one can see her standing in front of the aforementioned Pharos.[84]

Since the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it was the political officials of the Hellenistic kingdoms, and later of the Roman State, who safeguarded the prevalence of the concept of 'Well-Being' (*Euthe*[ê]*nia*).[85] Originally, this concept was worshipped as an abstract idea but later was directly identified with Isis in Egypt. This is confirmed by the representation of the so-called 'Tazza Farneze', where the goddess is portrayed as having features of 'Well-Being' (*Euthe*[ê]*nia*). Her prevalence was proof of lawful and exemplary governance as well as direct protection of the ruler by the divine world.[86]

The ideological background of the above was related to the auspices of Isis, whose relationship to the production of goods played an important role in her capacity as the main protector of traders and sailors.[87] This amplified the fact that she was worshipped by the members of associations that dealt with the transportation and distribution of grain (*frumentarii*).[88] The direct relationship between the goddess of grain and the world of production demonstrates the special position she held in the circles of these groups. The inscriptions that bore a dedication to *hyper eyploias pantos tou stolou* constitute proof of this.[89] Among them, an inscription dating from the Imperial era, dedicated by a member of the association of *miles frumentarius* or *quaestores alimentorum* in Nomentum of Italy,[90] described Isis as the protector of grain and grain transportation. This phenomenon particularly developed in the environment of the main ports and trading centres of the East as well as in the Western Mediterranean. One can realise the importance of the above by taking into consideration testimonies originating from this period that reveal that in the year 366/7 AD an individual in charge of the transfer of grain (*praefectus annonae*) managed to renovate the goddess' sanctuary in Ostia (Italy), probably because he had made a personal vow to her.[91] This further reinforces the fact that the goddess' statue, or some of her main characteristic features, which were connected with her capacity as protector of the annual harvest, constituted part of the equipment on board the ships of that period engaged in transferring grain from Alexandria to every part of the Mediterranean Sea.[92]

The goddess' characterisation as *planêtea*, according to an inscription from her sanctuary in Dion, offers some explanation regarding her place in the devotional life of the people in the Graeco-Roman period, but refers also to her wanderings, according to the myth of her cult.[93] This epithet usually described merchants and their way of life. According to the data of the time, one can assume that the epithet *planêtea* might be equivalent to *Pelagia*.[94] Thus, this epithet could have another explanation, since the goddess protected traders, and mainly wheat traders, who were exposed to constant danger while transporting goods all over the Hellenistic *oecumene*. After all, the merchants were considered to be the most important conveyers of Isis' cult as well as the cults of other Egyptian gods (such as Sarapis, Anubis, Harpocrates).

The direct relationship between Isis and merchants can also be seen in the characterisation of the latter as 'dogs'.[95] This point is better understood if we bear in mind the significant role that dogs held in the myth of the Isis cult. According to Plutarch, who presented analytically the myth of this cult for the first time during the 2nd century AD, they were the constant escorts of Isis during her desperate search for her husband Osiris.[96] But we also have another important account by the same author, who etymologised the word *kyôn* from the

[80] Bricault 2006; 2020; Pachis 2010b: l270–271, 274, 290–291.
[81] Bricault 2005: 402/0501, 503/1204; 2006: 106–110, 150–154; 2020: 160–167; Pachis 2010b: 300 and n. 175, 330; Vidman 1969: 181–182, n. 358, 403.
[82] Pachis 2010a: 127–128, 296.
[83] Pachis 2010b: 286, 295–297, 300.
[84] Pachis 2010b: 296–297 and n. 167.
[85] Arslan *et al.* 1997: 197, n. IV 131; Bricault 2006: 79–80 and fig. 40c; 2008: n. 01, nr 15, nr 109, nr 120, nr 219, n. 295, n. 398, n. 438; 2020: 107–108, and fig. 85; Pachis 2010b: 258–259, 282–283.
[86] Pachis 1988: 173–174; 2010b: 282.
[87] Apul. *Met.* XI 15. Griffiths 1975: 240–256; Keulen *et al.* 2015: 275–291; Malaise 1972a: 91–92, nr 8.
[88] Pachis 2010b: 287–289 and n. 145.
[89] Bricault 2005: 503/0801; Pachis 2010b: 289; Malaise 1972a: 65–66, n. 1; Vidman 1969: 256, n. 552.
[90] Bricault 2005: 503/1116; Malaise 1972a: 73–74, n. 28; Vidman 1969: 250, n. 536a.
[91] Bricault 2005: 503/1223; 2006: 78–79, 83–84, 95, 150–151, 153, 170–172; 2020: 108–109, 124, 128, 131, 141 and n. 233, 160 and n. 56, 229–231, 243–258, 265–266 and figs 163, 279; Malaise 1972a: 93–94, n. 16; Vidman 1969: 260, n. 562.
[92] Pachis 2010b: 270–271 and n. 99, 290.
[93] Bricault 2005: 113/0219; Pachis 2002: 273–274.
[94] Bricault 2005: 113/0219; Pachis 2010b: 290, 293–294.
[95] Morris 1992: 146–159; Pachis 2010b: 291–292.
[96] Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 14, 356B–F; Griffiths 1970: 315, 317–319; Pachis 2010b: 292.

verb *kyô* and *kyein*, which characterised the production of fruits.[97] Plutarch's testimony grows in significance if we consider the goddess' role as I*sis Sothis*, which was related to the star of *Kyôn*.[98] The appearance of this star coincided with the last days of July and the first days of August. This period was associated with the flooding of the Nile, the quintessential promising sign of fertility. This reminds us of the aforementioned capacity of Isis (as protector of fertility), but also her immediate connection to the fertility and abundance of her native land. Moreover, the fertility of the Nile Valley and the annual production of Egypt in general played a very important role in the economy of the whole Graeco-Roman world.[99]

Conclusion

Our discussion of the testimony found at the sanctuary of Isis on Rhodes can be understood within a broader context of considerations, as well as presuppositions, concerning the use of texts from antiquity. These considerations and presuppositions are directly related to the principles of an appropriate modern approach to such testimonies that are to be followed by researchers of religions and cults of antiquity. In this way, it is possible to approach these sources correctly, free from generalisations and uncertain conclusions. Therefore, the study of religions of this period as well as the testimonies associated with them should be free from a *sui generis* examination, which is linked to a one-sided use of history that distracts from the true purpose of such a study. The modern researcher, especially of religions, must bear in mind that various testimonies, which shape the context of their study, are parts of a 'system' and that it is always within this context that they should be examined. The view of religion as a social system, which is legitimised by reference to a superhuman power, is a *sine qua non* factor for modern research that struggles to free itself from the generalisations of the past. Interdisciplinary research is also necessary for the study of human religious events. If we do not take into account all the elements that shape the era within which the particular religious phenomenon manifests itself, we are inevitably led to simplifications and superficial assumptions. Only through a multifaceted approach can the *Zeitgeist* be understood. There is a real panorama of aspects (religious, political, economic, and so on) that characterise the 'system' of an era. All the above apply to each historical moment, hence also to Hellenistic times, which constitute a very complex period. Separate elements converge to compose a whole and create a multifaceted picture that depicts the universal character of the Hellenistic world.[100]

[97] Pachis 2010b: 292.

[98] Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 61.375f; Griffith 1970: 216–217, 521; Pachis 2012: 95–100. For the representations of Isis *Sothis* on coins, see Bricault 2008: 33–34, n. 10 (Rome), n. 15 (Rome), V51 (Rome), n. 105 (Alexandria).

[99] Fantaoutsaki 2017: 20–22; Pachis 2010b: 251, 259, 272–273, 276, 292–293, 302; Pachis 2012: 105–107.

[100] Lease 1994: 454–455, 466–467; Pachis 2003a: 14–15.

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Rhodian cults in the Greek colonies of Sicily: A research prologue

Paolo Daniele Scirpo

Abstract

At the beginning of the 7th century BC, the inhabitants of the Dodecanese felt the need to migrate, in search of a new homeland where they could survive. The colonial expedition, funded by the commercially prosperous new city of Lindos, under the guidance of one of its citizens, Antiphemus, gathered the settlers not only from the island of Rhodes, but also from other nearby islands. After a stop on the island of Crete, where more settlers joined them under the guidance of Entimus, the team arrived at the southern coast of Sicily, where the mixed colony of Gela was founded (688 BC), on the estuaries of the eponymous river. The peak point of the expansive policy for the newborn colony was reached about a century later with the founding of the sub-colony of Akragas (580 BC). The role of the Rhodian-Cretan pantheon in the development of the city of Gela (and later of Akragas) was a decisive factor in stabilising the fragile coexistence between the different ethnic groups. The crises (*staseis*) that shaped the history of the Rhodian-Cretan colonies were indeed an indicator of a balance that eventually broke with the advent of tyranny. The dynasties of Deinomenids in Gela and Emmenids in Akragas supported the factions of Rhodian origin of the two poleis at the expense of the Cretans, and the 'Rhodianising' of the cults was a direct and unbreaking consequence of their policy, that was also manifested in all the regions of Sicily, which ended up falling under the control of the tyrants.

Key words: Religion, cults, Dodecanese, Rhodos, Sicily, Gela, Akragas

Introduction

During the turbulent times from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th century BC, the island of Rhodes, for centuries a 'promised land' for Minoan and Mycenaean settlers, became itself a country of immigrants, who sought their future elsewhere. With the arrival of the Dorians on the island came the birth of the three cities which harmoniously coexisted until 407 BC, when the Ialyssian aristocracy promoted the settlement and creation of a single Rhodian state.[1] Later, in the wake of the Phoenicians and the Euboeans, the merchants of Rhodes, especially those of Lindos, identified appropriate areas for future installations during their explorations of the West. Even though we do not know the cause of the colonial mission headed by Antiphemus, probably a political revolt in Lindos, it is interesting to note that very soon, via Crete, other immigrants joined them under the guidance of a Doric aristocrat, Entimos, probably from Gortyn.

The arrival in Sicily and the foundation of Gela around the outfall of the eponymous river[2] (688 BC) constituted the cornerstone for the expansion of Rhodes to the West. The settlers brought with them not only their local building and technical knowledge, but also all the religious beliefs that, in those years, were crystallised in the Panhellenic memory from Homer's epics. Also, the presence among the settlers of many people of various social and ethnic origins from Crete, made it difficult to achieve a balanced choice for the *pantheon* of the young Sicilian colony.

By analysing the cults of the two great Aegean islands and seeking their traces in the pantheon of the two Sicilian colonies (Gela and Akragas), one can understand the evolution of political cults under the (minimal or absent) influence of the indigenous (Sicanian or Sicilian) element.[3] The research allows us to conclude that the Rhodian religion, clearly deriving from nearby Crete, has common features that one can read through the religious '*strata*', where popular loyalty accumulated over the centuries at the ceremonies that took place in the sanctuaries of the island.

In previous communications,[4] I worked on individual issues concerning cults that show signs of Cretan religiosity. In this contribution I would like to show the other side of the coin: the Rhodian origin of the great cults of Gela and Akragas, even if mediated by Crete. In continuance, the three axes supporting the Rhodian-Cretan religious group can be identified as: (1) the cult dedicated to a cultural hero (either the Founder or Heracles); (2) the presence of a multifunctional but local 'Great Mother'; and (3) the important role of the male *paredros*.

[1] Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014.
[2] Thuc., VI, 4, 2–3.
[3] Scirpo (forthcoming).
[4] Scirpo 2014; 2018b; 2019.

The Founders

The first cult, with which the settlers immediately agreed upon, was the one dedicated to the Founders. The dedication of Mnasithales to the Founder, an inscription on the base of an Attic black-figure kylix, found on the southwest slope of the acropolis of Gela, makes possible a compendious identification of a monument to Antiphemus[5] (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Base of black-figure attic Kylix, with the dedication to Antiphemus, from Gela (Panvini 1998).

We could indeed attribute to this worship the small *naiskos* that came to light (1992) in the inner courtyard of the Frederician castle in the Piazza del Calvario.[6] Right outside the acropolis,[7] the *naiskos*, aligned with a narrow road leading to the *plateia*, dated to the 6th century BC, bears clay architectural decoration, similar to the sanctuary in the region of Molino di Pietro.

We know nothing about the practices and celebrations that took place in the city, not even whether there was worship of the other *oikistes*, Entimos,[8] whose name is testified both on Rhodes and Crete.[9] It is clear that there must also have been worship of the two Founders (Aristonous and Pystillos)[10] in Akragas. However, for the time being, it is impossible to speak about the content of this specific worship, nor about the identification of the sacred space dedicated to it, probably should not have been far from the Agora, perhaps in a different spot, based on the ethnic origin. Founder worship was a characteristic phenomenon of Greek colonies in the West, but it finds its historical precursor in the heroes and ancestor cults of the Proto-Geometric period.[11]

In the three cities of Rhodes, for example, the cults of the three famous Founders are known, although the available epigraphic testimonies date mostly back to the Hellenistic period. As the greatest expression of the hero cult, either as semi-gods or bringers of civilization to the new homeland,[12] founder worship had a long tradition on the island of Rhodes, as indicated by Homer, in the person of the *oikistes* (and then *wanax*) Tlepolemus. Attached to the phratry system, the Rhodian families kept alive the memory of the ancestors (precursor reverence), above all that of Camirus, the eponymous hero of the city,[13] who was worshipped, as at present witnessed only on one inscriptional base,[14] and also Alka, his daughter.[15]

Lindos, originating from the Helios generation, as the son of Kerkaphos and his niece, Cydippe (Kyrbas),[16] on the death of his father, according to Diodorus,[17] shared the island with his two brothers (Kamiros and Ialyssos). The worship of the eponymous hero and founder of the sanctuary of 'Lindia' Athena is safely testified through a series of inscriptions of the 1st century BC,[18] all coetaneous with the *Chronicle of Lindos*.[19]

One of the sons of Helios and Rhodes, though not the firstborn, was to be the father of the three future settlers of the Rhodian cities. At the northeast end of the Minoan-Mycenaean settlement of Trianta, under the ruins of an early Christian basilica, a deposit dating back to the late Archaic era (second half of the 6th century BC) was found. Between the revealed archaic pottery, two altars are engraved with the name Kerkaphos.[20] According to a first rendition, we are in the footsteps of a chthonian cult in honor of the hero,

[5] For the discovery in Piazza Calvario, see Orsi 1900: 272–277; 1906: cols. 558–559. For the inscription [*SGDI*, III, 2, 5215 = *SEG*, XII, 409 = *IGDS*, no. 135 = *IGASMG* II, no. 29 (500–480 BC)], De Miro 1985: 567; Guarducci 1949–1951: 103; Orlandini 1968: 44, fig. 27; Panvini 1998: XXIII; Veronese 2006: 393, no. 84.

[6] Amata 1993–1994; Panvini 1997–1998: 16–18.

[7] Which must end at Calvario Square, where a deep gorge was connected to the one of Carrubbazza, forming a bridge between the acropolis and the city. See Orlandini and Adamesteanu 1960: 89.

[8] If the shell refers only to a later phase (late 6th/early 5th century BC) of worship, there may never have been worship dedicated to Entimos due to the ultimate prevalence of the Rhodian element in Gela, especially after the foundation of Akragas (580 BC). Alternatively, it is not impossible that Thucydides' testimony had a real impact on the practice of worship in Archaic Gela.

[9] *LGPN* I: 152, nos 2 (Gortys), 3 (Rhodes, Ialyssos, Lindos).

[10] Only Aristonus' name is mentioned however in *LGPN* I: 74, nos 1 (Milatos, 223 BC), 12 (Kamiros, 251 BC).

[11] Antonaccio 1995; 1999; Malkin 1987.

[12] Nilsson 1949[2] [2008[11]]: 114.

[13] Morelli 1959: 156.

[14] *TC*, no. 81b (mid/end of 3rd century BC). See Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1949–1951.

[15] A marble statue was found in Kamiros with a dedication to the daughter of the eponymous hero (*TC*, no. 147), dated to Roman times. See Morelli 1959: 20 and 99.

[16] Pindar (*Ol.*, VII) considers him the son of Kerkaphos and a nymph, granddaughter of Helios and Rhodes.

[17] *Diod.*, V, 56.

[18] Blinkenberg 1941: no. 282 [= *IG*, XII.1, no. 845] (98 BC), no. 274 (100 BC).

[19] *Chronic* [B.1]; Morelli 1959: 159.

[20] Konstantinopoulos 1997: 84–85; Papachristodoulou 1995: 260; 2001: 256.

who thus gained a worshipping dimension, apart from the mythical.[21] Since, so far, there is no evidence of a worship of his firstborn son (*Ialyssos*), founder of the city, we can assume, for propagandistic reasons and on a local level, that this was replaced by the cult of the father of the three eponyms.

Heracles

No one questions the importance of the worship of Heracles, the hero of the Achaeans, which was adopted by the Dorian conquerors. As a symbol of human power, the hero fought his entire life and benefitted both from mortals and from the Gods of Olympus, culminating in his deification. The worship of the 'cultural' hero appears in Lindos, where Heracles not only was the ancestor of the Doric founders of the three Rhodian cities, but also the leader of a successful campaign against indigenous (pre-Dorian?) populations, where he was also mentioned as the founder of fertility rituals and as a pious figure devoted to the 'Lady of Lindos', in whose sanctuary he dedicated the spoils of his war victories (a tradition preserved by his sons Tlepolemus and Telephus).

In Sicily, the same characteristics are observed: heroic and cultural dimension. The scene of his long wanderings during his tenth labour, the island saw him as the protagonist of the war conflicts against the native Sicanians. The comparison, indeed, with the pre-Dorian inhabitants of Rhodes and Crete seemed normal in the eyes of the Greek settlers of Gela. His victory over the local heroes and the founding myths (primarily of Thesmophoria in Syracuse) and his relationship with the thermal springs,[22] eventually made him a popular subject in the hearts of the citizens of Akragas also, who worshiped him in the gymnasium, along with (Dromeios) Hermes.[23]

From a recent analysis of the deposit, where there were also finds of a copper, bull-shaped statuettes (from the rural sanctuary at Fontana Calda,[24] on the outskirts of Butera), Portale concludes that the main deity worshipped, 'Polystephanos',[25] must identify with Artemis along with her followers, the Nymphs. The presence of Athena and Persephone is also documented. In the light of the sporadic finds of the surrounding area (epigraphic dedications), one wonders if this coexistence of the three goddesses, who loved Sicily very much, and already known in Himera, might not be a sign of a relationship of Heracles with that said sanctuary.

The Potnia

It becomes clear, that the acropolis of Gela was dedicated to a multifunctional goddess of ancient Cretan origins.[26] Over time, she was divided into several godlike hypostases, which gradually took on clearer Panhellenic characteristics and became Athena, Demeter, Hera, and Aphrodite. More specifically, within the acropolis, the epigraphic testimony of a *pithos* dates to the late 6th century BC,[27] i.e. to the assumption of power by the first Gelan tyrant, Kleandros, perhaps the real inspirer of the city's philo-Rhodian policy (Figure 2).

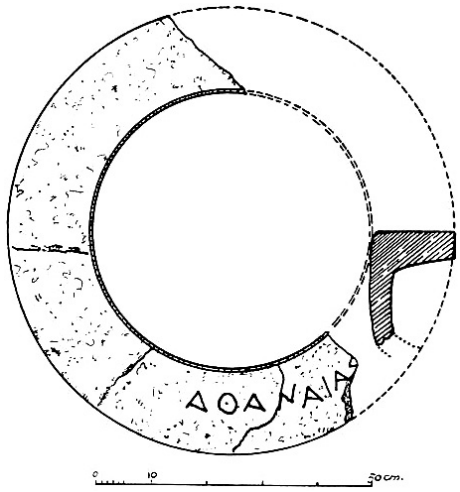


Figure 2. Pithos with dedication to Athena, from the Acropolis of Gela (Bernabò Brea 1949–1951).

The discovery in 2003 on the acropolis of an Early Daedalic-style female statuette, identical to five from a tomb at Ialyssos, dating to the mid 6th century BC, manifests the pan-Rhodian root of the colonists[28] (Figure 3).

The dedication of the Geloans to the goddess of Lindos[29] is strengthened not only by the erection of the temples on the acropolis, but also by the votives given by the settlers to the Rhodian sanctuary, offerings which are testified to in the *Chronicle of Lindos*.[30]

It is difficult to determine whether the same 'ἄπυρα ἱερά' of Lindos were also followed in Gela, as no relevant literary source is preserved, and there are no remains

[21] *Diod.*, V, 56.5.
[22] Marconi 1999.
[23] De Miro and Fiorentini 2011: 71–101.
[24] Adamesteanu 1958; Parisi 2017: 118–120; Portale 2008; Veronese 2006: 410–411.
[25] Adamesteanu 1954.
[26] Scirpo (forthcoming).
[27] Bernabò Brea 1949–1951.
[28] de la Genière 2012: 103. Any influence from indigenous people is almost excluded in a politically and ideologically Greek style of worship.
[29] The Geloans devoted to Athena *Patroia* [*Chronicle of Lindos*, C 11–14].
[30] [*Chronicle of Lindos*, XXV] A crater, loot from Ariaiton, dedicated by the Geloans after the conquest of the Sican centre in the 7th century BC and [*Chronicle of Lindos*, XXVIII] then a *gorgoneion* of cypress wood with a stone façade from the Lindian settler Deinomenes, son of Molossus.



Figure 3. Early Daedalic style clay female figurine from the Acropolis of Gela (de la Genière 2011).



Figure 4. Clay figurine of goddess seated in throne from the Acropolis of Gela (Panvini 1998).

of altars. As for the image of the goddess, there were found in both deposits and in other sanctuaries in Sicily, many figurines depicting the goddess seated on a throne (Figure 4). It is an unusual iconography for the rest of the Greek world but, according to a reconstruction by Blinkenberg,[31] it would be the result of the evolution of the cult of the Goddess of Lindos. Her worship, with pre-Hellenic roots, was given to the Sicilian colonies, forming their patron goddess. The philological testimonies of Thucydides (VI, 4, 3) and the Hellenistic *Chronicle of Lindos* with the dedication of votive offerings from Gela and Akragas, formed the basis for the position of Blinkenberg, who, in the iconography of these figurines, saw the image of the goddess of Lindos and, more specifically, that of the second figure, ordered by the tyrant Cleobulos in the mid 6th century BC, seem to be confirmed by the presence in the Rhodian (and not only) sub-colonies of figurines.

At Gela, the unique examples of the Archaic period are from the sanctuary (which is now identified by Orlandini with Thesmophorion)[32] and are clearly associated with the chthonian cult. A figurine of Athena 'Lindia' was found in the *naiskos* on the north, made with the addition of a helmet (Figure 5).

Based on the previous studies of iconography,[33] Marina Albertocchi has demonstrated how the depicted deity must be Demeter, and the model probably a statue worshipped in the colonies. These are thought to have been created in the workshops at Akragas with a Sicilian connotation, but without losing those Greek



Figure 5. Clay figurine of goddess with helmet (Athena) seated in throne from the Acropolis of Gela (Panvini 1998).

[31] Blinkenberg 1930.
[32] Orlandini 2008.
[33] Dewally 1992; Pautasso 1996; Zuntz 1971: 135–139.

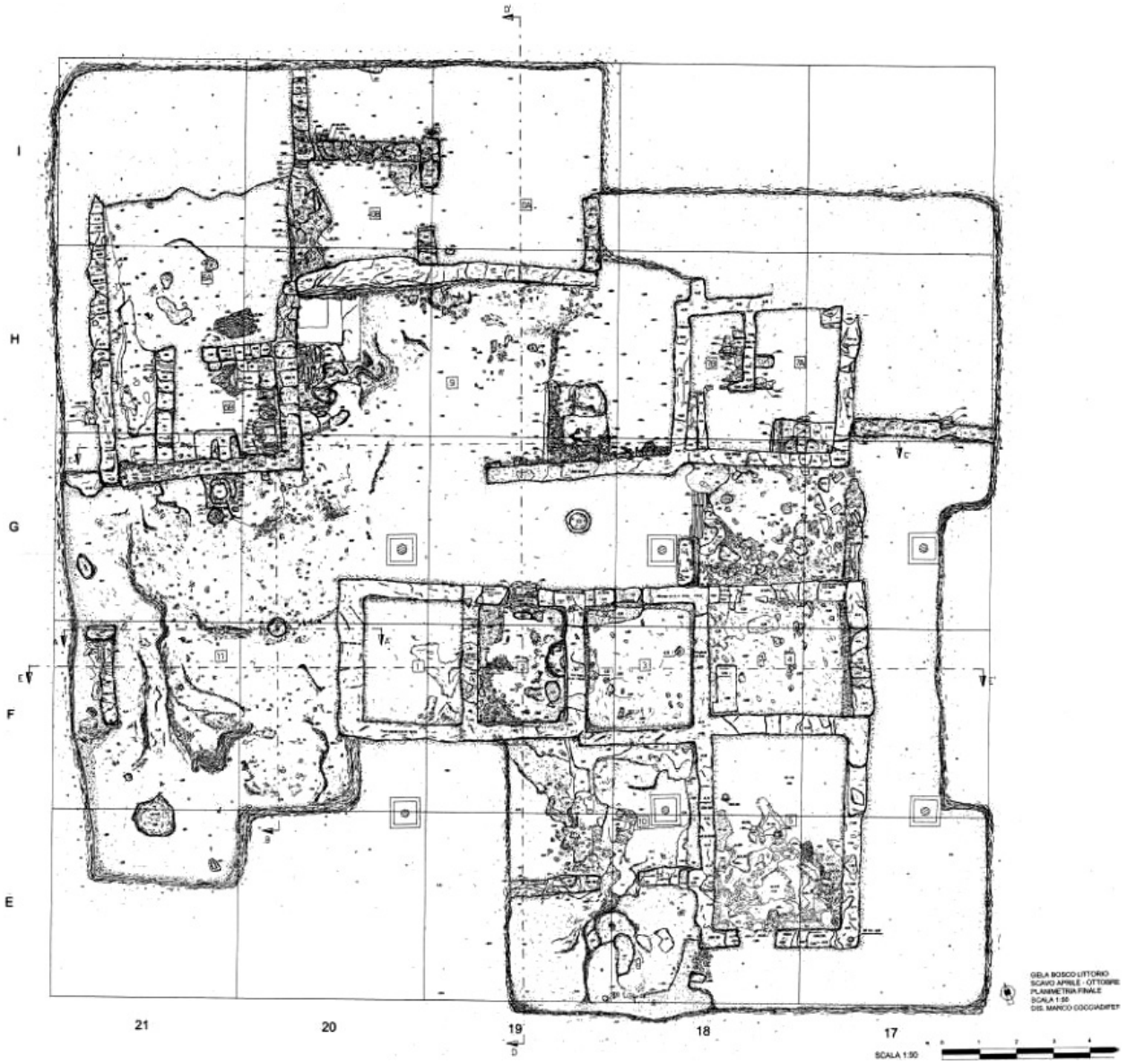


Figure 6. Plan of archaic Emporion at Bosco Littorio (Panvini 2009).

characteristics, which also appear in the motherland types.[34] The conclusion reached by Albertocchi satisfies those who see in the Sicilian cults an indissoluble continuity with those of the motherland, without, however, denying a certain amount of 'opening up' on behalf of the colonists to the indigenous populations. After all, the story of Gela (and to an extent all of the colonies) is a prime example of this continuity. The Hellenism that spread to the West must have always been in a state of assimilation in terms of the people that surrounded it, and religion, much more than force or arms, achieved that purpose.

The Paredros

Drawing attention to the – sadly for us – fleeting form of the male *paredros*, it is noticed that, over the centuries, he reached an equal position with that of the female deities and then often occupied a primary position, making it difficult to discover his real starting point.

In Rhodes, this function is often attributed to Zeus, Apollo, or Dionysus, and rarely to Poseidon. Their cults, while principal in the Hellenistic pantheon of the three cities, perform various functions.[35]

Out of all this, only some elements can be found in Gela and Akragas: from the place their feasts occupied in the Rhodian calendar (the assumption of which was supposedly done also in the Sicilian colonies), it is concluded that the cults of Zeus, Apollo Karneios, and Dionysus existed within its pantheon.[36]

[34] Albertocchi 2004.

[35] Scirpo 2011–2012.

[36] Trümpy 1997.

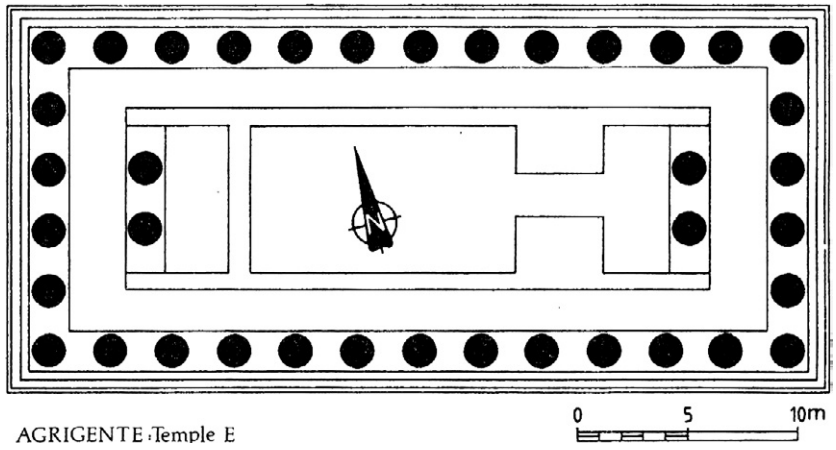


Figure 7. Plan of Temple E (Athenaion) at Akragas (Adornato 2011).

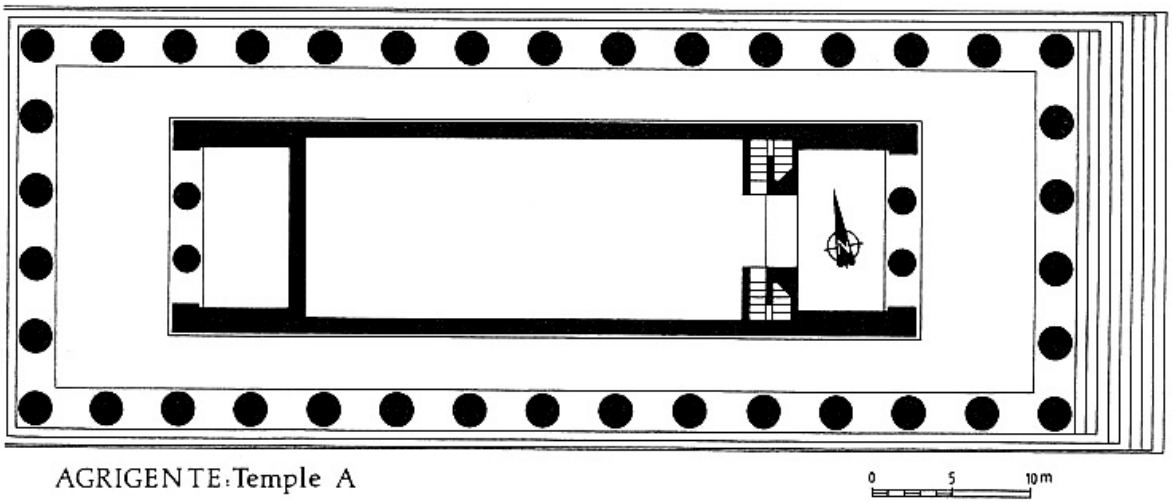


Figure 8. Plan of Temple A (Herakleion/Apollonion) at Akragas (Adornato 2011).

Archaeological data is even more incomplete: in Gela, traces of worship of a male deity were found in the great sanctuary of the Molino di Pietro, which is considered to be in a high position, and is therefore arbitrarily attributed to Zeus Atabyrios. However, conversely, I believe it hides the Cretan origin's form of the god of vegetation, Velchanus. Pythian, or better Dalius Apollo, probably had as a sanctuary some unclear position near the *Emporion* of the Archaic period, in Bosco Littorio[37] (Figure 6). Based on a passage of Diodorus Siculus,[38] we have the information that the Geloans erected a bronze statue, outside the walls which was stolen by the Carthaginians (406 BC) and sent to Tyrus, where Alexander recovered it during the conquest of the Phoenician city (332 BC). We know that a statue could already have been erected in the 7th century BC, but not to the Pythian, but to Dalius Apollo, with whom, according to Brelich,[39] Apollo Archegetes must be identified, and whom the Naxians honoured. The prominent presence of Dionysus is also documented in the sub-urban Thesmophorion.

For Akragas, the cult of Atabyrios is testified by Polybius on the second acropolis,[40] but to date no obvious archaeological traces have been found. Miccichè proposed[41] that under the ruins of the Arab-Norman castle (now demolished) there were some remains of the Atabyrios Zeus sanctuary, which Polybius mentions, close to Athena's temple, unanimously identified with the church of St. Mary of the Greeks (Figure 7).

Fiorentini, has attributed to Athena Lindia and Zeus Atabyrios the two twin *naiskoi* found by her near Gate A at Akragas, at the foot of the *Rupe Atenea*.[42] On the basis of the ex-voto collected, I think it wiser to attribute the two temples to the divine couple of Cretan origin (Potnia/Paredros).[43] De Miro located traces of a healing deity's cult at a location north of the temenos of Asclepius's sanctuary; this cult being connected to a fountain, and he attributes it to the Apollo Pythian.[44] Adornato, on the other hand, identifies temple A with the *Pythion*[45] (Figure 8).

[37] Panvini 2009.
[38] *Diod.*, XIII, 108, 4.
[39] Brelich 1964–1965: 45–46.
[40] *Pol.*, IX, 27, 7–8.
[41] Miccichè 2006.
[42] Fiorentini 2006.
[43] Scirpo 2019.
[44] De Miro 2003.
[45] Adornato 2011; Scirpo 2013; 2018a.

The presence of Dionysus at Akragas is confirmed by the Dionysian iconography on the Attic pottery imports, found in the necropolis, the presence of the Comasts typology in the local coroplastic and by his cult-related finds (statues of the God and his court: *satyrs* and *silenoi*) in the vast, diachronic and multi-functional sanctuary of the so-called 'Chthonian Deities', which is then transformed – possibly on the orders of the Emmenides – into the central *Thesmophorion*.[46]

Conclusions

The pantheon of Gela was the result of a successful union between the two major ethnic groups of the colonists – Rhodian and Cretan. Already from the first generation, the 'divine' balance coincided with the 'civic' for the collective interests of the city. Those of Athena and Demeter were the main women's cults, reflections of the still unstable state of religiousness in the homelands of the settlers. The cults of Apollo, Zeus, and Dionysus, on the other hand, were the result of the Minoan god's final process of Hellenisation, in his three fundamental forms (Deities of the Sun, Peaks, and Vegetation).

Since the hypothesis of a purely Rhodian origin of the Gelan and the Akragan calendar is still doubtful, we can only make some conclusions about the certain cults that might have arisen from it.[47] Although some months could have a Cretan origin (or were rather common on both islands),[48] the still blurred image we have of the civic calendar during the Archaic era would not change much.

Moreover, the presence of some cults not entirely deriving from the two major regions of the settlers, still remains unexplained, unless we resort to the logical conclusion of the existence of minority groups from distant and diverse regions (Boeotia and Sparta).[49] Finally, it is not easy to attribute to the native (Sican) element a decisive role in introducing the Gelan pantheon of local cults, associated with the natural elements that characterise the area (whether it is the eponymous river, or the personification of the plain or the Nymphs in the sanctuary in Fontana Calda, near Butera).

After the ethnic *stasis*[50] (which we assume happened between the second half of the 7th century and the middle of the 6th century BC), the aristocratic families of Rhodian origin took the reins, whose cultural element is so obvious from the archaeological evidence, mainly after the founding of the sub-colony of Akragas. It is not far-fetched to believe that some Cretan *phratriai* found shelter in the *chora* of Gela, or voluntarily participated in the first refoundation of Kamarina by Hippocrates[51] (482 BC), which has since come out almost entirely from the political orbit of the Syracusan metropolis.

With the advent of tyranny, the cults of the city were slowly but inevitably 'Rhodianised'. Thus, between the middle and end of the 6th century BC, most of the chthonian sanctuaries suffered a metamorphosis, either in the buildings (some were abandoned) or functional (some changed the type of votives), to better consolidate the still inhomogeneous group of citizens, up until the construction of Athena's temple (C), which was definitely linked by name and in essence with the tradition of Lindos, the result of Dinomenides' policy.[52]

The origin of the cults at Akragas is apparently linked mainly to Gela, from where the two ethnic elements introduced them so as to restore the 'divine' balance, a mirror of the corresponding social equilibrium that, at that time, was irreparably compromised in the motherland.

The diachronic development of the places of worship proves that here, as in Gela, the process of Rhodianisation, committed to by Emmenides (and completed by the next aristocratic government) led to the concealment of the Cretan element, but without completely erasing it.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Manolis Stefanakis for involving me in organising this conference and all his colleagues from the Faculty of Mediterranean Studies at the University of the Aegean for their warm welcome on the island, a destination so dear to me from so many years of study. The topic of this paper is taken from my PhD thesis in Classical Archaeology, which I defended in 2012 at National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and now finally, is in press. Last, but not least, I thank Anna Manesioti-Jones for the English translation of the text.

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[46] Griffo 1987.

[47] Thus, the cults of Dionysios Smytheos and Theudasius, Apollo Petageitnius, Badromios, Yakinthios and Artemis are added to those already mentioned. The worship of the latter is however testified to in Hellenistic times, as we see from the many clay figurines on the acropolis of Gela (second half of the 4th century BC). Panvini 1998: 85–91.

[48] These are the months of Artamitios (testified in the Arkades), Bacinthios (Lato), Thesmophorios (Lato), Theuadios (Ierapytna, Lato, Lyktos, Olous, Sybrita), Karneios (Knossos), Panamos (Lyktos).

[49] Scirpo 2017.

[50] For an analysis of the riot, see Luraghi 1994.

[51] *Her.* VII, 154.3.

[52] Scirpo 2018a.

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Visual and written testimonies on the cult of Dionysus in the Dodecanese

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Abstract

This paper deals with a number of visual and epigraphic monuments concerning the cult of Dionysus in the Dodecanese, with special emphasis on the island of Rhodes. Our inquiry starts from some controversial very early pictorial renderings of a Master of Animals that might be interpreted as connected to the Dionysiac cosmos. The bulk of evidence consists of the 800 attic vases from around the late 7th down to the end of the 4th century BC found on Rhodes. Almost 150 of them bear Dionysiac images. Although the percentage is not significantly high, amounting to 16% of figured painted vases, and while most of the vases present the expected renderings of Dionysos and his thiasos, there is a significant minority with interesting subjects that will be given due consideration here. It is especially interesting that the great majority of these Dionysiac vases (119) date from 550 to 475 BC, while there is a spectacular drop in Dionysiac images after the late 5th century BC. In addition, we deal with a small number of images found on East Greek and Laconian vases of the archaic period, where interesting, and one might say deviant versions of Dionysiac stock repertory, occur. Finally, we have gathered all available evidence from written and epigraphic sources that present us with a thriving and complex cult of the god of wine on Rhodes and the islands of the Dodecanese.

Key words: Athenian black-figure vases, Athenian red-figure vases, Dionysos, Dodecanese, Satyrs, Maenads, Dionysiac Thiasos, Dionysiac imagery, Cult of Dionysos, Archaic era, Classical era

The cult of Dionysus in the Dodecanese has not yet received a full treatment in recent scholarship.[1] On the occasion of this conference, we present a dense synthesis on the topic, focusing on literary, epigraphic, and archaeological testimonia, with special emphasis on the unusually rich collection of Attic vases found on Rhodes.

Literary and epigraphic record

The literary record on the cult of Dionysus on the area is unsubstantial. A key text is a gloss of Hesychius mentioning the cult of Dionysus Thyonidas in Rhodes, possibly celebrated with phallic processions.[2] Phallic processions are also attested for the Rhodian Smintheia,[3] held in honor of Dionysus. Judging from an inscription of the Hellenistic period, the centre of this cult was the city of Lindos.[4] The last text of interest is a 3rd-century BC epigram by Aristidicus of Rhodes commemorating two women who committed suicide upon hearing of the death of a male participant in orgiastic, trieteric Dionysiac rituals.[5]

Despite the paucity of literary sources, the epigraphic evidence of Hellenistic and Roman times bears witness of a thriving cult of the god on both Rhodes and Cos. The presence of months named after Dionysiac festivals on both islands must be dated at least to the time of their respective syneocisms, in 408/7 BC for Rhodes and the mid 4th century BC for Cos. The calendar of Rhodes includes three months named after festivals of Dionysus attested in other Doric communities as well, Sminthios, Agrionios and Thevdaisios.[6] We are allowed to infer that besides the Sminthia, the Agrionia and Thevdaisia were also taking place there. Indeed, on a *lex sacra* from the city of Rhodes, dating to imperial times, it is mentioned

[1] For Rhodes, see Kaninia 2014–2015: 110–111; Morelli 1959: 122–126; Patsiada 2013: 220. For Cos, see Paul 2013: 118–127.

[2] Hesychius, s.v. Θυωνίδας. ὁ Διόνυσος παρά Ροδίοις τους συκίνους φάλητας. Morelli 1959: 124, n. 1, thinks that the two parts of the gloss are unconnected, which is unlikely. According to Hesychius, the cult epithet refers both to the god and the wooden phalli, but is clearly derived from Semele's name Thyone, which is attested in Sappho (17.9–10 Voigt), the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos (D 12 West), Pindar (*Pythians* 3.99), Philodamos (I.7 Furley-Bremer) and perhaps also Aeschylus' *Semele* or *the Water carriers*. The name appears on two 5th-century BC vases as well. However, as Bremmer 2013: 7–8, argues, there was also an oriental tradition where Thyone was the god's nurse (Panyassis, fr. 5 Davies and Pherecydes, F 90d Fowler). Dionysus is himself called *Thyonais* by Oppian (*Cynegetica* 1.27.4.285) and *Thyoneus* by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4.13).

[3] The festival was described in the now lost book of Philomnestus of Rhodes. Phallic processions at the Sminthia: Athenaeus 10.445a–b, in reference to the 4th-century BC poet Antheas. The cult gave the name to the month Sminthios: see Morelli 1959: 125.

[4] *IG* XII 2, 762.

[5] Palatine Anthology 7, 473.

[6] Sminthios: see above, n. 3. Agrionios: Farnell 1909: 157 (also attested in Cos and Kalymnos). Thevdaisios: Farnell 1909: 198 and 313, n. 105 (also attested at Lindos and on Kalymnos and Anaphe). The Theodaisia are a biennial maenadic festival usually associated to the miracles of wine (for example in Haliartos and Andros): see Larson 2007: 138–139.

that a kid must be sacrificed to Dionysus on the last day of the month Agrionios.[7]

In Rhodes, Dionysus was also celebrated as Epikarpios,[8] Kathagaimon,[9] Mousagetas[10] and Baccheios.[11] The latter was a trieteric cult. The festival (*Baccheia*) in his honour comprised a ceremony of descent of the god and his arousing by the use of a hydraulic instrument, which strongly reminds of the cults of Dionysus in Lerna and his evocation from the depths of the swamp with trumpets.[12] Other inscriptions from Rhodes mention choragic liturgies for Dionysus,[13] presumably in the theatre, partaking of meat during sacrifices on behalf of the priest of Dionysus, as well as the festival of the Dionysia, which, after 129 BC, was incorporated to the festival of the Alexandreia.[14] On the evidence of a 3rd-century BC inscription, it is generally believed that Rhodes hosted three separate congregations of Dionysiac artists, honouring respectively Dionysus Mousagetas, Dionysus and the Muses.[15]

Inscriptions from Cos mention the sale of the priesthoods of Dionysus Skyllitas[16] and Thallyphoros.[17] Skyllitas was the object of a complex cult, culminating in three sacrifices of pigs and goats in short intervals during the same month, while Thallyphoros was celebrated with a mystery cult;[18] both priesthoods were held by females. A civic festival, the Dionysia, was celebrated in the theatre, with sacrifices, bestowing of honorific crowns, dances and theatrical performances.[19] Associations of *Dionysiastai* on Rhodes and *Bacchiastai* on Cos are attested from the imperial period.[20] Lastly, mention should be made of an important inscription, presumably from Astypalaia, mentioning processions and sacrifices during the festival of Iobaccheia.[21]

A sanctuary of Dionysus is attested in both Lindos[22] and the city of Rhodes. The latter was an important treasury of outstanding works of art, as witnessed by several literary references.[23] An important inscription informs us that the sanctuary was used as the neutral meeting place for the Rhodian judges arbitrating a territorial dispute between Samos and Priene in 196/195 BC.[24] The theatre of Dionysus is mentioned as a place where public ceremonies for bestowing honours to young soldiers were taking place,[25] very much in the way this was happening in Athens during the Classical period.

Archaeological testimonia

The altar and temple of Dionysus in Cos are also mentioned in epigraphic texts. The altar has been excavated by the Italians and then published by Prof. Nikolaos Stampolidis. The complex iconographical program displays various myths from the boyhood of Dionysus, episodes from the life of the mythical thiasos and the god's triumph over the barbarians.[26]

Crucial archaeological evidence on the popularity of Dionysiac cult in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period comes in form of sculptural and painted decoration in funerary monuments in the necropolis of Rhodes. The most spectacular is an open courtyard with rock cut reliefs showing the Return of Hephaistus to the Olympus.[27] Other, still unpublished monuments represent processions and the Dionysiac thiasos.[28] A special mention should also be made of two recently published golden wreaths with ivy leaves which find a place alongside the well-known wreath from Kastellorizo in the National Museum[29] and of two 4th-century BC bronze hydriae with relief decoration showing Ariadne and Dionysos, both from Chalke.[30] Similar plastic decoration, in the form of protomai of satyrs underneath the handles is also known to appear on black-glazed Hellenistic amphorae with ribbed decoration, the so-called Plakettenvasen.[31]

The testimonia summarised thus far bears witness to a widespread cult during Hellenistic and Roman times, heavily conditioned by the favouring of the god in the Hellenistic royal courts of the Attalids and Ptolemies,[32] while a persistent Doric substratum is still discernible.

[7] Morelli 1959: 41; Otto 1969: 168.
[8] Jacopi 1932–1933: 386–387 (Camiros).
[9] Morelli 1959: 123.
[10] A cult of Dionysus and the Muses is attested in Camiros: Jacopi 1932–1933: 414–416, 420–422, 424–426, nos 39, 42 and 44.
[11] Jacotett 2001: 261–262, 264–266, nos 156 and 159.
[12] Farnell 1909: 177; Jacottet 2001: 261–262, no. 156; Otto 1969: 82.
[13] Farnell 1909: 184.
[14] Dabdad-Trabulsi 1992: 252; Farnell 1909: 309–310; Morelli 1959: 91–92.
[15] *IG* XII 1.155, 161; Morelli 1959: 122–123; *DFA*^{2} 394, n. 6.
[16] *IG* XII 4.278; Paul 2013: 117–118.
[17] *IG* XII 4, 304; *IG* XII 2, 326.
[18] Paul 2013: 118–124.
[19] Paul 2013: 124–125.
[20] Dionysiastai: *IG* XII, 1, 155 and 161. See Jacottet 2003: 260–266, nos 156–159; Morelli 1959: 125. Bacchiastai: Jacottet 2003: 259, no. 155.
[21] Farnell 1909: 309. The inscription also mentions the name of the month Iobaccheios.
[22] Blinkenberg 1941: no. 264. l. 9.
[23] Lucian, *Amores*, 8; Pliny 33, 155; Strabo 14.2.5.
[24] *I. Priene* 37, ll. 20–21. See Magneto 2008: 34–35 (text) and *passim*.
[25] Diodorus Siculus 20.84.3.
[26] Paul 2013: 125–127; Stampolidis 1987.
[27] Kaninia 2014–2015: 110. See also Kaninia 1997.
[28] See briefly Kaninia 2014–2015: 110–111 (where the unpublished relief plaque Rhodes Museum Γ270, showing the Return of Hephaistos is also mentioned).
[29] See Kaninia 2014–2015; Kantzia-Vratsali 2017. The first wreath was found crowning a funerary urn in a mid 3rd-century BC tomb, the second is a recent find from an early Hellenistic tomb, while the wreath from Megiste (Kastellorizo), then part of the Rhodian state, is dated in the second half of the 4th century BC.
[30] London, BM Br. 311 (Walters 1899: 46–47, no. 311, pl. XI: only the relief decoration and parts of the foot and the mouth of the vase remain) and 312 (Walters 1899: 47, no. 312; Walters 1915: pl. XXX).
[31] Monaco 2014.
[32] Dabdad-Trabulsi 1992: 252; Morelli 1959: 123, n. 3.

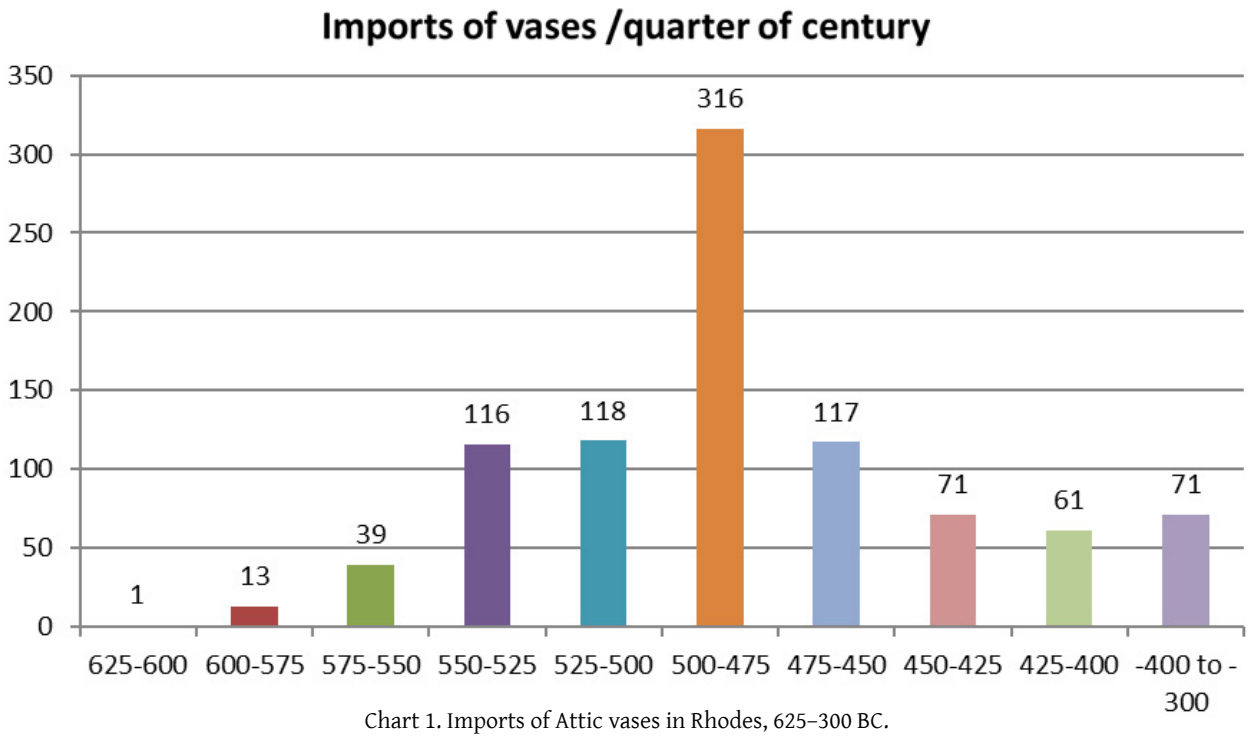


Chart 1. Imports of Attic vases in Rhodes, 625–300 BC.

Attic and other vases

To assess earlier manifestations of the cult of Dionysus in the Dodecanese one needs to turn to other types of evidence, namely the iconography of burial goods and dedications in sanctuaries dating from the early 6th down to the late 4th centuries BC. Among these items most prominent are the vases imported from Athens in the Dodecanese, but mainly in Rhodes.

A. Statistics

At present reckoning, there are 933 Attic figured vases from Rhodes. The island presents the excellent opportunity to study most of the material in its proper archaeological context. For the most part, vases have been unearthed in the cemeteries of Camiros and Ialysos by Salzmann and Biliotti in the 1850s and 1860s and by the Italians in the 1920s and 1930s.[33] There are also a number of finds from the sanctuaries of Athena Lindia in Lindos,[34] of Athena in Camiros, and several vases from the Greek excavations in various parts of the island after 1947.[35] A large number is said to be from 'Rhodes', but this is a rather misleading label, referring both to the island, when the exact find-spot is unknown, and to the city of Rhodes, especially when vases date in the 4th century BC, after the growth and prosperity of the new city.[36] To date there are 933 Attic figured vases from Rhodes (Chart 1), from the end of the 7th down to the middle of the 4th century BC. In terms of chronology, imports peak around the beginning of the 5th century BC (316 vases), while there are substantial numbers arriving during the third (116) and last (118) quarters of the 6th, as well as during the second quarter of the 5th century BC (117). During the third (71) and last (61) quarter of the century imports decrease significantly and the same applies for the period in the 4th century BC when Attic vases still reach Rhodes (71).

Research on other islands of the Dodecanese was not carried in the same systematic way, at least for the periods that concern us here. The number of the vases from other islands in the Dodecanese number a mere 30 in the Beazley Archive, while a few others are known from other publications.[37] Curiously enough, Dionysiac images appear rarely (Appendix I, section J).

Turning back to Rhodes, Dionysiac subjects occur on 171 vases (Appendix I, sections A–I), accounting for 19% of the total, which is more or less consistent to the percentages present in other areas of the Greek world and in Italy. However, a closer inspection reveals

[33] Camiros: Jacopi 1931; Jacopi 1932–1933; Salmon 2019 (final reconstruction of the tomb contexts from the 19th-century excavations at Camiros, as documented in the Online Collection Database of the British Museum); Smith 1896; Walters 1893. Ialysos: Jacopi 1929; Laurenzi 1936; Maiuri 1922–1923. Vases from both sites are included in *CVA Rodi* 1, 2; Lemos 1997a–b; Lemos 2007 and the BAPD. Out of 984 vases known to be from Rhodes, we made use of 923, for which adequate information for the shape, the chronology and the decoration exists.

[34] Blinkenberg 1931.

[35] Bairami 2004 (Kerch vases); Bairami 2017: 408–409 (unspecified contexts in the city of Rhodes); Fantaoutsaki 2012 (Koskinou); Filimonos-Tsopotou and Marketou 2017.

[36] I.e. Jacopi 1932–1933: 445–467.

[37] Bosnakis 2012: 219, n. 2 (Cos); Patsiada 2006 (Karpathos).

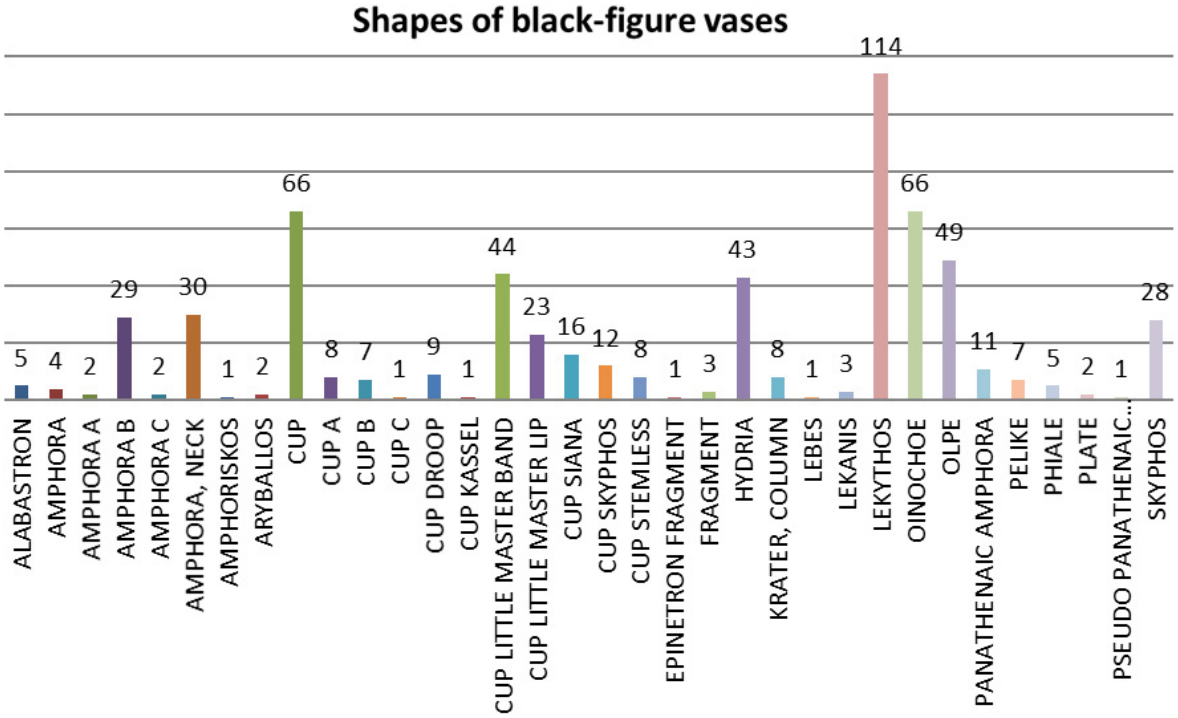


Chart 2. Imports of black-figured vases per shape.

some interesting aspects: the overwhelming majority of Dionysiac scenes (142) occur on black-figured vases, especially those dating from *c.* 500–470 BC.[38]

In contrast, Dionysiac subjects are absent from early red-figured pottery, which is anyhow rarely imported in Rhodes.[39] Besides two late archaic vases, dating *c.* 480 BC (E101–102), at the earliest, there are 18 red-figured vases with Dionysiac scenes dating from 475–425 BC and only one from the next quarter of the century. As seen from the finds in the British and Rhodes Museums, the 5th century BC is the period when Rhodian customers relied mostly on imports of black-glazed vases. Imports of red-figured pottery in Rhodes rise again in the 4th century BC. To an extent this is a logical result, since it coincides with a prosperous period in the history of the island, but in part also reflects the fact that Kerch vases and those of related styles, from new, as well as older excavations, have been systematically collected in an important article by Kalliopi Bairami.[40] At the same time, Dionysiac scenes are rarely found on 4th-century BC vases, with only nine examples noted.

B. Shapes

In general the predominant shapes in Attic black-figured imports (Chart 2) are the cups (199) and the lekythoi (114). Other small shapes (olpe, oinochoe, chous) and the amphora are strongly represented, while the hydria and the skyphos appear in slightly inferior numbers. In red-figure (Chart 3), squat lekythoi, kraters, hydriae and pelikai are better represented, with askoi and cups coming next. The picture is relatively homogeneous, but the numbers involved are much smaller and the period under study covers a very large one, so it might be misleading to read these data without keeping in mind that squat lekythoi and askoi mainly belong to the late 5th/early 4th century BC, kraters are better represented in the 4th century BC, while the other well-represented shapes generally date from the first half of the 5th century BC.

The earliest Attic imports to Rhodes date from *c.* 600 BC. The first Dionysiac images arrive at *c.* 580 BC, as is witnessed by a fragment of a dinos or krater by Sophilos from the sanctuary of Athena Lindia (A1). Only extant are some remains of the upper part of the body of a sexually aroused shaggy satyr grasping a woman by the arm. Indeed, this fragment accounts for one of the earliest Dionysiac scenes in the entire Athenian imagery, along with similar fragments by the same painter in New York.[41] Large mixers are notably absent from the funerary record: as far as Dionysiac vases are concerned, there are only two other kraters in the black-figured technique (D24, D30).

In general, cups account for 30% of black-figured vases with Dionysiac themes (Chart 4). Among the earliest

[38] See below, Appendix 1, section D. For a brief discussion of subject matters on Attic vases from Rhodes, see Giudice 2013: 763–768 and Lemos 1997b: 459.
[39] Paleothodoros 2009: 175, n. 53. See also Lemos 1997b: 460.
[40] Bairami 2004.
[41] New York private coll., dinos (BAPD 9029557); New York, MMA 1977.193, fr. of dinos or column-krater (Moore 2016: 14, fig. 3). For other early examples, see Hedreen 1992: 97, n. 70; Moore 2016: 16–18.

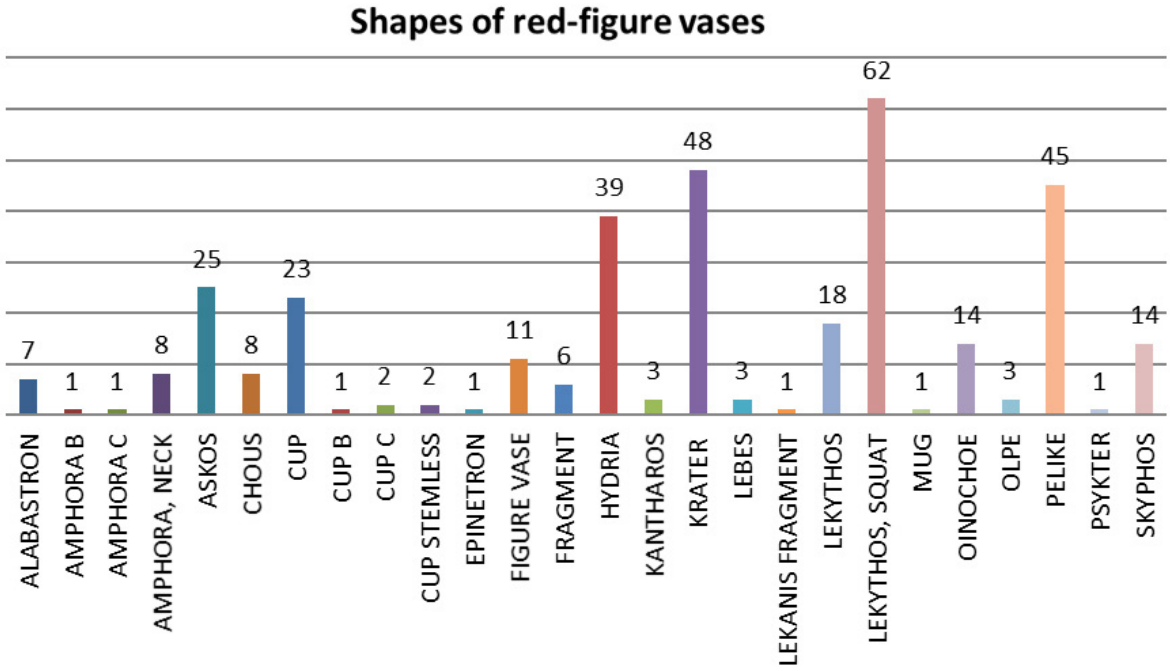


Chart 3. Imports of red-figured vases per shape.

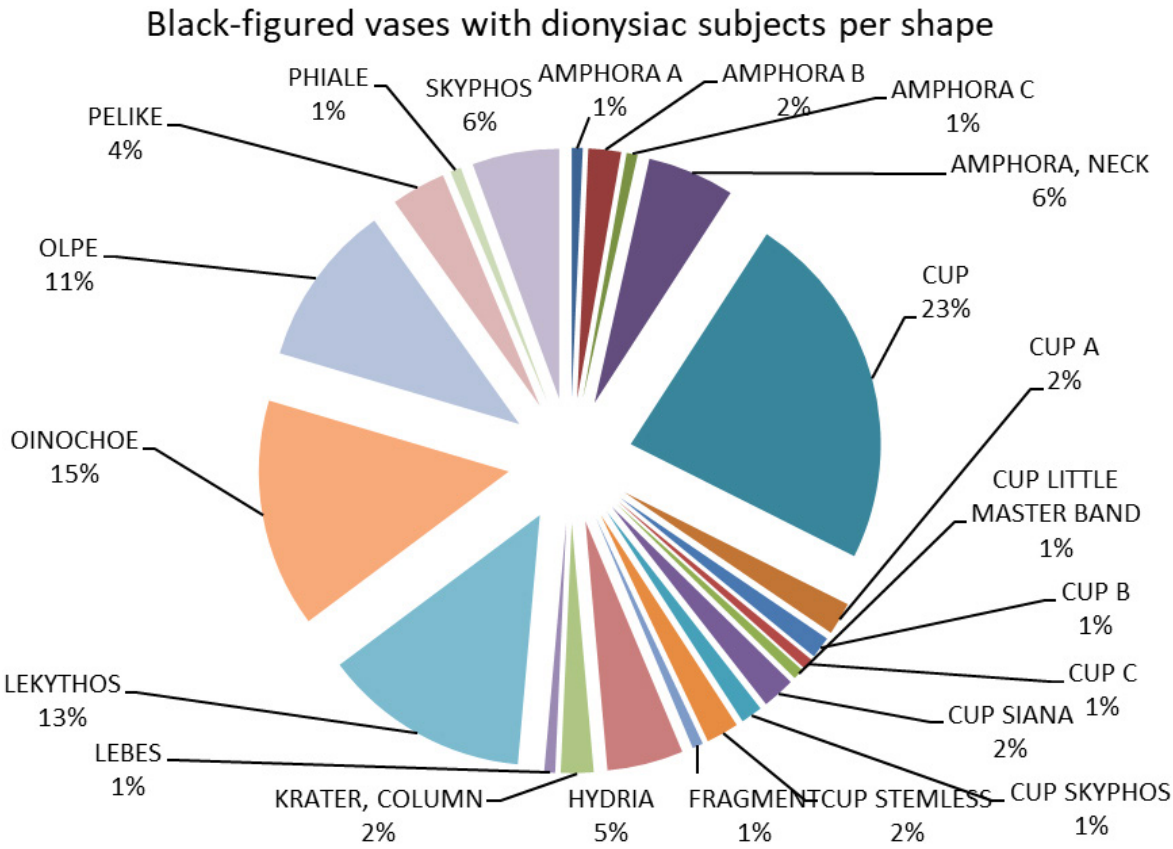


Chart 4. Black-figured vases with Dionysiac subjects per shape.

include three Siana cups (B1–B3) and a slightly later band-cup (C7), with images of the Dionysiac thiasos, without much interest. From the end of the 6th century BC, most notable are three stemless cups belonging to the Segment Class (D18–D20), but the most important group consists of early 5th-century BC cups by the Leafless Group (E74–97) and other coarse painters loosely connected to the Haimon Group (E45, 50–60). Skyphoi and cup-skyphoi are generally few and late, with minimal iconographic interest (D23, E52, 67–73),

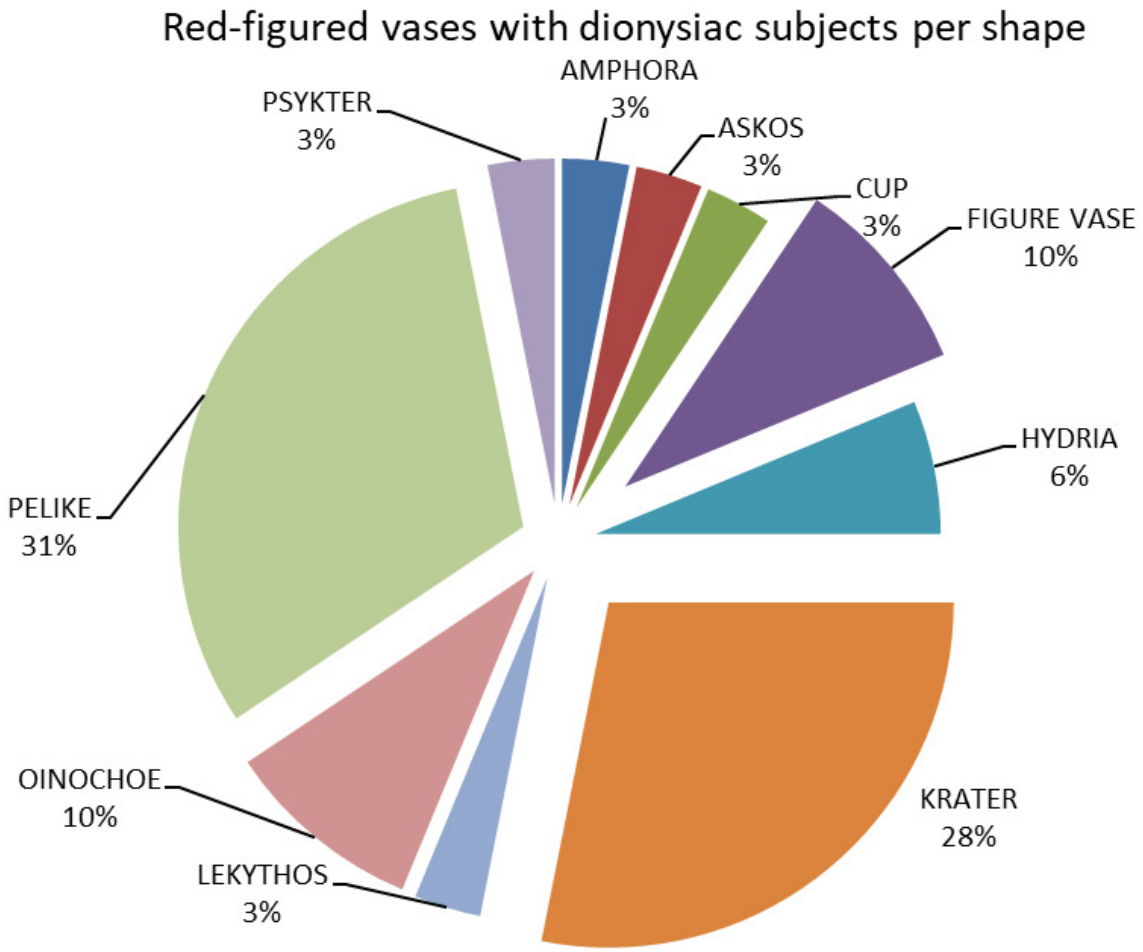


Chart 5. Red-figured vases with Dionysiac subjects per shape.

except from an important early example which will be discussed in the next section (B4).

Large, closed shapes are not particularly numerous. One-piece amphorae (C1–4, D5), neck-amphorae (C5, D1–4, 6) and hydriae of large shape (D8) appear during the second half of the 6th century BC, while pelikai (already D7, but mainly E1, 4–6), doubleens (E2) and smallish kalpides (E3, E61–66) are more prominent during the early 5th century BC. A usual burial gift is the pitcher, like the trefoil oinochoe (D10, 25–26, E21, 25–30, 34–36, 43–44, 49), the olpe (D9, 11–17, E37–40) or the small black-figured choes (E31–32, 40–42).

Although lekythoi are numerous in Rhodes still in the late 6th century BC, with many examples by the Phanyllis Class, Dionysiac subjects become truly popular only after 500 BC,[42] a trend that has also been observed in the Kerameikos of Athens.[43] Indeed, most lekythoi with Dionysiac subjects belong to the Class of Athens 581 (E8–22) and a few other workshops (E7, 23–24), and date around 490–480 BC.

In 5th-century BC red-figure (Chart 5), 21 vases with Dionysiac subjects occur on ten different shapes, with the pelike (seven examples: F1, 5, 9; G1–4) being the most prominent. There are three kraters: a column-krater by the Cleveland Painter used as an ossuary (F2), a bell-krater by the Alkimachos Painter (F6), and a fragment by the Oinokles Painter (F7). Besides a kalpis (F8), a doubleen (F4) and a psykter (E101), the rest are small shapes (choes: G6, H1; olpe: F3; askos: G5) and cups (F11–12). Of interest are two plastic vases (E102, F10): one is in the shape of a satyr squatting on a wineskin, while the other is a Sotadean head-kantharos, with a satyr pursuing a maenad. In the 4th century BC the pelike (I2, I5–6) the bell-krater (I1, 4, 7–9) and the hydria (I3) are the only shapes represented.

C. Iconography

As has been documented by Guy Hedreen,[44] the Dionysiac thiasos, and satyrs in particular are much more prominent than Dionysus himself in Attic black-figure (a ratio of 3000 to 700 representations). There is no mystery in the disparity of the divine figure as

[42] Earlier lekythoi with Dionysiac subjects include an example by the Hound-and-Hare Group (D28).
[43] Van de Put 2009. See also Villanueva Puig 2009.
[44] Hedreen 1992.



Figure 1. Rhodes 13370, black-figured column-krater (after CVA Rodi 1, III H.E.3, pl. 2.4).

compared to his retinue: the users of the vases tend to identify easier to the mythical devotees of Dionysus, than to the god himself. However, Hedreen studied mainly large pots and cups; the large numbers of smaller vases (oinochoai, choes, olpai) and lekythoi tend to deny this conclusion. Thus, on Dionysiac vases from Rhodes, Dionysus appears 66 times, as many as the times that the thiasos is shown without the god. It is to be noted that his presence is not limited to smaller shapes, but also to amphorae (C1–3, 5, D1–5), hydriae (D8) and pelikae (D7–8, E4–6) in the company of his thiasos. A pair of vases deserves some comment: a column-krater (D31) shows the god in procession accompanied by two satyrs playing the Thracian kithara[45] (Figure 1). The shape is a rarity in Rhodes, occurring only twice again in black-figure.[46] The subject is also not a popular one: satyr-choruses with kitharae appear on six other black-figured vases; Janos Szilagyi[47] thought that they represent pre-dramatic choruses, however, on our vase, the presence of Dionysos and the processional character of the scene make the identification to a chorus highly doubtful. Another interesting vase is a lebes gamikos (Figure 2), a rare shape in black-figure; the Rhodian example is unique in being decorated with a Dionysiac scene, showing the god with three satyrs dancing (D31).[48] Small vases and cups show invariably Dionysos surrounded by satyrs and maenads, sometimes reclining in the company of a woman, or mounting a chariot (i.e. D24A–B). Of particular interest is the presence of the god on two vases showing wedding processions (C3, D17). Finally,

[45] The tomb belonged to an adolescent. Besides the krater, the funerary context consisted of two lekythoi, a fragmentary bowl and a local amphoriskos, Jacopi 1931: 204–208, no. XV.

[46] D23 and London B361 from Camiros (BAPD 8937: athletes/warriors). There are also several fragments of column-kraters in Faenza, said to be from Rhodes (BAPD 43327, 43329, 43364, 43461, 43462).

[47] Szilagyi 1977.

[48] The tomb (Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 99) belonged to a person of young age and was richly furnished. It also contained a Fikellura amphora, black-glazed vases, a Corinthian exaleiptron, a miniature Corinthian cotyle, statuettes, and a shell.



Figure 2. Rhodes 12937, black-figured lebes gamikos (after Jacopi 1931: 176, fig. 181).



Figure 3. London B446, tondo of a black-figured cup by the Theseus Painter (after F. Lissarrague, *La cite des satyres. Une anthropologie ludique, Athenes, Vie-Ve siecle avant J.-C.*, Paris 2013: 84, fig. 58).

the god appears alone, seated (E27, 70A–B), standing (E50I) or riding a mule (D29, E39).

Satyrs are of course omnipresent: they usually show the characteristic playful aggressiveness towards their female companions (i.e. A1, D19), or dance peacefully with them (i.e. C4, 6, D20, E9), and serve Dionysos. Sometimes, satyrs and maenads accompany a goddess (Ariadne?) mounting a chariot, especially on cups (D17, 50, 53, 57–59). Isolated images of satyrs running and dancing or seated (E26) appear on tondos of cups and phialae, and on olpai, oinochoai and lekythoi. Few images deserve more than a passing comment: a cup by the Theseus Painter in London (E33) stands out with its striking imagery (Figure 3): while the exterior



Figure 4. Oxford V563, black-figured pelike by the Eucharides Painter (after *CVA Oxford 2*, pl. 8.8).

shows Dionysus reclining with Herakles, the tondo is decorated with the image of a satyr mounted on the back of a deer, each creature sniffing the bottom of the other. The satyr oscillates between the human and the animal, and this image is the clearest expression of this bipolarity.[49]

On a pelike by the Eucharides Painter (E1), a satyr seated on a rock writes on a tablet, while discussing with Hermes, and another satyr is playing the double flute; a goat is reclining besides the rock (Figure 4). The vase belongs to a group of vases connecting satyrs with goats, sometimes dancing on the sound of the flute.[50] Hermes is the only god who is quite well represented in the Dionysiac realm: on a Siana cup, he leads a group of women to Dionysos who sits on a throne (B2); sometimes, he appears along with a goddess, flanking Dionysos (D2, E13–14), or merges with the thiasos (E21, E75). An oinochoe by the Athena Painter (E29) shows satyrs carrying peltae and dancing. The motif of satyrs as pyrrhic dancers has been variously interpreted as an illustration of satyr-play, or as an anti-model to the Athenian hoplites, along with various other classes of light warriors (Thracians and Scythians).[51]

Maenads are often represented in the company of Dionysos (D7A, 10, 28, E5, 10, 12), but most usually dancing with satyrs. A small group of images show maenads riding bulls (E2, 25), mules (E3), or being accompanied by boars (E28).[52]

Red-figured vases of the 5th century BC are much fewer: Dionysos appears with one or two maenads on four vases (E102, F1, 6A, G3), and once with a satyr (F2A). Most often, satyrs appear with maenads (F2B, 6B, 9, 19, G1–2, G5A–B). Twice the satyrs are clad in himation and accompany youths or boys (F5, G6): this type of iconography evidently mimics, albeit in a distorted way, the iconography of men encountering younger males, either in an erotic, or in a neutrally charged ambiance.[53] 4th-century BC vases depict invariably the Dionysiac thiasos and need not concern us here.

The Dionysiac myth is rarely depicted on Attic vases from Rhodes: Amalia Avramidou has interpreted a fragmentary 4th-century BC krater showing a woman on a couch, and Athena, as a possible representation of the libation of the divine couple, but the identification is uncertain, since no attributes for either god or goddess are preserved.[54] A black-figured amphora by the Affecter belongs to the group once thought to represent the reception of Dionysus by the mythical king Ikarios in Attica (C1). However, at close inspection, the host appears behind the god, while on the reverse, there are two dignitaries that could equally account for the figure of Ikarios. This type of iconography more probably represents a *theoxenia*, the hospitality offered to the god by the humans: the god is usually shown among youths and elders, sometimes accompanied by satyrs as well. One-piece amphorae with the same iconography have surfaced only in excavations of Etruscan tombs.[55] The Return of Hephaistos to Olympus appears on the neck of a black-bodied amphora from Siana (D6): the god is riding a mule and is accompanied by two satyrs. The god is also present in the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis on an amphora from Camiros, along with Dionysos (C3).

A relatively prominent subject is the encounter of Dionysus with Ariadne, shown on one of the earliest Dionysiac vases, a cup-skyphos of peculiar shape (Figure 5), dating to around 560 BC and uncovered in the tomb of a woman (B4).[56] The importance of the iconography was fully explored by C. Isler-Kerényi:[57] the cup, in a crude style, recalls compositions by the Heidelberg Painter, on the exterior of Siana cups. On both sides, a majestic Dionysos and Ariadne occupy the centre of the scene, flanked by satyrs rushing forward, or greeting the god, and by males holding spears. A Dionysus holding a horn

[49] Lissarrague 1988.
[50] See Paleothodoros 2008: 134, n. 14, with references and bibliography.
[51] See Karouzou 1972; Lissarrague 1987 and Lissarrague 1990a, respectively.
[52] Villanueva-Puig 1983 and Villanueva-Puig 1987.
[53] Lissarrague 1990b.
[54] Rhodes P15758 (Avramidou 2009: 5–6).
[55] On the subject, see Angiollilo 1981 (list of vases and discussion within the framework of the traditional interpretation); Carpenter 1986: 45–47.
[56] Ialysos, Marmaro t. 10. Besides the cup skyphos, the tomb contained a Fikellura stamnos by the Altenburg Painter, a merrythought cup by the Marmaro painter, a hydria by the Painter of Louvre F6, a fruit stand, a mirror with bone handle, golden jewellery and a stone alabastron: Laurenzi 1936: 111–128 and fig. 98.
[57] Isler-Kerényi 2008: 155–157.



Figure 5. Rhodes 11131, black-figured cup-skyphos (after N. Stampolidis (ed.), Φως Κυκλαδικόν. Μνήμη Νικολάου Ζαφειρόπουλου, Athens 1999: 211, fig. 5).

and an ivy branch faces Ariadne; satyrs wearing festive ribbons on the chest and draped men assist; the scene is meant to represent the encounter of the god and his escort on the island of Naxos. The subject, with its obvious nuptial overtones, was particularly fitting for a woman's tomb. Another motif is depicted on a neck-amphora from Ialysos, where the couple; reclining on the ground on the main side of the shoulder, is matched with the reclining couple of a man and a woman on the other side (E3). The pair appears also on a tiny olpe (E38) from an infant pot-burial in Camiros: both are seated on a stool, Ariadne's body being partially overlapped by the god.[58]

Undoubtedly, the most extraordinary mythological scene occurs on a red-figured hydria in London (Figure 6) dating from *c.* 450 BC (F8). To the left appears Dionysus holding a thyrsus; the central figure is a man in Thracian garment devouring a child; to the right, a Thracian is fleeing awed with terror. The scene has already attracted a vivid commentary in the late 19th century by Cecil Smith, who identified the myth of the devouring of Zagreus by a Titan disguised as a Thracian.[59] The reading has obvious difficulties, namely the role of the fleeing Thracian and the very presence of Dionysus, whose alter ego is Zagreus. A much more plausible setting was suggested by Despina Tsiafakis,[60] identifying the devoured child to Dryas and the perpetrator of cannibalism to the Thracian king Lucurgus, his own father, maddened by Dionysus; the rendering of the scene is dissonant to other representations of the subject, where Lycurgus tears apart his son's limbs with an axe, following the narrative that came down to us via Apollodorus' *Library*.

Ritual imagery is confined to two vases. The earliest, from the beginning of the 5th century BC is a 'Lenaia' lekythos (E48). By this name, scholars describe a group of vases showing women (and sometimes satyrs) dancing or fulfilling ritual acts before a Dionysiac idol made of a mask hanging from a pillar.[61] The double mask appearing on the lekythos in Berlin has been plausibly identified as an iconic device to emphasise the dance around the post and the fact that the devotees always face the divine πρόσωπον. The second vase is a much later pelike (G4), dating from the third quarter of the 5th century BC, showing a youth holding a thyrsus besides a flaming altar on one side and a woman offering a libation on the other. The possibility of the depiction of a form of Dionysiac cult cannot be dismissed. Lastly, a hydria by the Half-Palmettes Painter (E62) shows a maenad running before an altar, in front of a building, that might be equally interpreted as the setting for a Dionysiac cult, possibly of official nature.

An interesting group consists of three miniature hydriae associated to the workshop of the Haimon Painter and attributed to the Brno Painter (E64–66).[62] All three display similar iconography, namely a youth holding a drapery running along with a woman holding a thyrsus. It seems evident that the painter thought of these scenes as exhibiting ritual action in the realm of Dionysiac cult. The couple, youth and woman, the later without the thyrsus, appear on another small hydria of the same group.[63]

Attic pottery is not the only item travelling to Rhodes from abroad; in fact, a great number of vases from Asia Minor, Corinth and Laconia were also found in Rhodian tombs. The tondo of a Laconian cup (Figure 7) has the tondo divided horizontally, and the two scenes face one the other:[64] Dionysus escorting Hephaistus back in Olympus (note the crippled feet of the smith god); Herakles and the Nemean lion. Dionysus is not often represented in Laconian pottery, and this example is

[58] Makri Langoni, enchytrismos 172. From the same tomb comes the olpe E39.
[59] Smith 1890.
[60] Tsiafakis 2000: 381.
[61] Frontisi-Ducroux 1991.
[62] See also the kalpis (E61), showing the forepart of a chariot and a maenad holding a thyrsus. Two more kalpides with dionysiac subjects are by the Painter of the Half Palmettes: E61–E62.
[63] Rhodes 13222 (Makri Langoni t. 167: BAPD 331529).
[64] Rhodes 10711, from Ialysos, t. 274. Found, along with a very late oinochoe of the Wild Goat style, near a pithos containing the inhumated remains of an infant. Jacopi 1929: 120–124, pl. B, no. LXXXVIII.



Figure 6. London E246, red-figured hydria (after Smith 1890: 343).



Figure 7. Rhodes 10711, Laconian cup (after Jacopi 1929, pl. B).

the only attempt by a Laconian vase-painter to depict a Dionysiac myth.[65]

East Greek vases, the most prominent series in Rhodian tombs in the 6th century BC, are mostly decorated with friezes of animals and hybrid monsters. It has been suggested in the past that animal friezes are connected to the sphere of the gods, and Dionysus in particular.[66]

As far as Dionysiac iconography is concerned, the first vase is a Fikellura amphoriskos (Figure 8) dated to *c.* 520 BC.[67] The god, seated on the ground and holding a rhyton is coupled, on the other side, with a warrior, whom earlier commentaries tended to identify to Ares.[68] More probably, though, the couple stands for two aspects of aristocratic life, war and banquet, which in archaic vase iconography are used as antithetical and complementary manifestations of the same stage of masculine life.[69] Again, we deal with an *unicum*, since this one is the only image of the god in Milesian pottery identified thus far. The iconography on an amphora in Berlin is also unusual:[70] there are two satyrs flanking a huge amphora, a motif that has no exact counterpart in Attic vase-painting.

D. Tomb contexts

Several tomb contexts with Dionysiac vases are worth citing, since they display awareness and care from the part of those who made up the assemblage to match appropriately the images depicted. Fikellura Tomb 26 was furnished with three black-figured vases of the early 5th century BC, a lekythos of the Class of Athens

[65] Pipili 1987: 53–54, fig. 80.
[66] Isler 1978.
[67] Rhodes 12396. The tomb (Makri Langoni 46) also contained a Fikellura amphora, a cup by the Leafless Group (E95), a black-glazed cup and a local lekythos: Jacopi 1931: 232 and 246–248, figs 263–268, pl. V, no. CXV.
[68] Tempesta 1997: 84–85 and 171, no. 77, pl. 34.1.
[69] Isler-Kerényi 2008: 58.
[70] Berlin 2932: Cook 1952: 134, no. D1 (Ennmann Class); Tempesta 1997: 163, no. 2, pl. 2.1–2 (North Ionian, Group Chanenko and Northampton).



Figure 8. Rhodes 12396, Fikellura amphoriskos (after Jacopi 1931, pl. V).



Figure 9. Rhodes 13876, red-figured j aniform kantharos. Side A (after Jacopi 1932, pl. 1).



Figure 10. Rhodes 13876. Side B (after Jacopi 1932, pl. 2).

581 (E16), a cup by the Leafless Group (E75) and an oinochoe by the Athena Painter (E26). The lekythos shows the god reclining, in the company of a satyr and a maenad; the cup is decorated with a scene of the thiasos running and dancing around the seated god and the oinochoe shows a satyr seated on a rock, next to a huge kantharos. All three vases belong to different workshops of the Athenian Kerameikos, active from 500–470 BC. Tomb 1 from the same cemetery displayed a hydria showing Dionysos and his thiasos on the body (D8), and a very peculiar scene of two men chasing a wild man crawling on all fours on the shoulder, as well as a cup by the Pedieus Painter with a youthful komast and two lekythoi. One is by the Hound and Hare Group (D28) and the other by the Painter of Munich 1874 (E9). The lekythoi are ten and twenty years later than the hydria and the cup, a fact suggesting that the two banquet vases were the possessions of the deceased when in life and were matched by his/her relatives in the funeral with two ritual vases with similar and appropriate iconography. Tomb 168 in Makri Langoni was furnished with a large eye-cup bearing Dionysos holding a rhyton reclining on the ground and surrounded by satyrs (D22), a lekythos from the Leagros Group with a group of men playing a ball game, an oinochoe with images that have almost disappeared and a smallish red-ground chous with Dionysos and a satyr (E31).[71]

Undoubtedly the most extraordinary case is tomb 6 in the Pontamo necropolis in Chalki (Figures 9–10). The assemblage has been dated in the late second to early third quarter of the 3rd century BC, but the tomb also contained a janiform head-kantharos in the form of the heads of Herakles and a satyr, while the figured parts show three satyrs on each side. The vase has been assigned to the production of the Eretria Painter, who was active three to four generations before the time of the closing of the tomb. The excavator thought that the plastic kantharos might have been residual, since a concentration of ashes has been interpreted as belonging to a previous tomb. However, the possibility that the object was a keimelion cannot be ruled out. It is quite plausible that elaborate vases like the janiform kantharos

[71] Jacopi 1931: 128–130, figs 122–123, no. XXXIX.

might have been kept for quite a long period after their acquisition.[72]

Dionysiac vases appear also in child tombs: a three-year old child was buried with terracotta statuettes and toys and an oinochoe showing Dionysos and a satyr (E43).[73] A rather perplexing case is the t. 211 at Makri Langoni: a cup by the Leafless Group showing satyrs and maenads escorting Dionysos reclining on the ground (E86) was covering an earlier East Greek black-figured amphora, of possible Rhodian manufacture, inside the tomb of a six-year-old child, also containing several statuettes and female protomai.[74] The amphora has Herakles (or a hero) fighting a lion with a sword on one side and a woman approaching a rooster on the other.[75] In a baby's tomb were found a miniature hydria showing maenads (E3), a black-glazed cup and a miniature female protome.[76] A pithos burial contained the remains of an infant. Next to the urn was placed an olpe showing Dionysos and two satyrs dancing (D12).[77] Finally, another interesting case is the tomb, presumably of a child, containing the remains of a dog, an olpe showing Dionysos (E40), a floral-band cup, a statuette of a monkey, and a terracotta turtle.[78]

Conclusions

The afore-mentioned examples show a positive and creative response from the part of Rhodians to the models invented by the Athenian vase-painters. Also, the fact that singular versions of Dionysiac themes on vases from workshops (Laconia, East Greece) which do not normally display similar iconography, might hint at a predilection for Dionysiac themes from the part of the Rhodian clientele. Other types of evidence, like the abundant presence of terracotta figurines of satyrs in tombs[79] betrays close familiarity with the same iconographic types circulating all over the world, although Rhodian vase-painters never chose to depict Dionysiac subjects on their vases found in Rhodes or Egypt.[80] Although iconography cannot be treated as evidence of the same quality as inscriptions and literary texts in matters of religion and cult, this study of Dionysiac vases from Rhodes may be regarded as a contribution highlighting the importance of the god in the Dodecanese during the archaic and classical periods, when the written evidence about the god is lacking.

Appendix 1: Catalogue of Attic vases with Dionysiac subjects from Rhodes and the Dodecanese.[81]

A: 600–575 BC

A1. Istanbul 4514, satyr, bf fr. of krater or dinos by Sophilos, from Lindos, sanctuary of Athena. Satyr pursuing a woman (ABV 42.37; BAPD 305096)

B: 575–550 BC

B1. Berlin 3755, bf Siana cup related to the C Painter, from Rhodes. A: Dionysos seated, with Hermes, men and women (BAPD 177)

B2. London B381, bf Siana cup near the C Painter, from Siana. I: satyr running (ABV 61.10; BAPD 300537)

B3. Copenhagen 5179, bf Siana cup by the Heidelberg Painter, from Camiros. A: Dionysos dancing, satyrs and maenads. B: Dionysos and Ariadne, satyrs and maenads (ABV 64.24; BAPD 300568)

C: 550–525 BC

C1. Rhodes 10770, bf amphora of type C by the Affecter, from Ialysos, Drakidis plot, sporadic find. A/B: Dionysos amidst draped and naked males (ABV 247.89; BAPD 301382)

C2. London B197, bf amphora of type A by the P. of Berlin 1686, from Camiros. Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (ABV 296.1; BAPD 320380)

C3. Rhodes 11131, bf cup-skyphos from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 10. A/B: Dionysos and Ariadne with satyrs (Para 90.1; BAPD 350968)

C4. Rhodes 15438, bf amphora of type B by the P. of Munich 1736, from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 16. Dionysos between two dancing satyrs (ABV 265.1; BAPD 320009)

C5. Rhodes 10816, bf neck amphora fr. by the Swing Painter, from Ialysos, sporadic find. A/B: Dionysos between two satyrs (ABV 309.88; BAPD 301567)

C6. Louvre AM1008, bf amphora of type B, from Rhodes. Satyrs and maenad dancing (BAPD 11100)

C7. Rhodes 15688, bf band-cup from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 79. Satyrs and maenads (Laurenzi 1936: 194, figs. 187–188)

[72] On the tomb, see Jacopi 1932: 126–130; Reitermann 2016: 286–287, no. A45.

[73] Jacopi 1931: 146–149, fig. 147, no. LV.

[74] Jacopi 1931: 140–146, fig. 137, pls. I–III, no. LIV.

[75] On the amphora Rhodes 13339, see Cook 1952: 141–142, no. e; Tempesta 1997: 168, no. 41, pl. 24, 2.

[76] Makri Langoni 126: Jacopi 1931: 186, fig. 193, no. LXXIX.

[77] Makri Langoni burial pithos 17: Jacopi 1931: 261–262, no. CXXXI, pl. VII.

[78] Ialysos, gr. 454: Jacopi 1929: 234–236, fig. 233, no. CCXXIV. See also the burial pithos 28 at Makri Langoni: Jacopi 1931: 266, fig. 290, no. CXXXIII. A rich context with the cup by of the Segment Class (D19), a protome, a clay formiskos, a terracotta Gorgoneion, a lydion, a Fikellura amphoriskos, a bowl and several miniature vases.

[79] The most prominent type is the one of the squatting satyr δεφόμενος: see London Tr. B275–6, B277, (Fikellura, t. 123 [B275–6], 110, 164 [B277] and 210, respectively); Rhodes 13123, 13225 and 13346 (Makri Langoni, t. 138, 211, 167: Jacopi 1931: 116–120, fig. 110, no. XXXVI, 148, fig. 145, no. LIV, 188–189 and 196, fig. 204, no. LXXXVIII); Rhodes 12922 (Makri Langoni, cremation burial t. 176: Jacopi 1931: 334, fig. 370, no. CLXXXVIII). See also Rhodes 11812, squatting satyr piping (from a child tomb at Ialysos, Drakidis plot 431: Jacopi 1929: 228, no. CCXVII, and 226, fig. 225, to the right).

[80] For an overview, see Cook and Dupont 1997: 116–118.

[81] Tomb numbers refer to the Italian excavations (for vases in Rhodes; see Laurenzi 1936 and Lemos 2007) and to the catalogue compiled by Salmon 2019, for the excavations of Salzmann and Biliotti (vases in the British Museum; Salmon also provides links to the site of the British Museum for each individual tomb context).

D: 525–500 BC

D1. Rhodes 15448, bf neck amphora by the Antimenes Painter, from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 19. On the neck, A/B: Dionysos and Ariadne reclining (ABV 692; BAPD 306589)

D2. Rhodes 11335, bf neck amphora related to the Antimenes Painter, from Ialysos, Drakidis plot t. 310 (ABV 281.12; BAPD 320232)

D3. Rhodes 11758, bf neck amphora by the Madrid Painter, from Ialysos, Drakidis plot (found outside t. 416). Dionysos between two pairs of satyr and maenad (ABV 329.6; BAPD 301770)

D4. London B269, Dionysus, bf neck-amphora by the Group of Würzburg 221, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 148. A: Dionysus between a satyr and a maenad. B: maenad between two satyrs (ABV 402.11; BAPD 303034)

D5. Rhodes 10771, Dionysus, bf amphora of type B from Ialysos, Drakidis plot, sporadic find. A: Dionysos between satyrs and maenads. B: Dionysos between a satyr and a maenad. (BAPD 9029875)

D6. Berkeley 8.5699, Dionysus, bf neck amphora from Siana. Neck A/B: return of Hephaistos (BAPD 9087)

D7. Rennes D08.2.32, bf pelike by the Leagros Group, from Rhodes. A: Dionysos with maenad and goat. B: Dionysos between two satyrs dancing (BAPD 4174)

D8. London B352, bf hydria, the Class of London B 352, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 1. Dionysos between satyrs and maenads dancing (ABV 342.2; BAPD 301901)

D9. Rhodes 13392, bf olpe by the P. of Brussels R236, from Camiros, Makri Langoni enchytrismos 227. Dionysos between a satyr and a maenad dancing (ABV 436.4; BAPD 320465)

D10. Rhodes 15394, bf oinochoe by the Dot-Ivy Group, from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 4. Dionysos between two women (BAPD 330148)

D11. Rhodes: P25145, bf olpe akin to the Dot-Ivy Group, from Ialysos. Dionysos between two satyrs dancing (BAPD 9029912)

D12. Rhodes 12224, bf olpe by the Dot-Ivy Group, from Camiros, Makri Langoni pithos 17. Dionysos with drinking horn and ivy between Satyrs (BAPD 330121)

D13. Rhodes 12363, bf olpe by the Dot-Ivy Group, from Camiros, Makri Langoni enchytrismos 34. Dionysos seated on stool, satyr dancing (ABV 447.14; BAPD 330122)

D14. Rhodes 10640, bf olpe by the Dot-Ivy Group, from Ialysos, Drakidis plot t. 246. Dionysos between two satyrs dancing (ABV 447.15; BAPD 330123)

D15. Rhodes 1345, bf olpe by the Dot-Ivy Group, from Ialysos t. 22. Dionysos between a satyr and a maenad dancing and moving in opposing directions (ABV 447.17; BAPD 330125)

D16. Rhodes P25146, bf olpe, akin to the Dot-Ivy Group, from Camiros, Makri Lagoni, sporadic find. Dionysos between two satyrs dancing (BAPD 9029913)

D17. Sarajevo 652, bf olpe from Camiros. Wedding procession with Apollo, Hermes and Dionysos (BAPD 9282)

D18. London B458 (1867.0506.35), stemless cup of the Segment Class from Camiros.[82] Two antithetically placed satyrs dancing (BAPD 302710)

D19. Rhodes 12307, bf stemless cup of the Segment Class, from Camiros, Makri Langoni enchytrismos 28. I: three satyrs molesting a maenad (ABV 213.16; BAPD 302698)

D20. Rhodes 12327, bf stemless cup of the Segment Class, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 32. I: satyr and maenad dancing (ABV 213.20; BAPD 302702)

D21. Cabinet des Medailles 330, cup from Camiros. I: satyr running to the left, looking round (BAPD 11356)

D22. Rhodes 13229, bf cup, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 168. I: Dionysos. A/B, between eyes: Dionysos reclining on the ground, satyrs (Jacopi 1931: 128–129, no. 1, fig. 122)

D23 Rhodes unn., bf skyphos of type A2, from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 4. A/B: satyr and maenad (Para 91.8. Laurenzi 1936: 100, fig. 86; BAPD 350985)

D24. London B363, bf column-krater from Camiros, Fikellura t. 33. A: Dionysos mounting chariot, with satyrs and maenads. B: satyrs and maenads in procession to the right, dancing (Smith 1893: 205; BAPD 25779)

D25. Dublin 342, bf oinochoe fr. from Rhodes. Satyr and maenad (BAPD 9035284)

D26. Dublin 362, bf oinochoe fr. from Rhodes. Dionysos, satyrs (BAPD 9035286)

D27. Rhodes 15409, phiale from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 8. Satyr running to the right (Laurenzi 1936: 109, fig. 97)

D28. London B555, bf lekythos by the Hound-and-Hare Group, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 1. Dionysos seated, satyrs and maenads (ABV 515.9; BAPD 330632)

E: 500–475 BC

E1. Oxford 563, bf pelike by the Eucharides Painter, from Rhodes. Satyr seated on rock, holding box, Hermes, satyr and goat (ABV 396.21; BAPD 302990)

E2. Rhodes 11905, bf neck-amphora (doubleen) by the Red Line Painter, from Ialysos, t. 456. B: Maenad riding bull (ABV 482.2; BAPD 303441)

E3. Rhodes 13064, bf kalpis in the manner the Red-Line Painter, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 126. Maenad riding mule, maenad (Para 304; BAPD 352249)

E4. Rhodes 10775, bf pelike near the Red-Line Painter, from Ialysos, Cremaste t. 287. Dionysos seated, satyr (ABV 608.1; BAPD 306100)

E5. Brussels A1582, bf pelike by the P. of the Rhodes Pelike, from Rhodes. Dionysos and maenad (ABV 608.3; BAPD 306102)

[82] The provenance is noted on the British Museum collection site, where it is stated that the vase was first in the possession of Salzmann and then of Castellani. <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=459243&partId=1&searchText=1867,0506.35&page=1> (last accessed 5/5/2019).

E6. London 1864, 1007.270, bf pelike by the P. of the Rhodes Pelike, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 268. A: Dionysos seated, satyr dancing. B: Dionysos reclining, satyr dancing (ABV 608.2; BAPD 306101)

E7. London 64.10-7.1205 (B565), bf lekythos by the Diosphos Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 66. Maenad with lyre, two other maenads dancing with krottala (Para 250; BAPD 361440)

E8. Rhodes 5108, Dionysus, bf lekythos by the Marathon Painter, from Ialysos, Cremaste t. 62. Harnessing the chariot of Dionysos (BAPD 390272)

E9. London B558, bf lekythos, by the P. of Munich 1874 (Class of Athens 581 I), from Camiros, Fikellura t 1. Satyrs and maenads dancing (Para 222; BAPD 360907)

E10. Rhodes 1344, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Ialysos, Daphne t. 21. Dionysos seated between two maenads dancing (ABV 493.106; BAPD 303621)

E11. London 64.10-7.217, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros, t. 288. Dionysos seated between a maenad and a satyr (ABV 494.112; BAPD 303627)

E12. Rhodes P23321, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Ialysos, Cremaste t. 62. Dionysos and maenads dancing (ABV 495.142; BAPD 303656)

E13. London B550, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros. Dionysos, Hermes and goddesses seated (ABV 494.124; BAPD 303639)

E14. London 64.10-7.2028, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros. Dionysos, Hermes and women (ABV 495.126; BAPD 303660)

E15. London 1952.2-4.1, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros, Woman (Ariadne?), satyr and another (ABV 494.131; BAPD 303645)

E16. London 64.10-7.174, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 22. Dionysos reclining, women and satyr (ABV 500.62; BAPD 305389)

E17. London B559, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 22. Between eyes, satyr to the right, looking round, holding wineskin and horn (ABV 496.161; BAPD 305281)

E18. London 64.10-7.215, bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 103. Youth and woman reclining between satyrs dancing (ABV 500.65; BAPD 305392)

E19. London 64.10-7.1805, Maenad, bf lekythos, Class of Athens 581 I, from Camiros, (BAPD 305410)

E20. Once Ramsgate, Boursnell coll., bf lekythos by the Class of Athens 581, from Camiros. Satyrs and maenads (ABV 495.151; BAPD 303665)

E21. London B514, bf oinochoe recalling the Class of Athens 581, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 68. Dionysos, Hermes, satyrs and maenads dancing (ABV 438.3, 506.2; BAPD 330015)

E22. London 1952.2-4.3, Dionysus, bf lekythos by the Kalinderu Group, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 110. Dionysos and women seated (ABV 503.9; BAPD 305461)

E23. Copenhagen 7605, bf lekythos of the Little-Lion Class, from Rhodes. Dionysos seated, satyrs (Para 252; BAPD 361464)

E24. London 1864, 1007.178, bf lekythos of the Little-Lion Class, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 211. Satyrs with deer (ABV 513.23; BAPD 330592)

E25. Rhodes 12980, bf oinochoe by the Athena Painter, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 110. Maenad riding bull (ABV 527.22; BAPD 330811)

E26. London B516, bf oinochoe by the Athena Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 26. Satyr seated on rock (ABV 525.5; BAPD 330785)

E27. London B624, bf on wg oinochoe by the Group of the Athena Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 59, Dionysos seated (ABV 531.11; BAPD 330889)

E28. London B503, bf oinochoe by the Athena Painter, from Camiros. Maenad in a grotto, between boars (ABV 527.20; BAPD 330809)

E29. London B626, bf on wg oinochoe by the Athena Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 215. Satyrs carrying peltae and spears, dancing (ABV 531.4; BAPD 330882)

E30. Rhodes 12241, bf oinochoe of the Class of Red-Bodied Oinochoai III, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 18. Satyr and maenad (ABV 439.2; BAPD 330031)

E31. Rhodes 13232, bf oinochoe of the Class of Red-Bodied Oinochoai III, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 168. Dionysos seated, satyr (ABV 440.5; BAPD 330034)

E32. London B517, bf oinochoe of the Class of London B495, from Camiros, Fikellura, gr. 84. Satyr and maenad (BAPD 330014)

E33. London 1864, 1007.1686 (B446), bf cup C, by the Theseus Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 181. I: satyr on deer. A: Dionysos and Herakles reclining (ABV 520.32; BAPD 330714)

E34. London 1864, 1007.241, bf oinochoe of the Class of Vatican G49, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 88. Dionysos and Ariadne seated (ABV 526.6, 555.428; BAPD 330786)

E35. London B511, Dionysus, bf oinochoe by the P. of Vatican G49, from Camiros, Dionysos reclining, maenad dancing, chariot (ABV 526.6; BAPD 305604)

E36. Rhodes 12390, Satyr and Maenad, bf oinochoe, near the P. of Vatican G49, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 43. Satyr dancing, maenad (ABV 537.5; BAPD 305653)

E37. Rhodes 13084, bf olpe near the P. of Vatican G49, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 131. Satyr (Lemos 2007: 99–100, pl. 72.3–4 [correct attribution to find spot]; BAPD 9029916 [not from Ialysos, as stated there])

E38. Rhodes 13354, bf olpe near the P. of Vatican G49, from Camiros, Makri Langoni enchytrismos 172. Dionysos and Ariadne seated (BAPD 9029917)

E39. Rhodes: 13353, bf olpe near the P. of Vatican G49, from Camiros, Makri Langoni, enchytrismos 172. Dionysos riding mule (BAPD 9029918).
E40. Rhodes 11884, bf olpe of the Class of Vatican G50, from Ialysos, t. 454. Dionysos seated between maenads dancing (Para 190.1; BAPD 351388).
E41. London 1864, 1007.229, bf chous of the Class of Vatican G50, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 61. Satyr and maenad (ABV 439.6; BAPD 330023)
E42. London 1864, 1007.252, bf chous by the P. of Vatican G50, from Camiros, Dionysos and maenad (ABV 439.2; BAPD 330019)
E43. Rhodes 13349, bf oinochoe by the P. of Wurzburg 351, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 212. Dionysos and satyr (ABV 437.4; BAPD 330003)
E44. London 1864, 1007.181, bf oinochoe, from Camiros, Fikellura, gr. 77. Satyr dancing[83]
E45. London B440, bf cup B by the Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 143. I: maenad. A/B: Dionysos seated with maenads (ABV 561.532; BAPD 331626)
E46. London 1864, 1007.209, bf hydria by the Haimon Group, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 235. Maenad and satyr (Para 288.1; BAPD 352096)
E47. Rhodes 12384, Dionysus, bf lekythos in the manner of the Haimon Painter, Class of Athens 581 II, from Camiros, Makri Langoni enchytrismos 41. Dionysos seated between satyrs (BAPD 9029927)
E48. Berlin 3356, bf lekythos akin to the Haimon Group, from Rhodes. 'Lenaia' (Para 281; BAPD 351952)
E49. Rhodes 12387, bf oinochoe in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 42. Dionysos reclining, woman seated on stool (ABV 555.432; BAPD 331525)
E50. London 1864, 1007.1695, bf cup in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 250. I: Dionysos. A/B: Ariadne mounting chariot (ABV 563.562; BAPD 331658)
E51. London 1864, 1007.2026, bf cup, Haimon Group, from Camiros, Kenchraki t. 3 I: satyr[84]
E52. Rhodes 11811, bf cup-skyphos by the Haimon Group, from Ialysos, Drakidis plot t. 430. A/B: maenads (ABV 568.654; BAPD 330922)
E53. Louvre AM1789, bf cup in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Rhodes. A/B: Ariadne mounting chariot, Dionysos, satyrs (ABV 562.561; BAPD 331657)
E54. London B448, bf cup in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 141. I: satyr (ABV 560.519; BAPD 331615)
E55. London B447, bf cup in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 243. I: satyr (ABV 560.520; BAPD 331616)
E56. London 1864, 1007.289, Satyr and Maenad, bf cup, Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura, t. 254. I: maenad. A/B: satyr and maenads dancing and riding mules (ABV 562.549; BAPD 331645)
E57. London: 1864, 1007.295, bf cup in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 114. A/B: Ariadne mounting chariot (ABV 563.564; BAPD 331660)
E58. London 1864, 1007.290, bf cup in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Camiros. I: satyr. A/B: Ariadne mounting chariot (ABV 563.565; BAPD 331661)
E59. London 1864, 1007.301, bf cup, Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 250 A/B: Godess (Ariadne?) mounting chariot (BAPD 331663)
E60. London B444, bf cup B, in the manner of the Haimon Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 127. I: woman (maenad?) dancing with krotala (ABV 561.531; BAPD 331625)
E61. London 1864.1007.210, bf hydria by the Half-Palmettes Painter, from Camiros, FIkellura t. 60. Chariot, satyr and maenad (BAPD 11796)
E62. London 1864.10-7. 1715, bf hydria by the Half-Palmettes Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 36. Maenad running before an altar in front of a building (BAPD 11806)
E63. London 64.10-7.285, bf hydria by the Brno Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 111. Woman with thyrsus and youth (Para 288.2; BAPD 352097)
E64. London 64.10-7.284, Maenad, bf hydria by the Brno Painter, from Camiros, t. 99. Forepart of chariot and maenad (Para 289.9; BAPD 352100)
E65. London 1864, 1007.1705, bf cup-skyphos by the Lancut Group, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 55. A/B: Dionysos seated, satyr with vines (ABV 577.36; BAPD 331065)
E66. Rhodes, unn. bf skyphos by the Lancut Group, from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 4. A/B: satyr running (Laurenzi 1936: 100, fig. 87; ABV 581.10; BAPD 331135)
E67. London 1952, 0204.19, bf on wg skyphos by the Lindos Group, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 87. A/B: maenad (ABV 583; BAPD 331182)
E68. Rhodes 12899, bf on wg skyphos fr. by the Lindos Group, from Camiros. Satyr (ABV 582.18; BAPD 331162)
E69. Rhodes 12471, bf skyphos by the CHC Group, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 55.A, between eyes: Dionysos seated between satyrs and maenads (ABV 620.87; BAPD 306299)
E70. London B371, bf skyphos, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 39. A/B: Dionysos seated (Walters 1893: 208)[85]
E71. London 1864, 1007.1522, bf skyphos from Rhodes, Fikellura, gr. 8. Dionysos seated between satyrs and maenads dancing[86]

[83] <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=429839&partId=1&searchText=Fikellura+grave+77&page=1> (last accessed 15/10/2018).
[84] <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?searchText= 1864,1007.2026&ILINK|34484,|assetId= 1613156139&objectId=429993&partId= 1)> (last accessed 15/10/2018).
[85] <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=430096&partId=1&searchText= B371&page=1> (last accessed 15/10/2018).
[86] <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=463904&partId=

E72. Berlin F2061, bf cup by the Caylus Painter, from Camiros. I: satyr (ABV 644.178; BAPD 331946)
E73. London: B437, bf cup by the Caylus Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 26. A: Hermes and Dionysus seated, satyrs dancing and riding mules. B: Dionysos and Ariadne with satyrs dancing and riding mules (ABV 639.92; BAPD 331860)
E74. London B443, bf cup by the Caylus Painter, from Camiros, A/B: Dionysos and Ariadne seated, between satyrs and men (ABV 639.93; BAPD 331861)
E75. Rhodes 12891, bf cup by the Caylus Painter, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 61. I: satyr. A/B: Dionysos and Ariadne flanked by sphinxes and satyrs (ABV 640.107; BAPD 331875)
E76. Rhodes 13490, bf cup by the Caylus Painter, from Camiros, Laerminaci t. 2. A/B, between eyes: Dionysos and Ariadne seated. (ABV 712.47bis; BAPD 306943)
E77. Rhodes 6602, bf cup by the Caylus Painter, from Ialysos t. 137. I: satyr. A, B, between eyes: Herakles and the lion, between satyrs (ABV 635.46; BAPD 331814)
E78. Copenhagen 6063, bf cup by the Caylus Painter, from Vati. A/B: Dionysos reclining between eyes and satyrs (ABV 634.22; BAPD 331791)
E79. Colmar, bf cup by the Leafless Group, from Rhodes. I: satyr A/B: Dionysos reclining, between satyrs (BAPD 331789) Colmar (ABV 634.20; BAPD 331789)
E80. Lausanne 4286, bf cup by the Leafless Group, from Camiros. I: satyr. A/B, between eyes: Dionysos and Ariadne reclining between satyrs (ABV 636.58; BAPD 331826)
E81. London 1854, 0519.3, bf cup by the Leafless Group, from Phana. I: satyr. A/B, between eyes: satyrs and maenads (ABV 636.48; BAPD 331816)
E82. London 1864, 1007.1689, bf cup the Leafless Group, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 274.I: satyr. A/B: youths reclining, satyrs (ABV 638.83; BAPD 331851)
E83. London: 1864, 10-7.1694, bf cup by the Leafless Group, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 66. A: man seated on stool, holding horn (Dionysos?), satyrs (ABV 641.127; BAPD 331894)
E84. Rhodes 13322, bf cup by the Leafless Group, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 202. A/B: Dionysos reclining, satyrs and maenads (ABV 637.67; BAPD 331835)
E85. Rhodes 12893, bf cup by the Leafless Group, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 72. A: man reclining, satyrs (ABV 637.78; BAPD 331846)
E86. Rhodes 10803, bf cup by the Leafless Group, from Ialysos, near Cremaste t. 290 A/B, between eyes: Dionysos and satyr (ABV 635.33; BAPD 331802)
E87. Rhodes, unn., bf cup A by the Leafless Group, from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 73. A: satyr on mule, between eyes and satyrs (Laurenzi 1936: 189, fig. 180; ABV 634.25; BAPD 331794)
E88. London B435, bf cup A by the Leafless Group (close to the Essen Group), from Camiros. A/B, between eyes: maenad between two satyrs dancing (ABV 636.49; BAPD 331817)
E89. Rhodes 13208, bf cup, by the P. of Oxford 236 (Leafless Group), from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 162. A/B: man (Dionysos?) reclining, satyrs and maenads riding mules (ABV 637.66; BAPD 331834)
E90. Rhodes 12874, bf cup by the P. of Oxford 236 (Leafless Group) from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 61. A/B: man reclining, satyr, maenad riding mule (ABV 637.65; BAPD 331833)
E91. London 1864, 1007.288, bf cup by the P. of Oxford 236 (Leafless Group), from Camiros, Fikellura t. 161. I: satyr. A/B: satyrs and maenads (ABV 643.151; BAPD 331919)
E92. Oxford 1879.152, inv. 237, bf cup, by the P. of Oxford 236 (Leafless Group), from Camiros. I: satyr with vine. A/B: satyrs and maenads (ABV 643.150; BAPD 331918)
E93. Rhodes 12397, bf cup from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 46. I: satyr running. A: Hephaistos? Or Dionysos riding mule, between satyrs and sphinxes. B: satyr and maenad, between satyrs and sphinxes (Jacopi 1931: 232, no. 1, 246, fig. 266).
E94. London 1864.1007.298, bf cup by the Leafless Group from Camiros, Fikellura t. 285. A/B: Dionysos reclining, maenad seated, maenad on donkey, man running[87]
E95. Rhodes 15688, cup from Ialysos, sporadic find. Satyrs, maenads and Dionysos (Laurenzi 1936: 204, fig. 204)
E96. London 1864, 1007.297, bf cup, not attributed, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 92. A/B: Dionysos seated, satyrs[88]
E97. London B601.29, bf cup fr., from Camiros. Satyr and maenad (Walters 1893: 275)
E98. Nantes D974.1.16, bf cup from Rhodes. A/B: Dionysos seated, satyrs and maenads (BAPD 28936)
E99. Sarajevo 654, Rf plastic rhyton in the form of a satyr riding an amphora, from Camiros. Akin to the Syriskos Painter[89] (BAPD 8611)
E100. Rhodes 15434, rf psykter, not attributed, from Ialysos, Marmaro t. 13. A: Dionysos and maenad. B: satyr piping and maenad dancing, panther (Laurenzi 1936: 127–130)

F: 475–450 BC

F1. London E371, rf pelike by Hermonax, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 185. A: Dionysos running. B: maenad. (ARV² 486.44; BAPD 205427)

1&searchText=1864%2c1007.1522&page=1> (last accessed 15/10/2018).

[87] <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=459235&partId=1&searchText= 1864,1007.298&page=1> (last accessed 15/10/2018).
[88] <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=429970&partId=1&searchText=Fikellura+grave+92&page=1> (last accessed 15/10/2018).
[89] Beazley 1929: 48 and 56.

F2. Rhodes 13301, rf column-krater by the Cleveland Painter, from Camiros, Makri Langoni t. 189. A: Dionysos between two satyrs (one carrying an amphora). B: two satyrs pursuing a maenad (ARV² 516.3; BAPD 205790)
F3. London E557, rf olpe (oinochoe 5A) by the Syracuse Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 189. Dionysos (ARV² 520.45; BAPD 205851)
F4. London E344, rf neck-amphora (doubleen) by the Orchard Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 212. A: Dionysos (ARV² 525.42; BAPD 205926)
F5. Pregny, rf pelike by the Alkimachos Painter, from Rhodes. B: draped satyr and youth (ARV² 531.34; BAPD 206010)
F6. London E507, rf bell krater by the Alkimachos Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 121A: Dionysos between two maenads. B: satyr chasing two maenads (ARV² 535.5; BAPD 206063)
Athens A90, rf krater fr. by the Oionokles Painter, from Camiros. Satyr or ithyphallic man (BAPD 21058)
F7. London E246, rf hydria from Camiros, Fikellura t. 43. Dionysos with Thracians devouring a human (BAPD 9981)
F8. London E368, rf. pelike from Camiros, Fikellura t. 56. Satyr attacking a maenad (Smith 1896: 242)
F9. Istanbul, fr, of donkey head rhyton by the Sotades Painter, from Lindos, sanctuary of Athena. Satyr and maenad (ARV² 767.15; BAPD 209494)
F10. Houston 34.135, rf cup by the P. of Munich 2676, from Rhodes. I: maenad running to a grotto or rock (ARV² 394.7; BAPD 204257)
F11. London 1864,1007.298, rf cup, not attributed, from Camiros, Dionysus.

G: 450–425 BC

G1. London E378 (inv. 1856,0902.9), rf pelike by the P. of Louvre Centauromachy, from Rhodes, Kalavarda.[90] A: satyr playing barbitos, maenad (ARV² 1092.82; BAPD 216024)
G2. Rhodes 14120, Satyr and Maenad, rf pelike, Louvre Centauromachy Painter, from Camiros, Fikellura (scavi Jacopi) t. 9 (ARV² 1092.81; BAPD 216023)
G3. London E359, rf pelike, from Camiros, Fikellura t. 116. Dionysos and maenad (Smith 1896: 238)
G4. London E369, pelike from Camiros, Fikellura t. 54. A: youth holding thyrsus, standing by a conical altar. B: woman with phiale (Smith 1896: 242)
G5. London E724 (1885,1213.25), rf askos, from Rhodes. A: satyr rushing forward. B: maenad running (Smith 1896: 356; BAPD 6087)
G6. London E532 (1882.0225.1), rf chous from Camiros. Satyr clad in himation and boy (BAPD 3405)

H : 425–400 BC

H1. London E530, rf chous from Camiros, Fikellura t. 179. Two boy satyrs; choes on the ground (BAPD 16402)

I: 4th century BC

I1. London F1, rf bell krater by the P. of London F1, from Siana. Dionysos and Ariadne seated, surrounded by the thiasos (ARV² 1421.1; BAPD 260033)
I2. London E424 (1862,0530.1), rf pelike by the Marsyas Painter, from Camiros, (ARV² 1475.4; BAPD 230422)
I3. London E250, rf hydria from Rhodes. Youth and Eros pursuing a maenad (BAPD 11849)
I4. Rhodes, rf krater fr., from Camiros, Galatomilos, sporadic. A: satyr and maenad seated Eros, hand (of Dionysos?) holding kantharos (Jacopi 1932–1933: 176, fig. 208).
I5. Berlin 2929, rf pelike from Siana. A: Dionysos and Ariadne seated on couch, with Eros, satyr and maenad (BAPD 9033662)
I6. Rhodes P2155, rf pelike from the necropolis of the city of Rhodes. A: satyr and maenad. Unpublished (Bairami 2004: 209, n. 103)
I7. Rhodes Π690, rf bell-krater by the Filottrano Painter, from the necropolis of the city of Rhodes. A: satyr and two maenads. (Konstantinopoulos 1970: 459, pl. 464a. Bairami 2004: 212, n. 111)
I8. Rhodes Π2719, rf bell-krater by the Filottrano Painter, from the necropolis of the city of Rhodes. A: Dionysos and Ariadne (Doumas 1980: 975, pl. 737a–b. Bairami 2004: 212, n. 111)
I9. Rhodes, rf bell-krater by the L.C. Group. From the necropolis of the city of Rhodes. Satyrs and maenads. Unpublished (Bairami 2004: 212, n. 112)

J. Vases from the rest of the Dodecanese[91]

J1. Karpathos, bf band-cup from Aperi. Satyr and maenad dancing (Patsiada 2006: 75, no. 9. pl. 19)
J2. Florence 85879 (141878), bf lekythos of the Class of Athens 581 II from Chalki. Dionysos and Ariadne riding mules, satyrs (Iozzo 2019: 244–245, figs. 5–6)
J3. Rhodes 13876, janiform head kantharos by the Eretria Painter, from Chalki, (BAPD 216976)
J4. London F4, from Telos, rf bell-krater by the Telos Painter. A: Dionysos seated, between satyrs and maenads (ARV² 1425.1; BAPD 260061)
J5. London F7, from Telos, rf bell-krater by the Filottrano Painter. A: Dionysos reclining, with Ariadne, a maenad and satyrs (ARV² 1453.6; Para 490; BAPD 218229)
J6. London F5, rf bell-krater from Telos, near the Filottrano Painter. A: maenads and a young satyr in procession (ARV² 1455.3, 1694; BAPD 218261)
J7. Rhodes 13876, Satyr, rf figure vase kantharos, Eretria Painter, from Chalki, (BAPD 216976)
J8. Tubingen S101345, rf pelike by the Flying-Angel Painter, from Chalki. A: satyr with wineskin. B: satyr with thyrsus, balancing a skyphos on his foot (ARV² 280.24; BAPD 202530)

[90] <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=460791&partId=1&searchText=E378&page=1> (last accessed 14/06/2021).

[91] As mentioned by Iozzo 2019: 245, n. 22, the provenance 'Chalki' for the pelike Tubingen S101345 by the Flying Angel Painter (ARV² 280.24; BAPD 202530), is incorrect.

Abbreviations

ABV: Beazley, J.D. 1956. *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ARV²: Beazley, J.D. 1963. *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters* (2nd edn.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BAPD: Beazley Archive Pottery Database.

IG = Fraenkel, M. 1895–. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Para: Beazley, J.D. 1971. *Paralipomena. Additions to Attic black-figure vase-painters and to Attic red-figure vase-painters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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De natura δεκάτης (or -ας)

Alan W. Johnston

Abstract

The use of *dekate/a* in dedications is reviewed in the light of the peculiarly Ialysian usage of *mnamosynon dekatas* on offerings, ceramic, stone and metal, of mostly the 5th century BC. It seems inevitable that the inscribed object was not, or was not always the whole of the dedication, but a token of it.

Key words: Dedication, *dekate*, Ialysos, Athena

In this note I discuss a dedicatory formula known only, I believe, from the sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos, whose rich material has been usefully outlined by Marina Martelli (2003). My observations are based on what is said in that publication and the objects on display in the Archaeological Museum.[1]

The formula in question is μναμόσυνον δεκάτας, which appears in at least four graffiti on pots (two cups, an amphora and a krater), mostly Attic, of the late 6th or 5th century BC, a bronze instrument and on the rim of one marble louterion; whatever closer figures and dating may emerge from the final publication it is clearly a phrase used repeatedly and over some length of time.[2] It can be translated into English as, approximately, 'record of a dedicated tithe'.

Related dedicatory formulae have been of course collected by Lazzarini in her 1977 volume,[3] when she may have had no knowledge of the Ialysos finds, and more recently by Patera[4] who does not mention them; Jim,[5] has a useful review. They and others have pondered on the precision of usage of the term δεκάτα, which in the Archaic period at least has a fairly broad geographical range, far broader than *aparche* or its cognate *apargma*, both also found in the Ialysos corpus. μναμόσυνον is a reflection of the usage of *mnemosyne* in a few late archaic dedicatory texts designed to perpetuate the memory, as used a little later by Herodotus (*I* 185) for *mnemsynon* itself.

The combination of these two words is therefore of high interest. The dedicated objects are clearly stating that they are *not* (the) *dekata*, but a form of aide-memoire with respect to it. Among the questions that this raises are:

- Was this a situation restricted to this site, on Rhodes or elsewhere?
- How do other dedications from the site compare?
- Were the objects from the site which are noted simply as *dekata* similarly thought of as 'tokens', or as the 'actual' tenth?
- Is the apparent value of the dedication of relevance to the usage?

The use of the phrase certainly seems restricted to the site. The other main sanctuaries on the island do not present examples, even if the deity is also Athena, though the extent of the finds from Kamiros is perhaps statistically weak.

The material is not as yet fully published and any hypothesis regarding the uses of the phrase must remain just that. The example of the phrase on the louterion (n. 2) is balanced by a second, limestone, louterion base with 'plain' *dekatan*.[6]

The use of *dekata* by itself most probably originated in a context where its numerical significance was evident, the tenth of something of assessable value. But that could be many things; Lazzarini for example sees in it the assessment of agricultural produce. Our preserved epigraphic evidence says little about the gain, profit, success or achievement that prompted the dedication of a *dekata* but there is enough to show its wide range. While it would have been difficult to quantify a military victory or recovery from illness, spoils of war and doctor's fees could have been, and indeed the spoils of war feature significantly in the preserved record.

The numerical aspect is clearly at work in the change of mind of a dedicator at Olbia Pontica who changed

[1] I use the Doric form *dekata* in all general remarks since this is a Rhodian publication.

[2] Pugliese Carratelli (2003) publishes the bronze instrument with the formula, and part of such a text is preserved,]*atasmn*[, on a fragment of a marble louterion on display in the museum.

[3] Lazzarini 1977: 91–93, with catalogue entries.

[4] Patera 2012: 23–27.

[5] Jim 2014: 94 and 134.

[6] *LSAG* 475, 12a; *SEG* 64 (2014): 714.

his *dekate* to *eikosth*, *c.* 525 BC,[7] no doubt with the rates of local taxes in mind. One can also point to the use in Boeotia of *obelos* to indicate a dedicated object other than a spit or any monetary equivalent,[8] possibly even suggesting that a proper Boeotian dedication should be one sixth of the value of the proceeds for which thanks was being given. The duodecimal system prevails in Greek weight and monetary systems, not the decimal of *dekata.*

Our earliest use of the term *dekata* is intriguingly also Boeotian, in the text cut on Mantiklos' bronze statuette dedicated to Apollo somewhere in the earlier 7th century BC. There is absolutely no indication of the circumstances involved, while debate continues regarding both the text and the object. Was the piece a stand-alone figurine, not modest but hardly luxurious, or part of a substantial tripod, as plausibly argued by Papalexandrou,[9] to match the mythological examples noted by Herodotos in the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo? However, I find it difficult to accept that a dedicatory text would have been cut on a relatively small part of such an object.

While these considerations take us some way from Ialysos, the dispute over the text cut by Mantiklos or his agent is of relevance. The two versions revolve around the context of *tas dekatas* at the start of the second hexameter; does 'this dekata' qualify the previous '*me*' – 'dedicated me, belonging to the dekata';[10] or can it belong with the noun that ends the text, *amoiwan*, – 'return for this dekata', with a delayed 'δε'? The former does allow some latitude in the interpretation of the statuette (or tripod) as *part* of a larger gift, while the latter is less open, though not wholly closed, to it. In sum, the possibilities range from the *dekata* being an offering that included a very large tripod to merely a single figurine; I return to this below.

On Rhodes, what does the addition of *mnamosunon* tell us about the dedicatory habit at Ialysos, and how does it impinge on our thinking regarding practices elsewhere? Martelli has only a brief comment on the formula ['*dekata*... frequentissimo e non di rado accompagnato dalla motivazione del 'ricordo' (*mnamosynon*)'], and Pugliese Carratelli (2003) merely refers to her text by way of commentary.[11]

The problem however arises when similar objects, in this case Attic pots, have different labels, *dekatan* and *dekatas mnamosunon*. It is surely impossible in the latter case to regard the inscribed object as the *dekata* itself; it is some form of surrogate or token.[12] The former appears to state, rightly or wrongly, that the object *is* the *dekata.* It should be stressed here that the *dekata* formula is infrequent on pottery, with most comparanda being found in Cyrenaica, and one set of pieces does highlight this problem, the dedications with *dekata* to Apollo at Cyrene,[13] many of much the same period as the Ialysos material; they are mostly drinking cups, in contrast perhaps to the wider range of shapes in the Ialysos display in the museum; Rhodian colonists may well have been involved in the cult at Cyrene.[14] It is hard to believe that the 'earnings' of which a 'tithe' was offered at Cyrene were consistently less than (some of) those of the Ialysians. Yet ten of the Cyrene pieces use the nominative *dekata*, only three the accusative; it is difficult to see the nominative referring to anything other than the object itself – i.e. '*dekata emi*'. The answer to the puzzle is unclear; were some Ialysians being truthful about the nature of their offerings, while at Cyrene a 'shorthand' way of describing the whole offering, whatever it may have been, by means of a part was acceptable (despite the problem of the nominative)? If so, what of the gods' view of such bending of the rules? To add complexity, the Ialysos corpus itself includes pieces with only *dekatan*,[15] which seem to be used in much the same way as those with the longer formula. Should we therefore assume that '*dekatan*' denotes 'a tithe', implying that the inscribed object was merely part of it, or indeed no part at all, while the longer formula, for whatever reason, was used by those wanting to be slightly more specific? (see Table 1).

Mantiklos' dedication presents the earliest example of the partitive usage of *dekata*,[16] indeed a very early

[7] Lazzarini (1977: 93) discusses the piece merely as *eikoste*, though Patera (2012: 25, no. 70) includes the correction.

[8] Lazzarini 1979 and 1982, revising Ducat's (1971: 193–196) interpretation of the text on the base of a bronze statuette, *c.* 550 BC from the Ptoion sanctuary, though her revised reading, irrelevant to the present context, replaces one unattested personal name with another. The comparison of decimal and duodecimal systems is a large topic, but needs to be at least mentioned in the present context.

[9] Papalexandrou 2005: 84–86.

[10] Surely not the plural, 'these *dekatas*', qualifying the singular 'me'. Lazzarini (1977: 92) agrees, preferring this option, and Day (2010: 36, no. 47, in a summary of the debate) notes that the genitive allows for the statuette (or tripod?) being only part of the *dekata.*

[11] Keesling 2003: 7.

[12] While many of the pots concerned are relatively small, one is an amphora, another, at least, a krater, therefore large 'tokens', while the bronze handle of the tool published by Carratelli is 15 cm long and the marble louterion belongs to another league.

[13] Maffre 2007.

[14] There are two further pieces from Cyrenaica, Boardman and Hayes (1973: 85, 2187 and F173), both Attic black-glazed pieces; while the material from the Apollo temple at Cyrene is fairly uniform in its phrasing, that from Tocra, despite the few numbers, is much more varied, with *charisterion*, *hiera*, as well as both *ta*]*n dek*[*atan* and *t*]*as dekatas*, a situation that reflects the range of usage at Ialysos.

[15] As noted by Martelli; *dekatas* also appears, probably genitival, as well as the abbreviation *deka*, which is found at Cyrene and most likely on two locally made jugs from Naukratis (Johnston 2019: 110–111; Schlotzhauer 2012: 169–172). I excluded the notion that the abbreviation was used to avoid revealing the writer's Doric origin, but could it have been a way of avoiding an ambiguity regarding the precise nature of an inscribed object – all or part of the offering? At least the inscriber felt no compulsion to specify whether the marked offering was the whole or part by adding the termination of the word.

[16] Two later Boeotian uses of the genitive are noted by Jim (2014: 47). Her use of 'tokens' on p. 94 echoes my thoughts here, but does not address the particular issue which I raise. A plausible use of *δεκάτης* on Naxos is noted by Matthaiou 2013: 71–7 2; *SEG* 64 (2014), 751.

	Ialysos	Cyrene	Tocra	Naukratis
mnamosunon dekatas	x			
dekatas	x		x	
dekatan	x	x	x	
dekata		x		
deka	x	x		x

Table 1. Use of the relevant formulae on pottery.

one; what is more, the use of the definite article there may preclude the interpretation just proposed: taken as deictic, 'this dedication', it cannot refer to another object, while the less likely possessive, 'his tithe' or strengthening, 'the well-known tithe', remain perhaps just plausible. To suggest one possible explanation, I note that at Cyrene in the early Hellenistic cathartic law, it is a required sacrifice which is described as the *dekata*, to be made in front of the altar –*probomion*;[17] could the dedicated pots be a mark or token of such an act, and to what geographical or chronological extent?[18] One cannot deny that dedications to the gods could be slight, even miniature 'tokens',[19] but we remain stuck with the discrepancy of the two usages at Ialysos, especially with respect to the louteria. One suspects that a) verbal usage was to some extent fluid and b) overall the *dekata* noted on these vessels at Ialysos was not the inscribed object, or at least that object was only part of the offering presented to the deity, whatever the case with the use of the term on much richer objects in other parts of the Greek world.

Acknowledgments

I thank Manolis Stefanakis for accepting this piece after I was unable to attend the conference. It also marks approximately the fiftieth anniversary of my initial request to study the material from the excavations of 1923–1926.

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[17] Dobias-Lalou 2017: 162–163.

[18] In this respect the phrase *δεκάτην ἀποθύειν* discussed by Patera (2012: 25–26) is of interest, indicating either that a *dekata* can be a blood sacrifice or that *θύω* can be very loosely used.

[19] See recently Salapata 2018 and Barfoed 2018.

The sanctuaries and cults of Demeter on Rhodes

Aynur-Michèle-Sara Karatas

Abstract

The cult of Demeter was one of the major cults of Rhodes. The first month of Rhodes was named after the Thesmophoria, which were among the most widespread festivals of Demeter celebrated all over the Greek cities. Some of the earliest archaeological evidence for the cult of Demeter on Rhodes dates to the Archaic period. Two of her sanctuaries were unearthed at Rhodes town and Lindos. Numerous inscriptions and archaeological material from the sanctuaries of Demeter are valuable sources of information about the features of the cult of Demeter and Kore, their rituals, and their cultic links to the Dodecanese and Caria.

Key words: Demeter, Kore, Thesmophoria, month of Thesmophorios, rituals, clay figurines, Caria

Introduction

Rhodes was one of the most important Doric islands in the Greek East.[1] Its leading cities Lindos, Kamiros, and Ialysos were members of the so-called Doric Hexapolis.[2] Between the 5th and 1st centuries BC, the southern coast of Caria was part of the Rhodian Peraia. The political and cultural connections between Rhodes, the Dodecanese, and Caria are also reflected in the features of the cult and sanctuaries of Demeter (Figure 1). Epigraphic and archaeological sources from Lindos, Kamiros, and Rhodes town witness the cult of Demeter, Kore, and Plouton.[3]

The cult of Demeter, a goddess of agricultural and human fertility, was one of the most significant cults of Rhodes. Numerous pottery stamps on amphoras from Rhodes dating from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD indicate that they were manufactured in the month of Thesmophorios.[4] The city states in ancient Greece differed from city to city. The name of each month was derived from the main festival that was celebrated in this month. The month of Thesmophorios (September/October) on Rhodes, indicates that the main festival of this month was the Thesmophoria, a festival celebrated in honour of Demeter and Kore, and aimed at promoting human and agricultural fertility. In the Greek East, the month of Thesmophorios is attested by epigraphic sources for Skepsis (*IMT Skam/NebTaeler* 380), Bargylia (*SEG* 45, 1508), Amyzon (*McCabe, Amyzon* 2), Lagina (*I.Stratonikeia* 545), and Termessos (*TAM* III, 1 263). Apart from Skepsis, the other cities are located in Caria. The month of Thesmophorios is also attested for, predominantly, Dorian Crete[5] and Western Greece,[6] which were dominated by Doric culture. The epigraphic sources from Crete and Western Greece refer to pottery stamps on amphoras, which were probably imported from Rhodes. The Thesmophoria were linked to the epithet Thesmophoros. It is interesting to note that the epithet Thesmophoros is not attested in the Greek East for Caria and the Dodecanese, but for Mysia and Ionia.[7]

[1] The term, 'Greek East' refers to western Asia Minor and the islands off the western coast.

[2] Herodotus 1.144.1. The members of the Doric Hexapolis were Lindos, Kamiros, Ialysos, Cos, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus.

[3] All translations are the present author's unless otherwise indicated.

[4] Pottery stamps dating in the month of Thesmophorios from Rhodes town, Ialysos, Lindos, and Kamiros. Rhodes town: *IG* XII,1 3 (1st century BC-1st century AD); *IG* XII,1 1066 (2nd century BC); *IG* XII,1 1074; *IG* XII,1 1075; *IG* XII,1 1087,2; *IG* XII,1 1089; *IG* XII,1 1094,3; *IG* XII,1 1095,11; *IG* XII,1 1102; *IG* XII,1 1132,3; *IG* XII,1 1133,2; *IG* XII,1 1137,2; *IG* XII,1 1137,3; *IG* XII,1 1137,4; *IG* XII,1 1153,2; *IG* XII,1 1155; *IG* XII,1 1161,2; *IG* XII,1 1170,5; *IG* XII,1 1170,6; *IG* XII,1 1170,7; *IG* XII,1 1171,1; *IG* XII,1 1179; *IG* XII,1 1179,11; *IG* XII,1 1179,12; *IG* XII,1 1180,4; *IG* XII,1 1184; *IG* XII,1 1187; *IG* XII,1 1192,2; *IG* XII,1 1192,3; *IG* XII,1 1193,5; *IG* XII,1 1198; *IG* XII,1 1286; *IG* XII,1 1346; *IG* XII,1 1351; *IG* XII,1 1411,2; *Tituli Camirenses* 150 (3rd century BC); *MDAI(A)* 21 (1896): 57.22; *SEG* 3: 688.29; *SEG* 49: 1079 (4th century BC). Ialysos: *IG* XII,1 1133.2; *IG* XII,1 1179.11; *IG* XII,1 1192.3; *IG* XII,1 1286; *ASAtene* 4/5 (1921/22): 253, V (220-180 BCE); *ASAtene* 4/5 (1921/22): 254, XIII (220-180 BC); *ASAtene* 4/5 (1921/22): 256, XXI (220-180 BC); *ASAtene* 4/5 (1921/22): 257, XXV (190-180 BC); *ASAtene* 4/5 (1921/22): 258, XXIX (220-180 BC). Lindos: *IG* XII,1 1137.2; *IG* XII,1 1193.5. Kamiros: *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 109.6; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 109.8.2; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 109.10; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 109.11.2; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 114.54; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 116.86; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 117.123.2; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 120.162.3; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 120.162.4; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 120.163.1; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 121.194; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 123.235; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 123.236; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 123.237; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 123.238; *ASAtene* 2 (1916): 123.239; *IG* XII.1 1122, 1137.4, 1153.2, 1170.5, 1187, 1351, 1411.2; *Tituli Camirenses* 150 (3rd century BC). Pottery stamps on amphoras dating in the month of Thesmophorios from Rhodes were also found at Pergamon (Börker 1978).

[5] Epigraphic sources providing evidence for the month of Thesmophorios from Crete: Olous (*REA* 1942, 34; *Chaniotis, Verträge* 56, A), Lato (*IC* I xvi 3; *Chaniotis, Verträge* 56, B), and Phaistos (*IC* I xxiii, 30).

[6] Epigraphic sources providing evidence for the month of Thesmophorios from Western Greece: Taranto (*IG* XIV 2393, 11; *IG* XIV 2393, 97; *IG* XIV 2393, 146; *IG* XIV 2393, 147; *IG* XIV 2393, 217; *IG* XIV 2393, 231; *IG* XIV 2393, 364; *IG* XIV 2393, 397); Syracuse (*IG* XIV 2393, 22); Eryx (*IG* XIV 2393, 41; *IG* XIV 2393, 96; *IG* XIV 2393, 400; *IG* XIV 2393, 456; *IG* XIV 2393, 532; *IG* XIV 2393, 533); Akrai (*IG* XIV 2393, 75; *IG* XIV 2393, 115; *IG* XIV 2393, 276; *IG* XIV 2393, 403; *I.Akrai* 62.7, 15, 34, 55); Centuripe (*IG* XIV 2393, 133); Iaitas (*SEG* 29, 923,9; *SEG* 35, 1003, a); Lilybaion (*SEG* 37, 764(46); *SEG* 37, 764(53); *SEG* 37, 764(60); *SEG* 37, 764(63)).

[7] Pergamon (*IvP* II 315; *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910): 439,24; 449,28; *MDAI(A)* 35 (1912): 298,24 and 299,25); Kyme (*IK Kyme* 41); Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 655 and 727); Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 69 and 225); Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 213



Figure 1. Map of the Dodecanese and Caria. The cities where the sanctuaries of Demeter are attested by archaeological evidence are shown in upper case. City names written in lower case refer to cities where the cult of Demeter and Kore is only attested by epigraphic sources (map: the author).

Despite the clear evidence for the significance of the cult of Demeter on Rhodes, only two of her sanctuaries have so far been unearthed and only a few inscriptions were dedicated to Demeter and Kore. The cult of Demeter and Kore goes back to the Archaic period and is attested by archaeological evidence from the acropolis of Lindos, where they were presumably worshipped alongside Athena Lindia. The archaeological sources from Lindos date from the mid 6th to 4th centuries BC and those from Rhodes town to the 5th–3rd centuries BC.

The epigraphic sources date from the 4th century BC to 3rd/4th century AD. The inscriptions were dedicated by men and women to Demeter, Kore, and Plouton. Apart from three inscriptions,[8] Demeter and Kore are written in Doric dialect. Most of the inscriptions were dedicated by men, suggesting that the cult of Demeter was not a cult restricted to women. Inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic and following periods from the Greek East show that Demeter and Kore were also worshipped by men. As one of the major polis cults of Rhodes, the cult of Demeter was a focus of worship that affected the whole community. The same phenomena can be also observed at various major sanctuaries of Demeter, such as at Eleusis, Corinth, and Pergamon, where women, as well as men, were involved in the organisation of the festivals and made dedications to both goddesses.

The present contribution aims to analyse the epigraphic and archaeological sources on the cult of Demeter and Kore from Rhodes town, Lindos, and Kamiros, and to address questions associated with the features of the cult of Demeter in the Dodecanese and Caria. Due to the scope of this paper, not all aspects of the cult of Demeter and votives found at Lindos and Rhodes town can be discussed in detail.

Rhodes town

Rhodes town was founded in 408 BC by Lindos, Kamiros, and Ialysos. One part of the archaeological material from the sanctuary of Demeter dates to the 5th century BC, indicating that the cult of Demeter was one of the first cults established in the newly founded city. The sanctuary of Demeter is situated in the northern part of the town within the city walls (Figures 2–3).[9] Three

and 1236); Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 79, 80, and 81); Priene (*I.Priene* 196); Miletus (*I.Didyma* 496); Chios (*McCabe, Chios* 119).

[8] *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932): 210, 48; *IG* XII,1 780 and 781.

[9] The excavation report on the sanctuary of Demeter at Rhodes has not yet been published. The papers of Zervoudaki (1988) and Giannikouri (1999) describe partially the sanctuary and the votives.

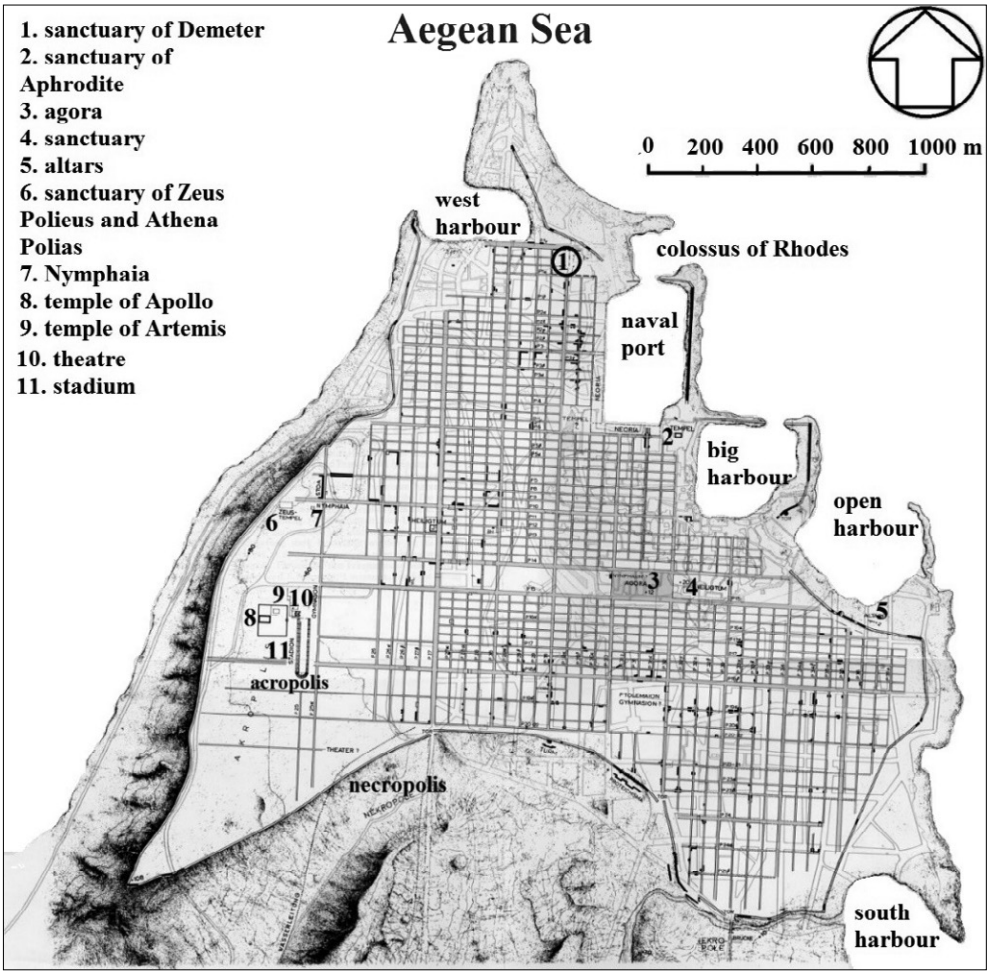


Figure 2. Plan of Rhodes town (after Schwandner 1986: fig. 16; edited by the author).

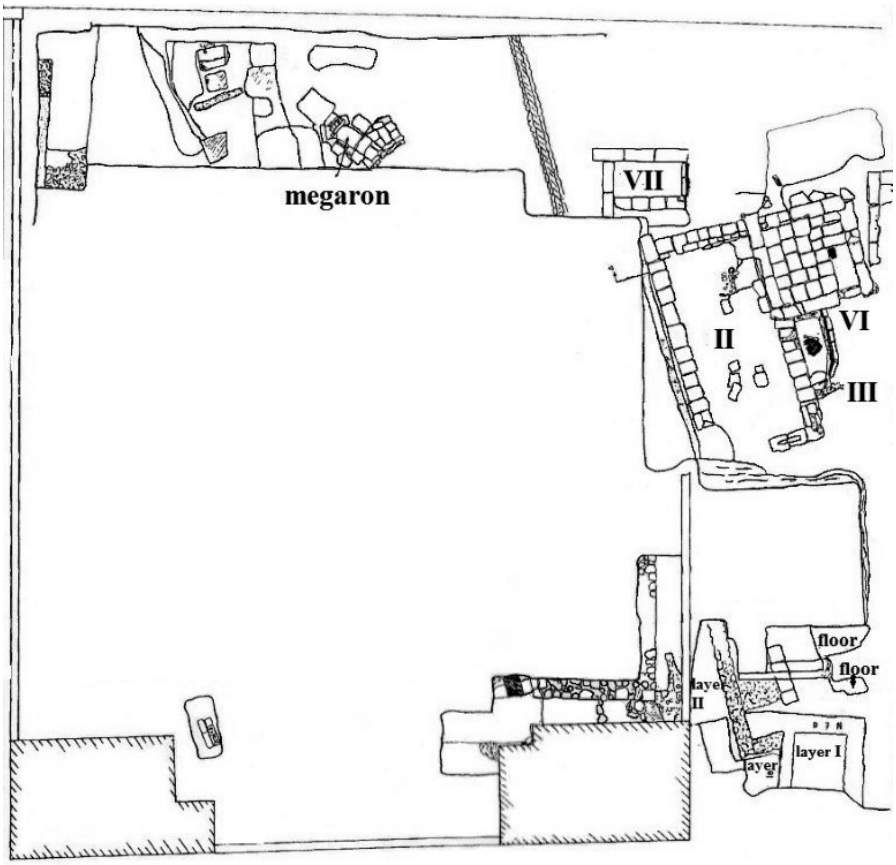


Figure 3. Sanctuary of Demeter, Rhodes town (after Giannikouri 1999: 64, fig. 1; edited by the author).

inscriptions dating to the 4th and 2nd centuries BC were dedicated by men to Damatar, Kora, and Plouton. Both goddesses were presumably worshipped together during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as the Thesmophoria were celebrated in honour of both goddesses. The epigraphic sources, as we will see, indicate that the mysteries were celebrated in honour of Kore and Plouton.

SEG 49: 1079 (4th century BC) is engraved on a bronze ladle dedicated to Damatar. The sanctuary, where it was found, was identified as the sanctuary of Demeter,[10] since the iconography of the votives found here is typical for the sanctuaries of Demeter in Caria and on the Doric islands off the western coast of Asia Minor. The bronze ladle was dedicated by a man named Chairion. The intention behind the dedication of a ladle is not obvious. Bronze ladles had a certain material value that was not significantly high. The bronze kitchen utensils found in various sanctuaries do not bear an inscription and were seldom dedicated at the sanctuaries of Demeter. The bronze ladle was presumably dedicated by Chairion in fulfilment of a vow.

Χαιρίων ... Δάματρι	Chairion ... to Damatar

IG XII,1 29 was dedicated to Damatar and Kora by the son of Aristomachos, whose name is missing, on behalf of his wife Mnasimbrote. This is the only inscription from Rhodes that was dedicated to Demeter and Kore.

[Μνασιμ]βρότη Δαμαγόρα	Mnasimbrote Damagora
[.....]δας Ἀριστομάχου	son of Aristomachos
[ὑπὲρ τᾶ]ς γυναικὸς	on behalf of his wife
Μνασιμβρότης	Mnasimbrote
[Δάματρ]ι καὶ Κόραι.	to Damatar and Kora

IG XII,1 141 (2nd century BC) a funerary inscription dedicated to a teacher mentions the mysteries of Plouton, Kora, Hermes, and torch-bearer Hecate.[11] We learn from the inscription that the teacher led the initiates. Presumably, the teacher had a cultic office and was in charge of the performance of the mysteries, which were open to women and men. This may explain why numerous inscriptions were dedicated by men. It is interesting that Demeter is not mentioned in this inscription. The reference to Plouton, Kore, Hermes and Hecate suggests that the mysteries mentioned here differ from the Eleusinian Mysteries. However, both mysteries promised a better afterlife for the initiates. Hecate, a goddess associated with the moon, magic, mysteries, underworld, fertility, and crossroads,[12] was closely linked to Demeter and Kore.[13] Hermes is also a deity linked to the underworld, fertility, and to the cult of Demeter and Kore.[14] From the 4th century BC onwards, Persephone and Hades were called in inscriptions Kore and Plouton. Kore and Plouton have positive meaning and are linked to positive aspects, whereas Persephone and Hades were associated with death and the underworld.

[γ]ράμματ᾽ ἐδίδαξεν ἔτεα πεν[τήκ]ον[θ᾽ ὅδε]
δύο τ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εὐσεβῶν [χ]ῶρός [σφ᾽ ἔχει].
Πλούτων γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Κόρη κα[τ]ώικισ[αν],
Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ δαιδοῦχος Ἑκάτη προσφ[ιλῆ]
[ἅ]πασιν εἶναι μυστικῶν τε [ἐ]πιστά̣[την]
ἔταξαν αὐτὸν πίστεως πά[σ]ης χά̣[ριν].
vacat
αὐτὸς ἐσελθὼν ξεῖνε σαφῶς μά̣θε [πόσσα μαθητῶν]
[π]λήθη τοὺς πολιοὺς στέψαν ἐμοὺ[ς] κ[ροτάφους].

He taught knowledge for fifty years
two more and he brought them in a nice part of the underworld
Plouton and Kore gave him dwelling
Hermes and the torch-bearer Hecate decided that he is pleasing to all
To be the leader of the initiates
Because of his belief.
vacat
If you are coming in, you foreigner, learn clearly how many pupils
crowned my grey forehead's sides

The acropolis of Rhodes town is situated to the south-west. The area, where the sanctuary of Demeter is located, has similarities with the location of the sanctuaries of Demeter at Cos, Chios, and Halicarnassus. Usually, the sanctuaries of Demeter are located on the slopes of hills. The sanctuaries of Demeter at Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Halicarnassus are situated not far from the shore in a plain. The shrine of Demeter in Rhodes town is the largest sanctuary of Demeter in the Greek East with a temenos that measures 100 x 100 m (10,000 m^2).[15] However, only 240 m^2 of the precinct have been excavated.[16] At its current state, the whole area is occupied by a modern building. Only the papers of Zervoudaki[17] and Giannikouri[18] provide a description of the sanctuary and the votives. Until present, the whole archaeological material from this site has not yet been published.

The sanctuary has several oikoi and a megaron. The oikos II is the largest oikos that was also used for the

[10] Giannikouri 1999: 65.
[11] von Gaertringen and Robert 1902: 140–142. For the link between Hecate, Persephone/Kore, Demeter, and the Eleusinian cult, see Kraus 1960: 79; Zografou 2010: 55–90.
[12] Hesiod, *Theogony* 410–452; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.192–197; *Orphic Hymn to Hecate*.
[13] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 25, 52, 59, 61, 438, 440.
[14] Hesiod, *Theogony* 444; *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusai* 295–300.
[15] Giannikouri 1999: 63–64, fig. 1; Zervoudaki 1988: 129.
[16] Zervoudaki 1988: 129.
[17] Zervoudaki 1988: 129–137.
[18] Giannikouri 1999: 63–72.

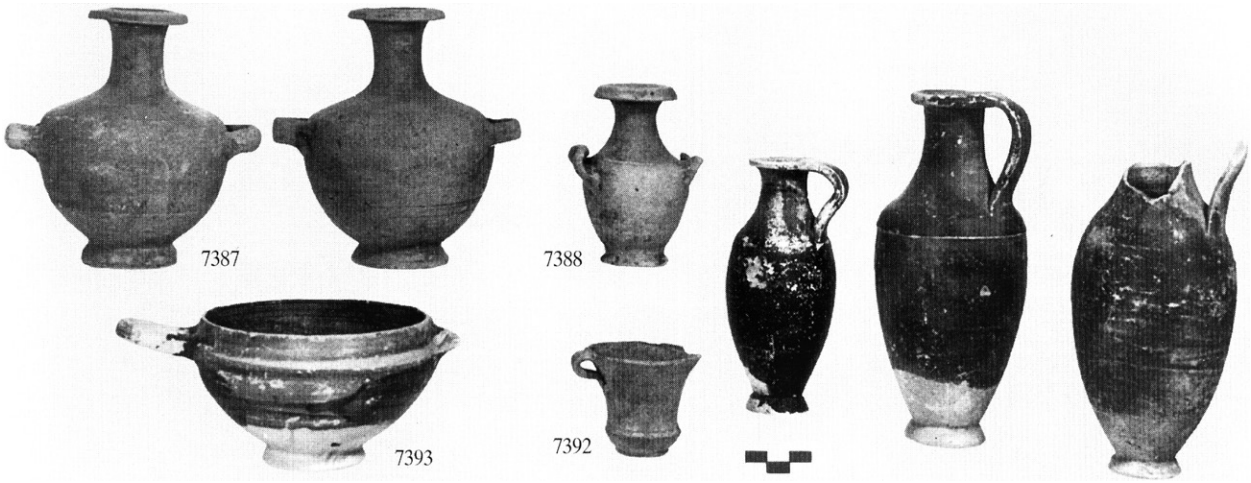


Figure 4. Miniature vessels from the Sanctuary of Demeter, Rhodes town (after Giannikouri 1999: pl. 19).

deposition of votives, which were deposited into a pit. Votive deposit pits at the sanctuaries of Demeter are usually situated in the precinct outside the oikoi. Votive deposit pits in oikoi are attested for some sanctuaries in Caria, north Greece, and Magna Graecia, such as at Amphipolis, Pella, Stageira, Iasos, and Agrigento.[19] Various miniature vessels and clay figurines were deposited in the oikos II: hydriai (late 5th–3rd centuries BC); black-glazed olpes (5th–4th centuries BC); black-glazed cotylai (late 4th century BC); kantharos; skyphos (late 4th century BC); krater (4th century BC); black-glazed oinochoai; black-glazed bottles with one or two handles; lekythos (Figure 4).[20] The vessels and figurines dating from the late 5th–3rd century BC were deposited in different layers, suggesting that the votives were collected and deposited together, as the layers do not show a chronological order. Vessels found at other sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East are usually not painted or black-glazed. Black-glazed vessels were also dedicated at the sanctuaries of Demeter on Humei Tepe at Miletos, which was partially influenced by Caria, and in Samos town.[21]

Miniature hydriai are attested at numerous sanctuaries of Demeter and were dedicated between the 6th–2nd centuries BC.[22] Clay figurines of hydrophoroi are known from the sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East, where miniature hydriai were also dedicated.[23] Clay figurines of hydrophoroi are among votives dedicated at the sanctuary of Demeter in Rhodes town. Miniature hydriai and clay figurines of hydrophoroi are more typical for the sanctuaries of Demeter in Doric cities. The iconography of the figurines of hydrophoroi from the sanctuary of Demeter at Rhodes town are similar to those from the sanctuaries of Demeter at Iasos and Kaunos. The figurines of hydrophoroi from Rhodes

[19] Amphipolis (Lazaridis 1997: 27); Pella (Baumer 2010: 136–137; Lilibaki-Akamati 1993; Lilibaki-Akamati 1996); Stageira (Sismanidis 1999: 472–474; Sismanidis 2003: 77–81); Iasos (Levi 1967/1968: 573); Agrigento, S. Anna (Hinz 1998: 72–74).

[20] Giannikouri 1999: 69–70.

[21] Miletus (Pfrommer 1983: 80); Samos (Archaeological Museum of Pythagorion).

[22] Miniature hydriai found at the sanctuaries of Demeter: Abdera (*BCH* 114, 1990: 800); Thasos (Grandjean *et al.* 2002: 528, fig. 10; Rolley 1965: 471–476); Amphipolis (Lazaridis 1997: 27); Dion (Pingiatoglou 2005: 90); Pella (Lilibaki-Akamati 1996: pl. 30); Proerna (Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 60–61); Eretria (Metzger 1985: 10–20); Eutresis (Goldman 1931: 262–263); Isthmia (Anderson-Stojanovic 1993: 261, 268, 270); Corinth (Bookidis *et al.* 1999: 14; Bookidis and Stroud 1987: 24–29; Bookidis and Stroud 1997: 395); Naxos (Simandoni-Bournia 2002: 405); Knossos (Coldstream 1973: 31, 36, 184); Kydonia (Archaeological Museum of Chania); Mytilene (Cronkite 1997: 51–52); Neandria (Filges and Matern 1996: 72); Priene (Rumscheid 2006: figs 390–391); Miletus (Held 1993: 371–373; Pfrommer 1983: 79–89); Kaunos (Bulba 2018b: 5, 14–16); Beregovoi (Zavoïkin and Zhuravlev 2013: 161–163); Apollonia Pontica (Damyanov 2016: 119, 125–127); Tocra (Boardman and Haynes 1966: 140–141, 147–143); Locri Epizephiri (Milanesio Macri 2010: 340–341); Herakleia Policoro (Czysz 1996: 164; Danninger 1996: 175–180); Eloro (Uhlenbrock 1988: 135); Agrigento (Hinz 1998: 71); Entella (Spatafora, Ruvituso, and Montali 2003: 1194); Bitalemi by Gela (de Miro 2000: 91; Hinz 1998: 62; Orlandini 2008: 173); Feudo Nobile (Hinz 1998: 94); Morgantina (Archaeological Museum of Aidone).

[23] Clay figurines of hydrophoroi found at the sanctuaries of Demeter: Thasos (Muller 1996: 486, fragments 444–447, 794–810); Egnatia (Winter 1903: 159, fig. 8); Pella (Lilibaki-Akamati 1996: 37–39); Dion (Pingiatoglou 1990: 207sq; Pingiatoglou 2010: 185); Ampelia (Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 78sqq); Pharsalus (Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 76); Proerna (Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 60–61); Tanagra (Winter 1903: 156, 158); Eutresis (Goldman 1931: 255, figs 314–316); Arsinoeia (Antonetti 1990: 274); Eretria (Metzter 1985: figs 59, 60); Athens (Winter 1903: 156–159); Eleusis (Winter 1903: 156–159); Pellene (Petropoulos 2010: 165–166, fig. 7); Agrinion (Herzog 1901: 136, n. 8); Corinth (Merker 2000: 3, 38–42, pls. 7, 8, 27); Hermione (Diehl 1964: 190); Tegea (Milchhoefer 1879: 171; Winter 1903: 157, figs 1, 2, 4. 5, 8); Kythnos (Mazarakis Ainian 2010: 31); Melos (Winter 1903: 158, fig. 1); Naxos (Matthaiou 1998: 421); Knossos (Higgins 1971: fig. 53; Higgins 1973: fig. 24, pls. 40–42); Kourion (Burn and Higgins 2001: no. 2901); Cyrene (<www.cyrenaica-terracottas.org> [last accessed 11/05/2021]), figs 73–929, 73–961, 74–66, 74–194, 74–346n); Nymphaion (Ohlerich 2009: 118, pl. 39, fig. 2); Pergamon (Töpperwein 1976: 149, fig. 19); Samos (Rumscheid 2006: 222, n. 1357; Tsakos and Viglaki-Sofianou 2012: 189); Priene (Rumscheid 2006: figs 142–145); Miletus (Müller-Wiener 1980: pl. 27; Schiering 1979: pl. 20); Halicarnassus (Higgins 1954: figs 354–356, 391–396, 398–419, 448–453, 499–505; Newton 1865: 71); Iasos (Levi 1967/1968: 575, fig. 44b); Theangela (Işık 1980: 25, figs 54–112); Kaunos (Bulba 2010: 654); Cnidus (Burn and Higgins 2001: figs 2513–2532); Chios (Graf 1985: 69; Stephanou 1958: 84, figs 1357, 1371); Cos (Diehl 1964: 191; Herzog 1901: 136); Rhodes town (Winter 1903: 156, fig. 5; Zervoudaki 1988, 129); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: nos 3003a–c, 3004–3008).



Figure 5. Megaron, Sanctuary of Demeter, Rhodos town (after Giannikouri 1999: pl. 17).

Hellenistic period, whereas those from the Doric cities Theangela, Iasos, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus date to the 5th–3rd centuries BC. The figurines of hydrophoroi represent cultic officials or worshippers who performed libations. In the Greek East, libations and the task of hydrophoros were apparently more important to the sanctuaries of Demeter in Doric and Aeolian cities than to those in Ionia.

The oikos III is a semi-circular structure that also has a votive deposit pit, which contains miniature hydriai and olpes dating to the 4th–3rd centuries BC, and the bones of two cows.[24] The vertebrae of one of the cows were not disarticulated. This is something unusual, as the bones were commonly buried disarticulated.

A stone-line pit (megaron) – 1.60 m x 0.70 m and 1.12–1.65 m deep – is situated in the north of the temenos (Figure 5).[25] Three stairs lead to a megaron that was not significantly deep; the stairs of the megaron indicate that the pit was not used as a votive deposit pit but for rituals. A similar stone-lined pit was also unearthed at the sanctuary of Demeter in Priene.[26]

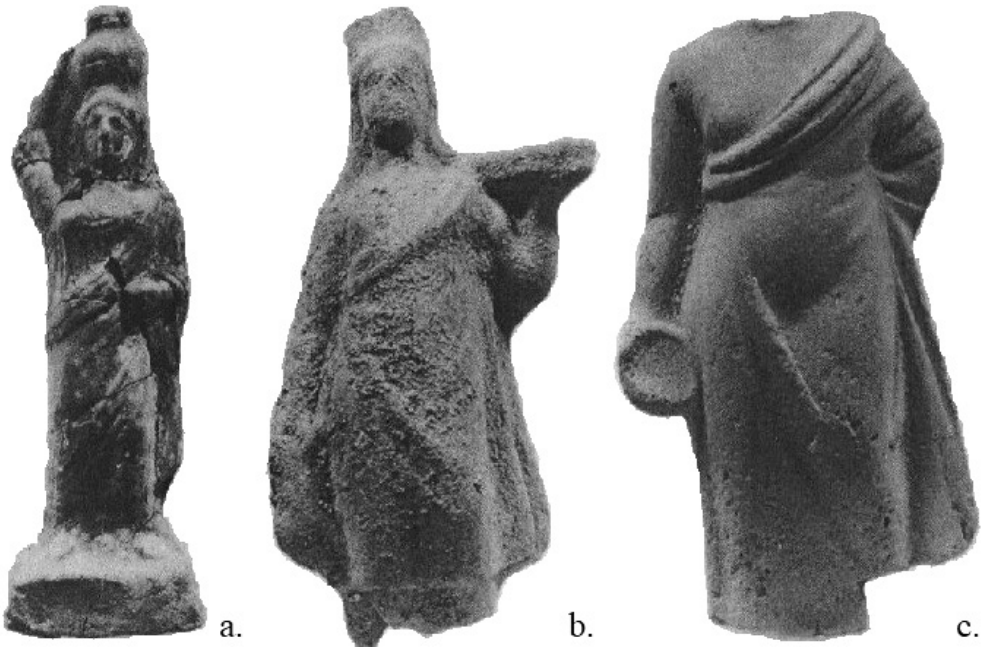


Figure 6. Clay figurines from the Sanctuary of Demeter, Rhodes town: a) hydrophoros; b) woman holding a piglet and a liknon; c) man holding a phiale (after Zervoudaki 1988: 132–136, figs. 3, 6, 8).

town are dressed in chiton and himation (Figure 6a). They hold with the right hand the hydria on the head and something – probably a piglet – with the left. The himation runs from the left shoulder to the right hip. The himation of the clay figurines of hydrophoroi from the sanctuaries of Demeter at Theangela, Iasos, and Miletus also runs from the left shoulder to the right hip. On the figurines from Priene, in contrast, it runs from the right shoulder to the left hip. The figurines of hydrophoroi were dedicated in the Greek East between the 5th–2nd centuries BC. The figurines from the Ionian cities Samos and Priene were dedicated during the

We learn from the scholia to Lucian's *Dialogue of the Courtesans* (6–7) that piglets were thrown into a chasm for the performance of the Thesmophoria. The pits at the sanctuaries of Demeter at Rhodes town and Priene were probably used for the Thesmophoria. Piglets were put into pits before the beginning of the Thesmophoria. On the last day of the Thesmophoria, the rotted remains were brought up and mixed with the

[24] Giannikouri 1999: 67; Zervoudaki 1988: 129.
[25] Giannikouri 1999: 65; Zervoudaki 1988: 129.
[26] Rumscheid 2006: 65, 132; Schipporeit 2013: 167; Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 154.

seed for the next harvest.[27] Fragments of bones were, however, not found in both pits (Priene and Rhodes town). If both pits were used for this purpose, all rotted remains of the piglets were collected. The sanctuaries of Demeter, where the Thesmophoria were celebrated, were called Thesmophorion.[28] Sanctuaries of Demeter with a megaron are considered to be Thesmophoria.[29] However, the Thesmophoria were not only celebrated at the sanctuaries of Demeter with a megaron. A natural chasm located outside the temenos could also be used for the ritual. The sanctuary of Demeter at Rhodes town, far from public and sacral buildings, is favourable for the Thesmophoria celebrated in seclusion.

The oikos VII located in the northern part of the temenos measures 2.50 m x 1.25 m and contains animal bones mixed with soil and charcoal.[30] It is not indicated whether the bones belong to pigs or to other animals. From the 5th century BC onwards, pigs and piglets were preferred animals sacrificed at the sanctuaries of Demeter.[31] Some animals were sacrificed and consumed, and some animals were burnt. The burnt offerings were generally performed in open-air. The bones with ashes were deposited afterwards in the oikos VII. Animal bones mixed with ashes are attested for several sanctuaries of Demeter.[32] It seems to be a custom at the sanctuary of Demeter in Rhodes town to deposit votives and bones into pits dug in oikoi. The oikos VII may also have functioned as a dining room; however, it is too small, offering space for only a few people.

At least 800 clay female figurines, male figurines, and figurines of animals dating from the 4th–3rd centuries BC were deposited into pits at the sanctuary of Demeter in Rhodes town.[33] The dedication of clay figurines began *c.* 100 years after the establishment of the cult of Demeter at Rhodes town in the 5th century BC. At Neandria, too, miniature vessels were dedicated during the 6th century BC, and clay figurines from the 5th century BC onwards.[34] A similar practice can also be observed at the sanctuary of Demeter in Kaunos, where lamps were dedicated in the 5th and following centuries BC, and clay figurines from the 4th century BC onwards.[35] At the beginning of the cult of Demeter at Rhodes town, miniature vessels and lamps were presumably the only votive offerings made to Demeter and Kore.

The female figurines include draped women, woman wearing a polos, hydrophoroi, female dancers, woman playing a tympanun, kourotrophos,[36] cistaphoros,[37] liknophoros,[38] piglet bearers,[39] torch-bearer, men, Aphrodite with Eros, crouched child, and animals (piglets, pigeons, and ram). The figurines of torch-bearer represent presumably Demeter, who was depicted on reliefs with one or two torches in the hand.[40] The torch is associated with Demeter's search

[27] Scholia to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 10–13.

[28] Epigraphic sources use the term Thesmophorion for the sanctuaries of Demeter at Demetrias [Polemon 1 (1929): 32, 420]; Athens (*IG* II^2 1177, 1184, 1363, 4752, 5132; *Agora* 16: 277; *SEG* 25: 168; *SEG* 35: 113; *SEG* 36: 206; *SEG* 42: 116); Piraeus (*IG* II^2 1177); Delos (*I.Delos* 290, 291, 316, 338, 461); Oxyrhyncha (Bernard 1975: 207); Limyra (*SEG* 61: 1236).

[29] Delos (Bruneau 1970: 276); Paros (Rolley 1965: 477); Priene (Schipporeit 2013: 151; Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 154); Neandria (Filges and Matern 1996: 43–86); Pergamon (Bohtz 1981: 56); Miletus (Müller-Wiener 1981: 99–100); Cnidus (*JRS* 1912, 32); Kaunos (Bulba and Doyran 2009: 7); Knossos (Coldstream 1973: 2); Cyrene (White 1984: 99); Corinth (Bookidis and Stroud 1997: 162); Eleusis (Clinton 1988: 72).

[30] Giannikouri 1999: 66–67; Zervoudaki 1988: 129.

[31] Allegro *et al.* 2008: 119, table 3; Columeau 1996: 790, fig. 9; Kozlowski 2003: fig. 1; Leguilloux 1999: figs 3, 4; Ruscillo 2013: 182–183, figs 1, 7.

[32] Eretria (Metzger 1985: 9, pl. 3); Corinth (Bookidis and Stroud 1987: 18; Bookidis and Stroud 1997: 74, 161, 241sqq); Neandria (Filges and Matern 1996: 71–72); Iasos (Levi 1969: 119); Cyrene (Luni 2005: 66; White 1985: 11); Locri Epizephiri (Milanesio Macri 2010: n. 39); Selinous (Hinz 1998: 145–147); Agrigento, santuario ctonio (Hinz 1998: 81sqq).

[33] Winter 1903: 93, figs 2, 3; Zervoudaki 1988: 129–136.

[34] Filges and Matern 1996: 45–70.

[35] Bulba 2010: 649–667.

[36] The figurines of kourotrophoi are attested for the following sanctuaries of Demeter: Priene (Rumscheid 2006: fig. 82); Samos (Tsakos and Viglaki-Sofianou 2012: 192); Halicarnassus (Higgins 1954: fig. 344); Theangela (Işık 1980: figs 35, 36, 185); Kaunos (Işık 2010: 89); Tegea (Louvre Museum, nr. MNB 1718); Knossos (Coldstream 1973: pl. 39, fig. 60); Bitalemi by Gela (Orlandini 2008: 174, fig. 69).

[37] Figurines of cistaphoroi are attested for the sanctuaries of Demeter at Priene (Rumscheid 2006: fig. 147); Halicarnassus (Newton 1865: 71); Cnidus (Newton 1865: 71); Mytilene (Cronkite 1997: 58); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: figs 3014–3016); Dion (Pingiatoglou 2010: 186); Corinth (Bookidis and Stroud 1987: 13; Merker 2000: 43); Gortyna (Allegro *et al.* 2008: 109, fig. 8); Knossos (Higgins 1973: pl. 34); Piazza della Vittoria at Syracuse (Archaeological Museum of Sycracuse); San Nicola di Albanella (Cipriani 1989: 147, pls. 15, 17, 18, 21, 23; Sfameni Gasparro 2009: figs 8.5–7).

[38] The figurines of liknophoroi and likna are attested for the sanctuaries of Demeter at Corinth (Brumfield 1997: 147); Athens (Thompson 1954: 96–97; Thompson 1987: 270); Dion (Archaeological Museum of Dion); Priene (Rumscheid 2006: figs 65–77); Iasos (Levi 1967/68: 578, fig. 48); Kaunos (Işık 2010: 89); Mytilene (Cronkite 1997: 61); Samos (Tsakos and Viglaki-Sofianou 2012: 191); Rhodes town (Zervoudaki 1988: fig. 6); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: nos 3034, 3023, 3027); Syracuse (Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi).

[39] Figurines of piglet-bearers are attested for the sanctuaries of Demeter at Thasos (Muller 1996: 487, fragments 1153–1156); Eutresis (Goldman 1931: figs 313, 314); Eleusis (Winter 1903: 92, figs 3, 4); Athens (Winter 1903: 93); Piraeus (Winter 1903: 92, fig. 5); Tanagra (Winter 1903: 92, fig. 1); Megara (Sguaitamatti, 1984: 49; Winter 1903: 92, fig. 2); Corinth (Merker 2000: 117–124, pls. 24, 25, 56, 65, C1, C14, C47, H1, H2, H5–7, H9–12, H14– 18, H395, H397, H398; I1, I6, I7, I8, I29, I59); Tegea (Milchhoefer 1879: 171; Winter 1903: 92, figs 6, 7); Gortyna (Allegro *et al.* 2008: 109, figs 9–13); Halicarnassus (Bonfante 1989: 544; Bonfante 1997: 187; Higgins 1954: figs 385, 386, 454–457; Higgins 1967: 67, fig. 19); Iasos (Levi 1967/1968: fig. 13); Thenagela (Işık 1980: figs 70, 91, 183a, 211, 212); Kaunos (Bulba 2010: 651); Rhodes town (Winter 1903: 93, figs 2, 3; Zervoudaki 1988: 129); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: nos 3021a, 3030, 3031–3034); Cyrene (Winter 1903: 93, figs 1, 4, 5); Paestum (<www.britishmuseum.org> [last accessed 11/05/2021]); Bari (<www.britishmuseum.org> [last accessed 11/05/2021]); Locri Epizephiri (Milanesio Macri 2010: 346, fig. 22.12); Bitalemi by Gela (Sguaitamatti 1984: 54–55); Agrigento, collina dei temple (de Miro 2000: 109; de Miro 2008: 77, fig. 33); Entella (Spatafora *et al.* 2003: 1193, pls. 200, 201); Licata (de Miro 2008: 88, fig. 42); Catania (Rizza 2008: 189, fig. 4a); Camarina (<www.britishmuseum.org> [last accessed 10/05/2021]); Syracuse (de Miro 2000: 109; Spatafora *et al.* 2003: 1193); Eloro (de Miro 2000: 109).

[40] Clay figurines of torch-bearers were also unearthed at the sanctuaries of Demeter in Priene (Rumscheid 2006: fig. 139); Iasos (Levi 1967/1968: 575, fig. 44c); Theangela (Işık 1980: figs 177, 177a,

for her daughter,[41] the underworld, and the Eleusinian Mysteries. The figurines of female piglet-bearers have probably their origin in Magna Graecia and are mostly attested for the sanctuaries of Demeter in South Italy and on Sicily. In mainland Greece and the Greek East, figurines of piglet-bearers were mainly dedicated in the Doric cities. The figurines represent worshippers and cultic officials who sacrificed piglets at various festivals of Demeter and Kore. The figurines of cistaphoroi (bearers of basket), depict women with a circular basket hold in the hand or on the head. The cista was carried at the mysteries of Demeter and Kore.[42] It is not known whether sacred objects or other items were deposited into the cista. One of the figurines of liknophoroi published by Zervoudaki represents a woman dressed in chiton and himation and holding a liknon in the left hand and a piglet in the right (Figure 6b).[43] The liknon is filled with vegetables, fruits, bread, cakes, and grains. The food was offered as offering to the deity or eaten at festivals.

The male figurines represent 8% of the figurines in total and depict young and mature men with and without beard. The male clay figurines are dressed in himation that runs from the left arm to the right hip (Figure 6c). The himation of the figurines of women also runs from the left shoulder to the right hip. Some of the male figurines are depicted with a phiale in the right hand and wearing a polos, and some without phiale and polos. Clay figurines of young and mature men holding a phiale in the right hand are attested for several sanctuaries of Demeter in Caria.[44] Deities and cultic officials were represented with a phiale used for libation. The mature men may represent Zeus, Dionysus, or Hades.

Among the votives are also *c.* 3000 lamps, iron knives, and two bronze mirrors. Iron knives and mirrors do not have a special meaning for the cult of Demeter and Kore. Iron and bronze objects had monetary value and were dedicated at sanctuaries as payment for various cultic services or as votives. Small metal objects and jewellery are attested for some sanctuaries of Demeter in Caria, Crete, and Western Greece. Apart from Rhodes town, a high number of lamps is also recorded for the sanctuary of Demeter at Kaunos, where more than 60,000 lamps were unearthed.[45] Lamps are more common for the Carian, Doric, and Western Greek sanctuaries of Demeter.[46] The lamps were deposited at some sanctuaries of Demeter together with clay figurines, animal bones, and ashes. Many lamps found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Rhodes town and other sanctuaries of Demeter are one-nozzle miniature lamps (Figure 7a). Symbols in religious concepts are defined as objects and utensils associated with specific cults and rituals. Miniature lamps are used as a kind of symbol and aimed to convey the representation of light and rituals, in which lamps played an important role (see IG V,2 514, CIG 3071, IG II2 1365, IG II2 1366, and LSCG 89).[47] Lamps were needed for sacrifices and mysteries at some sanctuaries.[48] The lamps found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Rhodes town were presumably used for rituals, sacrifices, and mysteries. Among the lamps is also a lamp with several nozzles,[49] arranged around a circular body (Figure 7b). Lamps with multiple nozzles were also unearthed at the sanctuaries of Demeter in Dion, Gortyna, Selinous, and Beregovoï, where they were dedicated between the 4th–1st centuries BC.[50] Hinz believes that the multiple nozzle lamps were invented in the 5th century BC on Sicily and were used at the sanctuaries of Demeter.[51] However, multiple nozzles lamps were also dedicated at the sanctuaries of various

178, 178a, 178b, 202, 202a); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: nos 3018–3026); Corinth (Merker 2000: 124, pls. 56, 66, 77); Entella (Spatafora *et al.* 2003: pl. 201).

41 *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 48; Diodorus Siculus 5.4.3; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.494; Clement of Alexandria, *The Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.39–41.

42 Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 1–6, 118–133; Clement of Alexandria, *The Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.21. Basket-bearers are attested for the cult of Demeter and for different Greek cults, such as for the cult of Athena and Artemis (scholia to Theocritum 2.66–68). For the basket-bearers of Demeter, see also Mylonas 1961: 254.

43 Zervoudaki 1988: 135, fig. 6.

44 Male figurines holding a phiale found at the sanctuaries of Demeter: Halicarnassus (Higgins 1954: figs 425–427, 429, 432, 479, 482); Iasos (Johannowski 1985: fig. 4; Levi 1967/1968: fig. 12c); Theangela (Işık 1980: figs 43–47, 50, 113–176, 191, 192, 203, 207, 208, 213–219, 221–223, 228).

45 Bulba 2010: 650; Bulba 2018a: 32; Işık 2000: 229–240; Varkıvanç 1998: 87–96.

46 Lamps are attested for the following sanctuaries of Demeter: Dion (Pingiatoglou 2005: 16); Eutresis (Goldman: 1931, p. 263, fig. 320, no. 3); Isthmia (Anders-Stojanovic 1993: 268); Corinth (Bookidis 2015: 6; Bookidis and Stroud 1997: 395; Stroud 1965: 5); Troizen (Legrand 1905: 302; Nilsson 1950: 101); Petrochori (Petropoulos 2010: 175, fig. 3); Tegea (Milchhoefer 1879: 170); Bathos (Bather 1892/93: 228); Grigori Korfi (Harrison 1993: 48); Knossos (Coldstream 1973: 24–25, 33–34, 37, 44–45, 49–52); Gortyna (Allegro *et al.* 2008: 110–114; Nilsson 1950: 102); Priene (Schneider 2003: 393); Miletus (Held 1993: 371–373); Halicarnassus (Newton and Pullan 1862: 327); Iasos (Johannowski 1985: 55; Levi 1969: 119); Cnidus (Newton 1865: 185–186; Newton and Pullan 1863: 393–395, 404); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: nos 2543–2564); Chios (Stephanou 1958: pl. 7); Mytilene (Cronkite 1997: 55–56; Williams and Williams 1990: 181–193; Williams and Williams 1991: 179; Williams and Williams 1993: 225–250; Williams and Williams 1995: 95–100); Samos (Archaeological Museum of Pythagorion); Cyrene (Longarini 2013: 56–66; Luni 2005: 66); Tocra (Boardman and Hayes 1966: 139sq, figs 1424–1438; Boardman and Hayes 1973: figs 2269–2277, 2416–2430); Nymphaion (Ohlerich 2009: 116); Beregovoï (Zavoïkin and Zhuravlev 2013: 171–188); Oria on Monte Papalucio (Mastronuzzi 2008: 147); Locri Epihephiri (Milanesio Macri 2014: 211–212, figs 249–250); Agrigento S. Anna (Hinz 1998: 72); Agrigento S. Biagio (Hinz 1998: 76); Agrigento, santuario ctonio (Hinz 1998: 81–82); Bitalemi by Gela (de Miro 2000: 91; Orlandini 2008: 173); Morgantina (Archaeological Museum at Aidone); Selinunt (Gàbrici 1927: 369sqq; Hermanns 2004: 102–109; Parisinou 1997: 96–97); Entella (Spatafora *et al.* 2003: 1194, pls. 202, 203).

47 For further discussion on lamps in cultic context, see Hinz 1998: 49; Nilsson 1950: 103–104; Patera 2010: 266; Pingiatoglou 2005: 100.

48 For lamps in cultic context, see also Pausanias 2.22.4 and the scholia on Nicander Alexipharmaca 217.

49 Giannikouri 1999: pl. 17.

50 Lamps with numerous nozzles are attested for the sanctuaries of Demeter at Dion (Pingiatoglou 2005: 125, pl. 15, fig. K32–33); Gortyna (Allegro *et al.* 2008: 111, fig. 14; Coldsteam 1973: pl. 26, HM 6217); Selinous (Gàbrici 1927: 371–372, fig. 163; Parisinou 1997: 96–97); Beregovoï (Zavoïkin and Zhuravlev 2013: 170–179, figs 12–17).

51 Hinz 1998: 49.

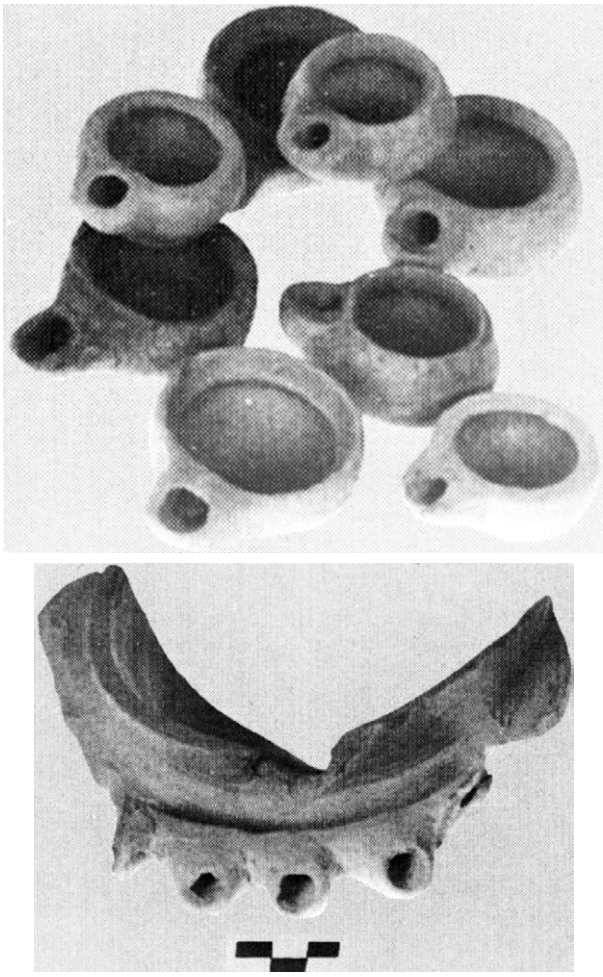


Figure 7. Miniature lamps (a) and multi nozzle lamp (b) from the Sanctuary of Demeter, Rhodes town (after Giannikouri 1999: pl. 17).

deities. Such lamps may represent the circle of life,[52] which was central to several festivals of Demeter, such as the Thesmophoria. The multiple nozzle lamps were probably part of rituals performed at festivals, as only a small number of multiple nozzles lamps is attested for each sanctuary of Demeter, where they were unearthed.

Zervoudaki mentions that kernoi were among the votives found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Rhodes town.[53] Zervoudaki does not indicate the type and the number of kernoi found at this site. Kernoi dating to the Archaic and Classical periods were also found at the sanctuaries of Demeter in Neandria, Iasos, Cnidus, Kaunos, Mytilene, Chios, Cos, and Lindos.[54] Ring kernoi are attested in the East Greek sanctuaries of Demeter at Mytilene, Neandria, Cos, Chios, Cnidus, and Lindos. The so-called Eleusinian kernoi[55] are only attested for Mytilene and Kaunos. Presumably, the kernoi from Rhodes town were also ring kernoi, which seem to be the most common type of kernoi in the Greek East. The Eleusinian kernoi were carried on the head at the mysteries and at the Thesmophoria.[56] The ring kernoi were probably only used for offerings of grains and liquids.

In sum, the votives from the sanctuary of Demeter at Rhodes town have pan-Hellenic and regional features. The figurines of draped women were dedicated to Demeter in different regions. In the Greek East, the female figurines of piglet-bearers, male figurines, glazed miniature vessels, and lamps were more common for the sanctuaries of Demeter in Caria and Dodecanese. The numerous oikoi at the sanctuary of Demeter in Rhodes town were too small to be used as dining-rooms or for the performance of festivals celebrated by many worshippers. Therefore, we cannot exclude that the oikoi were integral to some rituals. In contrast to most sanctuaries of Demeter, votives were deposited in oikoi. Such practice is attested for some sanctuaries of Demeter in Western Greece. The iconography of the votives and votive deposit custom illustrate that Rhodes town copied some features of the cult of Demeter in Western Greece.

Lindos

Two votive deposit pits were unearthed in 1903 by Danish archaeologists at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia on the acropolis of Lindos (Figure 8). Before beginning the discussion of the archaeological material from both votive deposit pits, we shall first consider the inscriptions from Lindos. Five inscriptions dating from the 2nd century BC – 3rd/4th century AD were dedicated to Demeter. The archaeological material from the larger votive deposit pit dates to the 6th century BC but the earliest epigraphic source on Demeter dates to the 2nd century BC.

The first inscription on Demeter from Lindos dates to 200–170 BC and is a sacrificial calendar that orders the sacrifice of a pregnant ewe and a pig to Demeter (*Lindos* II 181–182). We learn from the inscription that the sacrifices were performed each year to Demeter by a priest, whose responsibility was to perform the animal sacrifices. At some sanctuaries, the goddess

[52] Parisinou compares the multi-nozzle lamps with the sun-wheel that represents the circle of life (1997: 97–99). Aristophanes says in *Ecclesiazousae* 1–14 that the lamps are like the sun.

[53] Zervoudaki 1988: 129.

[54] Kernoi attested for the following sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East: Neandria (Filges and Matern 1996: fig. 3); Iasos (Berti and Masturzo 2000: 219); Cnidus (British Museum Inv. 1859,1226.271); Kaunos (Bulba 2010: 651); Mytilene (Cronkite 1997: 53–54; Williams and Williams 1991: 176); Chios (Graf 1985: 69; Stephanou 1958: pl. 8); Cos (Herzog 1901: 136); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: no. 1204). Kernoi are also attested for the sanctuaries of Demeter in other regions: Thasos (Rolley 1965: 471–476); Amphipolis (Lazaridis 1997: 27); Dion (Pingiatoglou 2010: 183); Eleusis (Jones 1982: 191–192; Pollitt 1979: 206, plate 65); Athens (Thompson 1987: 447); Corinth (Bookidis and Stroud 1987: 24, fig. 23; Brumfield 1997: 147).

[55] It was Bakalakis who used the term Eleusinian kernoi and referred to the account by Athenaeus 11.52 (1991: 105). For the Eleusinian kernoi, see also Mitsopoulou 2010: 145–178; Pollitt 1979: 207–209.

[56] Clinton 2009: 244–246; Foley 1994: 67.



Figure 8. Acropolis of Lindos (photograph by Jürgen Goldschmidt).

had male and female priests. Apparently, a male priest served alongside a priestess of Demeter at Lindos. The sacrifices were performed on the 7th and 12th of the month of Sminthios (February/March).[57] The epithet Sminthios refers to Apollo Sminthios, who protected the fields against mice.[58] Pigs and piglets were sacred to the cult of Demeter and were sacrificed at her festivals, e.g. the Thesmophoria and the mysteries.[59] Pigs are the only domesticated animals to give birth to multiple offspring; thus they are associated with fertility. Lucius Annaeus Cornutus says that pregnant pigs were sacrificed to Demeter to ensure fertility, easy conception, and abundance.[60] Pig and piglet bones were unearthed at various sanctuaries of Demeter.[61] *I.Erythrai* 207 mentions the sacrifice of a ram to Kore (line 47). *IG* XII 4,1,132 (306–301 BC) from Telos orders the sacrifice of a ram to Demeter (line 47). The sacrifice of pregnant animals is well attested for fertility cults.[62] The sacrifice of a pregnant ram and of a pig in March each year at the beginning of the agricultural year aimed to ensure the agricultural fertility.

Side A

[Σμ]ινθίου ἑβδό[μαι]	on the 7th of the month of Sminthios
[ἰσ]τ̣αμένου, Δ[άματρι]	of the month beginning, to Damatar
[ὅϊς κ]αὶ ὗς κύου[σαι].	a pregnant ewe and a pig should be sacrificed
[θύει ἰ]εροθύτα[ς — —]	by the sacrificing priest
[— — —]ΛΘΥΘ[— — —]	----- LTHUTH-----

(*Lindos* II 181)

Side B

[Σμινθίου δ]ωδεκ̣[άται]	on the 12th of the month of Sminthios
[Δάματρι ὗς] κυεῦ[σα].	to Damatar a pig
[θύει ἰε]ροθύτα[ς]	has to be sacrificed by the sacrificing priest

(*Lindos* II 182)

Lindos II 183[63] (200–170 BC), engraved on a stele, was dedicated to Damateros and Zeus Damatrios. The epithet of Zeus is derived from Demeter and means 'Zeus of Demeter'. Schipporeit has suggested that Damateres and Zeus Damatrios were worshipped together in the north-eastern part of the acropolis of Lindos.[64] The epithet suggests that both deities were worshipped together on the acropolis or in a sanctuary at another place in Lindos. Sissa and Detienne state that Zeus was called Damatrios at sacrifices performed on the altar of Demeter.[65] The joint worship could have been performed on an altar dedicated to both deities on the acropolis. However, there is no evidence for their joint worship or for an altar dedicated to Demeter on the acropolis of Lindos.

[Ἀ]λ̣ιαδᾶν	the seamen (dedicated to)
Δαματέρων	Damateros
καὶ Διὸς	and Zeus
Δαματρίου.	Damatrios

Lindos II 261 (125–100 BCE) was dedicated by a priestess of Demeter, whose name is missing. She was the

[57] Samuel 1972: 109.
[58] Nilsson 1967: 535.
[59] For the significance of pigs and piglets for the cult of Demeter, see Varro *Res Rusticae* II, 4.9–10; Clement of Alexandria 2.17.1; *Scholia* to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*.
[60] Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 28.10.
[61] Bones of pigs and piglets are found at the sanctuaries of Demeter: Eretria (Metzger 1985: 9, pl. 3); Corinth (Bookidis and Stroud 1987: 18); Knossos (Coldstream 1973: 2); Gortyna (Allegro *et al.* 2008: 119, table 3); Locri Epizephiri (Milanesio Macri 2010: n. 39); Syracuse (Hinz 1998: 104, 106); Bitalemi by Gela (Orlandini 2008: 174); Agrigento (Hinz 1998: 82); Himera (Hinz 1998: 167); Selinous (Hinz 1998: 145–147); Neandria (Filges and Matern 1996: 71–72); Ephesus (Bammer *et al.* 1978: 107–157; Forstenpointner 2001: 55–61, 67); Iasos (Levi 1969: 119); Cnidus (Newton 1865: 180, 183; Newton and Pullan 1863: 383); Kaunos (Alpagut 2017: 15–17; Bulba and Doyran 2009: 8); Mytilene (Ruscillo 1993: 260; Ruscillo 2013, 181–184; Williams and Williams 1991: 176, 179); Samos (Rumscheid 2006: 222, n. 1357); Rhodes town (Zervoudaki 1988: 129); Cyrene (Luni 2005: 66; White 1985: 118).
[62] Nilsson 1967: 151–152.
[63] *IG* XII 1, 156.
[64] Schipporeit 2013: 243.
[65] Sissa and Detienne 2000: 162.

daughter of Lukianos and the adopted daughter of Theodoros. The priestess was apparently unmarried, as the name of her husband is not mentioned in the inscription. The existence of a priestess is evidence for a sanctuary of Demeter at Lindos. *Lindos* II 182 and *Lindos* II 261 indicate that Demeter had several cultic officials. As one of the major festivals of Rhodes was the Thesmophoria, we can expect that Demeter also had married cultic officials at Lindos. Married and unmarried cultic officials were involved in various festivals of Demeter.

[ἱέρεια Δά]ματρος	priestess of Damatar
————]α Λυσίωνος	— — — —] daughter of Lukianos,
[κατὰ θυγατροποΐα]ν δὲ Θευδότ[ου]	the adopted daughter of Theodoros

Clara Rhodos 2 (1932) 210,48 dates to 100–50 BC and was dedicated to Demeter and Zeus Karpophoroi by someone who served as a priest of the Pythian Apollo and was honoured by various cult associations and farmers.[66] Demeter and Zeus were worshipped as deities Karpophoroi. Karpophoros (Καρποφόρος) means bearer of fruits and emphasises the agricultural aspects of a cult. The epithet Karpophoros is mainly attested for Demeter[67] and Asia Minor. The inscriptions providing evidence for the epithet Karpophoros date to the Imperial period. The female members of the imperial family also used the epithet Karpophoros and promoted the ideology of the imperial family as guarantor of the agricultural fertility and food supply. *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 210, 48 was, however, dedicated before the Imperial period. An inscription from Mytilene dating to the 1st century AD was also dedicated to Demeter and to the deities Karpophoroi (*SEG* 51:1029). *IvP* II 291 dating to the 2nd century AD calls Demeter and Kore Karpophoroi. We learn from Pausanias (8.53.7) that Demeter and Kore were also called Karpophoroi at Tegea.

[ὁ δεῖνα ————————]άρχου σ[τρ]ατευσάμενος
[ἐν τοῖς ἀφράκ]τοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ
[στρα]ταγήσας ἐκ πάντων καὶ
[χοραγή?]σας ἐν τῶι ἄστει κατὰ μεγάλα Ἁλίεια
[ἐπιστάτ?]ας γενόμενος Λινδίων καὶ ἱεροθυτήσας
[ ]ας
vacat?
[ἱερατ]εύσας Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθαέως
[ἐπὶ ἱ]ερέως Ἀλεξιμβροτίδα
[στεφαν]ωθεὶς ὑπό τε τοῦ ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάνας Λινδίας
[καὶ τοῦ Διὸς] τοῦ Πολιέως καὶ τῶν συνιερέων καὶ τοῦ
[ἀρχιεροθύτ]α καὶ τῶν ἱεροθυτᾶν χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
[καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κ]ατοικεύντων ἐν Λινδίαι πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
[γεωργεύν]των ἐν τᾶι Λινδίαι χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
[καὶ ὑπὸ — —]σιαστᾶν Νικατοριδείων κοινοῦ χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
[καὶ ὑπὸ Παναθ]ηναϊστᾶν Ἡρακλεϊστᾶν δεκάδος χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
[Δήμητ]ρι καὶ Διὶ καρποφόροις.

. . . Name . . . has served in the navy in unfortified and fortified ships, has been commander over everything, has provided for the chorus in the city during the great festival for Helios (Halieia), has been superintendent (?) of the Lindians, has held the position of sacrificer, and has been priest (?) of Pythian Apollo. When Aleximbrotis was priest, he (i.e. the unnamed honoree) has been crowned by the priest of Athena Lindia ('of Lindos'). . . and of Zeus (?) . . . Polieus ('of the City'), by the fellow-priests, by the . . . chief-sacrificer (?) . . . and by the sacrificers with a gold crown. He has also been crowned . . . by the settlers in the city of Lindos and by those . . . farming (geōrgeuntes) in Lindos with a gold crown. . . . He has also been crowned by the . . . Nikatorideian association of . . . Deity-devotees (?) with a gold crown . . . and by the celebrators of the Panathenai festival (?) . . . Herakles-devotees (Herakleistai), consisting of a naval detachment of ten, with a gold crown. This was dedicated to . . . Demeter (?) . . . and to Zeus Karpophoroi ('Fruit Bringers').

(*Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932): 210, 48; translation by P. Harland)[68]

IG XII,1 780 and *IG* XII,1 781 found on the acropolis of Lindos and dating to the 3rd/4th century AD concern three men named Keleos, Ikarios, and Aglochartos. *IG* XII,1 780 recodes that Keleos was a husbandman of chaste (ἁγνῆς) Demeter, Ikarios was apparently a priest of Dionysus, and Aglochartos was a priest of the offspring of Tritonis. Aglochartos mentions himself alongside mythical priests Keleos and Ikarios, who were the priests of Demeter and Dionysus. Herodotus (4.180.5) says that Athena was the daughter of Poseidon and Tritonis, suggesting that the 'offspring of Tritonis' mentioned in *IG* XII,1 780 refers to Athena. Aglochartos emphasises the agricultural fertility

[66] Panathenaists and Herakleists were members of cult associations who celebrated the Panathenaia in honour of Athena and the Herakleia in honour of Heracles.

[67] Demeter Karpophoros: Athens *IG* II² 4587 (350 BCE); *IG* II² 4730; Epidaurus: *IG* IV²,1 508 (1st–5th century AD); Ephesus: *I.Ephesos* 10, 213 (AD 83–84), 1010, 1210 (AD 120), 1228, and 4337 (AD 19–23); *SEG* 30: 1341; Pergamon: *IvP* II 291, 297 (Roman period); *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910): 442,25 (2nd century AD); *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912): 283, 7.abc (2nd century AD); Miletus: *McCabe, Miletos* 213 (47/46 BC); Didyma [*I.Didyma* 504 (3rd century AD)]; Mytilene (*IG* XII Suppl. 691); Cos [*Iscr. di Cos EV* 248 (AD 50–54)]; *ASAA* 41/42 (1963/64): 182,22 (Imperial period); Lindos (*Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932): 210, 48 (100–50 BC); Kios (*IK Kios* 27 (AD 138/9); Nikaia (*IK Iznik* 701 (AD 138); Sardis (*SEG* 48: 1472 (212–217 AD); Hyrkanis (*TAM* V,2 1335); Pessinous (*I.Pessinous* 22); Aigai at Alexandreta (*I.Cilicie* 78 (209–211 AD); *MUSJ* 1908: 475,71 (198–217 AD); *IGR* III 924 (222–235 AD); *IGLSyr* 3,1 714 (1st–3rd century AD); *SEG* 54: 1478 (AD 117–138); *SEG* 37: 1248 (AD 209–211); *Heberdey-Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilikien* 16 (1st–3rd century AD).

[68] <http://philipharland.com> (last accessed 10/05/2021).

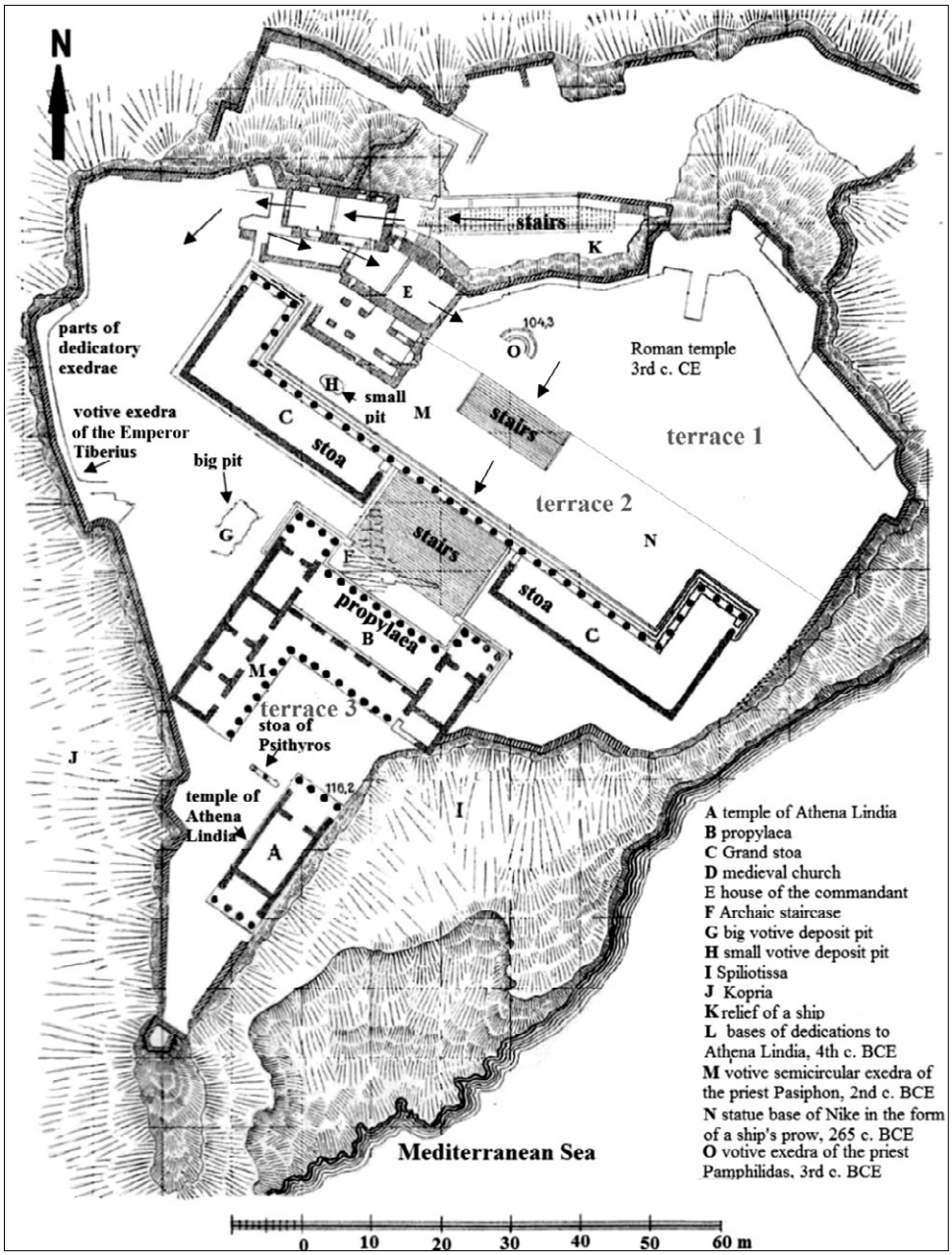


Figure 9. Plan of the Lindos Acropolis (after Blinkenberg 1931: pl. 1; edited by the author).

aspects of the cult of Athena, especially in *IG* XII,1 181. For this reason, the mythical priests of Demeter and Dionysus are listed alongside the mortal priests of Athena. Aglochartos emphasises that Dionysus gave the grape, Demeter the grain, and Athena the olive. Aglochartos says that he dedicated olive trees to Athena on the acropolis of Lindos. The acropolis of Lindos is a rocky formation that only offers space for a few trees.

γιοπόνος μὲν ἔην Κελεὸς	Keleos was a husbandman
Δημήτερος ἁγνῆς |	of chaste Demeter,
Βάχχου δ' Εἰκάριος,	and Ikarios of Bacchus, and
Τρειτωνίδος	Aglochartos
Ἀγλώχαρτος.	of the offspring of Tritonis (Athena)

(*IG* XII,1 780; translation by Trombley 1993: 103)

[Ε]ἰκάριος Βάχχῳ βότρυν ὤρεξεν ὀπωρόν {ὤρεξ' ἐνόπωρον?},
καὶ Κ̣ελεὸς φιλίοισιν ἔ[τερ]πε δράγμασι Δηώ
[εἰρεύς] <τ'> Ἀγλώχαρτος ἐλαίαις στέψεν Ἀθήνη[ν]
[κ]αὶ τέμε̣ν̣[ος] κόσμησεν ἄκρης ἠδύχροϊ θαλλῷ.

Ikarios reached to Bacchus for the grape-fruit
and Keleos delighted in the friendly grain-sheaves of Demeter,
and the priest Aglochartos crowned Athena with the olive
and adorned a sacred precinct on the acropolis with the young shoot

(*IG* XII,1 781; translation by Trombley 1993, 103)

The sanctuary of Athena Lindia is divided into three terraces (Figure 9). The Doric temple of Athena Lindia



Figure 10. The area of the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia, Lindos, where the so-called 'big' votive deposit is located (photograph by the author).

was built in the late 4th century BC on Terrace 3, which was presumably the core of the worship at this sanctuary. The *stoa* and *oikoi* separate this terrace from the western part of the precinct. Inscriptions found at this site illustrate that Athena Lindia, Zeus Polieus, and Nike were worshipped on the acropolis. Statue bases dedicated by different people were set up in the 4th and following centuries BC on all terraces of the sanctuary.

Blinkenberg (1931), who published the votives from the sanctuary of Athena Lindia at Lindos, called the two votive deposit pits 'big' and 'small'. The iconography of votives found in the large and small votive deposit pits are typical for the sanctuaries of Demeter. Demeter was presumably worshipped alongside Athena Lindia in the western part of the acropolis.

The 'big' votive deposit pit is situated in the western part of Terrace 3, which consists of rocky outcrops (Figure 10). The walls of Terraces 2 and 3 allowed the performance of festivals celebrated in seclusion. Numerous bowls and channels are cut into the rocky outcrops. Rocky outcrops are linked to the cult of Demeter[69] and were crucial to her rituals performed at her sanctuaries in Neandria, Iasos, and Kaunos. This site is similar to the open-air sanctuary of Demeter at Kaunos, which has numerous rock-cut bowls and channels used for libations. The 'big' votive deposit pit is a 7.75 m long and 13 m wide (Figures 11–13).[70] A 40-cm deep pit is cut into the 'big' pit that we refer to here as Pit 2 (Figure 11). Votives deposited in this were covered up with earth.[71] It is not obvious why Pit 2 was cut into Pit 1. It might be that Pit 2 was the initial pit that was later enlarged. Pit 2 may have had the same cultic function as the bowls and channels. As only Pit 2 was filled with earth, Pit 1 continued to be used as a bothros.

The 'big' votive deposit pit contained 3000 fragments of votives dedicated from the mid 6th century to 400 BC.[72] Blinkenberg divided the votives into two groups: votives dedicated in the mid 6th century BC, and those from 525–400 BC. Votives dating to the mid 6th century BC include bronze vases, clay vases, glass beads, brooch, stone pendant, bronze pendant, glass pendant, earring, button, clay pottery with relief, limestone Cypriot figurines, Cypriot clay figurines, and one nozzle lamps (Chart 1).[73] Votives dedicated from 525–400 BC comprise bronze vases, Greek-Oriental Archaic vases, Greek Archaic vases, mirrors, musical instruments, Egyptian faience, fragments of statues, and miniature votives (Chart 1).[74] The vases comprise 316 vases, 7 miniature vases, and 23 bronze vessels dating to the 6th century BC. Votives such as limestone Cypriot figurines, Cypriot figurines, and Egyptian faience are unusual for the sanctuaries of Demeter. Some votives were dedicated as valuable votives without having

[69] For the significance of rocky outcrops for the cult of Demeter, see Pseudo-Apollodorus, *The Library* 1.5.1.; Hesychius of Alexandria, s.v. *Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα*; *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Ἀνακληθρίς*. For further discussion, see also Daux 1958: 800–802; Clinton 1992: 14–27; Muller 1980: 89–92.

[70] Blinkenberg 1931: 51.
[71] Blinkenberg 1931: 51.
[72] Blinkenberg 1931: 51–52.
[73] Blinkenberg 1931: 53–54.
[74] Blinkenberg 1931: 54.

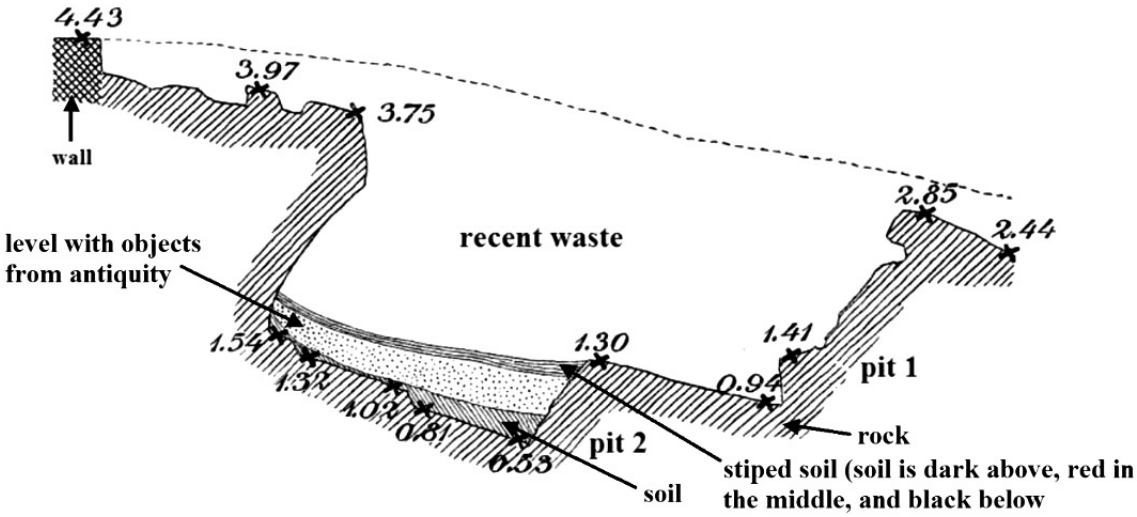


Figure 11. The 'big' votive deposit pit on the Lindos Acropolis (after Blinkenberg 1931: 48, fig. 5; edited by the author).

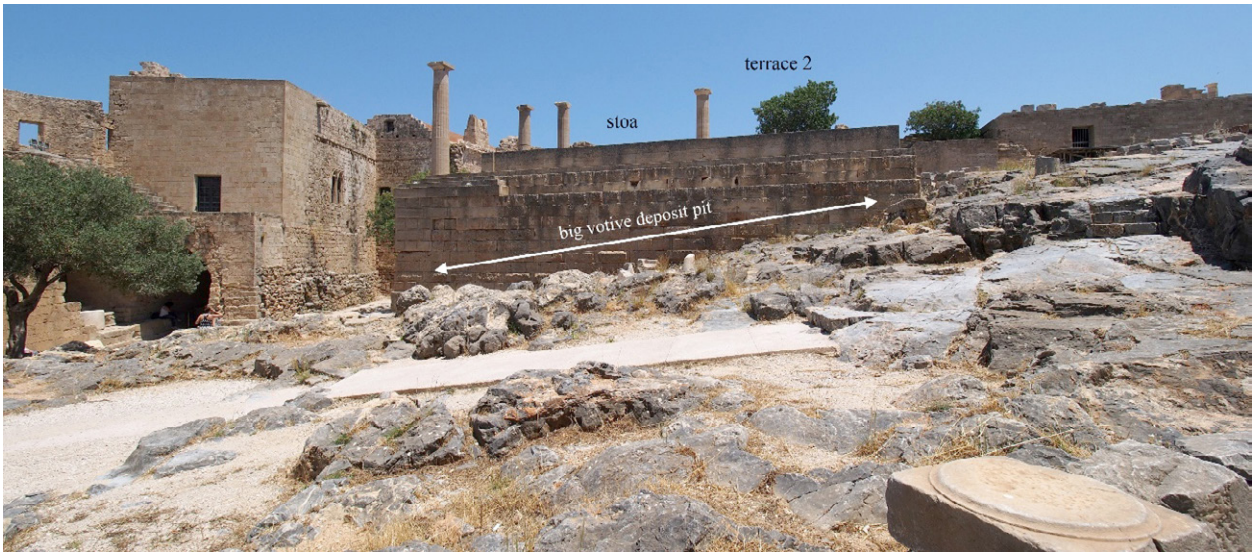


Figure 12. The 'big' votive deposit pit in the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia, Lindos (photograph by the author).

any special significance to the cult of a deity to whom they were dedicated. The numerous metal objects and jewellery deposited into the 'big' votive deposit pit were consecrated as payments for cultic services or as preliminary payments at rituals. The use of coins was accelerated in the 5th and following centuries BC. During the Archaic period, metal objects and jewellery were used as a means of payment. Female protomes were not typical votives dedicated at the sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East, but in Northern and Western Greece during the Archaic and Classical periods. As illustrated in Chart 1, most votives found in the 'big' pit are typical for the sanctuaries of Demeter. Figurines of enthroned women, which presumably represent Demeter, and women holding a bird were mainly dedicated during the Archaic period.[75] The figurines of mature men with a polos and dressed in himation from the 'big' votive deposit pit are similar in their iconography to those from the sanctuaries of Demeter at Iasos, Theangela, and Halicarnassus. The figurines of mature men may represent Zeus.[76] The figurines of boys, grotesque figurines, and animals (pigs, pigeons) were also dedicated at various sanctuaries of Demeter.[77]

The small votive deposit pit is on Terrace 2 in front of the stoa (Figure 14).[78] The pit (3.50 m x 1.80 m and 1.80 m deep) was cut into the rocky ground. The layer in which the votives were deposited is only 20 cm deep. Only a small part of the large and small votive deposit pits were used for the deposition of votives. After deposition,

[75] Karatas 2015: 569–573.

[76] See *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932): 210, 48; *SEG* 26: 872.

[77] Karatas 2015: 615–617, 622–624, 627–636.

[78] Blinkenberg 1931: 55.



Figure 13. Terrace 3 and the western side of the Lindos Acropolis, where the 'big' votive deposit pit is located (photograph by the author).

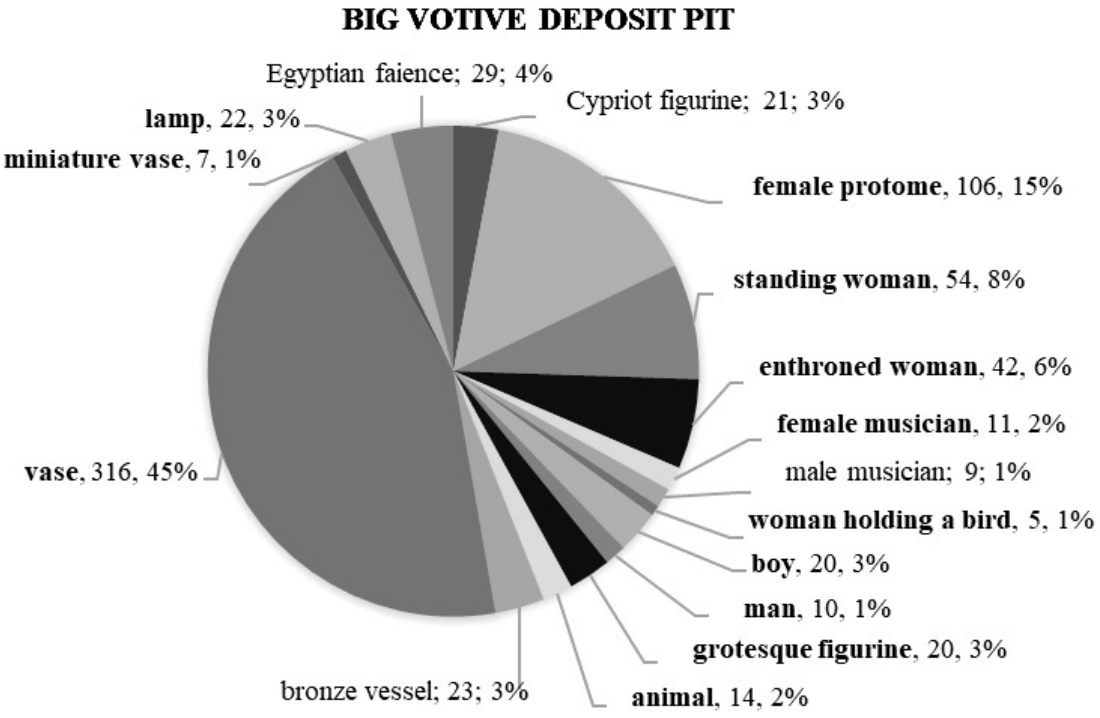


Chart 1. The iconography of votives dating to the mid 6th century – 400 BC unearthed in the 'big' votive deposit pit at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, Lindos (after Blinkenberg 1931). Votives written in bold letters refer to objects dedicated during the Archaic period at various Demeter sanctuaries.

both pits were apparently used for rituals. The small votive deposit pit is not in the same area as the large one. Votives were sometimes deposited outside the precinct sacred to a deity, and some rituals were also performed outside the temenos. For whatever reason, in the 4th century BC the votives were deposited into the small deposit pit.

The small pit contains 851 fragments of votives dating to the 4th century BC: hydrophoroi, piglet-bearers, torch-bearers, cistaphoroi, kourotrophoi, female dancers, mature and young men with or without phiale (Chart 2).[79] These figurines are typical figurines dedicated

[79] Blinkenberg 1931: nos 2806–3034; Zervoudaki 1988: 130.



Figure 14. The 'small' votive deposit pit in the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia at Lindos (photo by the author).

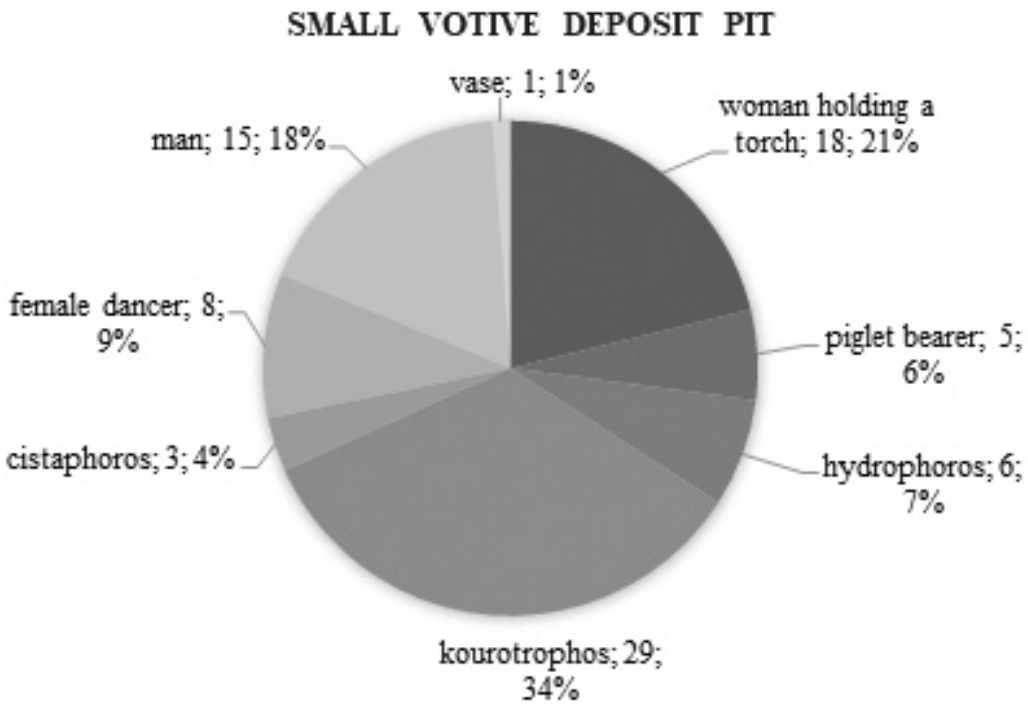


Chart 2. The iconography of votives deposited in the 4th century BC inside the 'small' votive deposit pit, Sanctuary of Athena Lindia, Lindos (for details, see Blinkenberg 1931).

at the sanctuaries of Demeter in Caria and on the islands off the western coast of Asia Minor. Figurines of kourotrophoi were mainly dedicated at the sanctuaries of Demeter in Doric cities.[80] Schipporeit points out that the third day of the Athenian Thesmophoria was called *Kalligeneia* (fair offspring), suggesting that Demeter was associated with human fertility.[81] The figurines of children and kourotrophoi were linked to human

[80] Figurines of kourotrophoi found at the sanctuaries of Demeter: Priene (Rumscheid 2006: fig. 82); Samos (Tsakos and Viglaki-Sofianou 2012: 192); Halicarnassus (Higgins 1954: fig. 344); Theangela (Işık 2010: figs 35, 36, 185); Tegea (Louvre Museum, MNB 1718); Knossos (Coldstream 1973: pl. 39, fig. 60); Gela (Orlandini 2008: 174, fig. 69).

[81] Schipporeit 2013: 227.

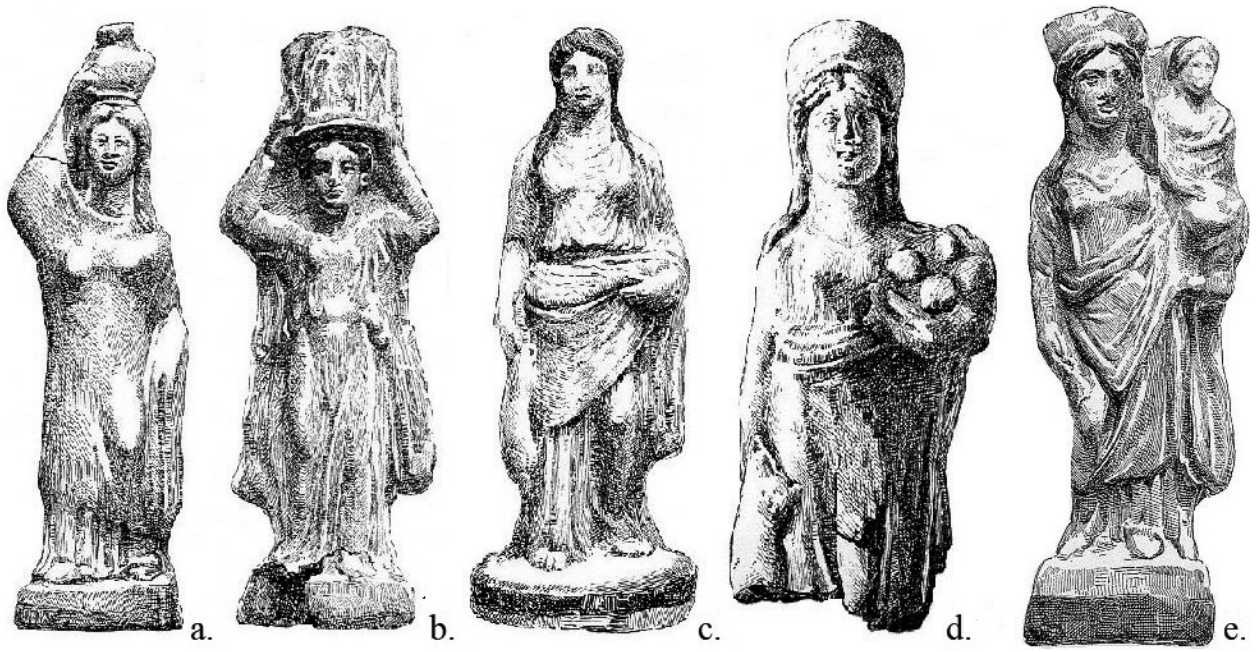


Figure 15. Clay figurines of hydrophoros (a), cistaphoros (b), piglet-bearer (c), and liknon-bearer (d) from the 'small' votive deposit pit. A figurine of kourotrophos (e) from the 'big' votive deposit pit at the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia, Lindos (after Blinkenberg 1931: nos 2990, 3003, 3014, 3031, 3034).

fertility and childcare. The figurines of kourotrophoi from Lindos, Halicarnassus, Theangela, and Kaunos carry the child on the left shoulder. However, the figurines from Lindos wear a polos that emphasises the high status of the women. As Demeter and Kore were usually not depicted with a child on the shoulder, the women with polos and child represent priestesses or women with high social status. Similar to the sanctuary of Demeter at Rhodes town, some of the figurines from Lindos depict women with a cista, liknon, and piglet (Figure 15).

In sum, the features of the sanctuary of Demeter at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia and the iconography of the votives indicate that the cult of Demeter at this site were focused on human and agricultural fertility. The location of the 'big' votive deposit pit allowed the celebration of festivals, which required secrecy. Even if Kore was not mentioned in inscriptions from Lindos, it seems likely that she was worshipped together with her mother, as she represented with her mother the circle of life that was crucial to several festivals of Demeter.

Kamiros

Tit. Cam 29, 31, 38, 39, 45–47, 50, and 56 list the names of deities worshipped at Kamiros. Demeter and Kore are not among the deities mentioned in these inscriptions. Two inscriptions from Kamiros were, however, dedicated by cult associations of Demeter and Kore. *I.Kamiros* 84 (line 16) dating to 167 BC and engraved on a statue base mentions the Kore-devotees (Κουραιστᾶν) who crowned Aristombrotidas with a gold crown. The Kore-devotees were members of a cult association that worshipped Kore. Aristombrotidas was also crowned by the cult associations of Asclepius, Hermes, and Serapis. The husband of the niece of Aristombrotidas was a priest of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus. Aristombrotidas was a member of a family that occupied high cultic offices and was honoured by cult associations. Aristombrotidas' social status and the golden crowns indicate that the cult associations mentioned in *I.Kamiros* 84 promoted cults which were highly regarded in the city.

Ἀριστομβροτίδας Ἀριστομβροτ[ίδα].
Κριτόβουλος Ἀριστομβροτίδα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀ̣δ̣[ελφοῦ]
Ἀριστομβροτίδας καὶ Ναύσιππος Κριτοβούλου ὑπὲρ τοῦ [θία]
Δαμαινέτα Κριτοβούλου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἱερατεύσαντος Ἀθάνας Πολιάδος καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως καὶ δαμιουργήσαντος
καὶ τιμαθέντος καὶ στεφανωθέντος
ὑπὸ Καμιρέων χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
καὶ στεφανωθέντος χρυσέοις στεφάνοις
ὑπὸ Ἀσκλαπιαστᾶν τῶν ἐν Καμίρωι
καὶ στεφανωθέντος χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
ὑπὸ Ἑρμαιστᾶν τῶν ἐν Καμίρωι
καὶ στεφανωθέντος χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
ὑπὸ Σαραπιαστᾶν τῶν ἐν Καμίρωι
καὶ στεφανωθέντος χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
ὑπὸ Κουραιστᾶν τῶν ἐν Κυτήλωι
καὶ στεφανωθέντος χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
ὑπὸ Τρικτοίνων τῶν ἐν Λέλωι
θεοῖς.
Πυθόκριτος καὶ Ἀσ<κ>ληπιόδωρος Ζήνωνος Ῥόδιοι ἐποίησαν.

Aristombrotidas, son of Aristombrotidas. This statue was set up by Kritoboulos, son of Aristombrotidas, on behalf of his brother Aristombrotidas, Nausippos, son of Kritoboulos, on behalf of the deity, Damaineta, daughter of Kritoboulos, on behalf of her husband, who has served as priest of Athena Polis and Zeus Polieus and as director of public works. Aristombrotidas has been honored and crowned with a gold crown by the Kamirians, crowned with gold crowns by the Asklepios-devotees (Asklepiastai) who are in Kamiros, crowned with a gold crown by the Hermes-devotees (Hermaistai) in Kamiros, crowned with gold crowns by the Sarapis-devotees (Sarapiastai) who are in Kamiros, crowned with a gold crown by the Kore-devotees (?; Kouraistai) who are in Kytelos; and, crowned with a gold crown by those of the third district who are in Lelos. This is dedicated to the gods. Pythokritos and Asklepiodoros son of Zenon, Rhodians, made this.

(*I.Kamiros* 84; translation by Philip Harland)[82]

Tit. Cam. 156a (1st century BC) engraved on a marble stele concerns the regulation of the cult association of Demeter called Damateres. Cult associations of Demeter called Demetriastai are attested for the Hellenistic and Imperial Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 1595, 4337), Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 727, 655), Pessinus (*I.Pessinous* 22), and Tarsos (*SEG* 26: 1457). The cult associations of Demeter and Kore were not restricted to women. *Lindos* II 181–182 do not mention a cult association of Demeter, but the content of the two inscriptions is similar to *Tit. Cam.* 156a that orders the sacrifice of a ram on the 4th of the month of Sminthios. The sacrifice of a pig is, therefore, not ordered in *Tit. Cam.* 156a. The inscriptions from Kamiros and Lindos indicate that the sacrifice of a ram in the month of Sminthios was presumably performed in various cities of Rhodes.

	Ζμινθίου	on the fourth of
	τετράδι	the month of Sminthios
	ἱσταμένου	of the month beginning
	Δαμάτερσιν	to Damateres
5	ὄιν	a ram
	κυεῦσαν.	Should be sacrificed

The excavations at Kamiros, which was rebuilt in 227 BC after an earthquake, did not bring to light a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. A clay figurine dating to the Classical period found in a tomb of a woman in the necropolis Macri Langoni (T 26 [54]) depicts two women sitting next to each other and a single shawl covers their heads and shoulders (Figure 16). Clay figurines with the same iconography dating to the late Archaic and Classical periods were also found in the sanctuaries of Demeter at Iasos, Kaunos, Rhodes town, and Lindos.[83] It is interesting to note that the figurines



Figure 16. Clay figurine of two seated women found in the necropolis of Macri Langoni, T 26, dating to 450–420 BC (Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, photograph by the author).

of two goddesses, who represent Demeter and Kore, are only attested for Rhodes and Caria. Bonifacio has suggested that the iconography of twin goddesses has its origin on Rhodes and goes back to the 7th century BC.[84] A clay figurine dating to 625–600 BC found in the tomb of a woman provides an early example (Figure 17). The women are depicted as conjoined twins, with one single body and two heads. Işık points out that the Late Bronze Age Hittite art knew already the iconography of twin goddesses.[85] The Carian cities and Rhodes probably created the iconography of the twin goddesses independently from Hittite art.[86] Demeter and Kore are the only goddesses in ancient Greece who were depicted together on reliefs and in vase paintings. Some inscriptions call both deities 'the Thesmophoroi',[87] 'deities Eleusinian',[88] or 'Karpophoroi'.[89] These epithets emphasise the double aspect of both goddesses. The clay figurine from the tomb is not direct evidence of a

[82] <http://www.philipharland.com> (last accessed 10/05/2021).

[83] Iasos (Levi 1967/1968: fig. 42); Rhodes (Jerusalem Museum); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931: no. 2234b); Kaunos (Işık 2010: 95).

[84] Bonifacio 2002: 15. See also Morelli 1959: 120.

[85] Işık 2013: 210.

[86] For further discussion on the twin goddesses, see also Nilsson 1967: 480; Schipporeit 2013: 223; White 2012: 173.

[87] Attica: *SEG* 42: 116; *IG* II^2 4752; *IG* II^2 1363; Thasos: *SEG* 17: 415; Pergamon: *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910): 439,24; *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910): 449,28; *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912): 299,25; *IvP* II 315; Priene: *I.Priene* 196; Magnesia on the Maeander: *I.Magnesia* 79, 80, and 81. Narmouthis: *Bernard, Inscr. Métr.* 175.

[88] Teos: *SEG* 4: 598; Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 1270; Stratonikeia: *I.Stratonikeia* 147.

[89] Pergamon: *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912): 283, 7.abc.



Figure 17. Clay figurine of two women (625–600 BC) found in the tomb of a woman. Papatislure 27 (35) (Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, photograph by the author).

sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Kamiros. Figurines related to the sphere of women and to the afterlife were put into the tombs of women. The existence of cult associations of Demeter and Kore suggests that both goddesses had either a sanctuary together or there were two separate ones run by the cult associations at Kamiros.

Epigraphic sources on Demeter, Kore, and Plouton from the Dodecanese and Caria

The analysis of the archaeological and epigraphic sources from Rhodes, or from other islands of the Dodecanese, cannot be made without considering the cult and sanctuaries of Demeter in Caria. The sanctuaries of Demeter were unearthed in Caria at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, Iasos, Theangela, and Kaunos. In the Dodecanese, they only appear, to date, on Rhodes and Cos. The archaeological material from these sanctuaries date to the 6th century BC, providing the earliest evidence for the cult of Demeter in the Greek East. Of the more than 75 inscriptions from the Carian cities and the Doric islands off the western coast of Asia Minor, ranging from the late Classical to Imperial periods, 28 inscriptions (38%) are addressed to Demeter; 29 (45%) to Demeter and Kore; only 9 (12%) to Kore and 4 (6%) to Kore and Plouton; and one inscription to Demeter, Kore, and Plouton (Tables 1a–b). 20 of the 29 inscriptions addressed to Demeter and Kore are from Cnidus. On Rhodes, half of the inscriptions were dedicated to Demeter, and only one inscription to Demeter and Kore. Cnidus and Cos are also an exception regarding the gender of the dedicators. Apart from a few inscriptions, almost all were dedicated by women or by the demos. The Hellenistic and following periods are marked by an increase in dedications made by women. Most inscriptions from several Carian cities and Rhodes were, however, dedicated by men. Despite the significance of the Thesmophoria for Carian cities and Rhodes, the cult of Demeter and Kore was not a women-only one. It should be noted that most of the inscriptions are from the Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic and later periods promoted cult associations of Demeter and Kore, which were open to women and men. Most of the cultic officials mentioned in inscriptions listed in Tables 1a–b were women. The epithets of Demeter in both regions were Karpophoros, Eleusinia, Demosia, Olympia, and Soteira. The only epithet of Demeter attested for Rhodes was Karpophoros, which is also the most common epithet of Demeter in Caria; this is unsurprising as both regions had the month of Thesmophorios.

Conclusion

The first month of the Rhodian calendar was named after the Thesmophoria. The month of Thesmophorios is mainly attested for the Dodecanese and Caria, emphasising the significance of the cult of Demeter to both regions. At the same time, it illustrates that agricultural/human fertility was an important feature of the cult of Demeter in the Dodecanese and Caria.

Even though the Thesmophoria represented one of the major festivals, only two sanctuaries of Demeter have been found so far on Rhodes. This may be due to the fact that the sanctuaries of Demeter were quite often located outside the settlements. The archaeological material from the sanctuary of Demeter in Lindos and the figurine of twin goddesses found in the tomb of a woman provides evidence for the worship of Demeter and Kore during the Archaic period on Rhodes. The archaeological material from Rhodes is among the earliest evidence for the cult of Demeter and Kore in the Dodecanese. Her sanctuaries at Lindos and Rhodes town were simple sanctuaries without monumental buildings. This is common for most sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East.

The iconography of votives from the sanctuaries of Demeter at Lindos and Rhodes town shows that her cult in both cities had similar features. The epigraphic sources and the clay figurines of mature men from Lindos indicate that Zeus was worshiped alongside Demeter, presumably also at Rhodes town. It is probable that Zeus did not play as important a role in the cult of Demeter at Rhodes town as he did at Lindos, where he was called Zeus Damatrios. The clay figurines from Lindos and Rhodes town differ in their style, suggesting that they were of local production. The

City	Inscription	Date	Male dedicator	Female dedicator	Priest	Demeter, Persephone/ Kore, Hades/Plouton
Caria						
Tralleis	*I.Tralleis* 160C					Demeter, Kore
Didyma	*I.Didyma* 216	70 BC	X			Persephone
	I.Didyma 504	3rd c. AD	X			Demeter Karpophoros, Kore Soteira
Halicarnassus	*McCabe, Halikarnassos* 36	3rd c. BC				Demeter Demosia
	McCabe, Halikarnassos 67	2nd c. BC		X	female	Demeter, Kore
	McCabe, Halikarnassos 98	4th or 3rd c. BC	X			Demeter, Kore
Cnidus	*I.Knidos* I 131	4th c. BC		X		Demeter, Kore
	I.Knidos I 133	3rd c. BC		X		Damatar, Koura
	I.Knidos I 134	3rd c. BC		X		Damatar
	McCabe, Knidos 36			X		Damatar, Koura
	I.Knidos 137	3rd c. BC		X		Damatar, Koura
	I.Knidos 140	3rd c. BC	X			Damatar, Koura
	I.Knidos 141	3rd-2nd c. BC	X			Damatar, Koura, Plouton Epimachos
	I.Knidos 135	3rd c. BC		X		Damatar, Koura
	I.Knidos 138	3rd c. BC		X		Damatar, Koura
	McCabe, Knidos 46	300–150 BC		X	female	Koura
	I.Knidos 136	3rd c. BC		X		Damatar, Koura
	I.Knidos 143	Hellenistic period		X	female	Koura
	I.Knidos 142	2nd c. BC		X		Damatar
	I.Knidos 145	Hellenistic period		X		Damatar
	I.Knidos 146	Hellenistic period				Damatar
	I.Knidos I 147-159	2nd–1st c. BC		X		Damatar, Koura
Nysa	*McCabe, Nysa* 5	241–187 BC	X			Kore, Plouton
	McCabe, Nysa 17					Kore, Plouton
Mylasa	*I.Mylasa* 309				female	Demeter
	I.Mylasa 426			X	female	Demeter
Aphrodisias	*I.Aphrodisias* 15.217	1st c. BC	X			Kore
	I.Aphrodisias 9.112	14–37 AD	X		male	Kore, Plouton
Lagina	*I.Stratonikeia* 545	Hellenistic period				Demeter
Stratonikeia	*I.Stratonikeia* 1124					Demeter Eleusinia
Panamara	*I.Stratonikeia* 147		X			Goddesses Eleusinian
	I.Stratonikeia 283		X			Demeter
Bargylia	*SEG* 49:1422			X		Demeter, Kore
Lepsia	*McCabe, Lepsia* 11	2nd c. BC		X		Damatar

Table 1a. Epigraphic sources on Demeter, Kore, and Plouton from Caria.

figurines of torch-bearers, piglet-bearers, hydrophoroi, liknophoroi, cistaphoroi, kourotrophoi, miniature hydriai, and lamps were dedicated at both sanctuaries. The iconography of votives from the sanctuaries of Demeter on Rhodes shows their cultic link to the Dodecanese, Caria, and Magna Graecia, where the cult of Demeter had similar features.

Demeter and Kore had cult associations on Rhodes. Presumably Kore had a cult association at Rhodes town

City	Inscription	Date	Male dedicator	Female dedicator	Priest	Demeter, Persephone/ Kore, Hades/Plouton
Dodecanese						
Cos Cos town	*AA* 1901: 135	5th–4th c. BC	?			Demeter
	IG XII 4,1,356	4th c. BC			female	Damatar
	IG XII 4,1,278	4th c. BC				Damatar
	IG XII 4,1,276	4th c. BC				Damatrion
	HGK 8	270 BC			female	Demeter Olympia
	BPhW 52 (1932) 1011	200 BC		X		Damatar Soteira, Kora
	Iscr. di Cos ED 14	3rd–2nd c. BC				Demeter
	Iscr. di Cos EV 248	50 BC				Demeter Karpophoros
	IG XII 4,1 418	1st c. AD				Demeter, Kore, Plouton
Hippiotai: Ag. Georgios Leizos	*Iscr. di Cos EV* 4	2nd c. BC		X	female	Damatar
Antimachia	*IG* XII 4, 1, 105	2nd c. BC				Damatar
Kyparissi	*Iscr. di Cos EV* 235	4th c. BC		X		Koure
	Iscr. di Cos EV 269	4th c. BC		X		Kora
	Iscr. di Cos EV 270	3rd c. BC	X			Demeter
	Iscr. di Cos EV 271	2nd c. BC		X		Demeter
	Iscr. di Cos EV 272	3rd c. BC		X	female	Koura
Isthmus	*ASAtene* 41/42 (1963/64) 181,20		?			Damatar, Kora
	ASAtene 41/42 (1963/64) 182,22	Imperial period				Damatar Karpophoros
Calymnus	*Tit. Calymnii* 115	3rd c. BC				Damatar, Kore
Nisyros	*WZHalle* 16 (1967) 369,1	2nd c. BC				Persephone
Telos	*IG* XII 4,1,132	306–301 BC	X			Damatrion
Rhodes Kamiros	*I.Kamiros* 84	167 BC	X			Kouraistai
Rhodes town	*SEG* 49:1079	4th c. BC	X			Damatar
	IG XII,1 29		X			Damatar, Kora
	IG XII,1 141	2nd c. BC	X		cultic official	Kore, Plouton
Lindos	*Lindos* II 181–182	200–170 BC				Damatar
	SEG 26:872		X			Damatar, Zeus Damatrios
	Lindos II 261	125–100 BC		X	female	Damatar
	Clara Rhodos 2 (1932) 210, 48	100–50 BC	X			Damatar and Zeus Karpophoroi

Table 1b. Epigraphic sources on Demeter, Kore, and Plouton from the Dodecanese.

that performed mysteries in honour of her, Plouton, Hermes, and Hecate, which promised a better afterlife for the initiates. Most inscriptions from Rhodes were dedicated by men, suggesting that the cult of Demeter and Kore was open to both genders. During the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, men were more involved in the cult of Demeter and Kore on Rhodes than in earlier periods.

Abbreviations

CIG = Boeckh, A. *et al.* 1828–1877. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

IC = 1935–. Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae/curavit Margarita Guarducci. Roma: Libreria dello Stato.

I.Ephesos = 1979–. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd 11–: Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Hrsg. Engelmann, Helmut. Berlin: Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt.

I.Erythrai = 1972. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd 1–2: Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Hrsg. Engelmann, Helmut. Berlin: Verlags Dr Rudolf Habelt.

IG = Fraenkel, M. 1895–. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

IK = 1976. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd 5: Die Inschriften von Kyme*. Hrsg. v. Engelmann, Helmut. Berlin: Verlags Dr Rudolf Habelt.

I.Priene = 2014. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd 65: Die Inschriften von Priene*. Hrsg. v. Wolfgang Blümel. Berlin: Verlags Dr Rudolf Habelt.

I.Smyrna = 1982–. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd 23–24: Die Inschriften von Smyrna*. Hrsg. v. Georg Petzl. Berlin: Verlags Dr Rudolf Habelt.

SEG = Pleket, H.W. 1923–. *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.

Tituli Camirenses = Segre, M. and G. Pugliese Carratelli 1949–1951. Tituli Camirenses. *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 27–29: 141–131.

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