Religious Life in Classical and Hellenistic Rhodes: Cultic activity, identity, and organisation

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Abstract
Thesis title: Religious Life in Classical and Hellenistic Rhodes: Cultic activity, identity, and organisation
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The present thesis constitutes a study of the religious life of Rhodes, from the classical to the late Hellenistic period. Chronologically, this spans the significant chapter of the island's synoikism at the end of the fifth century and the united state's rise to power as one of the foremost trading centres of the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period. The structure of my thesis is partly chronological and partly thematic. I aim to determine the developments that took place in Rhodian religion, largely due to the synoikism, but also affected by other factors, such as the all-important incorporation of the peraia. Aside from that I focus on the different groups that were involved in the island's religion: demes, tribes, religious personnel of all levels, foreigners and inhabitants of the surrounding islands and mainland, whose status and rights are often difficult to establish precisely. This goal is reflected in my choice of chapters, which cover Rhodian (pre-synoikism) religious identity, the effects of the synoikism on religious life, a detailed study of the cults in the different cities of the island and of religion in the 'peraia', and chapters on priests, associations, and, finally, the interplay between religion and society, in which chapter I hope to draw out what is distinctively 'Rhodian' about religion on Rhodes.

Abbreviations

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

CGRN	*J.-M. Carbon, S. Peels and V. Pirenne-Delforge, A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN), Liège 2016- (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be, consulted in September 2017).*
Cl.Rh.	*Clara Rhodos. Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell'Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi,* 10 vols. (Rhodes, 1928-41)
I.Lindos	C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902-14, II. Inscriptions,* 2 vols. (Berlin-Copenhagen, 1941).
LC	C. Higbie, ed., *The Lindian Chronicle* (Oxford, 2003).
LGS	H. von Prott and L. Ziehen, eds., *Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae* (Leipzig, 1896-1906).
NSER	A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence, 1925)
Pfuhl/Möbius	E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz, 1977-1979).
RO	P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, eds., *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC* (Oxford, 2003).
SER	G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Supplemento epigrafico Rodio', *ASAA* 30-32 (1952-1954), 247-316.
Tit.Cam.	M. Segre and G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Tituli Camirenses', *ASAA* 27-9 (1949-51), 141-318.
TRI	N. Badoud, 'Catalogue des inscriptions', *Le Temps de Rhodes* (Munich, 2015), 305-453.

Introduction

The present thesis constitutes a study of the religious life of Rhodes, from the classical to the late Hellenistic period. Chronologically, this spans the significant chapter of the island's synoikism at the end of the fifth century and the united state's rise to power as one of the foremost trading centres of the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period. The beginning and end-date of this chosen period are flexible, in order to accommodate the broad span of evidence, and trace historical developments, changes, and continuities where possible.

While the chronological framework might be loose, the geographical limitations of my study seem clearer, although there are various ways in which we might understand and define the region of 'Rhodes'. As we will see in chapter 1, 'Rhodian' identity, relating to the island of Rhodes, predates the political unification and the foundation of the city of Rhodes by centuries. In the later classical and Hellenistic periods, 'Rhodes' incorporated territories on the mainland, as well as on other islands. The political changes and developments of the region of 'Rhodes' form a crucial backdrop to the study of religion and identity. How did the different levels of local identity interact? How was 'Rhodian' identity constructed and expressed on a religious level, and how did this change?

Rhodes is a topic which, following an influx of epigraphic evidence in the late 19th century, has received varying amounts of attention throughout the past century. In 1900, van Gelder published a comprehensive history of ancient Rhodes, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, which included chapters on more or less every aspect of society, politics – and religion. Not long afterwards, Danish excavations unearthed large parts of the

Lindian acropolis, revealing archaeological remains, votive deposits, as well as a vast number of inscriptions, primarily from the great temple of Athena Lindia. Christian Blinkenberg compiled and published a large number of objects and more than 700 inscriptions discovered on the site of this sanctuary. Among these were the so-called 'Lindian Chronicle' and the catalogue of priests of Athena Lindia, both proving to be cornerstones in the understanding and study of Rhodian religion. Further collections of inscriptions were published in the following decades by Italian scholars such as Maiuri, Segre and Pugliese Carratelli, focusing largely on epigraphic finds from Kameiros and Rhodes-town. It was also an Italian scholar, Donato Morelli, who, in the 1950s, compiled an account in alphabetical order of all the deities known to have received cult on Rhodes, providing scholarship with a useful catalogue of both literary and epigraphic sources. The first half of the 20th century, then, produced a substantial amount of detailed and rather technical information about some aspects of Rhodian religion, such as cults and priesthoods. But a synthetic approach, other than van Gelder's excellent but by now rather out-dated study, does not exist.

Most recent scholarship has focused on the political, economic and military history of Rhodes during its heyday in the third and second centuries BC, much of it stemming from projects led by Vincent Gabrielsen. Currently, the 'Rhodes Centennial Project' is building on the success of the Copenhagen Association Project, and studying the physical space of *koina* in the city of Rhodes.

Nonetheless, archaeological material remains much more problematic and sparse than the epigraphic corpus. Advances have been made in the past decades, largely focusing on so-called 'rescue excavations' in Rhodes-town, which have unearthed a number of new structures.

The majority of my source material is, thus, epigraphic. For this, Badoud's recent monograph (*Le Temps de Rhodes*, 2015) has been an invaluable asset, in which he revisited and revised the relative and absolute chronologies of Rhodian epigraphy. I follow his dating throughout my thesis. The nature of my evidence means that a very different picture emerges from what we might expect. For the majority of epigraphic material comes from the old poleis of Lindos and Kameiros, rather than Rhodes-town, the capital city of the synoikized state. The content of these texts necessarily shapes my study: the vast amount of epigraphical texts recording priests in particular makes its mark, as does the attestation of the numerous *koina.* The choice of inscribing these elements of religious life, the particular Rhodian epigraphic habit, can itself inform us about the island's society, and its interaction with and view of the religious sphere. Expanding the geographical focus to include the areas 'incorporated' into the Rhodian state highlights the value of changing the lens through which we view Greek religion. As will become clear, the chapter in question, on Rhodian religion in the peraia, represents an introduction to the broader networks that existed within the region, as well as significant insights into the interaction between different levels of Rhodian religious identity and cultic organisation. How much this corresponded to the state's contemporary foreign policy will remain to be seen.

The structure of my thesis is partly chronological and partly thematic. I aim to determine the developments that took place in Rhodian religion, largely due to the synoikism, but also affected by other factors (economic, political, external). Aside from that I focus on the different groups that were involved in the island's religion: demes,

tribes, religious personnel of all levels, foreigners and inhabitants of the surrounding islands and mainland, whose status and rights are often difficult to establish precisely. This goal is reflected in my choice of chapters, which cover Rhodian (pre-synoikism) religious identity, the effects of the synoikism on religious life, a detailed study of the cults in the different cities of the island and of religion in the 'peraia', and chapters on priests, associations, and, finally, the interplay between religion and society, in which chapter I hope to draw out what is distinctively 'Rhodian' about religion on Rhodes. The value of this regional approach to religion[1] will, I hope, emerge in what follows.

[1] For which see recently the work by Paul (2013a), Polinskaia (2013), and Mili (2015).

1. The Rhodian synoikism and its effect on religious life

In the introduction, I indicated the regional limitations of my study: the island-state of Rhodes, formed from the three ancient cities of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos, and supplemented, for the later classical and Hellenistic periods, by the so-called 'incorporated peraia'. With the synoikism in the late fifth century, this region becomes defined politically; tribal and deme divisions break it down into sub-regions, establishing the different levels at which civic religion was organised and practised.[2] It is this synoikising process that will form the primary focus for this chapter: how did it affect religious life on the island? In what way did Rhodians articulate this new identity on a religious level? I will consider organisational as well as cultic aspects and attempt to determine to what extent a new 'pan-Rhodian' religion was created. The scope of this federal reorganisation and its effect on Rhodian religious identity can best be judged if we first consider what the situation prior to this synoikising process was: can we talk of 'Rhodian' identity or even religion before the late fifth century? Unfortunately, due largely to a dearth of epigraphic material predating the fourth century BC, our picture of pre-synoikism Rhodes is hazy – politically, socially, culturally, and also religiously. Yet from the scanty sources that do survive, it emerges that there was indeed a concept of Rhodian identity before the synoikism. A distinctively 'Rhodian' community can be detected as early as Homer, where a Rhodian contingent arrives at Troy under the leadership of Tlepolemos. In traditions of overseas 'colonisation' and settlement of the archaic period, we also find Rhodian identity expressed: in his account of the building

[2] Elton and Reger identify political unity as one of the three main characteristics of regionalism; the other two are geography and a sense of the past: Elton and Reger (2007b), 179-180. For different ways of defining regions, see also Thonemann (2011), esp. 19-49.

of the Hellenion at Naukratis, Herodotus names 'the Rhodians' as one party, even including them in a list of 'poleis'. In addition, fifth-century athletic victors from Rhodes were referred to abroad as 'Rhodian', not Lindian, Ialysian or Kameiran.[3] Similar cases can be observed for other islanders, who are often referred to by their island-ethnic, suggesting that this level of 'island identity' was not uncommon.[4] Religious and ritual contexts more broadly have also been recognised as vehicles for forging and expressing group identity at levels not necessarily (or at the time) represented politically.[5] Thus, archaic Lesbians, although politically fragmented, could apparently conceptualise themselves as a group, or an ethnic, through their activity and presence at a common sanctuary – the only arena, in this period, where we find such a suggestion of their common island identity being expressed.[6] As I discuss below, there are several hints that Rhodian sanctuaries of Zeus and Athena played a similar role in the period prior to the synoikism, proving the existence of a Rhodian identity within the island itself. On the other hand, Herodotus again tells us that in the Dorian Pentapolis, all three of the Rhodian poleis were represented, and specifies that it was 'Lindians from Rhodes' who

[3] Homer's Tlepolemos: Hom. *Il*.2.653-670 and more below; joint Rhodian presence at the Hellenion at Naukratis: Hdt. 2.178.2; cf. Bresson (1980); Nielsen and Gabrielsen (2004), 1197; but see Malkin (2011) for some hesitation about designating this as a formal pan-Rhodian religious venture: 82; 79-86. 'Rhodian' athletes: Moretti (1957), 252, 287, 299, 300; Gabrielsen (2000a), 184; Nielsen and Gabrielsen (2004), 1197.

[4] e.g. Lesbians: Sappho fr. 106; Alkaios, fr.129, 130.36; Bacchylides praises the victor Lakhon, 'ὅτι στάδιον κρατή/-σας *Κέον* εὐκλέϊξας' (my italics): *Ep*.6.15f. Cf. Reger (1997), 474-7 on island ideology.

[5] Mackil (2013), in relating these theories and observations concerning the link between religious practices, group identity, and the foundation or creation of political communities, urges caution at seeing ritual as a straightforward or inevitable process through which political identities were created: 147-56. See already Parker (1998).

[6] Robert (1960), 285-315; Parker (1998), 15-6.

settled Gela – although this Lindian identity apparently became overshadowed by a Rhodian one in later years.[7]

The sources thus suggest that this island ideology and identity could oscillate between different levels of regionalism in the archaic and early classical period, with a single Rhodian identity often visible in overseas contexts, although their representation in the Dorian Pentapolis demonstrates that this could be replaced by the three separate polis identities when it suited the Rhodians' purpose – in this case giving them a majority in the pentapolis.[8]

Clearly, then, a sense of pan-Rhodian identity can be detected long before the synoikism, existing alongside and alternatively with that of the three ancient cities. How can we relate this to *religious* life and identity on the island prior to the synoikism? The evidence for a long-standing recognition of pan-Rhodian identity, incorporating the three ancient poleis of the island, arguably allows us to posit that this might have been reflected in common rituals or cult-sites. Extremely sparse though our source material for this period is, some information on common religious identity and perhaps also practice can be found in those mythical narratives that were certainly in circulation before the late fifth century. Although the relationship between myth and cult often remains complex, there is no doubt that myth *could* be informed by cult, as well as vice versa.[9] It will be worth investigating those gods and heroes who play particularly significant roles in Rhodian myths of the archaic and classical periods. Can we trace any development in the period leading up to the synoikism? What levels of identity and

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[7] Members of the Dorian Pentapolis: Hdt. 1.144. Foundation of Gela: Hdt. 7.153.1, but note that Thucydides calls it a colony founded by Cretans and *Rhodians*: Thuc. 7.57.9; cf. Malkin (2011), 72-5.

[8] This point is made by Malkin (2011), 82.

[9] E.g. Burkert (1979), 56-8 *et pass.*

sense of their past do these myths reflect? Do they shed any light on ritual life in this pre-synoikism period?

1.1. Stories of an island: Rhodian mythology

The two key sources that will constitute the basis for this section are a passage from the *Iliad's* Catalogue of Ships and Pindar's Seventh *Olympian,* both of which concern Rhodian foundation stories. The former consists of a brief digression on the founding hero Tlepolemos' past, while Pindar's ode constructs an elaborate web of foundation myths and aetiologies in honour of the athletic victory of Diagoras of the Eratidai in 464 BC. In drawing out the themes and variations of these myths and their manifestations I shall also, wherever profitable,[10] employ later accounts of Rhodian mythology, most notably the lengthy account given by Diodorus Siculus, usually assumed to be based closely on the work of Zenon of Rhodes.[11] One other major source for Rhodian mythology remains to be named, this one, too, far later than the period currently under investigation: the so-called *Lindian Chronicle*, or *Anagraphe,* a vast inscription engraved in 99 BC, listing dedications made at the Lindian temple of Athena dating back to its earliest, mythical visitors and proceeding to detail a series of epiphanies in which the goddess demonstrated her tutelage over the Lindian people. The precise motivations behind and historical context of this epigraphic source are debated, yet what immediately arrests the reader's attention is what Higbie calls its 'document-

[10] I am however very cautious about employing non-contemporary sources for my particular purpose; note the valid concerns listed by MacSweeney (2013), 41-2.
[11] Diod. 5.55-59 with specific mention of Zenon as his source at 5.56; cf. Jacoby *FGrH* 523 F1; Wiemer (2001), 207-18 *et pass*.

mindedness'. This text comprehensively cites its sources – comprising the works of priests and books by historians – a practice otherwise unattested on this scale in Greek historiography.[12] The large number of Rhodian historians named in the inscription also provides evidence for a prior and enthusiastic interest in the past. Since the ancients did not perceive the necessary distinction we draw between early history and myth,[13] these men's works are worth bearing in mind in our discussion of Rhodian mythology, even if we possess only fragments. Jacoby lists at least 16 historians who are known for certain to have composed works on Rhodes, or on its cults.[14] Intriguing and fascinating though the 'Lindian Chronicle' undeniably is, it nonetheless informs us much more about the world-view of first-century Lindians than on the myths that were in circulation in the sixth and fifth centuries, and thus has less relevance to the particular, pre-synoikism 'foundation discourse'[15] that we are here concerned with.

Before turning to the divine and mythical figures who play important roles in Rhodian stories, let us briefly return to our question of regional identity and identification. In what way do the myths in question illustrate Rhodes as a region, localize it as a place? How is the island conceived of? Most obviously we might note its location, far from the

[12] Higbie (2003), 188; 245-58; 290-3; on the inscription's purpose: Wiemer (2001), 27-31 and particularly Bresson (2006). On the general lack of source-citation in Greek historians: Veyne (1988), 8. On epigraphic historiography: Chaniotis (1988); archives in sanctuaries: Krug (1992) and Dignas (2002b).

[13] This is not to condone the old mythos vs. logos stance; my point is merely that Hellenistic historians would have included reports of what we would term 'mythology' without hesitation; Fowler (2011), 47 suggests viewing e.g. Herodotus' criteria of what may be included as history on the basis of the 'idea of knowability'. Cf. also Veyne (1988), esp. 47-57, 65.

[14] *FGrH* 507-526, including a few uncertain ones. On these authors and the text's value for historiographical studies see Dillery (2005), esp. 515-9. Polybius demonstrates grudging respect for the Rhodian historians Zenon and Antisthenes, praising their sense of duty and patriotism: 16.14, 17, 20: this sometimes causes them to make errors. Cf. Wiemer (2001), 19-27.

[15] MacSweeney (2013), 15 *et pass.* on this concept of a 'foundation discourse'.

Greek mainland, with long-established links to Cyprus, Egypt, and Crete. In his ode, Pindar describes it as near the 'jutting coast of broad Asia' (Ἀσία εὐρυχόρος…ἐμβόλῳ, ll.18-19), presumably referring both to the close ties to that particular part of the Asian mainland – the Karian Chersonesos, later to form a substantial part of the Rhodian incorporated peraia[16] - as well as its general proximity to Asia, rather than Europe. Rhodes' status as an island and its location in the very south-east of the Aegean both contribute to its world of myth: topoi typical of islands, such as the theme of flooding and re-emergence, are noteworthy, as are Rhodes' close links to western Asia Minor as well as to Crete and Cyprus.[17] The special place that islands held in the Greek imagination has often been commented on in recent scholarship.[18] Two elements may be singled out to help explain this.

First, their isolation and very island-ness: some islands were not even approachable throughout the entire year and their insularity thus ensured a remoteness from the rest of human civilisation, as can be detected as a mythological topos already in the *Odyssey*. Most of the fantastical creatures Odysseus and his crew meet inhabit remote islands; the Cyclopes, for instance, are said to inhabit a fertile island, but due to their inability to build ships or sail, they are completely isolated from the surrounding Mediterranean

[16] Fraser and Bean (1954), 51-78; Hornblower (2004), 133; more on this in chapter 4.

[17] For some theories on the function of Aegean islands as 'stepping stones' for elements of Greek civilization and religion that came from the East: Craik (1979), 177; Craik (1980), 149-67. Her attempts at tracing the diffusions of cults in such an early period, are, however, not convincing. For links with Crete, note especially the myth of Althaimenes, son of the Cretan king Katreus: in an attempt to escape an oracle's fateful prophecy, he lands on Rhodes and founds a sanctuary to Zeus Atabyrios on the island's highest peak: Apollod. 3.2.1-2 and, with minor differences, Diod.Sic. 5.59; cf. Bresson (1986) on this myth and its similarities to that of Tlepolemos; Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962) on exchange between Crete and Rhodes from an early period. Aphrodite is said by Diodorus to stop at Rhodes on her journey from Cytherae and Cyprus (Diod.Sic. 5.55.6). The Telchines provide links to Lykia, Crete, and Cyprus: Diod.Sic. 5.56.1; Blakely (2006), 15-6.

[18] E.g. Buxton (1994), 84-113; Constantakopoulou (2007), 1-19.

world, and thus from human civilisation.[19] Their physical isolation also made islands a natural destination for people exiled from their home; this will be an essential element for some of Rhodes' mythical visitors.[20]

The second, related, feature that sets islands apart from the mainland is the constant and powerful presence of the sea. This is sometimes translated vividly into mythology with the image of a 'floating island', until it is 'fixed' into place.[21] Alternatively, an island might be 'born' from the sea, rising out of it, a motif that can alternate with destructive, all-consuming floods.[22] This latter topos occurs regularly in Rhodian origin myths: when Pindar constructs his version of the gods' division of the world, he writes that Helios was absent, but contented himself with choosing Rhodes, just emerging 'ἐξ ἁλὸς ὑγρᾶς'; the island is also described as 'ποντία', and other watery imagery abounds.[23] It seems likely that Pindar's description of Rhodes submerged under the sea incorporated local traditions, since later sources, too, report a series of floods and rebirths of the island: Diodorus tells us that the first inhabitants, the Telchines,[24] were born of Thalatta, and thus symbolically from the sea. According to one version, this generation fled from a flood that submerged the entire island; it rose and was dried again by Helios' rays, upon which the Heliadae settled there.[25] Later instances of the

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[19] Hom. *Od.* 9.105-140.

[20] On islands as locations for exiles: Lätsch (2005), 220-221 and generally 217-228. Note that I discuss 'insularity' and 'isolation' only as mythological concepts; I am very well aware of the work on networks in the Mediterranean, which connected islands with each other and the mainland via the sea (e.g. Horden and Purcell (2000); Malkin (2011)).

[21] E.g. Delos: Callim. *H.* 4.36; Ov. *Met.* 6.333. Cf. Kowalzig (2007), 242-3.

[22] Flooded islands and lands: Plin. *HN* 2.88-92. Cf. Caduff (1986).

[23] Pind. *Ol.*7.69, 13, 56-7; cf. Kowalzig (2007), 257-60 and Hornblower (2004), 132-3 on Pindar's language reflecting Rhodian – or possibly more specifically Eratid - maritime concerns.

[24] On these figures and their role in mythology see also Str. 14.2.7; Ov. *Met.* 7.365-7; Nic.Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 114; Eust. *Il.* 789.1-20. Also *LC* B2 with Blinkenberg (1915a) and Higbie (2003) ad loc. In general: Blakely (2006), 15-6, 152-7, 215-26.

[25] Diod.Sic. 5.55-56.

island flooding seem to be inserted into this mythological pattern: a historically attested flood of 316 BC is described by Diodorus as the 'τρίτον κατακλυσμόν' to affect Rhodes, neatly demonstrating the author's universalising approach.[26] A flood can be seen as a convenient mythological topos for introducing change and incorporating different foundation and settlement stories.[27] Although Diodorus' attempt to create a complete chronological account of Rhodes' origins is in many ways unhelpful, the existence of different stories of flooding and rebirth belong to the islanders' conception of the land they inhabit.[28] The close connection with the sea, as well as the very real danger of natural catastrophes such as earthquakes and tidal waves, contributed to a conception of insularity that frequently shaped Rhodian myths.

The natural borders of an island and its consequent insularity can thus play a significant part in its conception as a region and place. It is the *island* of Rhodes that, so the myths recount, was flooded and reborn, and which Pindar identifies and locates so clearly in his ode to the Ialysian victor Diagoras.

1.2. Foundation Myths

This longstanding common insular identity is further expressed in the foundation stories we find in Homer and Pindar. In the *Iliad*, Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, arrives leading a contingent of nine ships of Rhodians, 'οἳ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα

[26] Diod.Sic. 19.45.1; Caduff (1986), 158-9.
[27] For a comparison with ancient Near Eastern myths of the flood and the changes in culture it brought, see McCants (2012), 15-20. Caduff (1986), 142-6, 232-9 remarks that these 'Flutsysteme' appear in Greek philosophy, from Plato onwards: Pl. *Leg.*677a, *Kritias* 111a-b, 112a.
[28] Floods also feature in other island mythologies, e.g. Chios settled by Makar after a great flood: Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F11; Samothrace: Diod.Sic. 5.47.

κοσμηθέντες/Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον.'[29] As mentioned above, this stresses a pan-Rhodian identity, since all ships fell under the leadership of one man.[30] Simultaneously, the passage confirms the early tripartite division of the island, with the cities of Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros apparently enjoying equal importance and relevance. In a few brief but informative lines, the poet outlines Tlepolemos' story: he was the son of Herakles and Astyocheia, Herakles' wife from an unknown mythical conquest, and killed his great-uncle Likymnios. Following this crime he had to leave his homeland (probably Tiryns)[31] by ship with some men, to escape the wrath of the other Heraklids. Arriving in Rhodes, his companions settled in three tribes and lived prosperously, under Zeus' favour.

This tripartite division, so crucial to Rhodian identity for centuries to come, is thus often attributed to Tlepolemos' settlement of the island. But it must be noted that the Homeric account is not wholly straightforward. True, in describing the Rhodian unit the poet emphasises the three cities from which they set sail. In addition, the information that they set out in *nine* ships may imply that each of the three cities was further subdivided into three, possibly, considering Tlepolemos' presumably Peloponnesian origin, into the three Dorian tribes.[32] But this complicates the other information we receive, that they 'τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν.'[33] Apparently adverbial in function, 'καταφυλαδόν'

[29] Hom. *Il*.2.655-6.

[30] Pan-Rhodian identity only in such an 'overseas context': Malkin (2011), 69: in the context of their Trojan campaign, Homer provides 'the *ktisis* that at once distinguishes the three cities yet provides them with a common Dorian-Herakleid foundation.'

[31] According to Pindar's account of the myth: *Ol*.7.27-9; cf. Kirk (1985), 226. On different traditions and kinship of Tlepolemos, see Schachter (2014), who argues for a cult of the hero at Aulis in Boeotia.

[32] On his complex origin: Kowalzig (2007), 239-40, and more below; on the tribes: Jones (1987), 242.

[33] Hom. *Il*.2.658.

has been taken to mean 'in tribes'[34] – but what, precisely is it here referring to? Did Tlepolemos' men settle in three locations, according to their *phyle*? This would mean that Lindos, for instance, was inhabited by a single *phyle*, Kameiros and Ialysos by entirely different ones[35] – a unique system to our knowledge. Perhaps we can give καταφυλαδόν a more flexible sense and interpret the line as denoting a division of the entire group of colonists into three cities, regardless of what *phyle* they belonged to. Later sources offer no help as they content themselves with even less precise accounts of Tlepolemos' settlement of Rhodes.[36]

Two points to reiterate: first, the tripartite division (whatever its precise makeup) of the island is significant enough to be mentioned twice by our Homeric poet; given that this tribal partition is barely present in other accounts, it is striking that we find such a strong emphasis on it in this version. Secondly, in this account at least, Tlepolemos' own role should not be exaggerated: it is his men who settle 'by tribes', not he who settles them, or establishes order. Nonetheless, all three Rhodian cities were created in the same foundation process, by the same group of colonists. The mention of Zeus' favour is perhaps surprising, given the prominent poliadic role of Athena in each of the three cities of Rhodes from an early period on – but more on this below.

[34] *LfrGE* s.v. 'καταφυλαδόν'. Cf. Kirk (1985) ad loc.
[35] This is what Momigliano (1936) takes the poet to mean: 61-3.
[36] Tlepolemos sets sail for Rhodes: Pind.*Ol.*7.32-33; when the narrative jumps back to him, he is being worshipped as archagetes: l.78; Diod.Sic. 5.59 and Apollod. 2.8.2 both talk only of him 'settling' on the island.

In its outlines, Tlepolemos' story is not unlike several others mentioned by the Homeric poet: a hero pollutes himself by killing a civilian and must go into exile.[37] More specifically, the role of an exiled 'murderer' as oikist is a widespread idea in Greek mythology. Dougherty has argued that the violence of the story reflects the danger and fighting that many colonial foundations would have entailed, and that later accounts omitted mentioning the 'bloodshed inherent in colonizing foreign lands and substitute for it stories of Greek colonists as murderers'.[38] However, the 'murderer' motif does not seem to be particularly relevant to the role of Tlepolemos. What seems more relevant in the context is the mobility generated by this mythological topos. Tlepolemos' murderous act provides the necessary trigger for his exile and colonisation of Rhodes, and this is its prime significance. Neither the violence of the act itself, nor any repentance for it, is emphasised.

In fact, considering how common a motif murder was as an impetus for colonisation, we might speculate that Tlepolemos' story was constructed to provide a motif for overseas settlement. According to the 'Catalogue of Ships', Tlepolemos was forced to leave because of the anger of the other Heraklids. But the man he killed seems to have been his grandmother, Alcmene's, half-brother, no relation at all to the Heraklids: is this vengeful anger against one of their own logical? Prinz has suggested that, instead, the entire tale bears signs of being marked by 'koloniale Vorstellungen' and was constructed to fit the eventual outcome, the colonisation of Rhodes.[39]

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[37] E.g. Patroklos: *Il.*23.84-90 and Theoklymenos: *Od.*15.272-8; cf. Dougherty (1993). Note that Malkin (1997) however rightly points out that Tlepolemos' is the oldest known ktisis story: 36-7.
[38] Dougherty (1993), 179; Athanassaki (2003). For a discussion of the role of violence in foundation myths, particularly that of Miletus: MacSweeney (2013), 45-79.
[39] Prinz (1979), 83.

Although the precise context and circulation of the Homeric account is difficult to establish, it is fair to assume that it would have been widely known throughout the archaic and classical period and that Pindar's account of the foundation and colonisation of Rhodes would have been influenced by and interacted with it.

The figure and story of Tlepolemos as a founder remained important to the Rhodians, as the hero's representation in Pindar's *Seventh Olympian* demonstrates: he is called χθονὸς οἰκιστήρ as well as ἀρχαγέτας.[40] In his role as *archagetas*, we are furthermore told, he receives 'μήλων τε κνισσάεσσα πομπὰ καὶ κρίσις ἀμφ᾽ ἀέθλοις'.[41] It is possible that the festival in question was located at Ialysos, home of Diagoras, the ode's honorand, himself twice victorious in the contest,[42] but considering Tlepolemos' pan-Rhodian role already in the *Iliad*, it seems likely that we are dealing here with an island-wide clientele.[43] In either case, we have here evidence for the cultic enactment of a pan-Rhodian myth at least in the first half of the fifth century BC, and plausibly before then. On the other hand, Tlepolemos is not the only founder in Pindar's ode; in fact, some of the crucial elements and details of the foundation are transferred *away* from him to the sons of Helios, the Heliadae.

Pindar's inclusion of Helios in the divine drawing of lots, in which the Sun god chooses Rhodes, has been given much attention, signalling as it does the existence of this myth before the official cult's installation as the unified island's pan-Rhodian symbol. The

[40] Pind. *Ol.*7.30, 78.
[41] Pind. *Ol.*7.80; 78: ἀρχαγέτᾳ. On the cult of 'archagetai': Malkin (1987), 241-50; On hero cult in Pindar specifically (and not in Homer): Currie (2005), 47-57. On the Tlapolemeia: Kowalzig (2007), 247-9. Also see below.
[42] Pind. *Ol.*7.80-1.
[43] On the function of religion and especially festivals in defining the commonalty of regions and micro-regions see e.g. Horden and Purcell (2000), 452-60.

implications for this cult will be discussed further below; what interests us for now is the interplay between these different foundation stories in the 460s BC. Kowalzig has argued that Pindar's ode in fact aims to 'replace' Tlepolemos as founder with Helios – in apparent anticipation of and perhaps even as an impetus to the synoikism that was to follow less than sixty years later.[44] If true, this has significant implications for the role of myth and cult in the motivation and perhaps success of the Rhodian unification. But can we read such a degree of agency into Pindar's poetry? Let us reconsider the two stories as recounted in the *Olympian* ode with this question of the myths' functionality in mind.

The story of Rhodes' appearance out of the sea, when it is singled out by the Sun god as his share, is in many ways a typical example of a 'land-creation myth',[45] describing the physical creation of the island, rather than explaining or justifying the existence of any particular political order or system. And indeed, despite the primordial setting of the Helios-myth, Pindar claims that he is starting 'ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου'.[46] That mythological chronology, or, indeed, any chronology, is not an issue for Pindar's poetic purposes comes as no surprise.[47] What is striking is that he describes the colonisation by Tlepolemos as the *archē,* presumably of Greek civilisation on the island, making this hero's primacy in Rhodian history immediately apparent. Malkin suggests that the main difference between these two myths is precisely that of 'land myth' versus 'political myth'; that Tlepolemos' story denotes the establishment of a political

[44] Kowalzig (2007), 250-7; Hornblower (2004), 131-42, who points out Pindar's play on 'One of three?' in the ode's structure: 133; Bresson (1979), 153-7.
[45] Malkin (1996).
[46] Pind. *Ol.*7.20.
[47] Bresson (1979), 31 on the illogical sequence of events; Sfyroeras (1993), 1-2.

community in the territory of Rhodes.[48] Yet the matter still appears to be a little less clear-cut than that. Although Tlepolemos is the *archagetas* and *oikistēr,* as mentioned above, he is the *chthonos oikistēr,* the settler of the earth or land, rather than of the polis – an interestingly unpolitical choice of phrase. In addition, the tripartite division, the settling into the three Rhodian cities, is not mentioned in connection with Tlepolemos by Pindar. Instead this tripartition is closely linked with Helios' family; describing the seven Heliadae, Pindar writes how 'ὧν εἷς μὲν Κάμειρον /πρεσβύτατόν τε Ἰάλυσον ἔτεκεν Λίνδον τ᾽: ἀπάτερθε δ᾽ ἔχον,/ διὰ γαῖαν τρίχα δασσάμενοι πατρωίαν,/ ἀστέων μοῖραν, κέκληνται δέ σφιν ἕδραι.'[49] Here, then, it is the grandsons of Helios, sons of Kerkaphos (whose name we get from other sources) who divide the land into three, naming each part after themselves. Although the language is still not very 'political', the tripartite division, echoing the tribal distribution mentioned in Homer, pushes this myth into the category defined by Malkin as 'myths of territory'. Immediately following this passage, however, Pindar returns to Tlepolemos the *archagetas*, and his cultic honours. I would argue that, rather than the 'replacing' process seen by Kowalzig, this shows a deliberate interplay and overlap between the two different foundation stories and their functions: the traditionally 'political' myth of Tlepolemos gains elements of 'land' (most obviously through his depiction as *chthonos oikistēr),* while the *timē*-story of Helios and his family is furnished with some elements

[48] Malkin (1996), 10.

[49] Pind. *Ol.*7.73-6. Note the startingly similar language in Hesiod Fr.233 (Merkelbach and West), defining *trichaikes,* 'the threefold people', called thus 'οὕνεκα τρισσὴν γαῖαν ἑκὰς πάτρης ἐδάσαντο', in apparent reference to the Dorians and their tripartite divisions. Like Pindar's account, this fragment makes no reference to *phylai* (unlike the Homeric version).

that are more in line with 'territorial' foundation stories – the tripartite division and naming of their land.[50]

The blending and interchanging of elements of 'land' and 'territory' myths appears to give some political function to the foundation by the descendants of Helios (perhaps at the expense of Tlepolemos' Argive settlement). Evidently the existence and probable manipulation of the Helios-myth in Pindar demonstrates that this was a familiar story to Rhodians by this time already and, just like the story of Tlepolemos, told of a common past and creation of the island. To what extent this was a 'foreshadowing' of the synoikism rather than a reflection of prior regional unity is difficult to establish. Yet the addition of more 'political' elements to the myth in the 460s BC (if correctly postulated) may well help us understand the choice of Helios as the synoikized state's tutelary deity later that century. Was this common myth, that seemingly united Rhodians from Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos in the first half of the fifth century, also reflected or expressed in communal cult, as the relationship to Tlepolemos appears to have been?

Unlike Tlepolemos, Pindar crucially makes no mention of any cultic honours for Helios or any of his family. Yet Gabrielsen, for one, argues that, like other elements often linked with the 408 BC synoikism, worship of Helios in fact goes back earlier. In addition to Pindar's ode, he refers to a bronze prize *kalpis*, bearing the inscription '*ἄθλον ἐγ Ῥόδο παρ᾽ Ἁλίο*',[51] which has been dated to the second half of the fifth century. If this dating is sound, we have here certain evidence for a pre-synoikism

[50] I owe much of this argument to a discussion with Irad Malkin.

[51] *SEG* 27.481. First published by Frel (1975), who read it as '*ἄθλον ἐγ Ῥόδο(ι) παραλίο(ι)*'; more plausibly interpreted by J. and L. Robert as '*᾽ἄθλον ἐγ Ῥόδο(=Ῥόδου) παρ᾽ Ἁλίο(=Ἁλίου)*': *BE* (1976), no.513, and similarly by Johnston (1977).

attestation not only of the cult of Helios, but even of the Halieia games. However, there are several problems with this artefact: first, the *kalpis* was acquired by Frels on the antiquities market, with no information about its provenance. Thus we are lacking any contextual information which might help substantiate its date. In consequence, it has been dated by attempting to insert it into the relative chronology provided by Diehl's collection of *hydriae* – into which it certainly fits well, both in shape and size.[52] However, even within this, still rather limited, number of comparable objects, Diehl posits dates ranging from the beginning of the fifth century down to the end of the fourth century, and attempts to slot in other specimens according to their stylistic particularities.[53] These comparanda let us gain an approximate date for the *kalpis*, but equally demonstrate how uncertain this must remain. As for the inscription, it must be noted that Johnston considered the letter forms to suggest an earlier date, perhaps around the 420s, but himself cautioned that, in view of the lack of information on the provenance, the shortness of the text, and potential imprecision in the transcription, this was by no means conclusive.[54] As a result, I am hesitant to date it before 408/7 – as Gabrielsen optimistically did – and prefer to take it as, probably our earliest piece of evidence for the Halieia of the newly founded Rhodes-town, perhaps awarded at a contest shortly after the synoikism.[55]

Far less ambiguous is the dating to the late sixth century of two inscribed Ionic *olpae*, which bear on them the name ΚΕΡΚΑΦΟ, clearly a reference to Kerkaphos, son of

[52] Diehl (1964), 30-2, nos. B106-36.
[53] Ibid.; on this method: Cook (1997), 249-58, 263.
[54] Johnston (1977). According to him the form of the alphas suggests a comparison with a Thespian prize kalpis, probably dated to the 420s; the theta, as it appears in the transcript, might also support this earlier date.
[55] Nielsen and Gabrielsen (2004), 1196 suggest that it predates 408; Parker (2009), 207 with n.92 already voices some concerns.

Helios and father of the three eponymous heroes of the Rhodian *tripolis*. They were discovered in a votive deposit of an unidentified archaic sanctuary in Trianta, in the territory of Ialysos.[56] This may suggest a cultic presence of this hero, although our evidence is so far too limited to allow us to deduce any information about its character or clientele. The link with Ialysos may, however, be significant – we will return to this below.

On a cultic level, then, we should not overemphasise the significance of Helios in the late archaic and early classical period. It is the cult of Tlepolemos for which we have the only concrete evidence, and which arguably expressed common Rhodian identity long before the synoikism. That this hero and his importance were not occluded by Helios and his descendants can be seen by the survival of this character's foundation myth for centuries to come, remaining largely unchanged, as well as by the continuing celebration of his festival at Rhodes.[57]

The other deities that feature in Pindar's poem are Athena and Zeus. He writes how, born from the union between the Sun god and the nymph Rhodos,[58] the seven Heliadae lived on the island[59] and are instructed by their father to raise an altar for Athena upon the latter's birth as a full-grown goddess. This leads into Pindar's aetiological myth

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[56] *SEG* 46.989; Papachristodoulou (1991), 260; Kowalzig (2007), 244.

[57] Continuation of the festival is confirmed by an inscription from the Rhodian peraia dated to the mid second century BC: Blümel (1991), 555; cf. Morelli (1959), 176. Story of Tlepolemos' foundation in later sources: Diod.Sic.5.59; see also Apollod.2.7.6, 8. The Lindian Chronicle records an offering left by him: *LC* BVI, Higbie (2003), 22-3, 80-1.

[58] The figure of Rhodos herself draws on the Pindaric motif of equating land and woman: thus she is both an island and the eponymous nymph, whom Helios marries; Cf. e.g. Kyrene in Pind.*Pyth*.9. Cf. Young (1968), 76; Athanassaki (2003). On this topos in an archaic Greek aristocratic context: Bresson (1979), 17-25.

[59] This is the chronological order; the poem's narrative tells this story before that of Helios' union with Rhodos.

explaining the mysterious *apyra hiera* offered to Rhodian Athena. For, since some 'λάθας […] νέφος' came upon them in a mysterious way (ἀτέκμαρτα), the Heliadae forget to bring fire onto the acropolis and build the sanctuary with unburnt sacrifices: τεῦξαν δ᾽ ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς/ ἄλσος ἐν ἀκροπόλει.[60] Nonetheless, Athena and Zeus are both pleased and bestow on the sons of Helios a shower of gold and every skill known to mankind.[61] It is interesting that Pindar records this 'first' sacrifice as being an offering to both Athena *and* Zeus. For, although the poliadic Athena cults on Rhodes later included Zeus Polieus, this change did not take place until the late fourth century, at the earliest, according to our epigraphic evidence.[62] An explanation may be found in the Homeric account, already discussed above: it was said that 'θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων' upon the men who settled on Rhodes. The use of the verb κατέχευε is not a far leap from the shower of gold envisaged by Pindar, who evidently chooses to echo and elaborate this image.[63]

Still, it is worth considering whether this repeated focus on Zeus' favour to Rhodes was reflected to a degree in religious practice. The cult that immediately comes to mind is that of Zeus Atabyrios, located atop Mt Atabyrion, the highest mountain of the island, between Kameiros and Lindos (see fig. 1). Its pre-synoikism existence is attested by Pindar himself, who addresses the god: ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου/ μεδέων.[64] Unfortunately the archaeological evidence for this site is scanty for this period, and thus

[60] Pind. *Ol.*7.48-9.
[61] Pind. *Ol.*7.39-52.
[62] For Lindos: *I.Lindos* 57; Blinkenberg (1941), 102-3; Badoud (2015), 44-5 and below.
[63] Hom. *Il.*2.670; Pind. *Ol.*7.49-50: more literal rain: πολὺν ὗσε χρυσόν. Cf. Verdenius (1987), ad loc.
[64] Pind. *Ol.*7.87-8.

cannot help us reconstruct the character of this cult.[65] Both its location and later evidence for its pan-Rhodian nature do however suggest that this, too, was a cult that was open to worshippers from all three Rhodian cities.[66] The connection made both by the Homeric poet and by Pindar between Zeus and Rhodes might then suggest a prominent role of this cult from early on on the island.

So far, then, none of the deities or cults discussed within this pre-synoikism context appear to be particularly tied to one specific polis.[67] For the cult of Athena on 'the acropolis', however, Pindar seems to suggest a particular, polis location. But which acropolis, and which polis does he mean? All three Rhodian cities had poliadic Athena-cults, each located on its respective acropolis, and all dating back, to judge from rich votive deposits, to at least the archaic period, if not earlier.[68] The identity of the victorious athlete, Diagoras, as a member of a prominent Ialysian family,[69] might suggest that it is his hometown that is meant. On the other hand, Pindar's aetiological myth is usually linked to the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, on the Lindian acropolis, due

[65] Bronze bulls discovered on the mountain have been taken to reflect Zeus in his bull-form and have been linked to the Rhodian belief that bulls roared down from the mountain in times of danger: Schol. Pind.*Ol*.7.159f.; Craik (1980), 162; this phenomenon has also been linked with the sinister bronze bull made for Phalaris of Akragas: Papachristodoulou (1991), 254. Craik has suggested that the association with the bull actually stems from the Phoenicians and the myth of Europa, coming to Rhodes via Crete. Cf. Morelli (1959), 46-9, 138-40. Kourou (2004) explores the presence of an archaic Egyptian object dedicated at the sanctuary; her remarks on the general character of the cult in this period are less convincing.

[66] Papachristodoulou (1991), 251-4. More on this cult below.

[67] It is of course possible that this is due to the type of source material we are dealing with – poetry composed by non-Rhodians.

[68] The similarity in the three old Athena acropolis cults manifests itself particularly in the evidence from the votive deposits, which have yielded almost identical material; cf. Kowalzig (2007), 233-5, and more below.

[69] On his family see Paus. 6.7.1-2 and Hornblower (2004), 131-42.

in part to its fame in the wider Greek world, both before the synoikism and probably still after,[70] and in part to the scholion on the ode which informs us that:

'ταύτην τὴν ὠιδὴν ἀνακεῖσθαί φησι Γόργων ἐν τῶι τῆς Λινδίας ᾽Αθηναίας ἱερῶι χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν.'[71]

For Kowalzig, this represents 'one of the most evocative images of antiquity'.[72] If indeed it was dedicated by the Ialysian Diagoras himself in the 460s, this would certainly constitute a strong argument for the sanctuary's prominence in this period and its pan-Rhodian character.[73] It should be noted, however, that the evidential fragment, supposedly from the work of the Rhodian historian Gorgon, is very brief. It provides no information about when this lasting memorial to Pindar's ode and Diagoras' victory was established. We might note that Gorgon himself was probably active during the late Hellenistic period and that the temple of Lindian Athena was supposedly destroyed by a fire in the first half of the fourth century.[74] In addition, Pindar's poem itself includes no discernible reference to Lindos. Indeed, at other points in the ode, the

[70] Note the story of Danaus founding the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, first recounted in Herodotus: Hdt. 2.182; cf. Diod.Sic. 5.58; Str. 14.2.11; Apollod. 2.1.4. For its later fame and reputation see the Lindian Chronicle (Higbie [2003]); although compiled by the Lindians themselves, the many authors referred to support this continuing prominence.

[71] *FGrH* 515 F18.

[72] Kowalzig (2007), 224. Hornblower (2004), 132-4 stresses the collective pride in the victory, indicated by this inscription.

[73] Crucially Momigliano (1936) discusses how an inscription (*Tit.Cam.* 105), now dated to 304-285 BC, indicates that Kameiran documents were deposited in the sanctuary of Athena Lindia at Lindos in the archaic period (sixth century BC) already. The text in question relates to a claim made by two men from Kyrene, who refer to an apparent promise by the Kameirans to their ancestor, one Theodoros, that he, or any of his descendants, be given thirty mna if they ever had need of it. Proof for this is a *keramis* (thus restored by Segre and Pugliese Carratelli, while Momigliano read it as *kerdos),* located in the sanctuary of Athena Lindia. Links between Kyrene (plausibly due to Rhodian involvement in the foundation) and the sanctuary of Athena Lindia can potentially also be observed in *I.Lindos* 44 (late fourth century), as restored by Blinkenberg based on *LC* B17.

[74] *LC* D 39-41; see below on the date.

word 'polis' appears to be used of Rhodes as a whole.[75] Even if this poem was, at a later date, connected with Lindos, it seems much more likely that Pindar is portraying the triple poliadic worship of Athena as one single Rhodian cult – in line with the pan-Rhodian focus of the rest of his ode.

Within its historical context, this Athena myth has some further resonances: Diodorus later places the story within a contest between Rhodes and Athens for gaining Athena's protection; in his account, haste explains the forgetfulness. Although the Heliadae are the first to offer the goddess sacrifice, they forget fire, whereas Kekrops and his Athenians performed the sacrifice in the proper way, but only in second place.[76] Although Pindar does not mention the competitive setting, it is not too farfetched to read this into the subtext: at a time of Athenian power and domination in the Aegean, a claim to making the first sacrifice to Athena and enjoying that goddess' particular benevolence and favour would surely have seemed like an obvious response or even challenge to that city's own claims.[77]

The picture we get, then, of important cults and deities in pre-synoikism Rhodes stems largely from Pindar's *Seventh Olympian*, supplemented by some other literary and archaeological evidence. From this, it appears that the cults of Athena, Zeus, and Tlepolemos existed, all with either a pan-Rhodian clientele, or at least some pan-

[75] Pind. *Ol.* 7.13-4; cf. Hornblower (2004), 132-3. Note that Herodotus, in his description of the Hellenion, includes 'Rhodes' in a list of Dorian *poleis:* 2.178.2.
[76] Diod.Sic. 5.56.6-7. Bresson (1979), 122-5.
[77] For the possible relevance of anti-Athenian feeling in a creating a pan-Rhodian identity and state, cf. Kowalzig (2004), 226, 253-7, 265-6. Cf. [Xen]. *Ath.Pol*. 2.2 and Thuc. 3.2.3 on the advantages for the Athenian empire in preventing synoikisms and keeping communities separate and weak; Meiggs (1972), 210, 363; Reger (1997), 468-70; Demand (1990), 73 and 89-92.

Rhodian significance; in addition, the figures of Helios and his sons and grandsons seem to have acquired prominence, even if not yet ritually present in the first half of the fifth century BC. This strongly pan-Rhodian picture of the island's religious identity needs to be approached with some degree of scepticism, however. As discussed above, there are several reasons why Pindar might have chosen to focus on particularly pan-Rhodian aspects of the island's mythology. It is likely, therefore, that the unity and commonality of Rhodian religion is slightly exaggerated.

Nonetheless, regardless of the extent to which Pindar skewed the evidence to fit his poem's purpose, it is undeniable that there were some strong strands of pan-Rhodianism in the island's cults, already before the synoikism.[78] It is surely not too farfetched to suggest that this prior existence of at least some shared cults was a determining factor not only in the synoikism itself, but also in its success.

1.3. The Rhodian synoikism

With this in mind, we can proceed to consider the synoikism itself, and attempt to determine how it affected the religious sphere.

It has come to be a truism of sorts that Greek religion cannot be viewed separately from the Greek polis; despite some exceptions, the case remains that religious decisions were made by the same civic groups as passed secular decrees; religion was not separable from the state in the same way as in modern countries, nor was there any desire to

[78] Strengthened by the possibility that the ode was performed in a public setting: Kowalzig (2007) suggests that the references to Tlapolemos and the general focus on foundation myths may imply a performance at the local Tlapolemeia festival: 225, 247.

separate it.[79] Consequently, a process of synoikism and the foundation of a new city would have affected not only the political constitution, but also religious life and its regulations and organisation.[80] Cultic questions would have arisen, as well as basic administrative problems, such as how the next series of priests were to be selected. Synoikisms and sympolities were of course common in the Greek world; in some cases we are lucky enough to have detailed accounts in our sources, or even inscribed agreements of the terms of the unification; unfortunately, neither is the case for Rhodes. Although in many ways the best-known case of synoikism, we are forced to hunt for clues as to the specific conditions and effects of this process. Its particular identity and the interplay between local and 'pan-Rhodian' levels will be crucial to our understanding of this development on Rhodes.

To begin with, we must deal with some terminological problems. Although synoikisms took place frequently in the Greek world, there is flexibility and overlap in the precise constitutional and other changes indicated by the term. It appears to cover a variety of processes, from the re-settling of two or more communities into a new city, to a much less extreme sense; as Reger has demonstrated, despite its etymological roots, it need not even imply a physical settling or union of settlements.[81] Indeed, the case of Rhodes immediately confronts us with some of these difficulties in definition: in fact, the word *synoikismos* is not even found in the main account, nor in any of the later references to this process.

Thus, Diodorus tells us that in 408/7 BC:

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[79] Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a) and (2000b); see Kindt (2009) for a review of this model.
[80] For an enlightening approach to negotiating similar concerns in a different context see Kravaritou (2013).
[81] Reger (2004a), 149 and (2001), 161-2 on the range in meaning of *synoikismos.* Cf. Moggi (1976).

'οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥόδον νῆσον κατοικοῦντες καὶ Ἰηλυσὸν καὶ Λίνδον καὶ Κάμειρον μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ῥόδον' (13.75.1).

('Also the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes left the cities of Ielysus, Lindus and Cameirus and settled in one city, that which is now called Rhodes.' trans. Loeb)

Being one of the few explicit references to the synoikism, this information is valuable. Diodorus' choice of the term 'μετῳκίσθησαν' suggests a change in settlement, a 'relocation' into *one* new physical polis.[82] However, although a new centre was clearly created, archaeological and epigraphic records completely refute the picture that there was any substantial resettlement from the old cities to Rhodes-town; on the contrary, Lindos and Kameiros continued to thrive for centuries to come[83] - possibly due to its location, so close to the new metropolis, Ialysos appears to have dwindled, although it never disappeared. This contrasts with the foundation of Megalopolis, for instance, where the sources stress the necessity for a large urban population, leading to the forced eviction of those unwilling to leave their villages.[84] Indeed, the apparently insubstantial number of Rhodians who might have immediately settled in Rhodes-town may explain why accounts of the city's prosperity and splendour only begin around a century after its foundation. Nonetheless, the Rhodian synoikism is seen, by ancient as well as modern authors, as the turning point in the fortunes of Rhodes, the critical moment in determining the future success of the island. For Strabo, the physical splendour of the city of Rhodes is second only to its political constitution and administration; his praise of late Hellenistic Rhodes is a clear indicator that the preceding synoikism was seen as a

[82] On the different connotations of *synoikismos* and *metoikesis* see Demand (1990), 9-10.
[83] Gabrielsen (2000a), 188-9; on the foundation of Rhodes-town from an archaeological viewpoint see Hoepfner (1999). On 'incomplete' synoikism see Demand (1990), 92-4. On our sources: Moggi (1976), 213-26.
[84] Paus. 8.27; Moggi (1976), 293-325; cf. Nilsson (1972), 18-22; Parker (2009), 192-3.

success.[85] Similarly, modern scholars have described the synoikism as the event 'which would lay the foundation of Rhodes' later greatness'.[86] Yet pinpointing the exact changes implemented by this uniting process proves to be very difficult; indeed, a recent sceptical approach has argued that one can neither speak of a 'synoikism', nor date it firmly to 408/7, as most scholars have done in following Diodorus. Instead, Gabrielsen asserts, on the one hand, that a pan-Rhodian unity existed already before the foundation of Rhodes-town but contends, on the other hand, that a full 'political' synoikism never truly occurred, and certainly not prior to the late fourth century.[87] These concerns reflect both the difficulty in defining such a synoikism and the inadequate state of our sources. Notwithstanding this, it is clear that important changes did take place, for there is no doubt that a federal Rhodian state *was* formed, centred on the new capital of Rhodes-town, issuing federal coins, dating its decrees by the eponymous priest of Helios and demoting the three ancient cities of Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros to tribes of the state of Rhodes, each forming a division of the new deme-system.[88] Badoud's work on the time-systems of the Rhodian state confirms without a doubt the structural as well as cognitive shifts that took place in 408 BC, with a complete overhaul of the old calendar marked by the establishment of a common Council and Assembly, while the selection of the first priest of Helios followed in the month of Dalios 407, following the traditional Rhodian calendar.[89]

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[85] Str. 14.2.5; cf. O'Neil (1981) on this passage. Compare Fraser and Bean (1954), 128-9 and Reger (2004a), 172-8 for possible Rhodian influence on the *synoikismoi*/*sympoliteiai* of other settlements.
[86] Berthold (1980), 32; although note Westlake's apt observations that, initially, progress was slow for the new state and city of Rhodes (1984).
[87] Gabrielsen (2000a). But many of Fraser's (1952) earlier arguments for constitutional reforms taking place in the first quarter of the fourth century still stand.
[88] Jones (1987), 242-4; Berthold (1984), 38-58.
[89] Badoud (2015), 23 and see below.

The political changes inherent in such a synoikism were undoubtedly substantial; equally significant, in consequence, would have been the changes noticeable in Rhodian religious life. The synoikism affected social divisions, *phylai, damoi* and possibly also the still poorly understood *ktoinai* and *patrai*[90] –the very groups among which religion was practiced at the different levels. In addition, the development added a 'federal' level, state-organised and state-funded sacrifices. To be truly a 'Rhodian' would thus involve participation in a whole new range of religious activity. New cults were established and with them new priesthoods; these and other religious officials needed to be elected by a set process, decisive in establishing the inclusion of the three old cities and their inhabitants. A few comparanda exist, but the evidence for religious reorganisation after a synoikism is altogether sparse.[91] In trying to trace these developments at Rhodes, several questions will start to emerge, concerning the peculiar choice of Helios as the tutelary deity of the new state – already touched on above - , the evidence of the extensive fragments of priestly catalogues and the interplay between innovation and conservatism in Rhodian religious life.

1.4. Shared time I: The eponymic year and priesthoods

The first aspect I will consider is the organisation and articulation of time in the newly unified state.[92] This can be seen to be expressed both in the cataloguing of eponymous

[90] On these latter: Fraser (1952), 205-6; Gabrielsen (1994b); (1997), 141-54.
[91] E.g. Sherwin-White (1978), 292-3.; Reger (2001); in general: Parker (2009).
[92] See Schipporeit (2016): 'To reach a consensus on the order and sequence of time is a vital prerequisite for a polity: not only to organize the individual agendas of daily life but to develop

priests, and in the sacrificial calendar – both of which point to a strong sacred and potentially ritual element in the enactment of Rhodian time.

A particularly Rhodian feature is the habit of inscribing extensive catalogues of priests– to date, fourteen have been published, some however too fragmentary to identify.[93] This shows a clear interest in monumentalising not only the names of the men who held the important priesthoods of the Rhodian state, but also the succession of years through such lists. In his recent book, Nathan Badoud explored this very subject: '*Le Temps de Rhodes*'[94]. In it, he revisits the dating of Rhodian epigraphy, largely through a critical approach to the dating of the major priestly catalogues – of priests of Athena Lindia, of the Kameiran *damiourgoi* and priests of Athena Polias, and of the priests of Helios – which together form the veritable backbone for Rhodian chronology.[95] Thanks to his careful analysis, both the list of priests of Helios from Rhodes-town and that of priests of Athena Lindia from Lindos can be fairly reliably dated to begin in the years after the synoikism: 407 and 406 BC respectively.[96] While none of the other surviving lists date back to this precise year, there is certainly evidence from the fourth century for the existence of other annually rotating priesthoods, in non-eponymic roles – such as the priests of Athena Polias at Kameiros. In some cases, we find evidence for priesthoods

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a collective identity. This is true not only for synoecized poleis, but for every community. Citizens have to know the days to meet for worship, war, trade, jurisdiction, celebration, joy and grief.'

[93] The nine main ones already listed in Morricone (1952), 360-3: at Lindos: priests of Athena Lindia [and Zeus Polieus], Poseidon Hippios; at Kameiros: *damiourgoi*, priests of Athena Polias, *archierista*i, priests of Apollo; at Ialysos: priests of Apollo Erethimios; at Rhodes-town: list of *prophatai,* priests of Helios and of Asklepios. All now republished in Badoud (2015), *TRI* 1-14.

[94] Badoud (2015).

[95] He also discusses the other, shorter priestly catalogues, as well as the evidence provided by the vast number of amphora stamps bearing on them the current eponymous priest's name.

[96] This is largely what the original editors of both lists – Blinkenberg (1941) and Morricone (1952) respectively – had argued. Their dating, and the consequent linking of these inscriptions to the synoikism, had however been called into question, particularly by Gabrielsen: Gabrielsen (2000a), 187 with n.49.

changing *to* the annual system, for instance in the cult of Poseidon Hippios at Lindos in the late fourth century.[97] The organisation of these priesthoods according to the same model and preserved by the same epigraphic habit[98] suggests an island-wide religious reform – certainly starting with the synoikism, but perhaps an extended process.

A different system of religious personnel may also be detectable in the one pre-synoikism cultic regulation that survives to us. This concerns a Lindian cult-tax for Enyalios from the fifth century.[99] Unfortunately, few parallels to later decrees occur, although worship of Enyalios perhaps continued on Rhodes.[100] A priest is mentioned, with the responsibility of presiding over the money exacted by the general, but the sacrifice to Enyalios is performed by the *prytaneis.* This strikes us as odd, since it is the only occasion on which we find *prytaneis* mentioned in this context; Lindian inscriptions from the fourth century onwards tend to reserve this duty for the *hierothytai* or the *archierothytas*.[101] The reference to *prytaneis* in a Lindian proxeny decree from the late fifth century has often been taken as an indication that, in the years 411-408, Rhodes was experiencing an interim period, preceding the synoikism, with some of the new state's institutions.[102] However, more recently, this theory has rightly been rebuffed.[103] Yet the

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[97] Blinkenberg (1937); Badoud dates the first annual priest to 314 BC: Badoud (2015), 83-9; *TRI* 13.
[98] From the early fourth century onwards, the priests of Helios and Athena Lindia were inscribed year by year; the catalogue of Kameiran *damiourgoi* was inscribed substantially later, possibly in the second century AD: Badoud (2015), 92, 309, 320, 337-8.
[99] Accame (1938); *I.Lindos* 106= *LSS* 85; Gonzales (2008). A date prior to the synoikism has been generally recognised since Accame (220-3), as the decree bears marks of an independent city's constitution, referring to officials not later attested at Lindos.
[100] *IG* XII 5, 913, where he is listed among a number of other (rather obscure) deities to whom Rhodian soldiers are making a dedication in second-century Tenos; Gonzales (2008), 131-4 on the cultic evidence for this god.
[101] E.g. *LSS* 87, 88, 89; cf. Smith (1972), 536-539; *Prytaneis* of course also existed after the synoikism, but were civic officials: e.g. Pol. 15.23.4, 22.5.10, 27.7.2 and 13; van Gelder (1900), 239-242; Berthold (1984), 39.
[102] *I.Lindos* 15 and 16; Blinkenberg (1941), 208-213; Pugliese Carratelli (1951), 81-82; Berthold (1980), 34.

role of the *prytaneis* as sacrificers in the pre-synoikism text may still indicate a subsequent change in Lindian practice; when the emergence of a federal state and new city required the old cities to regulate their religious life more strictly, the duty of performing sacrifice was transferred to a specific and 'expert' group of officials.

The other element to seize on in this context is the information with which the priestly lists provide us for the eponymous system in the synoikised state of Rhodes. Remarkably, eponymous offices continued to exist for the old poleis separately, despite the synoikism and the formation of the new Rhodian state, which dated its business by the annual priests of Helios. Although these new eponyms headed decrees in Rhodes-town itself and are also found in the documents from the Rhodian peraia and surrounding islands,[104] Lindos and Kameiros dated their city's business by the priest of Athena Lindia and the *damiourgos* respectively. It is usually assumed that this denotes a continuation of pre-synoikism organisation.[105]

Despite the surprising lack of uniformity in eponymic practice on the island, certain similarities remain: first and foremost, all three eponyms for which we have real evidence were priests. In the cases of Rhodes-town and Lindos, this meant that the official's title was '*priest*' of Helios or Athena Lindia respectively, while the *damiourgoi* of Kameiros were apparently priests of Hestia and Zeus Teleios.[106] The eponyms of Ialysos were possibly priests of Athena Polias or of Apollo Erethimios.[107]

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[103] Esp. Gabrielsen (2000a), 179-80, 185-7.
[104] E.g. Amos: Bresson (1991), nos. 49 and 51; Syrna: Bresson (1991), no. 59. More on this below.
[105] Based on existence of these separate systems, and on the early history of the cult of Athena Lindia: Fraser (1951), 434-40. However, no pre-synoikism evidence exists for any of these offices.
[106] Certainly they had similar functions to priests: Veligianni-Terzi [1977], 120-33 (who prefers to see them as civic officers with sacred characteristics and duties), and more below. The title

Eponymous priests are, of course, not unprecedented in the Greek world, but it is worth considering how their priestly function might have affected the construction of united Rhodian time.[108] Following the synoikism, the selection of the priest of Helios, alongside that of the priest of Athena Lindia and of the Kameiran *damiourgos*, marked the beginning of each year. The same day saw numerous other annual priests enter their office – by the late fourth century this certainly included the priest of Athena Polias at Kameiros, as well as the *archierista*s and the *hieropoioi*, and the priest of Poseidon Hippios at Lindos.[109] Badoud's work on the Rhodian calendar has demonstrated that this 'eponymic' year began on the 1st of Dalios.[110] A look at the evidence we have for other activity on that day gives us an indication of how this date was celebrated on a ritual level. In the rather limited material, we find three sacrifices prescribed at Kameiros for this very date, the 1st of Dalios. On this day, Athena Polias receives a sacrifice from her priest, while the priest of Dionysos sacrifices a ram to the Muses.[111] More pertinently, the eponymous *damiourgos* is to sacrifice an ox to Helios, on both the 1st and the 20th of Dalios:

Δαλίου νευμηνίαι

'δαμιουργὸς Ἑστίας καὶ Διὸς Τελείου' however appears in only two inscriptions: *Tit.Cam.* 4h and 4i, of which the latter, at least, dates to the Roman period. See Morelli (1959), 135. This divine combination also appears in some Kameiran dedications: *Tit.Cam.* 62, 64, 67, 78.

[107] Speculation on whether this position was occupied by priests of Apollo Erethimios (of whom an inscribed catalogue survives) at Ialysos: Pugliese Carratelli (1949), 157; Dignas (2003), 38; Badoud (2015), 112. Based on later Imperial inscriptions, the priest of Athena Polias is a more likely candidate: e.g. *I.Lindos* 441; 482. More below, chapter 3.

[108] Clarke (2008) points out the role these eponymous priests played in the writing of Rhodian local history, citing their appearance in the 'Lindian Chronicle': 214-5.

[109] The priest list of Athena Polias at Kameiros starts around the year: 334 BC; first annual priest of Poseidon Hippios at Lindos: c.314 BC; joint annual dedications by the *damiourgos*, *hieropoioi* and the *archierista*s begin around 300 BC in Kameiros (*Tit.Cam.* 9-10), and soon incorporate other priests (Apollo, Athena, and Aphrodite appear, albeit inconsistently, by the 250s BC: *Tit.Cam.* 23-4). More below.

[110] Badoud (2015), 18.

[111] Athena Polias: *Tit.Cam.* 148; *LSS* 96; Muses: *Tit.Cam.* 151 = *LSS* 101.

Ἁλίωι βοῦν λευκὸν
ἢ πυρρόν, ἰκάδι βοῦν
λευκὸν ἢ πυρρὸν
δαμιουργὸς θύει.
Πανάμου ἔσω ἰκά-
δος αἴγας τρεῖς
ἱεροποιοὶ θύο̣ν̣[τι]
κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ἰ̣ε̣ρ̣[— — —]
[— — — — — — —][112]

On the 1st of the month Dalios, to Helios, an ox, white or tawny; the demiourgos 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 [...] (trans. *CGRN* 110).

In addition the *hieropoioi* are instructed to sacrifice three goats to the same deity[113] in the month of Panamos. Three occasions of sacrifice are attested, then, for the first day of Dalios. Since all these rituals are attested from separate inscriptions – as of yet no Rhodian fasti have been discovered – it is not improbable that there were other sacrifices on this day. In fact, no other date exists for which more than one sacrifice is attested in our material. This indicates the significance of the ritual articulation of the start of the eponymic year. Certainly the priests of Athena Polias and the *damiourgoi* were selected annually;[114] this means that these sacrifices constituted their first, inaugural duty upon entering their office. It also means that this date would have been marked by religious significance and celebration for the Kameiran population, who surely participated to some extent in such major sacrifices.

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[112] *Tit.Cam*. 152=*LSS* 97=Segre (1951) n.2; now also *CGRN* 110. Cf. Börker (1978a) and Trümpy (1997), 167-79 on the order of the Rhodian calendar.
[113] The standard format of these Rhodian sacrificial prescriptions, as discussed at greater length below, is that they list only sacrifices to one deity, relating to ritual activity in a specific sanctuary, in which they were located.
[114] As demonstrated by the priestly catalogues: *damiourgoi*: *Tit.Cam.* 2-4; priests of Athena Polias: *Tit.Cam.* 5-6.

Finally it must, I think, be significant that this sacrifice was made to Helios instead of the gods of which the *damiourgos* himself was priest – Hestia and Zeus Teleios. Perhaps this was a ritual carried out by all the new eponyms on Rhodes on the same day and to the same god. For even if Badoud is right in speculating that the eponymic year was a continuation of the old, pre-synoikism, Rhodian calendar, the institution of the cult of Helios and its priest as the prime marker of this temporal organisation was an innovation. As has already become apparent from his role in Pindar, Helios symbolised the united Rhodian state. The Kameiran text demonstrates that, even in this community in which he apparently had no independent cult, ritual worship of him framed the eponymic year: a sacrifice is made by the newly elected *damiourgos* on the 1st of Dalios, while the *hieropoioi* are instructed to sacrifice three goats to him before the 20th of Panamos – the final month of the eponymic year, during which the selection process of the new eponymous officials took place.[115]

Is this evidence, scattered and in some instances impossible to date, enough to speak of a ritual enactment of the Rhodian unification? As a comparison, we might consider the cult of Aphrodite Pandamos in post-synoikism Kos. As Robert Parker has demonstrated, this deity was closely associated with that island's synoikism: her epithet clearly connects her with a broad ideal of unifying the 'whole damos', and this appears to have been acted out ritually as well. For sacrifices were made to this goddess on the same day in both the synoikised city of Kos, and in two of the polis' demes, located at some distance from the city. Although the evidence substantiating this theory is

[115] Badoud also suggests that the Halieia might have taken place on the 1st of Dalios (2015: 127), although this has been called into question by Iversen (2017), 195-7 who argues that the festival ended on the 24th of Panamos. This would link it rather with the sacrifice carried out by the Kameiran *hieropoioi*.

fragmentary and difficult, Parker's comments about this cult's role as unifying the Koan people through common sacrifices ring true.[116]

Although the evidence from Rhodes is even more problematic and unsatisfactory, we can conclude that, symbolically, Helios indeed represented the new Rhodian state, which surely inspired or influenced cultic honours to him elsewhere on the island and in its surrounding territory. The god's link to the start of the eponymic year provides an interesting insight into his connection to the organisational structures of Rhodian religious life.

1.5. Shared Time II: The Sacrificial Year

The suggestion that sacrificial activity marked key dates in the eponymic year leads us to a consideration of the sacrificial calendar of the newly synoikised state itself. Evidence for a reform of religious personnel was laid out above, and parallel cases support very strongly the theory that serious calendar reform would have taken place at the same time. In particular, the calendar from Hellenistic Mykonos is useful to cite. 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.[117]
>
> *Under the archons Kratinos, Polyzelos, Philophron, when the poleis were synoikicized, it pleased the Mykonians to make the following sacrifices in addition to the old ones and corrections were carried out concerning the old ones.*[118]

[116] Parker (2002), esp. 152-5.
[117] *LSCG* 96.2-5.
[118] Trans. Reger (2001), 159.

In explicit terms, the document refers to the specific situation of the island's synoikism – which we, however, know very little else about.[119] This means that it is near impossible to discern which of the sacrifices listed in the text are modified and which are new.[120] Nonetheless, it provides unambiguous evidence for the sort of religious reorganisation we might expect to follow such a political unification. The detailed fourth-century sacrificial calendar that survives from Kos probably provides another example. This island also underwent a synoikism around 366 BC[121] and the document in question was discovered at the newly founded town.[122] 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.

It seems highly likely that a similar calendar was drafted at Rhodes. Unfortunately, however, no such document has yet been discovered. Instead we are faced with a peculiar phenomenon on the island: although we have several short inscriptions (largely from Lindos and Kameiros) which seem to be sacrificial calendars of sorts – that is, texts that give the month and date of a specific sacrifice – they do not belong to the same document. On the contrary, they seem to have been affixed to the sanctuary of the deity to whom the sacrifice was directed.[123] The general format followed is very similar: most inscriptions begin by stating the month, then the deity in question, sometimes with a specific cult epithet, next the sacrificial offering and finally the official who is to

[119] Reger (2001).
[120] See Carbon (2015), 540-2 on an interpretation of this document within a seasonal context.
[121] Diod.Sic. 15.76.2. Moggi (1976), 325-41.
[122] RO 62 and commentary; *IG* XII 4, 274-8. Sherwin-White (1978), 292.
[123] *LSCG* 140 (Poseidon Phytalmios), 142 (Helios); *LSS* 87 (Demeter), 88 (Zeus and Athena), 94 (Poseidon), 96 (Athena Polias), 97 (Helios), 102 (Apollo Pedageitnios) etc.

carry out the sacrifice. Crucially each document contains ritual instructions for only *one* deity,[124] to be carried out at various points throughout the year – as demonstrated by the Helios inscription cited above. Yet the similarities should not be overstated; there remains substantial variety in the elements present in each text, in the dating, and in the group involved in each ritual. Most significantly, some appear to refer to 'private' sacrifices, performed by an association, rather than to civic ones.[125]

The precise function and classification of these texts has long been a matter of debate among scholars. Segre noted that the sacrifices prescribed for Helios appeared not to follow chronological order. Thus, he argued, they ought not to be called '*fasti*' or 'sacrificial calendars'.[126] Only one deity is indicated and the order seems rather to be determined by the seniority of the officiators than by date; in this case, the sacrifice performed by the *damiourgos*, being the eponymous official of Kameiros, is consequently named before the sacrifice performed by the *hieropoioi*, a hierarchy which can also be observed in numerous group dedications.[127] Although this is an interesting suggestion, more recent work on the Rhodian calendar has demonstrated that all these sacrificial

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[124] Aside from *Tit.Cam.* 151 = *LSS* 101 which prescribes sacrifices for both the Muses and for Mnamosyne; both are however to be performed by the same priest (of Dionysos), implying an identical location.

[125] This seems to be the case for *LSCG* 142, which gives a sacrifice performed by a sub-civic group, the 'Lakoi'; cf. *CGRN* 117; possibly also *I.Lindos* 677 = *LSS* 98, which consists of a single sacrifice at the altar(?) of Mainyros, perhaps an eponymous hero (so Blinkenberg); plausibly connected to a *koinon* of Mainyridai: Blinkenberg (1941) ad loc.; on its variation from the 'standard' format, see Segre (1951), 139, 150; cf. *CGRN* 153. See below chapter 5.

[126] Segre (1951), 142-7. Note that for one text, that listing sacrifices to Athena Polias at Kameiros, Blinkenberg (1939) believed that this text was truly a fragment from a public sacrificial calendar, listing offerings to Athena Polias and Artemis: he read it as 'Δαλίου νευμη[νίαι]/ Ἀθάναι Πολιά[δι ἄρνα]/ ἱερεὺς θύει *αρ[να Δαλι-]/ ου διχομηνίαι Αρ[ταμιτι]*/ ἰάρη θύει' (ibid. no.11, ll.1-5; my italics); Segre, however, basing his argument on a larger number of parallels and a revised reading of the text, denied that this document was breaking the general pattern of referring to only one deity, and suggested the following corrections, now generally accepted: 'Δαλίου νευμη[νίαι]/ Ἀθάναι Πολιά[δι ἄρνα]/ἱερεὺς θύει. *Ἀρ[ταμιτί]-/ου διχομηνίαι ἄρ[να]*/ἰάρη θύει .' (Segre [1951], no. 3, ll.1-5, my italics). See also *Tit.Cam.* 148; in general, Segre (1951), 142-7.

[127] E.g. *Tit.Cam* 10, 15, 27, 30, 38. More on this hierarchy below.

texts do in fact adhere to the order of months – at least if one follows the eponymic year, rather than the civic one.[128]

Following recent scholarship then, we can return to seeing these documents primarily as extracts from a bigger, state-wide sacrificial calendar, amended to include sacrifices to new deities (like Helios), and affixed to relevant temples or altars throughout the island to serve as aides-mémoire.[129] This case is somewhat strengthened by the recent discovery of an inscription from Kos, which appears to fall into a similar category: it consists of the broken lower part of a marble stele, recording sacrifices to the goddess Rhea.[130] These are listed for a number of occasions throughout the year, apparently in chronological order. Strikingly, two and a half lines are almost identical to the relevant section of Kos' (post-synoikism) *fasti*.[131] Evidently this text records extracts from the official calendar relating only to the cult of Rhea. Thus it is tempting to postulate a similar process by which specific changes or emendations to the sacrificial calendar were copied out and set up at the cultic site affected. A few words of caution: for one thing, the new Koan text is much longer than any of our Rhodian examples. For another, its interpretation as a collection of fasti-extracts relies also on the repeated use of the goddess' name throughout – indicating, as the editors argue, the mechanical fashion in which this occurred. This is clearly not the case in the Rhodian inscriptions,

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[128] Börker (1978a); some changes in Trümpy (1997), 178, followed by Badoud (2015), 21; Iversen (2017), 194, reverts to Börker's order of months; yet these differences do not affect the present argument (the months in question do not appear in the sacrificial regulations). For the parallel existence of more than one calendar in the same polis, see Clarke (2008), 21-2.

[129] Note the great altar to Helios at Kameiros in the vicinity of which the sacrificial text was discovered: *Tit.Cam.* 144.

[130] Not yet published. I am exceedingly grateful to Prof Hallof for sharing his preliminary manuscript with me.

[131] Ll.7-9 recording offerings on the 9th of Agrianios; cf. *IG* XII 4, 274 ll.2-5.

which are not only substantially shorter, but also only provide the receiving deity's name once. Nonetheless, such deity-specific sacrificial calendars are otherwise – to my knowledge – completely unattested. For this reason, the similarities between the Koan text and the Rhodian examples are still worth emphasising, pointing, as they do, to a comparable epigraphic habit, dealing with a similar situation.

Perhaps more problematically, both the Koan example and the majority of the Rhodian texts appear, based on letter-forms, to date later than either island's synoikism – to the third century BC. However, two of our Rhodian examples have been dated to the fourth century, both from Lindos, one possibly as early as 400 BC,[132] demonstrating that this epigraphic convention may indeed have had its roots in the years immediately following the synoikism.

One of these texts deserves a closer look in this context:

vacat
1 [Ἀθάνα]ι Ἀποτροπαία[ι]
ὄ̣ις· θυέτω ἀρχιερο-
θύτας· τὰ θυθέντα̣
αὐτεῖ καταχρῆσθαι.
5 γυναι̣ξὶ οὐχ ὁσία *vacat*
vacat
6 Σμινθίου τρίται ἐπὶ δέκα·
Ζηνὶ Ἀποτροπαίωι̣ κριός,
Ἀθάναι Ἀποτροπαίαι ὄις·
θύει ἀρχιεροθύτας. τὰ θυ-
10 θέντα αὐτεῖ καταχρεῖσθα[ι].
γυναιξὶν οὐκ ὁσία *vacat*.[133]

[132] Sacrifice to Zeus Amalos: *I.Lindos* 26 = Blinkenberg (1939), no.1 = *LSS* 89; now also *CGRN* 63. Blinkenberg dates this to c.400 BC; *LSS* gives the fourth century more generally, although with no justification. Sacrifice to Athena Apotropaia: *NSER* 20a = *LSS* 88 (fourth century) and *CGRN* 62 (c.400 BC). Photograph in *NSER:* clear that the *vacat* above the first line is accurate. Note that both texts exclude women from the ritual; see below on this.
[133] *LSS* 88 = *CGRN* 62. The cult of these deities is otherwise unknown on Rhodes; they appear together in a document from Erythrai, concerning the sales of priesthoods: *LSAM* 25.

To Athena Apotropaia, a sheep. Let the archierothytes sacrifice it. What has been sacrificed is consumed on the spot. Not permitted to women.

On the 13th of Sminthios: to Zeus Apotropaios, a ram; to Athena Apotropaia, a sheep. The archierothytes sacrifices it. What has been sacrificed is consumed on the spot. Not permitted to women. (trans. *CGRN* 62).

Of this inscription, the first part (ll.1-5) is dated to the fourth century, the second (ll.6-11) to the second century BC. Like the other texts discussed, it is inscribed on a small plaque and thought to have been affixed to a temple or altar of Athena (and Zeus) Apotropaios. There are however some unusual features: first, why is there no date for the sacrifice to Athena Apotropaia stipulated in the earlier inscription? And second, what are we to make of the amended second half of the text? It has been taken to demonstrate a cultic reform, in which Zeus was added to this particular cult – a plausible suggestion, and one which has bearing on the more general phenomenon of these sacrificial documents. Clearly some existed already in the early years of the synoikised state, although their occasional inconsistency (such as the lack of a precise date) might suggest that this was not a top-down religious organisation, but rather an epigraphic habit that spread and adapted to the particular needs of each cultic site. The inscription recording the addition of a sacrifice to Zeus Apotropaios further supports the documents' function as aides-mémoire relating especially to changes to cultic rituals. This would also help to explain the extreme brevity of the texts – most list only one or two offerings and even the longest, that listing sacrifices to Athena Polias at Kameiros,[134] consists of only four or perhaps five ritual occasions – a paltry amount for such a prominent goddess. Another possibility is that this format developed as a

[134] *LSS* 96 = *CGRN* 109; see above n.126.

consequence of the shift to annual priesthoods, discussed above, which would require efficient ways of transmitting crucial ritual knowledge.

A direct link with the synoikism is not possible, due to the dating and other inherent difficulties of these sacrificial inscriptions. Yet the recently discovered parallel from Kos, as well as the interpretation of these texts as recording amended or new rituals, perhaps extracted from the official *fasti*, does suggest some connection with the major changes that took place on Rhodes. Arguably such a diffusion of specifically targeted sacrificial instructions was a response to the newly centralised religious organisation of the state of Rhodes, still affecting, however, the cultic life of the old centres at Lindos, Kameiros and Ialysos, where these texts come from.

1.6. Sub-levels of religious organisation: phylai and demes

So far I have attempted to trace the reorganisation of religious time in the synoikised state of Rhodes, through the media of eponymous priesthoods and sacrificial calendars. Both show a degree of unity and common, centralised organisation, but nevertheless also demonstrate the continued separation between and even autonomy of the three old communities, particularly in the religious sphere.[135] This is evident partly in a physical sense, through the continuing presence and popularity of local sanctuaries,[136] and partly on an organisational level, through the tribal and deme systems.

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[135] Demand (1990), 93: 'The synoikism of Rhodes was unusual in the degree to which the synoikised cities had a continued physical and political existence'; van Gelder (1900), 305; Blinkenberg (1941), 63; Jones (1987), 243-4; Gabrielsen (1997), 29-30; Nielsen and Gabrielsen (2004), 1196; Kowalzig (2007), 264.

[136] This will form the main focus of the next chapter.

As mentioned above, the three old poleis and their territories became '*phylai*' of sorts of the new state, called Ialysia, Kameira and Lindia.[137] These were in turn subdivided into demes – twelve in the case of Lindos and at least nine, but conceivably also twelve in Kameiros and Ialysos.[138] How exactly did these divisions, apparently still based on the old territorial tripartite division of the island, relate to the new state and its capital city? It has long been recognised that Rhodes-town 'stood outside the deme-organisation',[139] that is, that there were no 'Rhodian' demes. This has been explained by recourse to an ideal of fairness in the unified state, which relied on the equal participation and rights of citizens of each of the three old cities. How then should we imagine the population of Rhodes-town and, more specifically, its worshipping community? The rich evidence from the *asty's* funerary monuments, compiled by Fraser, indicates that Rhodians living in the new capital kept their original demotics, tying them to one of Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros.[140] But how was this tribal relationship or allegiance borne out? Fundamentally, of course, the Rhodians of the new capital, just like those who might have remained in one of the old cities, now belonged to the same polis, and were united by this shared citizenship. Yet the continued existence of the old centres, with separate councils, assemblies, and civic offices, demonstrates the dual identities that might have been noticeable in the political as well as in the religious sphere. As we shall see, these

[137] The tripartite division on the basis of the three original poleis is clear, but it should be noted that the terms I used to refer to them (Ialysia, Lindia and Kameira) are attested exclusively in agonistic contexts (referring to tribal contests): Kontorini (1975); cf. also *Tit.Cam.*63, *NSER* 19 I.6.
[138] van Gelder (1900), 207-22; Pugliese Carratelli (1951), 87-8; Jones (1987), 245-50; Papachristodoulou (1999a).
[139] Fraser and Bean (1954), 79; cf. Fraser (1977), 47-8 with n.246.
[140] Given its location in Ialysian territory it has been speculated whether one of the demes of the polis comprised the site of the new city, but, even if this is territorially true, the wide variety of demotics attested from the funerary monuments in particular leaves us in no doubt about the mix of Rhodians who inhabited the *asty*: Fraser (1977).

divisions bore upon important religious regulations, such as eligibility to stand for a priesthood in a specific year. What we might ask ourselves, in view of this, is to what extent these tribal divisions affected the development of Rhodian religion and society, that is, whether there were specifically Lindian or Kameiran agendas that were pursued in the Rhodian Assembly, and to what extent these divided citizens according to their *phyla.*

In his publication of inscriptions from the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, Blinkenberg studied the prosopography of the catalogue of this goddess' priests. He noticed that members of the same families tended to hold this priesthood in intervals of multiples of three years; this corresponded to a more general pattern in which men of the same deme were also separated by multiples of three. Since Lindos was divided into twelve demes, not three, Blinkenberg concluded that this pattern must conform to three groupings of four demes each.[141] Three being the common number of tribes in Dorian cities, he asserted that these groupings were likely to correspond to such *phylai.*[142] These 'tribal' divisions seem to have existed as a further means of grouping demes, in our period, although we do not find them playing any significant role on their own.

Blinkenberg's ingenious 'règle triennale' has since been applied to the list of the eponymous *damiourgoi* at Kameiros, where a similar tripartite grouping of demes can be observed[143] and, on a larger scale, to the priest lists of Helios. This federal cult, located in Rhodes-town, apparently regulated the access to its priesthood by rotating it between

[141] Blinkenberg (1941), 95-6; Fraser (1953); Habicht (2005).
[142] On the tribal organisation of the old Rhodian cities see Fraser (1951), 382-5; Jones (1972), 242-50.
[143] Benediktsson (1940); Fraser (1953), 39-40.

members of the three broadest divisions of Ialysia, Kameira and Lindia.[144] Again, this suggests an island-wide organisation of priesthoods, implemented with the introduction of the priesthood of Helios in 407 BC. It also highlights the different levels of social divisions and their relevance for holding religious office: one's deme determined the year in which one could be elected to the major priesthoods.[145] This strict subdivision and its relevance to the election of priests underlines the ideal of equality that seems to have formed the basis for many Rhodian institutions. Furthermore, it is tempting to postulate that a similar notion underlay those offices that existed in colleges: in the religious sphere these consist of, broadly speaking, the *hierothytai* and *hierotamiai*, attested in Lindos, and in Kameiros the *hieropoioi*. The number of men who made up these colleges could vary, but, almost without exception, seems to have consisted of a multiple of three: Lindian *hierothytai* are found in groups of either nine or fifteen, and the *hierotamiai*, too, seem to have been nine in number in the Hellenistic period; when they are attested later, their number has shrunk to three. The college of *hieropoioi* at Kameiros, documented in dozens of joint dedications, usually numbered twelve, although there are odd cases, among the earliest attested examples, in which either eight or eleven appear.[146] Finally, it has been conjectured that the same tribal basis may have determined the *epistatai* recorded at Lindos and Kameiros, numbering three, as well as other civic colleges such as *episkopoi, logistai, praktores* and

[144] Morricone (1952); Papachristodoulou (1999a), 29-30.
[145] Papachristodoulou (1999a), 32-5.
[146] *Hieropoioi*: eight in *Tit.Cam*. 10; eleven in *Tit.Cam*. 11; twelve in *Tit.Cam*. 12, 13, 14, 14b, 15 etc. On the possibility of election to these offices occurring on a tribal basis see Fraser (1951), 453-70; Winand (1987), 53-4 argues that the variation in the number of Lindian *hierothytai* was due to the inclusion of demes situated in incorporated territories – an important indication, if true, that Lindians did not (or were unable to?) entirely restrict the involvement of these peraian demesmen in their religious organisation.

grammateis.[147] Of course, much of this remains conjectural, since we have no evidence on the selection processes involved in electing these officials. Yet the theory is attractive, suggesting, as it does, that the tripartite tribal division in Lindos and Kameiros was the basis for many such administrative concerns relating to official appointments.

All these observations demonstrate the continuing emphasis on the three old cities. No demes existed for the new city of Rhodes-town; rather, all remained linked to Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros – including those of the 'incorporated' Peraia.[148] Through membership of a deme, all Rhodian citizens were technically eligible to become priest of Helios. In addition, the three old centres apparently continued to select and regulate a high number of religious offices, attached only to their city.

What of these priesthoods (eponymous and otherwise) that remained connected to the old cities, that of Athena Lindia or Poseidon Hippios at Lindos, of Athena Polias at Kameiros, or of Apollo Erethimios at Ialysos, to name just a few? More will be said on this in the chapter on priesthoods, but for now it is worth noting that they appear to have remained under the authority of the local bodies of government of the old cities. We saw that priests of Athena Lindia and *damiourgoi* were certainly limited to demesmen of that particular tribe or division. Prosopographical evidence further shows

[147] *Epistatai*: e.g. *Tit.Cam*. 30; 54; *IG* XII 1, 761; *I.Lindos* 350 also lists the three *hierotamiai*; *I.Lindos* 378 includes in a long list 3 *epistatai*, 3 *hierotamiai*, 3 *logistai*, 3 *praktores* and 3 *grammateis*; cf. Fraser (1951), 454 and Winand (1987), 54-65.
[148] Fraser and Bean (1954), 79-82; Rice (1999a); Carusi (2003), 219-21. More on this in chapter 4.

that, for the most part, men held office in just one of the old cities – and the majority of these were religious offices.[149]

This importance of local government in determining religious regulations is strengthened by two decrees from the late fourth century BC. Thus, a Lindian decree, from 304 BC,[150] honours thirty Lindians for having supported a trial concerning the process of selecting religious officials and participation in sacred practices. After listing the thirty men who thus distinguished themselves, it continues:

> 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
> αὐτῶν Λινδίων καθ' ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις γέγραπται κα[ὶ μ]ὴ μετέ-
> χωντι τῶν ἐν Λίνδωι ἱερῶν οἳ μὴ καὶ πρότερον μετεῖχον…[151]
>
> *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 noone participate in the cults in Lindos who did not participate before…*

The Lindians are praising the men who represented their wishes in court, presumably in the face of federal pressure from the Rhodian polis. Specifically, they appear to have been concerned with the location of Lindian religious elections, emphatically proclaiming that these would take place ἐν Λίνδωι, as well as restricting participation in the Lindian *hiera*. Following Badoud's important work linking this text to the incorporation of the Rhodian peraia in the same year (304 BC), it seems highly plausible that, as he too argues, the lawsuit in question sought to exclude those 'new Lindians'

[149] Detailed case-studies of this in chapter 3.
[150] Recently down-dated from 325 BC: Badoud (2011), 547-53; *TRI* 22.
[151] *IG* XII 1, 761, ll.38-42; cf. Fraser (1952), 192-7; Gabrielsen (1997), 130-4.

who belonged to Lindian demes in the peraia.[152] This successful policy of religious exclusiveness at a moment when the Rhodian state was extending citizenship to a large number of new men clearly demonstrates that some tensions existed between the federal and tribal levels in post-synoikism Rhodes. The insistence on the continued physical location of Lindos as a centre for religious organisation implies a centralizing tendency of the Rhodian polis, clearly and effectively countered by the Lindian *phyla.* The reference to carrying out these election processes καθ' ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις γέγραπται, may refer to a previous drawing up of such regulations, possibly in connection with the synoikism, as part of the other changes that were being instigated. The crucial question remains, however, whether the laws referred to were Lindian ones, or federal Rhodian ones. If they were federal, one might postulate that they are the same laws that a Kameiran decree, also from 304 BC, according to Badoud, is looking back at when it states that 'ἐγ δὲ ταυτᾶν τᾶν κτοινᾶν ἀποδεικνύειν τοὺς/κτοινάτας μαστρὸν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶι ἁγιωτάτωι/ἐν τᾶι κτοίναι *κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῶν Ῥοδίων*'.[153] However, the difference between these two decrees, and their response to the effects of the synoikism and the incorporation of the peraia is arguably more important than whether both are referring to the same laws. For, unlike the Lindian decree, the Kameiran text is emphasising its inclusion of the new regions allocated to its tribe, and apparently expanding its number of *mastroi* to reflect the incorporation of new *ktoinai* in

[152] Badoud (2011), esp. 547-50. Cf. Fraser and Bean (1954), 130-7; Bresson (1991), nos. 3 and 8; id. (1999), 105-6; Rice (1999a); Dignas (2003), 46. More on this in chapter 4.
[153] *IG* XII, 1 694 = *Tit.Cam*. 109; NOT as van Gelder (1900: 222) thought, a decree dating to an interim period immediately following the synoikism: Momigliano (1936), 57-60. Cf. Blinkenberg (1941), 62.

the peraia.[154] The stele recording the complete list of Kameiran *ktoinai*, including those in the peraia, is to be set up in the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Kameiros – this contrasts starkly with the Lindian efforts at excluding peraians from *their* sanctuary of Athena, summing up dramatically the different responses by the two tribes to the same historical event: the incorporation of the peraia.

More generally, both inscriptions cited in this context indicate interest and involvement by the Lindians and Kameirans in their local religious organisation *after* the synoikism.[155] The Lindians' success in excluding peraian demesmen reveals that a degree of autonomy was possible, and that a particular religious agenda could apparently be pursued by the different tribes in the new Rhodian state.

Here we return again to the evidence provided by the sacrificial calendar extracts. Although these might well reflect changes to sacrificial practice implemented at a federal level, they were found in Lindos and Kameiros, and refer to duties of local religious officials. Interestingly, this broad 'tribal' level of religious organisation and practice appears with much greater frequency than the deme level in our evidence. Thus, although we do find one sacrificial document referring to a sacrifice to Artemis 'es Phagas' carried out in the Ialysian deme of the Pontoreis,[156] this is far outweighed by the evidence for religious activity carried out and organised by Ialysians, Lindians, or Kameirans more generally.[157] This situation seems to be different from, for instance, that

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[154] With the exception of Chalkis, which apparently had a special status. See Badoud (2011), 547-50 with App.1.

[155] The Kameiran decree starts with the phrase: 'ἔδοξε Καμιρεῦσι'; the Lindian one: 'ἔδοξε μαστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις'. The decrees were thus passed by the local governments.

[156] *I.Lindos* 680 = *LSS* 92; cf. Morelli (1959), 114.

[157] This does not seem to apply to demes located in the peraia, e.g., *LSS* 111 = Bresson (1991), no. 102 (lex sacra of deme of Tymnioi); cf. Fraser and Bean (1954), 6-20, nos. 8-10 from deme of Amioi = Bresson (1991), nos. 49-51; Papachristodoulou (1999a), 32.

at Athens, where we certainly have much evidence for religious practice on the deme-level, but also from nearby synoikised Kos. Here too, a fair number of inscriptions attest to deme-specific sacrifices, priesthoods, and other religious regulations.[158] It is possible that this is due to the focused nature of the excavations, which centred on the acropoleis and urban settlements; the scattered references to deme activity were discovered away from these major sites, near smaller settlements. Future surveys might well shed greater light on the life of Rhodian demes. However, the emphasis on the primary subdivision of the state, into the *phylai* of Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos should still not be understated.

I have demonstrated how the synoikism affected the organisation of religious life on Rhodes, and how crucial the division into three was – the entire population was divided into three *phylai*, each of which was subdivided again into three parts, forming the basis for the selection processes for a number of religious – and plausibly other – offices. Through it, at least symbolically, equal participation by Lindians, Kameirans and Ialysians was ensured in the most eminent religious office of the new state – the priesthood of Helios.

1.7. The Selection of Cults in Rhodes-town

The administration and organisation of religious life was one major aspect of the Rhodian synoikism. I noted the concern to preserve the traditional tripartite divisions in

[158] Note e.g. the relatively detailed sacrificial calendar from the Koan deme of Halasarna: Kokkorou-Alevras (2004); Paul (2013a), 189-257 covers the evidence for religious practice and organisation in the demes of Halasarna, Isthmos, Phyxa, Haleis, Hippia and Antimachia.

more than one area. Do we see similar concerns in the promotion and selection of cults after the synoikism, both in the newly-founded city of Rhodes-town and in the old centres of Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros?

Evidence for the cultic implication of synoikisms is sparse. I already discussed the crucial evidence from Mykonos and Kos that informs us about the drafting of new sacrificial calendars. In cases where we do find a stipulation of the terms of a union between settlements, religion and cultic observance are frequently mentioned: Robert Parker collected nine such cases in his brief study on 'subjection, synoecism and religious life'. Particularly in 'unequal' sympolities, it is frequently stipulated that the citizens of the 'smaller' partner will participate equally in the rites of the 'bigger' partner; at the same time there may be a guarantee that the cults of the 'minor' party will continue to be performed, according to ancestral custom.[159] In the case of Rhodes, where no city was clearly dominant, and where there was no case of one community being absorbed by another, the questions about preservation of cult would also have been relevant, but primarily in relation to the new city and its religious life. What factors shaped the creation of this new pantheon? A more detailed investigation of the cultic developments in Rhodes-town on the one hand, and the three old communities on the other, will follow in the next chapter. At present, I will limit myself to asking: what cults were particularly emphasised in the foundation of the new city, the capital of the

[159] Parker (2009); e.g. the agreement between Mantinea and Helisson from the early fourth century BC specifies that 'the sacrifices shall be performed and sacred missions (θεαρίαι) received in Helisson in accord with tradition' (199). Cf. Reger (2004a) esp. 171-2 for the tension that synoikism could cause for local cults, especially for the 'lesser partners' confronted with the more powerful polis' religious organisation.

synoikised state of Rhodes? And how do these choices and their ritual enactment square with our picture of Rhodian identity?

The new city of Rhodes was famed in antiquity for its beauty and splendour. Its layout was, in fact, attributed to the famous architect Hippodamos of Miletos, although this claim has been rejected by modern scholars.[160] Even if designed by a different architect, however, the city still emerged as a very well-organised structure, with a rectangular street grid and wide areas devoted to public buildings and temples. However, much of the evidence for the city's grandeur refers to the Hellenistic period.

Rhodes-town's development in the fourth century appears to have been gradual at first: for although the new city was to cover the entire promontory by the third century, it was initially concentrated only on a part of the site; that is, building work and urban planning were ongoing throughout the fourth century.[161] Diodorus' description of the great flood of 316 BC provides us with an impression of the city's layout and size at this point: it possessed a substantial lower city with temples and a market-place, as well as a theatre, statues and altars.[162] Among the buildings he mentions explicitly are temples of Asklepios and Dionysos, located in the lower city. This literary account supplements the archaeological evidence we have for sanctuaries constructed in the fourth century, and thus in the first phase of the new city's building programme.

Located atop the hill now called 'Monte Smith', in the western part of the promontory, monumental buildings were excavated already by the Italian archaeological mission,

[160] Str. 14.2.9; cf. e.g. Berthold (1984), 56 with n.65; Hoepfner (1999).
[161] Much of this is based on the archaeological evidence for fortification and urban settlement, which appears to have expanded substantially following the siege by Demetrios: Konstantinopoulos (1990); Pimouguet-Pédarros (2004); Filimonos-Tsopotou (2004).
[162] Diod.Sic. 19.45.

including a stadium, an odeion and several sanctuaries. One of these was identified as a temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, at the northern edge of the acropolis, of which however only very sparse ruins remain. Not much information is available on this building, but it does seem to date from the fourth century.[163]

Although the remains tell us very little, the mere presence of this cult on the acropolis is significant in the Rhodian context: as mentioned above, Athena was worshipped in this position in each of the three old poleis from an early period onwards, and her cults continued to flourish with Hellenistic building projects, separate and important priesthoods, and copious quantities of offerings.[164] Evidently its institution on the Rhodian acropolis was a conscious imitation, signalling that this important cult would not be foregone by the new city, despite the ultimate prominence of Helios' cult. Certainly, the priesthood appears to have been of fairly high standing, to go by later epigraphic evidence:[165] a catalogue of priests listed on the base of a votive offering discovered at Athena Lindia's temple in Lindos, but relating to priesthoods from Rhodes-town from around 185 BC, names the priest of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus as second only to the priest of Helios.[166]

A more Rhodian cult could, then, not be imagined in the context of the synoikism: its position on the acropolis accompanied by the epithet 'Polias' as well as the high status

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[163] Hoepfner (1999), 57. For the identification, see *Cl.Rh.* II, 186 no.13. More below.
[164] See below, pp.85-106.
[165] *IG* XII, 1 61, 62; *Cl.Rh*. II. p.184, no.9; p.186, no.13.
[166] *I.Lindos* 134 with Blinkenberg's commentary *ad loc.* The priestly hierarchy in these lists was significant in all Rhodian cities; see below, ch.3.

of its priest is a clear reflection of pre-synoikism Rhodian life, as it existed in all three of the old centres.[167]

Let us move on to the other major temple discovered on the Rhodian acropolis: further south, a large precinct preserving the remains of a temple is visible, elevated on an artificial levelling of the slope, and towering above the stadium and gymnasium lying on the lower level beneath it, connected by a staircase. This temple was, as far as we can tell, the largest peripteral of the town; limited epigraphic evidence[168] was used to identify it as dedicated to Apollo Pythios, a deity whose cult was also widespread on the entire island.[169]

To judge from the same joint dedication,[170] this priest was also rather prominent: he appears in fourth place. Similarly, at both Lindos and at Kameiros we find the priest occupying a relatively high position: the priest of Apollo Pythios at Lindos regularly stands in second place following the priest of Athena Lindia in priestly joint dedications.[171] Although we have no evidence for this cult before the synoikism, his prominence in the cultic systems of Lindos and Kameiros makes it likely that this Apollo had already been associated with Rhodian communities prior to this development.

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[167] Possibly the temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis of Ialysos was even visible from the new site in Rhodes-town.
[168] *IG* XII 1, 25. On tracing down the origins of this early identification: Vedder (2006), 365.
[169] Much of what remains, including the columns, are now usually dated to the late third century, with the suggestion that the temple was rebuilt, as so many buildings were, following the great earthquake. Some of the architectural remains, it is true, seem to point to a later date, around the first century BC, which must imply a reconstruction or refurbishment of the sanctuary in this period: Rocco (1996b), 12-7. Hoepfner (1999), 56-7 sees the layout of the Apollo temple as characteristic for the late classical period and compares it with the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.
[170] *I.Lindos* 134.
[171] *I.Lindos* 70; Morelli (1959), 108. See below, chapter 3.

However, as I noted, the original identification of the site with the cult of Apollo is based on very limited evidence – a single dedication was discovered, built into a nearby house – thus providing perhaps possible, but by no means certain, identification of the sanctuary. Instead, Ursula Vedder has recently made the revolutionary proposition that this temple should be identified as the long-sought-for sanctuary of Helios.[172] This suggestion follows numerous theories by different scholars, proposing to place the sun-god's cult-site at a variety of locations, including (beneath) the Palace of the Grand Masters, the foot of the acropolis, at the highest point of the city, or close to the stadium.[173] Vedder's solution, although not without its own problems, is attractive in its simplicity; it allows us to posit that the sanctuary of Helios was exactly where one might expect it: on the new city's acropolis, in close proximity to the stadium – a more in-depth discussion of this complex issue follows in the next chapter.

Despite the continuing and frustrating lack of clarity about the location and dating of the sanctuary of Helios, and the correct identification of the excavated temple on the acropolis, Helios' connection to the synoikism and the new state of Rhodes cannot be denied. I discussed his portrayal in Pindar's ode above, which set him up as the founder of the *polis* of Rhodes. His symbolic role as a de facto embodiment of the new Rhodian state is demonstrated both by his priests, acting as the unified polis' eponyms, and by his depiction on the coins that were minted following the synoikism.[174]

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[172] Vedder (2006).
[173] Vedder (2006), 364 summarises these; see Morelli (1959), 97; Michalaki-Kollia (1999) discusses the recent discovery of a building at the foot of the acropolis in which numerous statue bases of priests of Helios were found, but already argues that this was more likely the house of an association of ex-priests; cf. Hoepfner (2003), 33-49. More below.
[174] Ashton (2001).

But this recognition does not answer the question of *why* this unusual deity was selected to occupy such a prominent position in the new Rhodian pantheon.[175]

The peculiarity of this choice has given rise to a number of theories; for, surely, the natural choice would have been Athena, who enjoyed worship on each of the three ancient *acropoleis* and whose cult at Lindos may even have held a certain pan-Rhodian importance before the end of the fifth century.[176] To explain this, van Gelder argued that the choice was a political one, rather than religious, made by the promoters of the synoikism who wanted to prevent advancing a deity who was so much more closely connected with one of the poleis than the others.[177] By contrast, Morelli pointed out the presence of the cult of Alektrone, possibly another sun deity, at Ialysos and the emphasis on the myth of Helios in Pindar's Seventh *Olympian*, in honour of the Diagorids. Believing that the Diagorids were among the principal promoters of the synoikism, he concluded that the choice of Helios, and indeed, the choice of the new city of Rhodes-town in Ialysian territory, were intended to strengthen the Ialysian aristocracy, especially the Diagorid family.[178] These theories try to draw together the little evidence we have into one connected story. But, although we cannot rule it out, there is no real evidence to link the cult of Helios to the political ambition of the Diagorids; and the evidence for the worship of Alektrone dates no earlier than around

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[175] For a brief treatment of this: Paul (2015).

[176] See above, pp.28-30.

[177] van Gelder (1900), 290.

[178] Morelli (1959), 89-90; 94-7; cf. also Pugliese Carratelli (1951), 80-1; both emphasise that Pindar makes Ialysos the first-born son of Helios and the nymph Rhodos, but this is not sufficient to explain the establishment of the sun-god's cult as intended to secure this family's power. Recently, Kowalzig (2007), 257-60 has again allowed that the Heliadic tradition might be tied to the Ialysian aristocracy, but notes that, contrary to this, Pindar's *Olympian* 7 quite clearly seeks to turn Helios into a pan-Rhodian symbol. Cairns (2005) suggests that very strong political motives, based on ties to the Eratid clan, underlie Pindar's composition of the ode.

300 BC. The archaic cultic presence of Kerkaphos in Ialysian territory, discovered after Morelli's time, may bolster his theory, but itself provides no evidence for the cult of Helios – as I argued above. Even if there *was* pre-synoikism worship of the god, it is clear that the cult was substantially reconfigured in 408/7 BC. Indeed, all the evidence points to a strong link of Helios' cult with the synoikism: we discussed the role of his priests in articulating and monumentalising the shared time of Rhodes; his temple may have been located on the acropolis of the new city; coins of the new federal state bore his head on them; and sacrifices to him marked the beginning of the eponymous year in at least one of the old communities.

Symbolically, then, Helios clearly played a role in the self-identification of the new Rhodian state – from at least the mid-fifth century onwards he unified the Rhodians in myth, portrayed as the future polis' founder.[179] The eponymous role of his priests demonstrates the cult's prominence, while the unifying aspect is further underlined by the rotation of this priesthood between citizens from Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos on a triennial basis – as I discussed earlier. Vedder suggests that, through the construction of the Colossus in the third century BC, Helios further symbolised specifically the *success* of the Rhodian synoikism.[180]

This close link between Helios and the synoikised state of Rhodes is perhaps the strongest argument that the cult was an innovation. Rather than choosing a deity with a

[179] In later inscriptions we find Helios bearing the epithet προπάτωρ: *SER* 42; *I.Lindos* 465h; 482. Even if this designation did not predate the late Hellenistic or Imperial period, it demonstrates that Helios' close connection with Rhodes' foundation continued to be emphasised.
[180] Vedder (2006), 364.

well-established cult in any of the old cities, a relatively new and unusual god was deliberately selected. Plausibly, the context of the Athenian Empire, and the close connection of Athena with that city-state provided another reason to choose a different deity.[181] We saw above that cults of Athena and Zeus had long traditions on Rhodes, both in myth and in cult – yet neither deity was chosen to occupy the central role that Helios held in unified Rhodes.[182] That is not to say that these cults were not introduced into the new capital city, but that the older sites of worship retained their fame and significance throughout the classical and Hellenistic periods. Thus, although there are several overlaps between the pantheon of Rhodes-town and those of Lindos and Kameiros, many aspects of the old cities' religious systems remained staunchly separate: Kameirans held priesthoods in Kameiros, Lindians in Lindos. The continuing pride in their local religious identity is expressed perhaps most clearly by the Lindians' decision in 99 BC to set up the 'Lindian Chronicle'.[183] In this text, it is Lindian, rather than Rhodian identity that is emphasised.[184] On the other hand, as late as the first century AD, we find evidence at Kameiros for a cult of a 'Tripolis' – surely a personification of Rhodes itself.[185] In addition, Hellenistic epigraphy informs us of joint religious activity at pan-Rhodian, extra-urban sanctuaries: *theoroi* from demes of the three old cities were sent to the mountain sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios, and we find the

[181] See above, pp.30 with n.77.
[182] The strong identification of Helios with Rhodes can be noted still at great geographical and chronological distance from the synoikism: a dedication to 'the Rhodian god' ([θ]εῷ Ῥοδίῳ) is found on a white marble altar from third-century AD Synaus: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua X*, 447, apparently referring to Helios (see comm. ad loc.).
[183] Higbie (2001); Higbie (2003).
[184] There are of course numerous references to 'pan-Rhodian' figures, such as Tlepolemos, but the emphasis is on their relation to Lindos and the Lindian sanctuary of Athena.
[185] *Tit.Cam.* 4b, 4c, 4d; possibly also to be reconstructed in an undated (but certainly late) inscription from Rhodes-town: *SER* 42; cf. Morelli (1959), 70, 176.

three Rhodian tribes of Ialysia, Kameira and Lindia competing in torch races at the temple of Apollo Erethimios.[186]

Conclusion:

In this chapter, I have traced Rhodian religious practice and identity in the period prior to the synoikism, with a view to establishing the effect of the state's unification. The few sources we have for this early period highlight pan-Rhodian cults – of Tlepolemos, Athena and Zeus – suggesting that, even if they over-emphasise shared elements, there was at least sufficient common ground between the sacred landscapes and understandings of Kameirans, Lindians, and Ialysians to build the foundations for a successful synoikism. The choice of Helios, and his close connection with the (initially) imaginary polis of Rhodes, demonstrate the continued role religion played in the new state's formation and survival.

Organisational factors evidently played another important, and more practical, role in the Rhodian synoikism. I noted the significance of the new tribal and deme-systems in establishing the selection criteria for eponymous and other priesthoods, emphasising and, to a substantial degree, retaining, the old Rhodian tripartite division. This continued division is most apparent in the different reactions by the two *phylai* of Lindos and Kameiros to the same political event, the incorporation of the peraia, and the extent to which they were able to implement these within the Rhodian polis.

The difficult evidence of the priestly catalogues and sacrificial calendar extracts was drawn upon to study the construction and articulation of shared, common Rhodian

[186] See below, pp.110-11.

time. Here, again, the significance of the cult of Helios became clear: his priests gave their name to the Rhodian year, and a sacrifice to him, amongst other deities, marks the beginning of the eponymous year at Kameiros.

Finally, I considered the scanty evidence for the foundation of the new capital city of Rhodes-town in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, and returned to the question of Helios' significance and role in the new Rhodian pantheon.

A more detailed study of the cults of all the Rhodian cities, the religious interactions and cultic emulations, follows in the next chapter.

2. Public cults after the synoikism – the structure, organisation and practice of Rhodian religion

With the foundation of a new capital city and the establishment of a federal state, Rhodes underwent major changes between the fifth and fourth centuries in its political, economic and also religious spheres. These were traced as well as possible in the above, and will now give way to a discussion of the island's major public cults following the synoikizing process. Rather than structuring this topic entirely deity by deity, as Morelli did in his useful compilation of the material available to him in the 1950s, I will adopt a more localised approach, considering civic cults within their contexts. My aim is not a comprehensive overview of all deities and cults attested on Rhodes, but rather an understanding of how religion formed a part of Rhodian life and in what ways it interacted with the different levels of the state. In this way, we can attain a greater understanding of the functioning of 'polis religion' within the different centres and at the different civic levels of Rhodes.[187] The most pressing question will regard the relationship between the old poleis and the new *asty,* Rhodes-town. For, as has been established, religious life continued to flourish in all three of the original settlements, but was also supplemented with and affected by the federal level of organisation within the new Rhodian state.

In the previous chapter, the new island state's tribal and deme organisation was laid out. The tripartite model was shown to remain central to this, necessarily raising questions about the status of the new capital city and its relation to the old regional

[187] On the difficulties of defining 'civic cults' see Cole (1995), 292-3 and Burkert (1995).

divisions. Through their demotics, the populace of the new city was linked, in some way, to one of the three ancient centres of the island. The relationship between the Rhodian cities was further approached by examining the selection of cults that were emphasised in the new foundation of Rhodes-town – particularly those of Helios, Apollo, and that of Athena Polias.

Bearing in mind the complex organisation of the new *asty*, I shall, initially, return to these major poliad cults, to examine them in greater detail – their character, their rituals, their worshipping community, their relationship to each other. All bear some elements of so-called 'protective divinities', to a greater or lesser degree, raising questions about the usefulness of such categorisations.[188] Following this, I will explore other public cults attested in each of the Rhodian cities and thereupon seek further indications of the interrelationship as expressed on a cultic participatory and regulatory level.

Where cults are located outside the city, particularly the sanctuary of Apollo Erethimios or of Zeus Atabyrios, they will be discussed alongside those of the poleis in whose territory they are located – yet their extra-urban location is significant to bear in mind. As we will see, they appear to have played a particularly important role in pan-Rhodian ritual behaviour.

The relevant evidence consists largely of archaeological material – including votive deposits – and of inscriptions, although some literary sources will also be drawn on. Priesthoods and other religious officials will be largely passed over in this section, as they will receive separate and detailed treatment in the following chapter. Likewise, the present discussion will focus only on cults located on the island of Rhodes, since those

[188] Cole (1995), referring extensively to Brackertz' 1976 dissertation; more sceptical of such a category existing in Greek polis religion: Burkert (1995).

in other parts of the Rhodian state will be treated in a later section. Unlike the previous chapter, which was concerned with tracing chronological developments, this section will present evidence in a more synthetic manner in order to obtain a fuller picture, while still drawing attention to contexts and changes where possible.

2.1. The Cult of the Sun-God

The well-structured and systematic layout of the new city of Rhodes-town was already commented on in the previous chapter. Incorporated into this streetplan was the acropolis, which was celebrated by ancients for its beauty, being 'πεδίων καὶ ἀλσῶν μεστὴν'.[189] Extensive landscaping created a series of terraces, on which were situated buildings relating to the gymnasium, an odeion, probably a library, as well as some sanctuaries.[190] It is perhaps not, then, too fanciful to envision the Rhodian acropolis as an idyllic location, separate from the hustle and bustle of the harbours, where groves of trees and a system of nymphaea provided shady places to rest for visitors to the various temples that were housed here – the two main ones traditionally identified as dedicated to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, and Apollo Pythios.[191] As mentioned in the previous chapter, this latter interpretation has been challenged by Vedder, who suggests that the remains belong instead to the sanctuary of Helios.

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[189] Aristid. 25.6 (For the authenticity of its authorship see Jones [1990]). In a similar vein: Lucian *Am*.8, Gell.*NA* 15.31.1; Diod.Sic. 19.45.1 informs us that even in the late fourth century the city still had many open spaces due to its recent foundation. Str. 14.2.5 also praises Rhodes highly for its roads, walls and all other improvements.

[190] On the likely location of the gymnasium and library on the acropolis see *NS* 4 and 11; Papachristodoulou (1990).

[191] Rice (1995), 384 on the nymphaea; Papachristodoulou (1993), 30; Hoepfner (1999) emphasises the modern building styles apparent in the temples of Rhodes-town: 54-58. In general, Papachristodoulou (1991), 261-3.

Despite the inherent difficulties, it seems appropriate to begin with the new cult of Helios, whose significance for the Rhodian synoikism was traced in the previous chapter. The problems and scholarly disputes concerning the sanctuary of Helios were already alluded to above. Neither literary, nor epigraphic, nor archaeological evidence points conclusively to the sun-god's main cultic site. In fact, there is not a single explicit mention of a *temple* of Helios in our – admittedly scanty – evidence, leaving open the possibility that the deity was worshipped in a temenos.[192]

Let us briefly review the evidence and arguments in question. Three locations have been suggested by scholars in the past century, all largely based on epigraphic finds. The first is the acropolis. A very small number of scattered inscriptions referring to Helios were discovered in that general area, and thus loosely support this theory.[193]

The second place scholars have attempted to locate Helios' sanctuary, is on the site of the 'Palace of the Grand Masters', at the highest point of the lower city.[194] This is due largely to the discovery of a highly significant document – the catalogue of the priests of Helios, built into a nearby 14th-century church.[195]

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[192] An inscription from the mid-first century AD refers to setting up the stone ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἁλίου (*IG* XII 1, 2 l.7); note Xen.Ephes.I.12.2 where Anthia and Habrocomes leave a votive offering in the 'hieron' of Helios. Cf.van Gelder (1900), 292.

[193] Dedication to Helios: *IG* XII 1, 23; statue-base for a priest of Helios, dedicated to the god: *IG* XII 1, 63. Largely rejected by scholars of the past century in favour of the following location, but gaining renewed attention in recent years, see below. Note also the unpublished inscription (on display in the Museum of Rhodes), discovered on the acropolis in the area of the gymnasium, which records a very fragmentary votive offering of a gymnasiarch to Helios, perhaps offering further support to an acropolis location.

[194] Already van Gelder makes this suggestion, albeit largely on supposition: van Gelder (1900), 291. The inscription mentioning Helios' *temenos* was also discovered nearby (*IG* XII 1, 2), as was a marble head of Helios, on display in the Museum of Rhodes.

[195] Morricone (1952), 351. The fact that it was not found *in situ* is, of course, problematic. It is conceivable that ancient marble slabs were brought down from the nearby acropolis for later

Finally, a more recent discovery briefly seemed to alter the picture. At the foot of the acropolis, a structure was excavated in the 1970s, which included a small naiskos and a cistern within a courtyard.[196] Particularly striking was the substantial amount of epigraphic material contained within this site, a large proportion of which consisted of statue bases honouring priests of Helios, and dedicated to the sun god. Since this denoted by far the greatest accumulation of epigraphic material relating to this deity, the editor of these inscriptions was in no doubt that the building in which they were discovered must be the long-sought-for sanctuary of Helios.[197] However, concerns with this interpretation followed shortly after, with archaeologists pointing out the small size of the structure, and its location just at the foot of the acropolis hill, neither factors conveying the sort of prominence we would expect from the site of this god's sanctuary. Instead, scholars have suggested that we are dealing here with a sort of 'clubhouse' of an association of priests of Helios.[198]

Clearly the evidence remains frustratingly scarce, and an unambiguous conclusion remains impossible. Yet there are certain factors that I believe favour a position of some manner of cult site on the acropolis. First, the presence of the – albeit limited – epigraphic material from the Rhodian acropolis that refers to Helios, is supplemented by several documents that mention *prophatai*.[199] Initially these were linked to the cult of Apollo by Segre, who postulated that they might indicate the presence of an oracle

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building works, although the monumental size of this stele (c.2.30 m high) would have made this a rather ambitious task.

[196] Konstantinopoulos (1975), 238-48.

[197] Kontorini (1989), 129-184; Badoud (2015), 157-8 still remains convinced of this theory.

[198] Michalaki-Kollia (1999); Hoepfner (2003), 43-9 compares the building to the 'sacred house' in Priene. More on such associations in ch. 5.

[199] Segre (1949); *TRI* 2 is the catalogue of *prophatai.*

attached to the temple of Apollo Pythios.[200] But recently Badoud has demonstrated that this office appears instead to have been closely connected to the cult of Helios (and that the archaeology does not support the existence of the oracular structures that Segre supposed he had found).[201]

More generally, the acropolis would seem to be the natural place for this new, central cult to have been located. I discussed in the previous chapter the significant symbolic role Helios played in the Rhodian synoikism and thus in the foundation of the new city. In addition, the nearby stadium and odeion would have been conveniently located for competitions performed at the Halieia.

It is worth summarising two recent theories that seek to locate Helios decisively on the acropolis.

First, Hoepfner, referring to the close cultic link between Apollo and Helios that can be observed elsewhere in the Greek world,[202] suggests that the site of the acropolis temple of Apollo was in fact a temenos shared by the two gods. According to his theory, a small building, located to the northeast of the temple of Apollo and previously considered by some to be an Artemision, due to some related votive finds nearby, in fact had a completely different function. Hoepfner suggests that we have here instead an enclosure that would have displayed the famous bronze construction by Lysippos of Helios in his quadriga, mentioned by Pliny:

> nobilitatur Lysippus et temulenta tibicina et canibus ac venatione, in primis vero quadriga cum sole rhodiorum.[203]

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[200] Segre (1949).

[201] Badoud (2015), 113-8 counters Segre's theory of the oracle and instead points out how these *prophatai* functioned as replacements for priests of Helios on certain occasions. More below.

[202] Possible joint sanctuary of Apollo (Pythios?) and Helios in Athens: Plato, *Laws* 12.945 d- 947e; cf. Hoepfner (2003), 26-31.

[203] Plin. *HN* 34.60. Hoepfner (2003), 33-42 and Hoepfner (2007) on all this.

> *Lysippus is also famous for his Tipsy Girl playing the Flute, and his Hounds and Huntsmen in Pursuit of Game, but most of all for his Chariot with the Sun belonging to Rhodes.* (trans. Loeb)

The brief mention of this famous statue provides an important insight into the iconography of Helios on Rhodes in the late classical period – he is represented here, as elsewhere in the Greek world in this period, in his chariot.[204]

According to Hoepfner's observations, the rectangular recess would have held water, as suggested by the remains of water-resistant plasterwork on the walls. Within this, he proposes that a tall plinth would have risen, of which only the stone base remains today. Due to the close cultic relationship between Apollo and Helios, but also of Helios and water, Hoepfner sees this construction, suitable for displaying what was probably a colossal monument,[205] as the only place this famous statue could have stood. To complete this building group, he mentions the remains of what appears to be a broad altar discovered to the east of the great pedestal (if Hoepfner's reconstruction is right), which may well have been the place at which sacrifices were offered.[206]

A major problem with this interpretation is that we have no clear evidence for a cultic link on Rhodes between Helios and Apollo. This may well be due to the limited sources that survive for both cults, yet still cautions us against following Hoepfner's elaborate and somewhat fanciful vision too freely. One conceivable cultic connection might

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[204] Cf. e.g. his representation on the Athenian Parthenon frieze and, later, on the Pergamon altar: Hoepfner (2003), 26; Matern (2002), 47-83.

[205] As suggested by the account in Cass.Dio 47.33.4 that during the sack of Rhodes by Cassius in 43 BC this statue was too large to carry off. Note, however, Matern's scepticism about this passage referring to Lysippus' chariot, which she believes was dedicated at Delphi: Matern (2002), 83-4. According to her, the statue referred to by Cassius Dio could be the god's cult statue.

[206] Hoepfner (2007), 73.

present itself in the office of *prophatai* – closely linked in their duties to the priests of Helios, but whose title undeniably evokes the cult of Apollo.[207]

The second theory recently put forward concerning a cultic site of Helios on the Rhodian acropolis was made by Ursula Vedder, who proposes that the sanctuary of Helios has in fact been hiding in plain sight all along – that is, she argues that the temple commonly attributed to Apollo Pythios in fact belonged to Helios. She bases this largely on the prominent location of this sanctuary, on the terrace overlooking the stadium and odeion, and reached via a monumental staircase, and points out the weakness of the evidence originally used to identify it as a temple of Apollo Pythios – a single dedication to the god built into a nearby house.[208] Vedder's solution is attractive in its simplicity; yet it does not account for another inscription discovered near the temple and published by Segre, which refers explicitly to τὸ ἱε/ρὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος/ τοῦ Πυθίου.[209] A complete dismissal of the identification with Apollo Pythios might therefore be hasty; however, it remains conceivable that the temenos on the acropolis housed some aspect of the sun god, possibly in close conjunction with Apollo.

The discussion of Lysippus' quadriga, so central to Hoepfner's vision, can perhaps tell us something of how Helios was worshipped and envisioned by the Rhodians. As mentioned above, his representation as a charioteer was fairly widespread – within his rather limited sphere. We also find him represented in this way on numerous Rhodian

[207] Through the link with Apollo's oracles, e.g. Hdt. 8.36 (Delphi); cf. Fontenrose (1988), 45-55 for Didyma, where, like in Rhodes, these officials were annually selected by lot.
[208] Vedder (2006).
[209] Segre (1949), 80 no.2. See below for more on these inscriptions.

coins (although some also bear his face on them), as well as on prize amphorae awarded at the Halieia.[210] We might thus postulate associations with horses, as well as water (from which his chariot appears every morning, and into which it is submerged in the evening). The most famous representation of Helios on Rhodes, the colossus, of course reminds us that iconographic variation was normal.[211]

The common conception of Helios as a charioteer in the late classical and Hellenistic period allows us to cite a later source, on a peculiar sacrifice offered to the sun god by the Rhodians. In the context of describing the 'October equus', the horse sacrifice offered to Mars, the grammarian Festus writes that the Rhodians, too, performed a hippic sacrifice: he informs us that, every year, a *quadriga* was dropped into the sea and submerged.[212] Although many modern scholars have argued that Festus must have mistakenly attributed this sacrifice to Helios, since it seems much more likely to correspond to the worship of Poseidon Hippios,[213] this rejection seems to overlook the close connection Helios himself had with horses and especially with chariots. Festus himself points out the correspondence between the custom and Helios' chariot, which rises out of the water every morning to sink back into the ocean in the evening.[214] I have already mentioned the common iconographic representation of Helios in his quadriga. Pindar's description of the sun-god as 'πῦρ πνεόντων ἀρχὸς ἵππων', master of fire-

[210] Zervoudaki (1975).
[211] The precise appearance of the Colossus has engendered a vast amount of scholarship; on its probable design: Matern (2002), 155-62; Hoepfner (2007), 73-82.
[212] Festus, s.v. 'October equus': 'Rhodii, qui quotannis quadrigas soli consecratas in mari iaciunt, quod is tali curriculo fertur circumvehi mundum.'
[213] See Morelli (1959), 98-99 for a summary of the various rejections of attributing this sacrifice to Helios.
[214] The very word '*quadriga*' was used by poets to denote Helios' chariot: Plaut.*Am*.1.1.420; cf. Verg.*Aen*.6.535 where it describes the chariot of Aurora; cf. Lewis/Short s.v. 'quadriga'.

breathing horses, should also not be overlooked. A remark in Herodotus further suggests how commonplace a sacrifice of submersion in the sea was in honour of Helios: when Xerxes is preparing to cross the Hellespont he prays for a safe voyage as dawn is breaking and hurls a golden cup and a Persian sword into the sea. It is telling that Herodotus is unsure whether they were intended as an offering to the sun god or to the Hellespont. Although his uncertainty is due to the particular context and is presumably coloured by his own conceptions of Persian ritual and culture, it seems that the gesture of throwing offerings into the sea could at least be comfortably associated with worship of the sun.[215]

It is conceivable, therefore, that Festus was not mistaken, but that the Rhodians really did honour Helios in this way. In addition, the sacrifice as described by Festus would have been an expensive and hugely spectacular offering – surely this makes it more likely to be intended for a major deity, rather than for the less important Poseidon Hippios.

A further complication, however, is added by attestations of a '*Hippokathesia*' festival at Rhodes; its name tends to be connected with this submersion ritual.[216] It appears alongside other festivals in a number of annotated catalogues, which however provide no information about their content. Blinkenberg suggested that this festival formed part

[215] Hdt. 7.54; cf. Koch Piettre (2005), 86, who points out that horse sacrifices are thought to be more common among Persians; also Robertson (2005) on submersion sacrifices.

[216] Hippokathesia: Maiuri (1929), 315ff. no.2; *Tit.Cam*. 153 dates it to Agrianius, so the beginning of summer (cf. Börker, (1978a)); *SER* 5, *I.Lindos* 490. For the name's meaning see Robertson (2005), 86 and Koch Piettre (2005), 79. Already Nilsson (1906) made the connection between the sacrifice to Helios and the *hippokathesia*: 427-8. Note Ringwood Arnold's (1936) suggestion on the word's derivation: 432. She suggests that it was a kind of horse-show. See now also the excellent discussion in *CGRN* 130.

of the Halieia, perhaps designating the hippic contests, but other scholars have found fault with this theory.[217]

In fact, connecting it to the cult of Helios is particularly problematic in view of a Kameiran inscription, belonging to the group of locally affixed sacrificial calendar extracts. As I mentioned earlier, these seem to have been attached to the temple or shrine of specific gods and served as reminders of sacrificial details. In this case, the first half of the text instructs a priest to sacrifice several animals to Poseidon in the month of Theudaisios.[218] The inscription then continues to specify the next sacrifice: Ἱπποκαθεσίοις/ θύεται Ἀγριανίου/ ἑνδεκάται ἢ πρό-/τερον·' If the general theory about these texts is correct, the implied recipient of this offering must also be Poseidon,[219] at whose temple this reminder would have been located. Sacrifices on a smaller scale that precede festivals are attested in similar contexts, often practiced, as here, on the day itself or just prior to it.[220] It is therefore possible that Poseidon was the deity, or one of the deities, honoured at the Hippokathesia. Does that mean we need to revise the earlier argument concerning the hippic sacrifice? At the present, I think not, since neither argument necessarily negates the other – the sacrificial regulation mentions no horse sacrifice, nor is there, after all, any ancient evidence linking the sacrifice mentioned by Festus and the Hippokathesia.

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[217] Blinkenberg (1938) on the inscriptions *SER* 5b = *IG* XII, 1 730 and Maiuri (1929) no.2; Maiuri (1929) connected the Hippokathesia with the cult of Poseidon Hippios; Pugliese Carratelli's commentary on *SER* 4 demonstrates that the Halieia was separate from the Dipanamia, and therefore from the Hippokathesia.

[218] *Tit.Cam.* 153 = *LSS* 94 = Segre (1951), no. 1 = *CGRN* 130.

[219] No epithet is given in the text; based on the other epigraphic material from Kameiros, it seems likely that this was Poseidon Kyrēteios or Kyrēteios kai Hippios (for references to these see Morelli [1959], 65).

[220] For Athens, cf. e.g. the genos of the Salaminioi, who performed sacrifices for instance on the day of the Panathenaea: *RO* 37 with comm. ad loc.

The Kameiran inscription highlights another significant aspect of Rhodian religious life. Citizens of the *phylai* attached to the old cities could evidently and were perhaps encouraged to hold their own preliminary sacrifices on the occasion of what was, presumably, a pan-Rhodian festival. This is, then, an interesting example of local involvement in federal Rhodian religion.

A similar phenomenon may be attested by another of the calendar extracts located at Kameiros, cited in the above section, listing several sacrifices to Helios.[221] As it survives to us, the inscription makes no reference to any festivals, but its existence is nonetheless a remarkable piece of evidence for the sun god's cult in one of the old Rhodian cities.[222] It seems that we have here an example of mutual imitation of cults within the island, or an adoption of the cult from Rhodes-town, linking in with the new state god. The fact that it is the *damiourgos*, the eponymous priest of Kameiros, who officiates in at least one of the sacrifices, indicates that it was of some importance and provides us with some tantalising insights into the kinds of religious and cultic connections that existed between the old city Kameiros and the *asty* in the third century. In Lindian territory, on the contrary, sacrifices to Helios seem to have been carried out by an association or gentilicial group, if the 'Λάκων' heading of the following regulation is indeed a genitive plural[223] rather than an individual's name:

> Λάκων
> Ὑακινθίου
> τετράδι ἐπὶ δέ-
> κα Ἁλίωι ἔριφον

[221] *Tit.Cam.* 152=*LSS* 97; see above, p.39-40.
[222] Note also Helios' name on an altar found at Kameiros: *Tit.Cam.* 144. Cf. Morelli (1959), 99.
[223] The editors of the *CGRN* point out that the letters in lines 8-9 might suggest that the group is a sort of *patra: CGRN* 117 with comm.

5 λευκὸν ἢ πυρ-
ρὸν. αὐ<σ>τεῖ κα-
ταχροῦνται
θύεται Πατρέ
ων ̣ταὐτόν.[224]

Of the Lakoi (?). On the 14th of Hyakinthios, to Helios a white or tawny kid; consumed on the spot. It is sacrificed by (unclear). (trans. *CGRN* 117)

How this sacrifice was organised or established we do not know. Yet it shows some level of cultic diffusion, possibly an involvement of non-civic groups in the worship of the god that represented the new Rhodian project. The Kameiran model was not, then, the only manner in which this cult could be emulated across the island.

It is worth noting that cults of Helios also sprang up in several other areas known to be under Rhodian influence: that is, we find it attested at various Karian cities and even as far away as Lykian Arycanda – but more on this below.[225]

Aside from the rather unsatisfactory evidence concerning hippic sacrifice, not much can be said about the worship of Helios in Rhodes-town. Some scattered inscribed bases of individuals' dedications to him have been found, but these do not reveal anything about the nature of his cult. In fact, the evidence that we do have emphasises again the sun god's close association with the Rhodian state, and especially with its successes.[226] Thus the famous Colossus, a thirty-metre tall bronze statue of Helios, was

[224] *LSCG* 142; Sokolowski's readings of this tricky text are more plausible than the original ones: *IG* XII 1, 892. But problems remain; the recent publication in *CGRN* 117 reads the final line and a half as ΠΑΤΡΕ-/ΩΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ.

[225] Lagina: *I.Stratonikeia* 504; Knidos: *I.Knidos* 91; Alabanda: *BCH* 58 (1934), 300-3, no.3; Mobolla: Blümel (1991), no. 784; Arycanda: schol. ad Pind.*Ol*.7.35b; Fraser and Bean (1954), 130-2. See below, ch. 4.

[226] See Cole (1995) on how 'Political needs could often encourage a close relationship between a city and a particular god', and how *poleis* could choose to project such associations with specific deities, often in competitive contexts (quotation at 317).

commissioned as a thanks-offering to the god following the failed siege by Demetrius.[227] If we are to believe the veracity of the dedicatory epigram ascribed to the Colossus in the *Palatine Anthology*, this monument was seen by the Rhodians to mark a new chapter in this island's history, in which they enjoyed freedom from other powers, and freedom to rule others. Thus the epigram speaks not only of 'unenslaved freedom' (ἀδουλώτος ἐλευθερία), but also of sovereignty 'both on land and sea' (ἐν πόντῳ κὴν χθονὶ κοιρανία).[228] In a similar vein, we might note the choice of a golden chariot, presumably containing Helios, dedicated by the Rhodians at Delphi, to accompany a decree honouring the judges who in the early second century BC attempted to arbitrate between Delphi and Amphissa.[229] Again, it is Helios who is invoked, sometimes alongside Rhodos, in decrees between Rhodes and Cretan cities in the same period.[230] We already noted his depiction on coins and amphora handles, as well as the role of his priests in naming the Rhodian year. Although these observations do not inform us about Helios' cultic worship, it is significant that this deity was invoked in such contexts and played such a crucial role in Rhodian self-representation.[231]

Let us finally consider the festival in Helios' honour – the Halieia.

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[227] Philo Byz. *de Sep. Orb. Spec*. 4.1-6; Str. 14.2.5 (652); Plin. *HN* 34.18; Plut. *Demet*. 20.5, *Mor*. 183b; Vitr. 10.16.8. Actual location of the Colossus remains heavily debated, but at that size it would have constituted a substantial landmark no matter where it stood. Important recent contributions by Badoud (2011b) and (2012).

[228] *Greek Anthology* 6.171, from Meleager's *Stephanus*; Wiemer (2011), including text and translation of the epigram at 131. Note the royal gifts earmarked specifically for restoring the Colossus following the disastrous earthquake of 228/227 BC: Pol. 5.89. Vedder (2006), 361-3 places the construction and dedication of the colossus into the tradition dedicating spoils of war. Cf. Pimouguet-Pédarros (2011), 344-7.

[229] *FD* III 3:383, 378; Wiemer (2011), 133.

[230] E.g. *SEG* 23.547 (Olous); *IC* III.iii.3 (Hierapytna).

[231] These elements conform to a number of the criteria proposed by Brackertz to identify a polis' 'Schutzgottheit'.

As discussed in chapter 1,[232] the evidence of the bronze prize *kalpis* suggests that the festival was probably instigated shortly after the synoikism and the foundation of Rhodes-town. Interestingly, this style seems to have given way only a short period later, in the second half of the fourth century, to clay prize amphorae, modelled on Panathenaic ones.[233] These depict Helios, his head radiate, his gown white, in a four-horse chariot, in strangely archaising black-figure style. The apparent Athenian influence might tell us something about Rhodian self-conception and representation in this period, if it was consciously imitating this and other institutions associated with fifth-century Athens.

At least in its final form, the Halieia comprised grand athletic competitions – including three types of chariot racing and various gymnastic contests – and a sacrifice.[234] Some inscriptions specify that they refer to the *Halieia megala*,[235] setting the penteteric festival apart from the *mikra,* celebrated annually.[236] The Great Halieia's importance in the Hellenistic period and its popularity among other states is attested by Appian, who represents as a great offence the Rhodians' refusal to accept Eumenes' *theoroi* to the festival, the only king to be excluded.[237] However, aside from this passage, our external evidence for participation in this festival is extremely limited – Moretti's collection includes only two examples from our period. One celebrates the career of a runner from Kedreai, in the Rhodian peraia, dated to the mid second century, whose victories

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[232] See above, pp.24-5.
[233] Zervoudaki (1975).
[234] Schol. ad Pind.*Ol*.7.146, Xenoph. Ephes. 5.11; for the different athletic categories: *IG* XII, 1 73a-b, 75b, 935b; *MDAI* (A) 25, 107,106. Nilsson (1906), 427-8.
[235] *SER* 19b (first half of the second century BC); *Cl.Rh.* II.p.190, no.19 (c.100 BC), p.188, no.18 (dated to the first century BC) and p.210, no.48 (from Lindos, second half of the first century BC).
[236] Both *megala* and *mikra* are referred to in Moretti (1953) no.50, see below.
[237] App. *Mac*.11.3.

include a torch race at the Great and Small Halieia, as well as at two further Rhodian festivals, the Tlapolemeia (confirming its continued existence after the synoikism) and Poseidania.[238] The second case is substantially later, and concerns an Olympic victor from Miletos, from the late first century BC, who won the *stadion* and *hoplitēs* at the Halieia.[239] This cautions us against exaggerating the actual success of the Rhodian festival abroad in a highly competitive period – although it is plausible that, as our meagre evidence suggests, it did attract renowned athletes from nearby Asia Minor.

Before moving on to the other major cult associated with the Rhodian acropolis, that of Athena, let us briefly make some observations about the cult of Apollo Pythios. This remains the most common identification of the large peripteral temple,[240] although, as we saw, there are some arguments to be made for at least a partial association with Helios. As regards Apollo Pythios, our literary sources do confirm the existence of a temple in Rhodes-town – Josephus tells us that Herod paid for its renovation following a fire.[241] In addition, epigraphic evidence attests a Rhodes-town-specific priesthood of the deity.[242] Segre published several other inscriptions discovered near the acropolis temple: three honorific texts, all from the imperial period, mention κοῦροι ἀμφιθαλεῖς,

[238] Moretti (1953) no.50, despite schol. Pind. *Ol*.7,146ab, which claims that the Tlapolemeia were replaced with the Halieia; cf. Angeli Bernardini (1977) on this error.
[239] Moretti (1953), no. 59; this athlete was victorious at contests across the Greek world. Other attestations of the festival only appear in the high Imperial period: nos. 77; 79; 84; 87.
[240] The temple's ruins date largely to the late third century BC, possibly implying a rebuilding following the devastating earthquake, although some architectural elements seem to date even later, to the first century BC: Rocco (1996b), 12-7. The actual foundations, however, point to a date closer to the synoikism: Hoepfner (1999), 56-7 sees the layout of the temple as characteristic for the late classical period and compares it with the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.
[241] Jos. *Ant.* 16.146; *BI* 1.422.
[242] *I.Lindos* 134.9; cf. also *SER* 48, *IG* XII, 1 67.4; *Cl.Rh*. p.211, no.48.7 (first century BC).

attested for the first time in Rhodian epigraphy.[243] These boys were characterised by the fact that both their parents were still alive and are known to have been involved in the religious life of other cities, for instance Magnesia on the Maeander, where they formed part of a *pompe*.[244] Their attestation in these inscriptions suggests that they may have held some significance within the cult of Apollo Pythios at Rhodes-town – one text in particular makes the link to this deity very clear; it honours someone as '[γ]ενόμενον κόρον/ἀνφιθαλῆ ἰς τὸ ἱε-/ρὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος/τοῦ Πυθίου.' Following this, it mentions the unknown man's athletic victories at the Rhodian Romaia festival. Clearly, his past status as *kouros amphithales* was something to be proud of.[245] The emphasis on youth and the identification in terms of family might suggest that Apollo Pythios served some function for youths in this period.[246] As I stressed above, these texts establish an undeniable connection with Apollo for the sanctuary on this site, at least for the imperial period.

The cult of Apollo Pythios (or Pythaeus)[247] was widespread on the entire island of Rhodes,[248] and at both Lindos and at Kameiros we also find the priest occupying a relatively high position: starting from the third century, the priest of Apollo Pythios at Lindos regularly stands in second place following the priest of Athena Lindia in lists of

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[243] Segre (1949), 81.

[244] *LSAM* 32.18-21 concerning the procession for the festival of Zeus Sosipolis: 'ἀποστέλλειν δὲ τοὺς παιδο-/νόμους παῖδας ἐννέα ἀμφιθαλεῖς, ἀποστέλλειν/ δὲ καὶ τοὺς γυναικονόμους παρθένους ἐννέα ἀμ-/φιθαλεῖς·' Cf. Pl. *Leg*. 11.927d for the distinction between these youths and orphans.

[245] The term is also found in honorific contexts elsewhere: e.g. *I.Milet* VI 3, 1140 (second-century AD Miletos) with Robert, *OMS* V 838; *IDidyma* 162, 163, 195 (all late imperial Didyma, apparently linked to the Megala Didymeia).

[246] Note that the phrase ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἔφηβοι appears in an inscription from Klaros: *OMS* III 1628.

[247] On this epithet see Davies (2009); for the variation 'Pythaieus' (more commonplace in Lindos) see Pierart (1990), who demonstrates that this is found within the 'Argive Kulturgebiet'.

[248] Kameiros: (third century BC *Tit.Cam*.17.20, 23.17, 27 II 5, 29.13 etc.; Lindos: (third century BC) *I.Lindos* 70.3, 99, 102.3, 103.1 etc.; Rhodes-town: (third century) *I.Lindos* 134.9; *SER* 48; *IG* XII, 1 67.4 etc.

syniereis.[249] At Kameiros, a reform appears to have taken place in the late third century that combined the duties of a number of Apollo-cults into the office of just one priest, whose full title became: priest of Apollo Pythios, Karneios, Mylantios and Digenes.[250] Clearly, Apollo was important on the whole island – as can be seen partly in the existence of a vast number of epithets.[251]

The fact that we find separate cults of Apollo Pythios attested in Rhodes-town, Lindos, and Kameiros, probably suggests some similarities or cultic emulation. However, the epigraphic evidence provides us with no ritual or other information, and, in addition, no other sanctuary has been identified, limiting our material substantially. Thus it is impossible for us to say much about the character of this Apollo-cult - the common appearance of the epithet 'Pythios' across the Greek world points to a much wider cultic network, and one plausibly loosely connected to Pythian Apollo at Delphi, but with no straightforward elements of oracular practice attested.[252] On the acropolis of Rhodes-town he may have been associated with Helios, but we find no hints of such a combination in any of the other cities.

To sum up, the evidence for the Rhodian worship of Helios is frustratingly limited. I argued above that his sanctuary might have been located on the acropolis, possibly shared with Apollo, and that this site might have housed at least one monumental

[249] *I.Lindos* 70; Morelli (1959), 108; see Dignas (2003), 43 for the Rhodian epigraphic term '*syniereis*' and also below, pp.134-9.
[250] *Tit.Cam.* 7.1, 47.19, with Badoud (2015), 99.
[251] Morelli (1959), 21-8 records 22 different epithets.
[252] Davies (2009) makes some initial comments about the difficulty of comprehending this localised epithet, and promises a future study of its attestations and spread.

depiction of the sun god. A close cultic and iconographic connection to horses was further discussed, as well as a link to water. Finally, Helios' close association with the Rhodian state appears to have continued in the centuries after the synoikism – it is his colossal statue that represents the autonomy of Rhodes after Demetrius' failed siege, while his games are advertised abroad, and his image travels the Mediterranean on amphora handles and Rhodian coinage. In this way, we can see Helios being proclaimed as a symbol of national identity, but this does not mean that he was the most important, or even patron god of the Rhodian pantheon. Indeed, actual evidence for his worship is largely missing.

2.2. Athena on the acropolis

In the previous chapter, I discussed already the pan-Rhodian significance of Athena before the synoikism, both in mythology, and in cult, worshipped with remarkable continuity and consistency on each of the ancient Rhodian acropoleis, and finally also established on the acropolis of Rhodes-town. In Ialysos, Kameiros, and Rhodes-town, she is worshipped under the epithet 'Polias', while at Lindos she is called 'Lindia'. In general, the 'Polias' name referred to Athena as she was worshipped on the acropolis – often connected to a tutelary role.[253] The problems of trying to establish such a primary or tutelary deity in Rhodes already became apparent in my discussion of Helios and should be borne in mind in this study of the cult of Athena and its function in the island's community.

[253] Cole (1995) 301-5 cautions against oversimplifying this connection; as she points out, 'Polias' could refer to the primary divinity of a city if that deity was Athena, but could also be used of an Athena who was not a city's tutelary divinity, as for instance at Argos: 302.

In contrast to Helios, moreover, we have a great deal more evidence for this deity's worship – four temples have been excavated (one on each of the acropoleis), three of which have yielded votive deposits. We are still not as well informed about ritual and sacrifice as we would like, but our evidence nonetheless permits a much more detailed picture of this cult than of any other.

Again, I am interested in establishing the relationship of the different Athena-cults to each other, as well as their role within their specific local context. Thus I will lay out the available evidence for each site, comparing it with other sites where possible, while also attempting to locate it in its geographical and chronological context.

2.2.1. Physical presence and cultic landscape

Let us begin with a comparison of the physical layout of the sacred space assigned to each Athena-temple. First, the acropolis of Ialysos, the least well known of all the Rhodian poleis. This has been located atop Mount Phileremos, a relatively steep hill that rises to around 275m. On the eastern part of the highest level, foundations of a large Doric temple were excavated by the Italians in the early 20th century.[254] The Ialysian acropolis is often cited as one of the oldest cultic sites on the island, due to the impressive votive deposit discovered there, with numerous finds dating back to the eighth century BC, and some even further back, to the Geometric and Mycenaean eras.[255] Although these establish a cultic presence and continuity on this hilltop, there are no traces of a building from this early period. The oldest part of the excavated temple, a stone platform at the centre of the building's foundations, certainly does not

[254] *Cl.Rh.* I, Maiuri: 56-62.
[255] See below, pp.104-6.

predate the archaic period and may be even later. The greater part of the surviving temple is now usually dated to the end of the fourth century, conceivably following the siege by Demetrios Poliorketes.[256] Its stylobate measured around 23.4 x 12.6 m, featuring a prostyle layout with a tetrastyle pronaos in antis. The cella is surrounded by an interior colonnade, laid out in a pi-shape, characteristic for this period and concealing the innermost sanctum, in the northern end of which the foundations for a cult statue are still preserved (fig. 2). Although largely realised in the Doric order, the temple's portico seems to have featured Ionic columns, giving the entrance a more richly decorated and elaborate look. In addition, the columns surrounding the cella appear to have been built in the Corinthian order, a real fusion of styles. Several of these architectural features, described in detail by Livadiotti and Rocco, find close parallels in other contemporary Rhodian temples, in particular the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the lower town of Rhodes-town, but also the temple of Athena at Lindos.[257] This attests a sophisticated architectural school conducting building projects, in particular of monumental temples, around the late fourth century and the early third century BC. The sanctuary's identification as housing the cult of Athena Polias is based on the numerous inscriptions in the votive deposit; an inscription informs us that the priesthood combined this cult with that of Zeus Polieus.[258] However, the temple's design does not seem to reflect a double cult – presumably it was centred on the cult-

[256] Maiuri had originally dated it to the third/second century BC (*Cl.Rh.* I), but this has been superseded by more recent analyses: Rocco (1996); Livadiotti and Rocco (1999).
[257] Livadiotti and Rocco (1999), 113-7.
[258] *SER* 54.

statue of Athena. It is possible that the adjacent, hitherto unidentified, building[259] was associated with Zeus, but this is pure conjecture.

The acropolis also features the remains of a monumental Doric fountain, on the south-eastern slope of the hill.[260] This building has been dated to the fourth century BC and comprises a rectangular basin, enclosed by 6 columns at the back and a portico featuring another 6 Doric columns at the front, forming a sort of stoa.

The temple of Athena at Ialysos offers several impressive architectural features, as I have outlined, and, with its substantial deposit and elaborate decorative details, in particular the 'mix' of stylistic orders, demonstrates clearly that the Ialysians continued to take pride in and expand their poliad cult after the island's synoikism.

Next, let us consider the acropolis of Lindos, famous today as one of the main tourist attractions on the island, thanks to its extraordinary location and the substantial (and controversial) restoration undertaken by the Danish archaeological team[261] (fig.3). As in the case of Ialysos, the acropolis of Lindos is located on a steep hill, although much more rocky and craggy than Mount Phileremos, with its dense forest cover. A temple was apparently already in existence in the sixth century, and renovated under the direction of the tyrant Kleoboulos, according to later writers.[262] Archaeological remains

[259] Built in the Doric order, and dated no later than the third quarter of the fourth century BC, on the basis of technical details and stylistic characteristics: Livadiotti and Rocco (1999), 111f. with fig.2.

[260] *Cl.Rh.* I, Maiuri; Di Vita (1996), 50-1; Papachristodoulou (1991), 259.

[261] Excavations between 1902-1914. See Blinkenberg (1941); Dyggve (1960).

[262] Diog.Laert. 1.6.89: Kleoboulos is said to have rebuilt an even earlier version of the temple, established by Danaus; on the difficult archaeological evidence for these early stages cf. Dyggve (1960), 112-5; Lippolis (1988-9), 105-7; Lippolis (1996), 52.

reveal a small building dating to the archaic period, probably the sixth century, on whose foundation the later temple was built (A on fig. 4). But it was, again, not until the fourth century that the rebuilding took place which left the most substantial traces and monumentalised the temenos. Blinkenberg saw this project as an effect of the fire that was said to have ravaged the sanctuary and to have destroyed the goddess' most spectacular offerings, which he dated to 342 BC.[263] Since the discovery of the list of the priests of Helios, however, this fire, which took place during the year in which Eukles son of Astyanax held the priesthood of Helios, according to the Lindian Chronicle, is known to have occurred much earlier, probably in 392/1 BC. However, our archaeological evidence does not accord with a major destruction of the temple that early in the century; instead, it is now assumed that the fire had little effect on the building itself and its functioning, but that later destruction, possibly again during the siege of Demetrios Poliorketes, triggered a major reorganisation and rebuilding of the whole sacred complex at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century.[264]

The entire project, which involved levelling the surrounding area on the acropolis into three new terraces, took place over the course of much of the third century. Already in the early years of that century it seems that the newly rebuilt temple was dedicated; an inscription informing us of a dedication to Athena by two brothers, Kleandridas and Timotheos, sons of Aleximachos, seems to refer to this occasion.[265] Although we cannot

[263] According to the Lindian Chronicle (D.39-42), 'when the temple was burnt, it was burnt up with most of the dedications.' (trans. Higbie 2003).
[264] Lippolis (1988-9); (1996).
[265] *I.Lindos* 71, inscribed on a marble epistyle; cf. Lippolis (1988-9), 127-9 for the argument that this dedication refers to the temple's rededication. Badoud dates this inscription to around 260 BC: Badoud (2015), 227.

be certain, it seems likely that their father was Aleximachos, son of Kleandridas, who was one of the *epistatai* honoured by the Lindians for preserving the exclusivity of their *hiera*.[266] This implies that particular engagement in Lindian cults might have been a focus for this family.[267] In these years, then, the temple of Athena Lindia was rebuilt as a Doric amphiprostyle tetrastyle, with an elongated cella, that is, a building with a portico of four columns at both the front and the rear (fig. 5). On the highest level of the acropolis, it was undoubtedly a striking sight and visible from all sides, including from the sea, from where the sheer craggy rock face and the intriguing caves beneath it would have added to its appeal.[268] However, by itself the temple was rather small, nor was it accompanied, as far as we can tell, by any other sanctuaries on the acropolis (in this period at least).[269] This is despite the apparent inclusion of Zeus Polieus in this cult too, who appears in dedications at the sanctuary in the fourth century, and is added to the official titulature of the priesthood, certainly by the mid-third century, but conceivably in the late fourth century already.[270] However, it is undeniable that Athena

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[266] *TRI* 22, l.20.

[267] A Kleandridas son of Aleximachos is also found attested as *hierothytas* in Lindos 220 BC (*I.Lindos* 102) – since this office was usually held relatively early in life, it seems likely that he was a grandson of one of the two brothers, carrying on the common family names. For the role religious offices held for certain Lindian families, see below chs. 3 and 6.

[268] On the possibility that these caves housed some sort of cult see Dyggve (1960), 445-50, but the only inscription certainly found *in situ*, giving the name and title of a priest of Athena, is late imperial in date: *I.Lindos* 498.

[269] A small temple was added to the lower terrace in the imperial period; in addition, there are remains of walls of what might have been small shrines in the area of the stoa, but these cannot be identified: Dyggve (1960), 291-7.

[270] This development was first discussed by Blinkenberg (1941), 102-3 and 1175 (index entry), who considers it to have take place in the early third century; Badoud (2015), 44-6 shows that Blinkenberg's argument was based on an incorrect chronology, although he agrees with him that the initial cultic inclusion of Zeus took place earlier still, in the late fourth century, based on the dedication to Athena, Zeus and Apollo Pythios by Polykles, son of Polykrates, priest of Athena some time between 305-2 BC, and in fact assumes that this marked the change in titulature: *I.Lindos* 57; Badoud (2015), 67. However, the shift was clearly not complete – see the exceptions

remained the main deity – even after the apparent shift in titulature, we find two cases of priests of only Athena,[271] and her continued primacy is most emphatically demonstrated by the erection of the 'Lindian Chronicle' in 99 BC. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising, that, on the archaeological remains, there was just one cult statue, one altar, and one temple, which was dedicated only to Athena.[272]

Nevertheless, some further buildings were added in the mid-third century, adding to the site's grandeur: a stoa was erected on the highest level, where the temple also stood, with a grand staircase on its other side, leading down to the next terrace and thus creating a magnificent entrance to the summit of the acropolis and Athena's sanctuary. In wings on either side, rooms were added, among which there seems to have been an '*andron*'.[273] Lippolis has emphasised the overall structural unity of this building project: as the plan shows (fig. 4), the new buildings not only complemented the natural space of the acropolis, but were also constructed perfectly perpendicular and parallel to the temple.[274] This was also the case with the monumental stoa, built towards the end of the third century, on the next level down, parallel to the great stoa on the highest terrace. It has been suggested that this construction may have formed part of the restoration work

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in the following note – until later in the third century: *I.Lindos* 102, dated to 220 BC, has the full title in a joint dedication.

[271] Damonax, son of Hageikrates in 292 BC (*I.Lindos* 73) and Sosilas, son of Simias c.281 BC (*TRI* 45); Badoud (2015), 46.

[272] Base of cult statue: Dyggve (1960), 87; monumental altar: ibid., 174-80.

[273] *I.Lindos* 290; Dyggve (1960), 170-1. Lippolis (1988-9) further argues that this *andron* was in fact a *hestiatorion*, to which the many inscriptions mentioning public meals in the *hierothyteion* may refer (e.g. *IG* XII 1 846, 847, 848, 849): 124-6.

[274] Lippolis (1988-9), 134-6. See also Papachristodoulou (1991), 254-7.

after the devastating earthquake of the 220s.[275] Numerous cisterns have been discovered within this stoa, and possibly also remains of a small fountain house.[276]

The result was an impressive ascent, not just up a steep hill, but also through the monumental propylaea, across three terraced levels, to the most important cult of the Lindians. Again, the Hellenistic date of these building projects reminds us that the synoikism did not spell an end for lavish spending and construction in the old poleis; in the religious sphere in particular they could still impress. This was the case particularly at Lindos, where we are told that the temple's already imposing position acquired even greater grandeur when Pindar's seventh *Olympian* was inscribed on the building in golden letters[277] and when the monumental stele featuring the Lindian Chronicle was put up in the early first century BC.[278] In addition, the discovery of hundreds of honorific statue bases, including monumental exhedras in this area, largely from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, demonstrates the site's importance for the Lindian elite's self-display.

Next, let us consider the last of the three original Rhodian poleis, Kameiros, which has been excavated much more completely than any other site on the island. It stretches out across a dip in the landscape from east to west, creating a theatre-like shape. To the south lies the acropolis, on elevated ground, although it is much less steep than the other hills examined and never seems to have been fortified. The results of the

[275] Lippolis (1988-9), 143.
[276] Dyggve (1960), 375-380.
[277] Possibly as early as the fifth century, but more plausibly later on, in the fourth or third century, see my argument above pp.28-30.
[278] See Higbie (2003), 1-15 for a summary of this development.

excavation were described in volumes VI-VII of *Clara Rhodos*, and not much has been added since then.

As at Lindos, the Hellenistic period saw the construction of a monumental stoa across the entire breadth of the acropolis hill, marking the entrance, via a staircase, to the temples behind it. But here, for the first time, we seem to have clear traces of archaic and classical remains: both the *peribolos* of the temple of Athena Polias and a nearby cistern have been dated by excavators to the sixth or fifth century BC, although the temple also shows signs of having been re-furbished or re-built in the Hellenistic period.[279] The cistern, certainly archaic, is rectangular in form (16.40 x 10.20 m) and accessible via two staircases, dropping down to around 3.20 m depth. It may have served its function until the late third century, when the stoa was built on top of it. In any case, we are reminded of the presence of a similar building on the Ialysian acropolis, and possibly also at Lindos, suggesting that water may have played some role in the cult of Rhodian Athena.

As at Lindos, and, as we shall see, at Rhodes-town, the acropolis was an area in which impressive landscaping was brought into effect: stairs led up to the monumental stoa, around 200 m in length, a second one led up through the columns and, in order to access the temple of Athena, a final staircase had to be mounted. Thus, although not as steep and impressive naturally as Lindos or Ialysos, the acropolis zone of Kameiros was shaped and designed to emphasise the different levels in a similar manner. From the hilltop, the whole lower town was visible, extending down the slope towards the sea. Facing south, a visitor to the temple would have commanded an excellent view of the

[279] Tentatively dated to the last quarter of the third century, perhaps following the earthquake of the 220s: *Cl.Rh.* VI-VII, Iacopi, 225-240; Caliò (1996), 64-5.

surrounding countryside, including, in the distance, the peak of the highest mountain of the island, Atabyrios, significant to Rhodian mythology and also cult.

A few words on the stoa of Kameiros: as can be seen on the plan of the acropolis (fig.6), it functioned in a similar way to that at Lindos, and was probably constructed in the same period (the late third century). It consisted of two colonnades in the Doric order, with wings jutting out towards the north. Behind the second row there was a series of rooms of unknown function, although we do know that several of them housed wells, connected by a sophisticated clay piping system to subterranean reservoirs, apparently distributing and collecting rainwater.[280] This demonstrates that, although the archaic cistern was put out of use with the building of the stoa, water supply and distribution continued to be a concern at Kameiros, and may have had a sacred function or significance of some sort, as it continued to be centred on the acropolis.

Only a few metres north of the stoa and the archaic cistern, there is what appears to be the foundation of a small Hellenistic shrine or altar, a rectangular construction measuring only around 2.32 x 2.24 m. Three steps would have led up to a small platform, and we are perhaps helped in identifying its function by the nearby discovery of two marble bases, one inscribed *Athanas*, the other *Artamitos.* A few other finds, of a circular altar and smaller terracotta altars, give us an impression of the sacred nature of this building, but whether it was a shrine to Athena or Artemis, or some other deity, remains unknown.[281] Since Athena is, as far as we know, the only goddess to be worshipped on the acropolis, it is perhaps more likely to be a shrine to her, since we have no other evidence of a polis cult of Artemis at Kameiros.

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[280] *Cl.Rh*. VI-VII, Iacopi, 241-9; Caliò (1996), 65; Karousos (1973), 106-7.
[281] *Cl.Rh.* VI-VII, Iacopi, 250; Karousos (1973), 107.

Finally, let us briefly move on to the acropolis of Rhodes-town, already familiar from the previous chapter, and its sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus. This was located at the northern edge of the acropolis, on a higher level than the sanctuary of Apollo and/or Helios, discussed at length above. Unfortunately only very sparse ruins remain. The foundations reveal that this temple would have been large, a fact further supported by the many inscriptions and treaties apparently housed in the sanctuary, as well as a colossal statue dedicated to the Roman people.[282] Several column drums have been excavated, as well as parts of a capital and an architrave. The archaeological evidence thus informs us that this too would have been a Doric peripteral temple, probably constructed in the fourth century, although it remains difficult to date, due to the general scarcity of evidence. This temple's temenos was bordered, on its eastern side, by a Hellenistic stoa, with steps leading up to the sanctuary's level.[283]

Having completed this survey of the acropoleis of the three original poleis on Rhodes, alongside some comments on the Athena-temple in Rhodes-town, we can briefly point out some similarities and other observations – initially focusing on Ialysos, Lindos and Kameiros. Clearly, the worship of Athena on all three ancient acropoleis is an important shared feature, as already touched on in the previous chapter. In all cases there is evidence for a long history and continuity of worship of this deity, signalled by the rich votive deposits and traces of cultic buildings from the archaic period. Monumental access to water was also present in at least two of the three sites, while Hellenistic

[282] Statue: Pol. 31.15.4; the author does not specify which temple of Athena, but Rhodes-town is the most likely location.
[283] Karousos (1973), 92-3; Hoepfner (1999), 57.

reconstruction in Kameiros and Lindos seems to have been based on similar architectural and landscaping designs. Most strikingly, perhaps, Athena is the only deity, as far as we know, to have been worshipped on the acropolis in all three cities. Although there are epigraphic signs of a combined cult of Athena and Zeus Polieus, certainly in Kameiros and Lindos, by the Hellenistic period,[284] this does not seem to have been reflected in the religious architecture of the physical sacred landscape. This squares with Athena's importance in the island's mythology and cultic organisation, from early on. Although much remains unknown, the monumental ruins that do remain for us demonstrate clearly that continued pride was taken in this ancient cult in the three old poleis, and that, at least in Rhodes' heyday in the Hellenistic period, this was translated into majestic and inspiring religious monuments.[285]

Broadly speaking, the cult in Rhodes-town appears to have been set up in a similar physical setting, although with the important distinction that it was not the only sanctuary on the acropolis, nor, arguably, the most prominent. In the new city, the traditional Rhodian poliad deity had to share the acropolis with the cult of Apollo and/or Helios. This demonstrates both continuity and innovation in the design of the sacred landscape in the new foundation.

2.2.2. Ritual and Cult

Clearly, Athena occupied a central position in the cultic landscape of each of the Rhodian cities, just as she played an important role in the island's mythology. What else

[284] See the references in Morelli (1959), 11-2.

[285] Particularly following the destructions caused by the siege of Demetrios Poliorketes in the late fourth, and by the earthquake in the late third centuries.

can we establish about this cult's function and character? How did the Rhodians worship Athena?

Once again, for this cult as for most others, we must bemoan the lack of substantial sacrificial calendars or other documents, which limits our knowledge of ritual details and particularities. However, our evidence for the worship of Athena on the acropolis of the three old poleis is augmented by the discovery of a number of votive deposits. These finds have further demonstrated the primacy and continuity of this Rhodian deity and may reveal some elements of her cult. Although votive deposits have been discovered near each of the ancient Athena cults, most scholarship has focused on the apparent peculiarities of just one of these, Athena Lindia. Her cult has often been considered to have 'eastern', 'non-Greek' roots,[286] particularly noticeable in strange rituals attributed to her, which have coloured the analysis of her votive material. A close look at the evidence, and comparison with the material from the acropoleis of Ialysos and Kameiros, will seek to establish to what extent this view is correct, and what we can, and cannot, say about the worship of Rhodian Athena.

Let us begin, then, with Lindos, where two substantial deposits of votive objects were excavated by the Danish expedition in the early 20th century, which Blinkenberg named the 'grand dépot d'ex-voto' and the 'petit dépot'. The former consisted of two groupings of votive material of little value, thrown into cavities in the rocky ground of the acropolis, at some distance from the actual sanctuary. For the most part, we are

[286] Note especially Morelli (1959), who describes Athena Lindia as 'un'antichissima divinità pregreca', who continued to be worshipped in an 'anellenico' manner: 81.

dealing here with objects dating from the period 525-400 BC, with a small quantity of earlier articles, from the sixth century. Since none of the finds date later than the fifth century, it seems likely that this deposit was a place either consistently used throughout the classical period to store or unload unwanted votives from the nearby sanctuary, or that it was filled on one occasion, around 400 BC.[287] This makes it tempting to associate the development with the synoikism, but there is no evidence for this, other than the approximate coincidence of dates.

Most numerous in this 'grand dépot' are terracotta statuettes, several hundred of which simply depict a woman standing or sitting. The rather stiff 'archaic' style had traditionally been thought to indicate goddesses as opposed to mortal women, but already Blinkenberg notes that there is nothing to support this argument.[288] The substantially larger number of female than male figurines seems to demonstrate, rather, the predominance of women in the day-to-day rituals and worship of this cult on the Lindian acropolis. Statuettes representing women carrying infants or accompanied by children reinforce this view, suggesting perhaps that Athena Lindia fulfilled a kourotrophic role within the community.[289] Noteworthy too are the examples of Cypriot and Egyptian objects, mainly in the form of animals, which have often been taken to suggest the 'oriental' origins or elements of the cult of Athena Lindia.[290]

The second deposit, or the 'petit dépot d'ex-voto', was discovered much closer to the sanctuary of Athena, in front of the western wing of the great stoa on the acropolis. In

[287] Blinkenberg (1931), 7; he puts the date of the formation of the 'grand dépot' in 407, in his chronology of the sanctuary's development: 17.
[288] Blinkenberg (1931), 34; see also Burkert (1985), 93.
[289] Blinkenberg (1931), 34-7; female figurines: nos. 2101-2310. These are distinct from the statuettes depicting the goddess Athena herself: nos. 2332-6. On Athena as a kourotrophos see Kowalzig (2007), 234-5. See below for possible parallels in the deposits of Kameiros and Ialysos.
[290] Blinkenberg (1931), 29-30; Morelli (1959), 80-1. Already van Gelder (1900), 313-6.

this place, a large ditch was dug, probably in the third century, which was filled with apparently unwanted votive material. The finds comprise a rather homogeneous series of terracotta figurines, dating from around the same period, as well as some few exceptions.[291]

It is in this deposit that we find figurines apparently related to the cultic activity of the goddess: statuettes depicting women dancing, carrying *oinochoai* and drinking cups, *hydrophoroi*, women carrying baskets bearing fruit or offerings, those holding a *tympanon* or else torches.[292] Do these reflect ritual activity in any straightforward manner? The statuettes depict exclusively women, whereas all religious personnel known from Lindian inscriptions are male; are we then seeing an aspect of religious life and female participation in it that is otherwise invisible to us?[293] Or are these figurines merely depictions of worshippers, but not an indication that women were involved in the administration of the cult, besides carrying offerings or other objects in processions? The statuettes depicting women carrying baskets of fruit were seen by Blinkenberg as a reference to the *apyra hiera* said by Pindar to be offered to Athena on Rhodes, and mentioned briefly in this context in the previous chapter.[294] The precise nature of these offerings is unclear. Blinkenberg clearly interpreted them as vegetal, but, based on a literal reading of Pindar's aetiological myth, they appear to constitute meat and all other

[291] Blinkenberg (1931), 7-8.
[292] Blinkenberg (1931): Women carrying drinking vessels: nos. 2998-3002; hydrophoroi: nos. 3003-12; women carrying baskets with offerings: nos. 3014-16 and fruit baskets: nos. 3023-9; women holding a tympanon: nos. 3037-42; women carrying torches: nos. 3018-22.
[293] See below, pp.185-91.
[294] Blinkenberg (1931), 39. See Kowalzig (2007), 227-38 for the difficulties in finding evidence for the supposed *apyra hiera.*

standard elements of a *thysia,* without any fire being applied.[295] This reading has replaced the earlier view that the offerings were of a vegetal nature, comprising cakes, cereals, and other vegetarian foodstuffs, in which case representations of such offerings in the votive material would not be relevant to this practice.

A related theory, also propounded largely by Blinkenberg, linked this supposed prohibition of burnt offerings with the rupestral inscriptions discovered on the so-called Boukopion, a peculiar bedrock formation, jutting out below the Lindian acropolis. These inscriptions, all sacrificial in nature, were interpreted by Blinkenberg as denoting a religious site on which the Dorian Lindians could perform their 'proper' burnt sacrifices, close to, but not on the acropolis.[296] His theory has largely been rejected in recent times, but the inscriptions and their peculiar stipulation for the sacrifices to be 'προσχάραιος' continue to be linked to the worship of Athena Lindia.[297] And yet the Boukopion inscriptions have no clear connection to any civic cult. Rather, their emphasis appears to be on private individuals and their families, as well as other gentilicial groupings, such as *patrai.* In addition, the majority of them have been dated to the fourth and third centuries, a time at which we can be fairly certain that Athena Lindia received burnt *thysia* offerings on the acropolis (based on the remains of the

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[295] Pind. *Ol.*7.43: Helios instructs his sons to offer a 'σεμνὰν θυσίαν'; 34-54 for the episode in question; cf. Apollonios fr.11 = schol. ad Pind. *Ol.*7.86b; Bresson (1979), 59 n.41; Sfyroeras (1993), 2; Kowalzig (2007), 228-38 Blinkenberg (1941), 10-1. Cf. Ekroth (2008b) on the different preparations of sacrificial meat, including raw.

[296] Blinkenberg (1941), 791-804, 904-10; nos. 580-619, the earliest dating possibly to the sixth century, but the majority apparently inscribed in the later classical and early Hellenistic period (i.e. fourth to third centuries BC); Morelli (1959), 81-8.

[297] Kostomitsopoulos (1988) suggests that the term denotes a sacrifice that takes place in front of the altar, and thus is not burnt on it, equating this with the *apyra hiera* of Pindar's Athena: 125-6; Kowalzig (2007) believes προσχάραιος to be related to such festivals as the Προ(σ)χαριστήρια, connected with spring and crops, and suggests a link with the numerous votive formulae attested on Rhodian pottery sherds, promising Ἀθαναίαι ἀπαρχὴν. This underlines her argument that the offerings to Athena Lindia developed into fireless *vegetal* offerings: 237-8.

altar). On one occasion, a deity's name is listed, 'Athena Phratria', otherwise completely unattested in Rhodian epigraphy.[298] More will be said on the 'private' side of religious life in chapter 5, but for now it is sufficient to note that there is no convincing link to the civic cult of Athena Lindia at this site, nor an obvious connection to the *apyra hiera.*

Little is clear within this picture. Pindar's description of the fireless sacrifices offered to Rhodian Athena must reflect some contemporary custom or tradition, according to which some meat was sacrificed raw (the ode never indicates that these were the *only* sacrifices received by Athena). As discussed in the previous chapter, Pindar is careful not to pick out one specific site, and our evidence for all the Rhodian Athena-cults is too scanty for this period to establish a context.

The inscription of Pindar's seventh *Olympian* on the temple of Lindian Athena does suggest that Lindians were keen on associating this particular ritual practice with their Athena – either in the fifth century, or, as I argued above, more plausibly in the later classical or early Hellenistic period. However, there is no indication that these kinds of raw sacrifices took place in this period. In fact, as we saw above, there are archaeological remains of a large altar situated outside the Lindian temple, appearing no different from altars on which "normal" Greek blood sacrifice was carried out.[299] It is possible that, instead, the poem was called on by contemporary Lindians to explain a local sacrificial custom, possibly involving vegetal offerings (which would explain the votive statuettes described above). This would conform well with Kowalzig's theory, that the evidence for this supposedly ancient tradition bears all the marks of attempts to

[298] *I.Lindos* 615.
[299] See n.272.

archaise a later custom.[300] However, Kowalzig never doubted that the ode was inscribed already in the fifth century, whereas I believe that this appropriation fits better into a later context of Lindian cult and society, in which attempts were made to individualise the cult of Athena Lindia.

How does the material from other Rhodian Athena cults fit into this picture? Is Lindos truly a special case?

First, let us consider Kameiros' Athena. Due to the preliminary and rather poorly documented excavations undertaken by Billiotti in the late 19th century,[301] the finds published by the Italian excavators in *Clara Rhodos* comprise largely scattered objects, located around the site of the temple of Athena and on the terrace beneath it. This means that, unlike at Lindos, most of the objects of which we have record were not found in the same place, but rather may stem from different contexts – although the majority were found in the vicinity of the acropolis temple. It may also explain why there is much less homogeneity in this case. Instead, we are faced with an overwhelming variety of items, which are difficult to group, including figures of stone, terracotta, bronze, pottery, and some ornamental items.[302]

As at Lindos, the deposit shows exchange with a number of different regions, especially Egypt.[303] We also find some Cypriot-style statuettes, made of porous stone, of lions and winged griffins. According to Blinkenberg, these had served to emphasise the specific

[300] Kowalzig (2007), 238.
[301] Current research at the BM is working to contextualise these finds based on close reading and comparisons of Billiotti's notebooks: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/collaborative_doctoral_awards/nicholas_salmon.aspx.
[302] *Cl.Rh.* VI-VII, 279-365.
[303] Kourou (2004).

aspect of Athena Lindia as a 'nature deity', a '*potnia thērōn*'. As Maiuri points out, this parallel presence at Kameiros greatly undermines Blinkenberg's hypothesis (which was centred on the individuality of Lindian Athena).[304] As regards the ritual character and prime worshipping group, we again find some statuettes of women, as well as numerous *fibulae*; but the numbers in the published material are so far too slight to draw any conclusions.[305]

In this context, however, it is worth citing the inscription from third-century Kameiros listing sacrifices to Athena Polias:

> Δαλίου νευμη[νίαι]
> Ἀθάναι Πολιά[δι ἄρνα]
> ἱερεὺς θύει. Ἀρ[ταμιτί]-
> ου διχομηνίαι ἄρ[να]
> ἰάρη θύει· vac. ἄρν[α]
> ἀνθεστρίδες θ[ύοντι].
> ἕκται ἐπὶ δέκα δ[άμαλιν]
> μὴ νεωτέραν ἐ[νιαυ]-
> τίας ἰ[άρη?- θύει].
> [Ὑα]κινθ[ίου - -].[306]
>
> *On the 1st of the month Dalios, to Athena Polias, a [...]. The priest sacrifices it.*
> *On the 15th of the month Artamitios, a lamb; the priestess sacrifices it; (another) lamb; the Anthestrides sacrifice it.*
> *On the 16th: a heifer not younger than a year-old; the [priest/priestess] sacrifices it.*
> *On the [...] of Hyakinthios [...]* (trans. *CGRN* 109)

The text has been rather heavily restored, but in its current state[307] informs us about sacrifices to the goddess at various dates throughout the year by a series of officiants: a priest, who sacrifices an animal on the first of Dalios; a priestess, who sacrifices a sheep

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[304] Blinkenberg (1931), 30, 404, 446-59; *Cl.Rh.* VI-VII (Maiuri), 282-6 and 314-7, nos. 11-15 (lions and griffins), nos. 28-36 (birds/hawks).
[305] The research undertaken by Nicholas Salmon at the BM in preparation for his doctoral thesis will focus on aspects of female identity in this votive deposit, albeit for the archaic period.
[306] *Tit.Cam.* 148 = *LSS* 96 = *CGRN* 109.
[307] See above, n.126.

at the full-moon in the month of Artamitios; the *anthestrides* who also sacrifice a sheep, presumably on the same occasion; and finally, a fragmentary instruction for a priest (or priestess) to sacrifice what is probably a young heifer on the 16th of the same month. After this, the text breaks off, although it presumably continued to list further offerings to the goddess, sacrificed in other months.

Of particular interest is the sacrifice by the priestess on the 'dichomenia' of the month of Artamitios; that is, at the time of the full moon, in the month named after the goddess Artemis. The same event required a sacrifice of a lamb by the so-called 'anthestrides', whose name literally means something like 'flower-girls' and apparently denoted girls before marriage.[308] Dillon, who uses a reconstruction of the Kameiran text which I consider to be incorrect, believes this event to be a sacrifice to Artemis. Despite my firm belief that Athena Polias must be the recipient,[309] Dillon's comments about the potential transitional element of girls' lives being at the heart of this ritual still rings true – or, at the very least, plausible.[310] Whether or not the timing of the full moon was significant in this respect,[311] a strong case can be made that our fragmentary sacrificial inscription informs us about a ritual celebrated by and relevant to girls or women on Rhodes, and associated with the cult of Athena Polias.

Finally we move on to the cult and votive deposit of Ialysos, the least well-known of the three. Despite this, however, it seems to be the richest, boasting over 5000 objects, some of considerable value, and stretching from around the ninth century down to the fourth.

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[308] Hesych. s.v. 'anthesteriades' (presumably a variant of the same term); Dillon (2002), 61-2.
[309] See n.126.
[310] Dillon (2002), 61-2.
[311] A common time of the month for major Athenian festivals; for the possibility that they would have been at least partly nocturnal see Trümpy (1998).

It was excavated in the 1920s, on Mount Phileremos near the sanctuary of Athena located there. The excavation diaries explain that the majority of the ex-voto were discovered in a large area to the south-west of the temple, deposited in natural rock cavities. This deposit has been studied by Martelli and much of it, still unpublished, is on display in the Museum of Rhodes. However, no comprehensive catalogue or study yet exists. Like the other deposits mentioned so far, the finds from Ialysos consist of a large variety of small objects, including fibulae, statuettes, scarabs, ceramics and so forth. Many of the items again attest to female worshippers, including the 2000 or so fibulae, as well as other ornamental objects, but we also find evidence of men making votive offerings of weapons, both real specimen and miniature versions, as well as, interestingly, fish hooks, implying perhaps that the goddess' sphere incorporated protecting these male activities and professions as much as the stages of women's lives.[312] Again we may note the presence of animal figurines, in particular hawks and lions, which remind us of the items attached to the other cults of Athena on the island. Of the greatest interest, perhaps, are the inscribed dedications found within the Ialysian deposit. Around 200 inscriptions have been discovered, largely on vases and mainly dating to the sixth century. The standard formula contains the adjective *hiara* or the name of Athanaia/Athana, always in the Doric form, and that of the honorands, as well as the designation of the offering as a '*dekata*', '*mnamosynon*', or an '*apargma*/*aparma*' – a local variation of the common form *aparche*.[313] Some similar inscriptions also appear in the votive deposits of Lindos and Kameiros, although in much smaller quantities: at Kameiros we have a few examples of sherds merely inscribed with IAPA, others with

[312] Martelli (1988); (1996).
[313] Martelli (1996), 49; on these 'first-fruit' offerings in general and the difficulty in interpreting them see Burkert (1985), 66-68 and Jim (2014), introduction, especially 13-7.

the name of the goddess;[314] at Lindos, too, we have several dozen examples of inscribed ceramics, with phrases of varying complexity.[315] Kowalzig tentatively suggests that these attestations of *aparchai* in Athena's Rhodian cult of the sixth and fifth centuries may offer evidence of an eventual adoption of the *apyra hiera* mentioned in myth – that is, possibly, a custom shared by both Ialysos and Lindos.[316] But whether the agricultural connotations are really prevalent enough to sustain this hypothesis is doubtful,[317] in particular due to the lack of a comprehensive publication of the inscriptions from Ialysos.

2.2.3. Conclusions

The three deposits at sanctuaries of Athena on Rhodes provide us with a set of similarities and comparisons that may be helpful in determining the inter-polis and inter-cultic relationship on the island. In general, we note a similar composition of material, similar foreign provenances and similar dedicatory inscriptions. All three deposits show signs of cultic activity beginning in the Late Geometric Age and all three demonstrate particular ties with Cyprus and Egypt. Vast numbers of terracotta figurines survive from all three sites, demonstrating similar typologies, including the simplest standing or sitting female type, but also the woman accompanied by a younger girl and the so-called '*kriophoroi*'. Much of this votive material dates to the late archaic and classical periods, but some similarity can also be observed in the monumental sacred architecture discovered on the three acropoleis, largely dateable to the

[314] *Cl.Rh.* VI-VII, section XIII.
[315] Blinkenberg (1931), 662-9, nos.2795-2852.
[316] Kowalzig (2007), 237-8.
[317] See Jim (2014), 274-6 *et pass.*: the link between *aparchai* and agricultural offerings is, on the whole, not borne out by our evidence.

Hellenistic period. There are also some indications that Athena played a significant role in the feminine sphere, and possibly took on a kourotrophic role in Lindos and Kameiros. However, this should not be exaggerated – the majority of Athena's priests were male, and particularly the sanctuary of Athena Lindia was a prominent site for the male elite to display their achievements.

We saw in the previous chapter how ambivalent Pindar is in his depiction of Athena and her sanctuary on the acropolis 'of Rhodes', and to a degree this appears to be reflected in the physical manifestation and ritual practice of the three cults.

However, some attempt at individualising their Athena cult seems to have taken place in Hellenistic Lindos. The appropriation of Pindar's ode, and its myth of the *apyra hiera,* indicate a particular interest in establishing or recognising the traditional peculiarities of their poliad goddess – even if these were in fact (re)invented with the ode's inscription. However, it is unlikely that these unburnt offerings were ever considered to be the norm in the worship of Lindian Athena – the 'Lindian Chronicle', set up in the sanctuary in 99 BC, proudly tells of the grand animal sacrifices made by some of its recent prominent pilgrims, such as Alexander the Great.[318] This vast inscription, of course, is perhaps the strongest evidence for the singularity and individualism of their poliad deity which the Lindians wanted to emphasise by the late Hellenistic period. The text makes no explicit references to any of the Rhodian poleis or Athena-cults, presenting a strongly (and unrealistically) localised history of the sanctuary.[319]

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[318] *LC* XXXVIII; note also Ptolemy's offering: XXXIX of twenty skulls of cattle.

[319] There are references to the 'damos' and sometimes to the 'polis', both of which could refer to Rhodes more generally, but this is never made explicit; instead the focus always seems to be on Lindos, including episodes recounting attacks by the Persian forces during the Persian Wars, and the siege by Demetrios: *LC* D5-10 and 95-104.

2.3. *Other Cults in the old poleis*

No other Rhodian cult comes close to offering as much information as that of Athena. In the old poleis, there is in fact very little archaeological evidence for other cults, and we rely instead on inscriptions, particularly those listing priests, for an impression of the local pantheon. Our picture of religious life in these centres will thus become much sharper in the chapters on priests and on religion and society.

2.3.1. *Ialysos*

First, Ialysos deserves a few remarks: since it is by far the least well known of the Rhodian cities, there is also not much to be said on its public cults. Unlike Lindos and Kameiros, we crucially do not possess substantial quantities of priestly epigraphy. As briefly discussed in chapter 1, this presumably reflects, in part, a decrease in size and population. However, as we saw above, this did not detract from the lavish cultivation of their ancient cult of poliad Athena. The religious context within which this occurred is unfortunately far from evident. That some other, local cults continued to exist is, however, clear.

Thus we find, for instance, epigraphic attestation of a late fourth-century cult of Alektrona, complete with temple and temenos, surely the Elektrone, whom Diodorus mentions as a daughter of Helios – a likely linguistic alteration for the Doric dialect.[320] A lengthy decree seeks to retain the sanctuary's purity, *kata ta patria* – an intriguing hint at religious norms and authoritative regulations that may have continued on the island

[320] Diod.Sic. 5.56.5. Morelli (1959), 89-90; van Gelder (1900), 354 believed her to be an ancient, female Sun goddess, a kind of precursor of Helios.

after the synoikism.[321] It is unclear what the 'patria' referred to consist of and, more importantly, when they were established; the *nomos* which is being reiterated prohibits certain animals from being brought into the sanctuary, but again we are not told who created this, or when.[322] Unfortunately there is no indication of whether the cult was initiated before or after the synoikism, but the interest in reviving or reaffirming its purity regulations in the second half of the fourth century might well indicate renewed popularity of the goddess, plausibly in connection with the important role Helios played in the new Rhodian state.

The highly political way in which these norms are to be regulated is also insightful. The *hierotamiai* are instructed to put up three copies of the stele, one over each entrance and one above the *histiatorion;* if anyone contravenes the law, a fine of one obol per animal is to be exacted and paid to the *mastroi*.[323] The mention of the *mastroi's* duties in this context places this protection law squarely into a local context of administration and control. Presumably the *hierotamiai*, too, are local religious officials, attached to the cults of Ialysos, indicating that the cultic sphere continued to be regulated at this regional level following the synoikism.[324] The sacrificial regulation discussed in the previous chapter, which prescribes sacrifices for Artemis 'es Phagas', related to one deme of

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[321] See the previous discussion of federal vs local religious *nomoi* in ch. 1.

[322] Chaniotis (2009), 97-8 emphasises the 'stratigraphy' of this text, noting the different levels referred to: the *patria;* the *nomos;* and the *psaphisma.* Only the latter two were subject to modification and elaboration by humans. Note that the decree follows the proposal of what appears to be an ordinary Ialysian citizen. Cf. *CGRN* 90.

[323] *IG* XII, 1 677 = *LS* II, 145 = *LSCG* 136 (fourth-third century BC) = *CGRN* 90 (c.350-300 BC). Cf. Krauter (2004), 242-4.

[324] It is telling that this decree forms the first example for 'regulations of the *polis* about religious matters' in Harris' new typology: Harris (2015), 65-6.

Ialysos, the Pontoreis,[325] again demonstrating the role of regional governmental divisions in the organisation of religious life.

It is probable that the number of cults that remained under Ialysian jurisdiction was much smaller than was the case for Lindos and Kameiros, and it seems plausible that the cults that did remain in this region were, for the most part, scattered in the countryside, rather than located in an urban setting.[326]

This was certainly the case for perhaps the most significant cult in Ialysian territory, that of Apollo Erethimios. The excavated temple complex, discovered close to the modern town of Theologos, dates back to around 400 BC and included a small theatre, which would presumably have housed dramatic contests at the Erethimia festival.[327]

An important inscription published by Kontorini informs us about these 'megala Erethimia'. They consisted of pan-Rhodian contests, athletic, musical and dramatic, in which foreigners, however, clearly also participated (and were victorious).[328]

Significantly, we find the three Rhodian *phylai* competing in a torch race, each under the leadership of a *phylarchos*.[329] This is the only concrete evidence we have for the three *phylai* appearing by name (e.g. Ialysia), implying that this division was largely realised on a religious, or perhaps more specifically, agonistic, level.[330] Evidently a prestigious pan-Rhodian event, its organisation eludes us, at least for the fourth century. In a later

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[325] *LSS* 92 = *CGRN* 154.

[326] A major urban habitation zone has not been identified for post-synoikism Ialysos, and may never have existed. On the problematic provenance of the Alektrone decree see *CGRN* 90.

[327] Papachristodoulou (1991), 266-268; on the Erethimia see *IG* XII, 735 = *ClRh.* II. p.110, no.22; Nilsson (1906), 143f.; Kontorini (1975).

[328] E.g from Locris: C l.8, Kos: B l.15, Samos: C l.14 and Miletos: C l.10, 30, 34; Kontorini (1975), 108. She argues, however, that the festival was not aimed at attracting foreigners, but was largely a local affair, due to the ephebic events.

[329] A ll.8-9: [φ]ύλαρχος λα[μπάδι]/ [Λ]ιν[δ]ίας; at B ll.26-7 it is the Ialysian *phylarchos* who is inscribed. For other attestations of *phylarchoi*: *Tit.Cam.*63b; *SER* 6, 18, 19, 40; *I.Lindos*222.4-5.

[330] On the role *phylai* could play in Hellenistic festivals, especially in the public procession see Chaniotis (1995), 156-7; 'Der Festzug wird somit zu einem Spiegelbild der Polis' (at 157).

period, around the first century BC, the festival seems to have been coordinated by an association called the Ἰαλύσιοι Ἐρεθιμιάζοντες[331] –perhaps a sign, either, that the festival was reduced in size and splendour, or else that the ancient polis of Ialysos had finally shrunk beyond the level where it possessed its own separate administrative bodies.

At least within the celebration of the Great Erethimia, it is clear that this Ialysian cult was geared towards a pan-Rhodian, but not exclusively Rhodian, audience. The competitions among the *phylai* remind us that the tripartite division of Lindian, Kameiran and Ialysian still lived on and was effective within the religious structures of the island in the later classical and Hellenistic periods.

2.3.2. Kameiros

This continuing emphasis on the ancient tripartite division is similarly demonstrated in the other great extra-urban, pan-Rhodian cult, that of Zeus Atabyrios, which was located in Kameiran territory – to which polis it was linked in myth, too.[332]

In the third century, a list of theoroi from all the old Rhodian poleis attests that this temple, on the island's highest summit, acted as a meeting place of sorts. This fragmentary inscription, as restored by Papachristodoulou, begins by naming three *architheoroi*, followed by five *theoroi* from each city, Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros – it should be emphasised that these are not described by their *phyla*, but as coming *from* the

[331] *IG* XII, 1 734; Kontorini (1975), 107-8. More on this association below, in chapter 5.
[332] Althaimenes, son of a Cretan king, is said to travel to Rhodes, in an attempt to escape a parricidal oracle; upon his arrival to Kameiros, he founds a temple to Zeus on the peak of the highest mountain: Apollod. 3.2.1-2 and, with minor differences, Diod.Sic.5.59. Cf. Bresson (1986).

city (ἐκ Καμίρου etc).[333] Unfortunately we have no evidence for what these *theoroi* met to discuss or perform, and how often this may have happened. What is significant, however, is that these theoroi again demonstrate the persistence of the old tripartite division in the religious life of Rhodes. Whether or not this reflected the actual physical provenance of the men involved, they were fulfilling their Rhodian religious duty as members of one of the *old* poleis – a connection they will have certainly had through their demotic, as discussed above.

Although Zeus' epithet ties the cult so closely to its mountain-top location, it seems that worship was diffused throughout the island, and further abroad.[334] A passage from Appian, in which Mithridates is said to gain access to a hill-top sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios, has been taken as evidence for a physical manifestation of this cult in the southern area of Rhodes-town.[335] However, the account which gives this location as the site from which a signal fire is to be lit by Mithridates' men, seems confused as to whether it is referring to a sanctuary near the city, or else the famous mountain-top temple.[336] The distance of the mountain makes it far more likely that a sanctuary in closer proximity to the city of Rhodes was meant, but it remains unclear where this might have been located.[337] Other, scattered, epigraphic references speak to some further diffusion of the cult in Lindian territory.[338]

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[333] *SEG* 49.1070; originally *Tit.Cam*.280-1; Papachristodoulou (1999a), 33.
[334] E.g. at Agrigentum: Pol. 9.27.7. See below, chapter 4.
[335] App. *Mith.* 26; cf. the assumptions made by Konstantinopoulou (1990), 211 n.36 and Papachristodoulou (1991), 254, based largely on this passage; also Kreutz (2007), 21.
[336] Twice, Appian describes the signal as emanating merely 'ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου', surely a reference to the eponymous mountain.
[337] The other piece of evidence that seems to attest to the cult's existence in Rhodes-town consists of a tricky and rather late inscription, that records a dedication to Zeus Atabyrios by a group

Aside from the intriguing insight into pan-Rhodian religious gatherings atop Mount Atabyrion, the mountain-top sanctuary does not appear to have played a major part in Kameiros' public life: crucially, we possess no evidence of a priesthood nor any cultic regulations from Kameiros.[339] The archaeological excavations carried out by the Italian team in the 1940s were not thorough enough to provide much information about the structure. Most of the remains appear to date to the late classical and Hellenistic periods, but Pindar's testimony proves that an earlier temple existed at this site.[340] Votive and dedicatory finds, however, demonstrate that the cult remained popular with Rhodians and visitors from nearby Asia Minor throughout the Hellenistic period.[341]

A number of other civic cults are known to have been located in the city of Kameiros. As we have already seen, the eponymous official of Kameiros was the *damiourgos*, who appears to have fulfilled the role of priest of Hestia and Zeus Teleios.[342] Remarkably, Hestia appears not to be worshipped anywhere else on the island. Since our evidence for the cult and its eponymous priest does not predate the fourth century we cannot know whether this was an old Kameiran cult, that received no, or little, consideration in the new city, or whether it was established after the synoikism as a consciously different deity. Numerous examples of joint priestly dedications introduce us to Kameiros' civic

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calling themselves the Diosatabyriastai: *IG* XII 1, 31, and see below pp.266-9. However, this text makes no reference to a civic cult.

[338] *I.Lindos* 339: small votive altar discovered on the Lindian acropolis; *IG* XII 1, 891: fragmentary cultic regulation (?) discovered in the Netteia region.

[339] Morelli (1959), 138-41.

[340] *Cl.Rh.* I, 88-91 (Iacopi); Papachristodoulou (1991), 252-4. Pind. *Ol*.7.87. cf. Str. 14.2.11-12.

[341] *Cl.Rh*. II, 236-255, nos. 144-217: e.g. no.161, a *charisterion* from a man from Selge and no.169, a *charisterion* from a Milesian.

[342] *Tit.Cam*. 4h, i. *Tit.Cam.* 3 is the list of *damiourgoi*. See also Caliò (2011).

cults in the post-synoikism period, and demonstrate the local administration of religious life. In one particularly extensive inscription from 227 BC, the *damiourgos* is joined by other officials in the following order: twelve *hieropoioi*, an *archieristas*, the priests of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, of Apollo Pythios, Apollo Karneios, Poseidon Kyreteios, Dionysos, Asklepios, Herakles, Aphrodite, the Muses, Apollo Mylantios, Sarapis, the *grammateus* of the *mastroi*, three *epistatai,* an *agonothetas*, a *hypogrammateus* and a *hierokarux*.[343] The majority of these cults cannot be located with any certainty, nor can any other information be added. However, the mere existence of such a substantial number of religious offices, rotating annually, demonstrates clearly the continuing vigour with which religious life was organised and practiced in Kameiros, throughout the Hellenistic period.

Before we move on to the final Rhodian polis, Lindos, one final peculiarity of Kameiros' cultic life needs to be mentioned. In the excavations of the town, a remarkable discovery was made: the remains of a small building containing a series of square stone altars, each engraved with only a single deity's name, in the genitive (e.g. Poseidon Phytalmios, fig. 7). Due to the variety of names, it was dubbed the 'agora degli dei' by excavators, a name that recalls the famous carvings at Thera.[344] Nothing seems to link the choice of gods (from Olympians such as Athena, Artemis or Aphrodite, to more 'local' Rhodian deities such as Helios, and the hero Amphilochos) to one cult, so it seems that we have here a shrine for various Kameiran gods, sacred to all of them.[345] No more precise date than 'third century BC' has been suggested, associating this cultic site

[343] *Tit.Cam.*38; Similar examples of third-century dedications by groups of religious functionaries: *Tit.Cam*. 9-33; 35-9. More below.
[344] Segre (1934-5), 144.; *Cl.Rh.* VI-VII p.253-7; *Tit.Cam.* 135-143. In fact they bear little resemblance to the site at Thera, aside from the conglomeration of so many *different* deities' names in stone.
[345] Cf. Heilmeyer (1999).

with posty-synoikism Kameiros. The sanctuary's location, directly next to the agora, suggests that this was an important site, and much frequented, a kind of 'pantheon'. A possible parallel case exists in Rhodes-town, where a sanctuary has been excavated in the lower town, with a monumental altar and a series of dedications, all to *theois*, none to any specific deities.[346]

As the epigraphic evidence in particular shows, Kameiros remained a centre that organised its own cults and religious life; this will become more evident in the following chapter. The cult of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, examined above, existed within a well-organised cultic framework, which incorporated a number of regional cults that interacted with and influenced other parts of the island's religious life. As elsewhere on Rhodes, evidence for actual religious practice is however rather limited, raising the question of the extent to which the cults and priests attested at various points throughout the Hellenistic period were truly reflective of continuing religious vitality, rather than, perhaps, the opposite.

2.3.3. Lindos

Finally we arrive at the last of the ancient Rhodian poleis, Lindos. The centrality of Athena Lindia until the late Hellenistic period, and beyond, has already been observed at length. Other cults are largely known through the existence of priesthoods, since excavation opportunities have been limited, due to the coincidence of modern and ancient habitation sites.

As with Kameiros, the epigraphic record informs us of a sophisticated system of religious organisation and structure, primarily through the number of different officials

[346] Kantzia (1999); more below.

we find attested for the sacred sphere. Again, looking at a particularly lengthy joint dedication, this one from the early first century BC, we find a substantial list of religious officials attested: in this case, the priests of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, of Apollo Pythios, Sarapis, Artemis Kekoia, Dionysos, Poseidon Hippios, Apollo Olios, Apollo Karneios, of Lindos and the other heroes, followed by an *archierothytas* and fifteen *hierothytai* and, finally, an *agonothetes*.[347] More will be said on many of these offices in the following chapter; for now it is enough to note, as with Kameiros, that this inscription provides a snapshot of the vibrant religious life that continued to thrive and was organised in Lindos for centuries after the synoikism.

This individuality and local organisation can be observed well in the cult and festival of Dionysos Smintheus. This epithet is more commonly attributed to Apollo, but on Rhodes the Sminthia were apparently celebrated in honour of this manifestation of Dionysos.[348] A Lindian decree from AD 23 on the selection of *choragoi* for the Sminthia determines that these were in future to be chosen from among both citizens and *xenoi*, whose duty it was to arrange the *pompe* in the Sminthia.[349] The second part of the decree is much more fragmentary, but we can discern that the priest of Athena was required to bring the names (presumably of the *choragoi*) to the *mastroi*, the religious functionaries who played some role in passing decrees in the separate Rhodian poleis.[350] Finally (before the decree breaks off), the priest of Dionysos himself must hand over the *gramma*, possibly a copy of the inscription or of the list of names, to the secretary of the *mastroi*. There appears to be some delegation according to rank here: while the priest of

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[347] *I.Lindos* 294.

[348] Largely due to the discovery of *IG* XII, 1 762 = *LS* 146; Nilsson (1906), 307. For the aition cf. Apoll. lex. Hom. p.143.9 ff; Ath.10.445a-b; for the occurrence of 'Smintheus': Str.13.1.48.

[349] *IG* XII 1, 762.20-1.: τοὶ δὲ αἱρεθέντες στελλόντω [τὰν]/πο<νπ>ὰν ἐν τοῖς Σμινθίοις…

[350] On the *mastroi* and their functions see Fowler (1885), Smith (1972), 534.

Athena (presumably Lindia) deals with the *mastroi* themselves, the priest of Dionysos, of lower ranking within the priestly order, is required to fulfil the administrative function of providing the secretary with a copy.[351] The involvement of so many different officials and priests provides us with an example of the highly bureaucratic and structured nature of Lindian religious life and reminds us of the ever-present hierarchy within this structure; in fact, the entire decree appears to be a response and compromise to a decision reached by the Rhodian state, the *sympas damos*.[352] Bearing in mind the exclusivist attitude of Lindians towards their *hiera* in the late fourth century, their actions in this instance are highly revealing. They appear to set out a compromise, whereby all other matters concerning this festival are to remain emphatically 'κατὰ τὰϱ[χαῖον]/ ἔ̣<θ>ισμα Λινδί<ω>[ν]' (in accordance with the ancient custom of the Lindians), but they will elect an additional six 'foreign' *choragoi,* from the ranks of the *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes en Lindia* – an association of resident foreigners which seems to have been established in Lindos from the second century BC.[353] Given their earlier attitude towards safeguarding their *hiera,* the inclusion of any *xenoi* in religious organisation seems striking and suggests a shift in either the sentiments and priorities of Lindian demesmen, or, perhaps their ability to pursue a separate agenda in the face of a decision by the Rhodian state. In this particular instance, it is likely that financial concerns played a role, and might have made the inclusion – and thus monetary

[351] Although note that the *grammateus mastrōn* might be classed among religious functionaries: see Fowler (1885), 475 and his presence on lists of *syniereis*, e.g. *Tit.Cam.* 38 as well as his inclusion in the religious career of a dedicant: *IG* XII, 1 828.
[352] *IG* XII, 1 762.6; Gabrielsen remarks that this document also appears to be the first attestation of the Lindians reforming their cults according to the laws of the *sympas damos,* instead of their own, traditional *nomoi:* Gabrielsen (2000a), 194-5.
[353] Morelli (1959), 134-5 on this *koinon;* see also Gabrielsen (2001), 233.

contributions – of *xenoi* a burden worth bearing, in order to preserve the very existence of separate Lindian Dionysiac festivals.

2.4. The Cults of Rhodes-town

Let us return, finally, to Rhodes-town, and its pantheon. We have already discussed at some length the cults that existed, or might have existed, on the acropolis. Remembering Diodorus' account of the great flood that devastated the city in the late fourth century, we know that he mentions numerous temples in the lower town. Studies of the carefully designed street-grid give good indications of sacred zones, places in which bigger spaces in the layout allowed for larger public buildings and monuments.[354] Unlike for Kameiros and Lindos, our epigraphic record is much more limited for this polis, but also unlike the other two, a great deal more archaeological research has been conducted in the past fifty years, largely in so-called rescue excavations, providing us with new evidence.

A sanctuary of Demeter has been located at the north-eastern boundary of the city, identifiable by the votive offerings, typical of Demeter cults – *hydriae*, lamps, figures holding *hydriae*, pigs or a basket, *kourotrophoi*, dancers, *korai* and so on – discovered there in vast numbers.[355] This provides the first attestation of a cult of Demeter in Rhodes-town. The excavations have not uncovered a temple, but a number of other structures, including a subterranean building. It has been suggested that the finds might

[354] Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994), 67 and in general 306-10; Michalaki-Kollia (2013).
[355] Zervoudaki (1988), 129. A dedication to Demeter on a bronze ladle discovered on the site further verifies this identification.

match a cult of Demeter Thesmophoros – with outdoor space rather than a temple, and remains of vast numbers of lamps, perhaps indicating nocturnal activity.[356]
From the archaeological material, it appears that this sanctuary was founded soon after the synoikism, in the very first building phase of the new city. There is, however, very little evidence to suggest that this goddess had a substantial cultic presence in any of the old poleis; crucially, we find no priests attested in the extensive epigraphic records.[357]

Similarly striking in this respect is the discovery of a temple of Aphrodite, close to the waterfront, dated to the third century. As with Demeter, this goddess is barely attested in the island's epigraphic record – although we do find one attestation of a priest of the *asty's* cult.[358] However, Aphrodite's popularity, at least in the capital city, is indisputable, as indicated by the large number of associations calling themselves Aphrodisiastai, as well as by the goddess' prevalence in statuary.[359] To judge from our evidence, these two cults existed only in the *asty* and had no apparent relationship with any others. This serves to remind us that Rhodes-town was not merely a mixture of Kameiran, Lindian and Ialysian customs and cults, but also a new city.[360]

Another of the Olympians who certainly had an important temple in the *asty* was Dionysos. Several literary sources describe the Dionysion of Rhodes-town as a

[356] Giannikouri (1999), 66; Supported by the attestation of the month-name Thesmophorios on Rhodes: Morelli (1959), 119-20.
[357] See below pp.191 and 331-2 on this strange gap in our evidence.
[358] For the temple and its location see Papachristodoulou (1993), 29 and id. (1991), 264; for the priest: *I.Lindos* 134.11.
[359] Morelli (1959), 117.
[360] On the iconography of Rhodian Aphrodite: Machaira (2013).

sanctuary filled with the most extravagant votive offerings.[361] The cult of Dionysos was widespread and popular on the entire island, often in connection with the Muses. As with the public cults of Apollo and Athena, we again find priesthoods attested in Kameiros, Lindos and Rhodes-town itself.[362] At Kameiros, there are extracts from sacrificial calendars prescribing offerings to Dionysos and to the Muses at various points in the year.[363]

We also know that Dionysia were held at Rhodes-town – in later inscriptions they tend to be coupled with the Alexandreia, in honour of Alexander the Great. According to Diodorus, these existed already in the late fourth century, at the time of Demetrios Poliorketes' siege of the city, following which the orphans of those who had died in the war were to be crowned and given a full suit of armour in the theatre at the Dionysia.[364] As elsewhere, this festival included dramatic and musical performances and contests – honorific inscriptions frequently mention citizens who were *choragoi tragoidoi* and *komoidoi*.[365] In addition, the information recorded by Diodorus demonstrates that they had a wider civic significance, providing a public stage for war orphans to be reimbursed and reintegrated into society as grown men – providing a striking parallel with fifth-century Athens.[366]

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[361] Str. 14.2.9; Plin. *H.N.* 33.55; Diod.Sic.19.45.

[362] Kameiros (third century): *Tit.Cam.*26.5, 27 II 9, 28.7, 29.12 etc.; Lindos (third century): *I.Lindos*109, 136, 159a etc.; Rhodes-town (probably third century): *IG* XII, 1 68; *SER* 42.2 etc.

[363] *Tit.Cam.* 151 = Segre (1941) no.6; *Tit.Cam.* 156 = Segre (1941) no.5.

[364] Diod.Sic. 20.84.3. Cf. Morelli (1959), 91-2 on the institution of the Alexandreia and 122 on Dionysos; on combining the Dionysia with festivals in honour of rulers see Habicht (1970), 149-50 and Buraselis (2012).

[365] E.g. *Cl.Rh.* II. p.201, no.33; Maiuri *NS* 18.17-19; *IG* XII, 1 57.8, 71.1ff.; *SER* 20. Cf. Str.14.2.5 on the generosity of the Rhodian aristocracy.

[366] Isoc. 8.82; Aeschin.3.154; cf. Goldhill (1987) on the civic ideology of the Athenian City Dionysia.

As we saw above, a Dionysiac festival also existed at Lindos, the Sminthia, which certainly also included musical performances. The fact that these events remained separate, rather than being combined demonstrates again the extent to which religious autonomy and individuality was maintained in Lindos.

As a new city, Rhodes-town could not boast the ancient cults that existed elsewhere on the island, but it was certainly the location chosen for a large number of new cults initiated by the Rhodian state.

Inscriptions from the third century onwards bear witness to priests of Asklepios, the Dioskouroi, the Theoi Samothraikes, the Kyrbantes and Sarapis, indicating a relatively early arrival for some of these gods into publicly organised religion.[367] For some of these deities we also find contemporaneous priesthoods and dedications at Kameiros and Lindos[368] – possibly we are seeing evidence of mutual imitation within the island. It is impossible to know where these cults 'landed', but the great influx of foreigners into the *asty* makes this city the likeliest candidate.

The cult of Asklepios appears to have been particularly prominent in Hellenistic Rhodes. Diodorus mentions it in his account of the flood, and a third-century decree attests the need to organise a system to keep the passageways of the temple clear of

[367] Cf. e.g. *I.Lindos* 134; *IG* XII, 1 8; *ASA* VIII-IX p.321, no.3.

[368] Priests of Asklepios at Kameiros from the middle of the third century: *Tit.Cam*. 26.3, 39 a3, 27 II.7 etc; Priest of the Kyrbantes at Kameiros in the early second century: *Tit.Cam*. 90 I.34; cf. Str. 10.3.19 for the possible conflation of these divinities with the Rhodian Telchines; Priests of Sarapis at Kameiros from the third century on: *Tit.Cam*. 39 a.5, 40 II.12, 30 II.11, 35.24 etc.; at Lindos, same time: *I.Lindos* 102.7f, 166.8, 167.7, 223.4 etc.; dedications to Sarapis and Isis: *Tit.Cam.*125; *I.Lindos* 185.

votive offerings.[369] More recently, the sanctuary has been located by archaeologists, in the southern part of the lower city, removed from the busy harbour region, but nonetheless easily accessible via one of the main roads leading up to the acropolis.[370] Similarly, the sanctuary of Isis, also known from literary sources,[371] has been located in the lower city, south of the harbours, on the eastern coast.[372] The building has been dated to the third century, relatively early for the existence of this goddess' public cult, but conforming to the evidence for Sarapis on the island. More will be said on Isis' significance and role in chapter 6, but for now it is worth noting that, as far as we can tell, this cult existed only in the *asty*.

In addition to these 'foreign' gods, the Rhodians showed a propensity for establishing official cults of foreign leaders and powers. Given their independence from the Hellenistic kingdoms, this seems somewhat surprising, but can be explained by recourse to similar concepts of reciprocity as those which influenced the establishment of ruler cults by other cities in this period.[373] Following the great siege by Demetrios Poliorketes, the Rhodians are said to have dispatched an embassy to the great oracle of Ammon, asking whether it was proper to establish a cult of Ptolemaios. Obtaining a favourable response, they returned and set up a temenos at which they worshipped the Egyptian pharaoh with the epithet Soter. A priest of Ptolemaios is already attested by

[369] *SER* 1; cf. Morelli (1959), 115-6. See also the statue base of a priest of Asklepios from the early first century BC: *SER* 4a; *TRI* 32.
[370] The finds correspond to the literary and epigraphic evidence, and the site is identifiable by the discovery of a number of bases dedicated to Asklepios: Papachristodoulou (1999b); Fantaoutsaki (2004).
[371] App. *Mith.* 12.27; Xen.Ephes. 5.13.2-4.
[372] Fantaoutsaki (2011).
[373] Price (1984), 25-40 on the development of ruler cult in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period.

the end of the third century.[374] The same inscription also lists the priest of Alexander, to whose cult were added the Alexandreia in combination with the Dionysia, as noted above. The prominence and popularity of Alexander's cult can be seen both by its longevity, and perhaps also by the unusual manner in which his festival was appended to the Dionysia: instead of being added on in secondary place, as was the case in numerous other instances in the Greek world, his name regularly appears first: *Alexandreia kai Dionysia*.[375]

Similarly, the cult of Roma was well-established, certainly by the first century BC: the Romaia are attested in several inscriptions, their institution presupposing the official cult of Roma, which is attested, priest included, in an inscription from the middle of the first century BC.[376] For Mellor, this marks the decline of Rhodes' independence and power, since the cult of Roma with all its political overtones came to replace the various Rhodian cults established in the surrounding territory.[377] However, as I discuss in chapter 4, such an argument is both overly simplistic, and not borne out by the evidence.

A final, intriguing, archaeological discovery in Rhodes-town deserves mention. Along one of the main roads leading up to the acropolis, a large structure was excavated and, due to the presence of an altar and nearby ash deposits, identified as a sanctuary with

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[374] Diod.Sic. 20.100.3-4; Paus. 1.8.6; Gorgon (*FGrH* 515 F19-21); for the priest: Segre (1941), 29. The inscription also mentions a priest of both Ptolemaios and Berenike; cf. Morelli (1959), 171-2; Habicht (1970), 109-10; Grzybek (2008), 70-1.

[375] The cult of Alexander appears to have existed separately for some time, before being joined with that of Dionysos in the late second century BC: *I.Lindos* 233; Habicht (1970), 26-8; Buraselis (2012), 254-5 on the oddity of the Rhodian case.

[376] Segre (1949), 73; Romaia: *SER* 3.7, 5, 5b; *NSER* 18, 34. Cf. Pol.31.15. On the Romaia in the context of festivals for Hellenistic rulers, see Buraselis (2012), 255-7.

[377] Mellor (1975), 20-36. Note that the cult might also be attested at Lindos, but not before the second half of the second century AD, and even this is based on a restoration: *I.Lindos* 482. Mellor (1975), 35 with n.46 is not cautious enough in his discussion of the Lindian evidence.

an open courtyard, enclosed by stoas, built in the early third century.[378] Since all the dedicatory material is addressed to 'the gods' (*theois*), the excavator postulated that this might be a sanctuary to the cult of 'all the gods', perhaps introduced to Rhodes from Anatolia in this period.[379] Although it is tempting to link this with the 'agora degli dei' discovered at Kameiros, the differences are rather marked: at Kameiros, it is a series of individual gods who are honoured at altars; in Rhodes-town, we appear to have a site at which large-scale dedications could be made to *all* the gods.

Conclusions

Rhodes-town, then, displays considerable variety in its public cults: some, like the focus on Zeus and Athena atop the acropolis, confirm its Rhodian nature, at the time of its genesis. Others, particularly from the Hellenistic period onwards, reflect its status as a maritime trade centre. The city's apparent love of innovation would undoubtedly have seemed welcoming to the many foreigners who passed through and settled in the city – and they, in turn, might have contributed their own gods to the pantheon.[380] In addition to the impact of such general trends, we saw hints of more immediate and direct consequences of historical events, particularly the siege of Demetrios, which left a great mark on the religious landscape of Rhodes-town.

Pomp and splendour were important to such a rich metropolis, and were exhibited at festivals and through the offerings in temples. This ever-changing and multifaceted

[378] Kantzia (1999).

[379] Heilmeyer (1999); Kantzia (1999), 81-2. Note that this site also yielded vast bronze-casting pits, as well as around 900 stone balls, which have been interpreted as a thanks-offering following the siege by Demetrios; cf. Diod.Sic. 20.93.1, 100.1-5. On the bronze-casting pits and their potential for creating colossal statues (although not *the* Colossus): Plin. *HN* 34.18; Kantzia and Zimmer (1989).

[380] More on this in chapter 6.

religious life, reflected even more in the 'private' religion of the many associations, was structured and organised by a strictly run board of religious functionaries. The vast numbers of annual priesthoods (and other religious offices) that existed would have provided ample opportunities for Rhodians to embark on a 'priestly career'. Its relationship with the religious life of the old cities is difficult to grasp; Lindos and Kameiros both display substantial evidence for autonomy and self-organisation in the religious sphere until the early imperial period at least.

Cultic parallels were approached through the case-study of Rhodian Athena. This cautions us not to simplify the cultic interrelationships between the old cities and Rhodes-town. Although poliad Athena can be recognised as a Rhodian religious trait, replicated in the *asty*, Lindos evidently had the freedom and the desire to differentiate its own cult. On the other hand, although our evidence is scanty, we can certainly postulate a degree of mutual imitation, or organised parallels within the island's religious life. The sacrificial regulations found at Kameiros attest worship of Helios in that town, almost certainly providing a local link to the *asty's* main cult. Similarly, their sacrifice to Poseidon on the day of the Hippokathesia (or just before) indicates an awareness and participation in pan-Rhodian religion within the old poleis. Decisions to implement cults such as those of Ptolemaios and Alexander, as well as the evidence for worship of Helios and Rhodos in nearby territories, demonstrate that the Rhodian state recognised the symbolic and political value of religious worship.

Otherwise, we notice a number of parallels in the attestations of priests of the same deities in each of the cities; at least for the old poleis, these priesthoods seem to have

been accessible only to demesmen belonging to that polis. A more detailed study of Rhodian priests is the subject of the following chapter.

3. Religious personnel on Rhodes

The remainder of this thesis will follow a broadly thematic approach. The present chapter constitutes a case study of Hellenistic priesthoods on Rhodes. As has become apparent, there are substantial gaps in our evidence for Rhodian religion; we have only scant knowledge of most cults, rituals, and festivals. Yet thousands of inscriptions survive that deal in some way with priests and priesthoods. Often these are limited in their information, providing only names, but the mere quantity should immediately arrest our attention. Evidently this was an area of religious life that, more than any other, seemed appropriate to monumentalise in a variety of ways and locations.

3.1. Studying Greek priests and religious officials: problems, past and present

The study of priests and other religious personnel in the ancient Greek world has recently enjoyed something of a revival,[381] after decades of being either ignored by scholars, or judged unimportant or irrelevant to Greek religion. The reason for this neglect is something even modern scholarship cannot quite distance itself from: namely the fact that, for the most part, holding a religious office in the Greek world was no different from holding a civic one. The criteria may be different, but the duties exercised by priests and others gave them no privileged connection with the divine, nor were these individuals religious 'experts'. Frequently religious offices were held for only a

[381] See esp. Connelly (2007), Dignas and Trampedach (2008b), Horster and Klöckner (2012) and (2013).

year, and we can find very little evidence that there were such requirements of piety or purity as we might like to think fitting for servants of the gods.

Thus, although we have come far since Walter Burkert's famous declaration that 'Greek religion might almost be called a religion without priests',[382] we still find more recent works claiming that 'on the whole, priesthoods had no great influence'[383] and that 'the Greeks did not recognize priests as a well-defined, organized body of functionaries with dogmatic authority.'[384] These questions of influence and authority remain pertinent in any study of Greek priests. Their devaluation in such works as the ones cited may be based on accurate observations, but suffers from the broad approach, the 'big picture', which lumps together our evidence. A more narrow focus, such as examining one specific function of religious officials, or else a single polis or region, has often led to more fruitful results.[385] As in all areas of Greek history, Athens naturally forms the most comprehensive case-study,[386] informing us greatly about the roles of religious functionaries within a democratic Greek polis. But progress has also been made outside Athens, wherever the evidence allows it; the priests of Hellenistic Kos, for instance, were the subject of a recent piece by Stephanie Paul, while other scholars have studied officials at Priene, Stratonikeia and other locations in western Asia Minor.[387] The various idiosyncrasies of different Greek poleis highlighted in these studies – affecting the

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[382] Burkert (1985), 95; contra this, see now Rasmussen (2008), 79: 'Greek religion might be called a religion in which the public performance of rituals depended on priests.'
[383] Bremmer (1994), 7.
[384] Kron (1996), 140. See also Finley (1985), Sourvinou-Inwood (2000) and Parker (2011), 48-57.
[385] See in particular the chapters in Dignas and Trampedach (2008b). Also Horster and Klöckner (2013).
[386] See e.g. Garland (1990) and Parker (2005), 93-115, and, more recently, Horster and Klöckner (2012).
[387] Kos: Paul (2013b); earlier studies focused on the sale of priesthoods: Parker and Obbink (2000) and Habicht (2003); Stratonikeia: Williamson (2013); Priene: Horster (2013); in general: Horster and Klöckner (2013).

selection of priests, their roles, privileges and other aspects – demonstrate the difficulty in reaching a definition of 'the Greek priest', but can also help us to refine the general position. It is within this recent tradition that the present study of Rhodian religious personnel will fall. Although some work has been done on various aspects of Rhodian priesthoods, no comprehensive research exists. As in the other cases, religious offices on this island are distinctive in several ways: although the three main poleis of Rhodes (Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos) were united under one state and one capital from the late fifth century onwards, they continued to administer their own separate priestly systems, along with their own separate eponyms, as we have seen in previous chapters. In addition, at least Lindos and Kameiros seem to have ordered their local religious offices according to a hierarchy, which may have formed criteria for holding more eminent priesthoods in a sort of 'religious cursus honorum'. These peculiarities will be discussed in depth below.

3.2. Rhodian religious personnel

Initially, let us clarify what we mean by 'Rhodian religious personnel'; what offices existed in what we might call the 'religious sphere'?

Foremost among Rhodian religious personnel are the eponymous officials, embodied by priests. Their titles, organisation and separate existence for the different cities of the island were discussed in chapter 1. As we shall see, there is not much evidence on the duties of these eponymous officials, but where we do find information, it conforms to their role as priests.

Priests were not uncommon in the Greek world as eponyms: Sherk's extensive study of Greek eponymous officials reveals numerous examples of priests functioning in this role. The title '*damiourgos*' also appears several times, although not all of these necessarily referred to religious officials.[388] Although instances occur as far removed as Achaea and Arcadia, it is worth noting that several nearby islands, incorporated or subjected by the Rhodians at later dates, reveal evidence for eponymous *damiourgoi*. Thus Telos, Nisyros and Syme can all be found to date documents by the Rhodian priest of Helios, as well as, in secondary position, a *damiourgos*, probably their traditional, local eponym, subordinate to the Rhodian priest, but yet remaining.[389] A parallel to this custom, and an exception to the norm, can be seen in a fragmentary decree from Kameiros, probably from 191 BC, which also employs a dating formula citing both the priest of Helios and, in second place, the city's *damiourgos*.[390] Badoud has pointed out that the priest of Helios in question – Xenophanes, son of Ieron – is the father of the *damiourgos* Melanopos.[391] Given that this document *is* the one exception – in all other cases, Kameiros and Lindos employed only the name of their local eponyms – we might speculate that this double dating formula reflects a desire to emphasise this family's

[388] See the lists in Sherk (1993), 278-9. On *damiourgoi* in general: Veligianni-Terzi [1977]. On priestly eponymy in Athens, see Horster (2012).
[389] Nisyros seems to have had an eponymous *damiourgos* in the third century: *IG* XII 3, 89; cf. Sherk (1990), 276-7. The case for Tenos is very similar: in the mid third century, when it was seemingly independent from Rhodes, a list of Pythaistai is dated by a local *damiourgos*: *SEG* 25 852; a similar catalogue from the later third century is dated by a priest and a *damiourgos*: *SEG* 25 843; it seems likely that this marked an inclusion into the Rhodian system of dating by the priest of Helios, while the original Telian *damiourgos* was maintained, but relegated to a secondary position. Cf. Sherk (1990), 287. Syme: *IG* XII 3, 1269: decree dated by priest, known to be priest of Helios, and *damiourgos*.
[390] *Tit.Cam.* 111 = *TRI* 20.
[391] Badoud (2015), 106-7, 177 (A50).

prominent position in that year's priestly line-up.[392] The above case also demonstrates a sense of the hierarchy by which these coexisting eponyms were organised. Finally, the evidence from the surrounding islands demonstrates a tradition of eponymous *damiourgoi* in the region, plausibly related to the existence of the office at Kameiros.

The problems in identifying the eponymous official of Ialysos were already alluded to above. Our most substantial evidence for Ialysian priests is provided by a list of the priests of the extra-urban cult of Apollo Erethimios.[393] Some scholars assume that these must be the missing eponyms of Ialysos, but this is by no means clear. Others have contended that the eponyms must be priests of Athena Polias, whose temple has been excavated atop the Ialysian acropolis. Key to this conundrum is an inscription from the first century AD, which it will be worth quoting in full:

> Θέωνα Μιννίωνος Κλάσ(ιον) τὸν
> κόρον καὶ ἱεροθύταν οἱ ἱερεῖς
> τᾶς Λινδίας Ἀθάνας καὶ τοῦ
> Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς
> οἱ ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ πόλει Ἰαλυσίων
> καὶ οἱ δαμιουργοὶ τᾶς ἐν Καμε[ί]-
> ρῳ Ἑστίας καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ
> Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐρεθειμίου
> εἰς παραμυθίαν τοῦ πατρός.
> θεοῖς.[394]
>
> *The priests of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, the priests in the polis 'Achaia' of the Ialysians, the damiourgoi of Hestia in Kameiros, and the priests of Apollo Erethimios [honour] Theon, son of Minnion, a Klasios, a young lad and hierothytas, for the consolation of his father. To the gods.*

[392] The pride taken by several Rhodian clans in recording the priesthoods held by family members over generations will be discussed further below.
[393] Hiller v. Gaertringen (1894); *TRI* 6 and Badoud (2015), ch.V.
[394] *I.Lindos* 441.

In this remarkable,[395] although rather late, text, we find the Lindian and Kameiran eponyms honouring an individual who was *hierothytas*, alongside *both* the priests of Apollo Erethimios *and* 'οἱ ἱερεῖς/οἱ ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ πόλει Ἰαλυσίων'. The context would appear to call for the Ialysian eponyms to join their Lindian and Kameiran counterparts and the specification 'Ἰαλυσίων' seems to suggest that these priests provide the third eponymous office, plausibly relating to the acropolis cult of Athena Polias.[396] However, the priests of Apollo Erethimios are also mentioned, albeit without the specification of the polis to which they belonged. Fraser, who believed that the Ialysian eponyms were priests of Athena Polias, further refers to a fragmentary inscription in which the priest of Apollo Erethimios appears in a list of *syniereis* in last place; however, the text in question is difficult to interpret: although there is a list of names, no official titles survive. The name of Apollo Erethimios certainly appears clearly enough in the genitive, but the 'iereus' preceding it has been restored.[397] Thus it certainly does not provide conclusive evidence for the low status of this priesthood. A greater problem with Fraser's theory comes from an inscription published shortly after his thesis, which indicates that the priesthood of Athena Polias at Ialysos was held for life; probably in the early third century BC Rhodippos, son of Isodamos, is honoured by his five sons with a statue, and described as 'ἱερατεύσαντα ἔτη ϊκ[ατι]/Διὶ Πολιεῖ Ἀθάναι

[395] A particular oddity is the plural form used to refer to the eponymous priests; we may speculate that this denoted priestly associations, perhaps including ex-priests; see below.
[396] The phrase ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ πόλει in the context of Ialysos appears to refer to the city's acropolis: Wiemer (2001), 210-1; Badoud (2015), 112.
[397] *IG* XII 1, 732; Fraser (1951), 440.

Πολιάδ[ι].'[398] If this was the case, the priesthood is highly unlikely to have functioned as an eponymous office for Ialysos, at least not in the Hellenistic period.[399]

The eponyms of Ialysos still present an irresolvable issue: from the present state of evidence it seems that they consisted either of the priests of an unknown cult or of Apollo Erethimios. The discovery of decrees or other documents from this polis will shed further light on this problem.

Rhodes-town does not do much better than Ialysos. Here, however, we are certain that the eponymous priests were those of Helios, whose names are attested in a lengthy catalogue as well as on hundreds of amphora stamps.[400] In addition, we hear of various other priests connected to the cults of Rhodes-town; a second-century inscription bearing a series of priests provides us with attestations for priests of the following cults: Helios, Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, Poseidon Hippios, Apollo Pythios, Aphrodite, the Muses, Dionysos, Asklepios, Herakles, the Dioskouroi, the Samothracian gods and Sarapis.[401] It should be mentioned that we have evidence for men from Lindos serving in two of these positions in the capital: as priests of Helios and priests of Sarapis.[402] More will be said below on the overlap between the separate systems.

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[398] *SER* 54; date from *LGPN*; cf. Dignas (2003), 39.
[399] On the link between eponymy and annual tenure (including exceptions to this general rule), see Horster (2012), 187-94.
[400] Priest list: Morricone (1952); Amphora stamps: Nilsson (1909), Hiller von Gaertringen (1931) and Finkielsztejn (2001). On all now Badoud (2015), chs. VII-VIII.
[401] *I.Lindos* 134 dated by Badoud to around 185 BC; it is possible that we are missing some names as the stone breaks off towards the bottom. Although the stone was discovered on the Lindian acropolis, it clearly relates to priesthoods of cults in the *asty*.
[402] This is signalled by the phrase 'ἐν τῶι ἄστει' which is found in Lindian honorific inscriptions following priesthoods of Helios, Sarapis and the position as *prophatas*: *I.Lindos* 135, 197d, 245, 283, 312, 315; '*asty*' always refers to Rhodes-town in these contexts.

The religious personnel of Lindos and Kameiros will occupy the majority of this chapter. In addition to the eponymous priests of Athena Lindia and the *damiourgoi* respectively, both inform us of a large body of religious functionaries. At Lindos, these include, aside from a variety of priests, a college of *hierothytai*, apparently led by an official called the *archierothytas*, *hierotamiai*, as well as an *agonothetas*. At Kameiros, we find, in addition to a number of priests, an *archieristas*, whose duties are as uncertain as the meaning of his title, a college of *hieropoioi* and an *agonothetas*.

Following this brief recital of Rhodian religious personnel, I will lay out our major sources of evidence for the island's priestly life. Where a type of evidence can illuminate certain aspects of Rhodian priesthoods, I will explore these, before continuing.

3.3. Priestly Epigraphy: Syniereis and communality

Perhaps the most important sources consist of the inscribed catalogues of annual priests, some covering, albeit with occasional gaps, several centuries.[403] Only two years ago, Nathan Badoud re-examined these documents and their dating: his careful analysis of both diachronic and synchronic texts has provided a more reliable system of absolute dating for the entire epigraphical corpus from this island.[404] The existence of these priestly catalogues, then, forms the basis for our knowledge of centuries of Rhodians

[403] Significantly lists of the eponymous priests of Kameiros, Lindos and Rhodes-town; cf. Morricone (1952), 360-3.
[404] Badoud (2015).

involved in religious life, an immense advantage for prosopographical studies, as we shall see.[405]

Aside from these catalogues of priests, our main evidence comes from honorific inscriptions, detailing a man's past offices and duties, and from annual priestly dedications. This latter category provides the most important counterpart to the diachronic evidence of the priestly catalogues. For it seems to have been customary in Kameiros and Lindos for all annual priests – or *syniereis*[406]– to inscribe their offices and names at the end of their year in office – always headed by the eponymous priest. Thus we are provided with the synchronic complement to the priestly catalogues: while the catalogues allow us to date the annual dedications absolutely, the latter category establishes a context, a group of fellow priests, as well as links to other inscriptions. The term '*syniereis*' in fact appears only in Lindian inscriptions, and largely dates to the first century BC; however, it is a useful word to describe the groups of annual priests whose names and offices were inscribed together in both Kameiros and Lindos from the third century onwards, and expresses succinctly the 'cooperative atmosphere' we seem to find among Rhodian religious personnel.[407] Such end-of-term dedications by magistrates are not unique to Rhodes, but their particular popularity in Lindos and Kameiros suggests an emphasis on the group identity of these officials at a tribal level.

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[405] On Rhodian prosopography see in particular the work by Habicht (2003) and (2005). Also Rice (1986).

[406] On the rarity of this term in the Greek world see Dignas (2003), 43-4. For other attestations of '*syniereis*': *SEG* 47 716ter (early first century BC, honorific inscription for priests of Athena from Amphipolis); *Milet* I, 9 360 (first century AD); *IGR* 4.893 (third century AD from Pisidia); Rizakis, *Achaïe* III 63; *IG* II^2 1368, 4959, two Attic attestations from the imperial period. Otherwise there are some examples of 's*ynhieropoioi*': *IG* II^2 1261, 1672.

[407] Dignas (2003), 42-4.

In addition, evidence for associations of 'ex-priests', discussed below, in later Lindian dedications speaks to continuing links between men based on their religious offices. Returning to the annual dedications made by '*syniereis'*, a number of features deserve further comment.

Over 40 such texts survive for us from Kameiros,[408] all in relatively good shape, covering a period of around 140 years, largely dating to the third century BC. At Lindos, by contrast, comparable inscriptions are not found in great numbers before the second century BC,[409] and when they appear, they are much longer and frequently include secular offices, such as that of *epistatas*. Within the loose confines of our chosen period (reaching up to the early first century AD), we find only 22 examples of such texts – spanning a total of around 250 years.[410]

Visually, the dedications from these two cities also differ: the Kameiran ones are inscribed partly on rectangular marble blocks, partly on cylindrical monuments (figs.8-9). Their precise function and placement is not clear: some include the names of sculptors, implying that they formed the base for a statue, others are more difficult to categorise.[411] All, however, take the general form of dedications made θεοῖς, 'to the gods'. This is also the case for comparable lists at Lindos. Here, however, we find the

[408] *Tit.Cam*. 9-53.

[409] Two texts do date as early as the 240s, with a gap of 60 years until the next examples: *I.Lindos* 102, 103.

[410] *I.Lindos* 102, 103, 131e, 166, 167, 224, 228, 229, 247, 270, 282, 293c, 294, 299c, 308b, 317, 324, 343, 344, 347, 349, 378b. Some others of seemingly the same category survive in fragmentary condition and are for this reason not included here.

[411] Examples of inscriptions naming a sculptor: *Tit.Cam*. 21, 23, 24; no sculptor: e.g. *Tit.Cam.* 15 and 16. That this was not a chronological development (or at least not a straightforward one) is clear from the evidence: note e.g. *Tit.Cam.* 38 from the final quarter of the third century which does not include a sculptor's signature.

syniereis listed on stone bases on a much more monumental scale, many taking on a particular honorific role for the outgoing eponymous priest of Athena Lindia (fig.10). This difference in focus and function further manifests itself in the wording and layout of the texts: the name and office of the Kameiran eponym, the *damiourgos,* appear in the nominative, like all those listed beneath him. Although this sometimes takes the form simply of 'δαμιουργός', it appears more frequently as an aorist participle, 'δαμιουργήσας'.[412] This latter form is sometimes paralleled for the other officials, but they are much more commonly described merely by their title. The occurrence of the aorist suggests that these dedications are likely to have been set up at the close of the year in office. The joint effort of all these different religious functionaries may also explain why these texts are all dedicated merely 'to the gods' (θεοῖς) or 'to all the gods' (θεοῖς πᾶσιν), rather than to a specific deity.

At Lindos, these lists follow many of the same principles: here too, they are in the form of dedications 'θεοῖς', although we also see a development towards a greater emphasis on the honorand, the eponymous priest of Athena Lindia. This manifests itself partly through the change in the layout and design of these texts: later examples draw increasing attention to the honorand's name, engraved in ever larger letters, spread out across the entire base.[413] Some of these texts were also incorporated into larger honorific complexes, combining various inscriptions, topped with statues (fig.11).[414] The number of signatories could increase to a great magnitude: its climax can be demonstrated by one inscription from 27 BC, which bears the names of 16 ex-priests of Athena Lindia, the

[412] δαμιουργός: e.g. *Tit.Cam*. 50; δαμιουργήσας: e.g. *Tit.Cam*. 9-13.
[413] E.g. *I.Lindos* 282 (98 BC), 293 (86-3 BC) and 299c (74 BC).
[414] E.g. *I.Lindos* 293, 308; note also the inscriptions on the exedra *I.Lindos* 131, concerning members of the same family over several generations; one of these texts (131e) is of the type we are here investigating.

three Lindian *epistatai*, the *grammateus* of the *mastroi*, three *ierotamiai*, then a long list of *syniereis*; next follow three *episkopoi*, *logistai* and *praktores* as well as the *agonothetes*, three *grammateis*, a *karyx*, and a heading announcing *stratagoi*, whose names are however missing. Following this are listed the *archierothytas* and the college of *hierothytai*, after whom are added nine ex-priests of Sarapis and eleven ex-*hierothytai*. Finally, a further 60 lines are dedicated to the names of Lindian *mastroi*. Colossal in size,[415] this dedication shows the dimension that this communal bureaucracy could take in first-century Lindos. This development towards monumentality at Lindos, and particularly the emphasis on the eponymous priest of Athena Lindia, must be viewed within the wider context of the epigraphic habit of this Rhodian settlement; a much more common monument, beginning at least in the fourth century, are statue bases of priests of Athena Lindia, apparently set up by the priest himself, dedicated to the goddess.[416] Dozens of these bases exist, suggesting that this was a common habit for these Lindian eponyms throughout the Hellenistic period. The usual formula consists of the priest's name in the nominative, followed by 'ἰαρατεύσας Ἀθαναίαι Λινδίαι.' Again, the use of the aorist suggests that these monuments were set up at the close of the priest's year in office. This particular honorific habit does not seem to have existed at Kameiros. It is possible that this reflects different levels of appeal: the greater and more visual prominence of the eponymous priests at Lindos might well indicate a greater prestige enjoyed by holders of this office.

[415] What remains of block A (bearing the text) measures 0.67 m by 1.5 m; atop this was another block, bringing the total height of the base up to around a meter: *I.Lindos* 378b, comm. ad loc.
[416] E.g. *I.Lindos* 53, 58, 61 etc. Cf. Ma (2013), 169-75. Apparently this was also the custom for eponymous priests of Helios in Rhodes-town, upon leaving office: see Kontorini (1989), 131-48, with inscriptions nos. 53-62.

Altogether, this corpus of epigraphical material provides a fairly substantial basis for both a chronological framework and a prosopography of Rhodians active in the religious sphere – around 1,500 names appear in these contexts over a period of approximately 500 years.

3.4. Priestly Selection

In chapter 1, I discussed the evidence for the triennial rotation of the three eponymous offices for which catalogues survive: the priests of Helios, of Athena Lindia, and the *damiourgoi* of Kameiros.

The implication of this is that some constitutional effort was made to ensure that the eponymous priesthoods of Rhodes rotated among different groups of the population[417] – to a certain degree; since this rotation applied only on a tribal level, it was nonetheless the case that men from certain demes (and families) tended to dominate certain religious offices. As far as we can tell, these tribal cycles existed only for eponymous priesthoods; the priests of Athena Polias at Kameiros, for instance, were not subject to this process, nor were the priests of Poseidon Hippios at Lindos. Nonetheless, it seems that, in general, despite the unification, Lindian demesmen would stand for office in Lindos, Kameirans in Kameiros – at least for the more prominent religious positions. Rhodes-town was another possible destination for inhabitants of the old cities to hold religious office; as I noted above, this was regularly indicated by the specification 'ἐν τῶι ἄστει' in honorific inscriptions.

[417] Perhaps similar to the 'democratic' priesthoods, organised after the Periklean citizenship law in Athens: Aleshire (1994), 326-7; Horster (2012), 168-73.

The existence of such similar priest lists also suggests that there was perhaps a degree of central organisation of Rhodian priesthoods, despite the carefully separated systems. An extract of a decree from the first half of the first century BC in fact informs us of what appears to be a federal mandate requiring priesthoods to be recorded by the incumbent priest's name, his deme, as well as that year's priest of Helios. I quote the relevant section:

> ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῶι | μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνωι | ἁ ἀναγραφὰ τῶν | [ἱ]ερατευόντων | γίνεται κατὰ | τὸ ἔξαν, |οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς ἀνα|γραφόντω τὰ ὀνό|ματα τὰ αὐτῶν| πατριαστὶ καὶ δάμου | καὶ τὸν ἱερῆ τοῦ Ἁλίου | ἐφ᾽ οὗ ἔλαχε.[418]
>
> *In order that in future too the record of the priests in office is inscribed in a continuous manner, let the priests record their names with patronymic, and demotic, and the priest of Helios under which (each one) was drawn by lot.*

The precise wording of this decree has been the subject of heated debate since its publication; crucially, it remains unclear whether it refers to one single cult in which priests were to note down their names, or to priest lists more generally. Since the great catalogues of priests of Athena Lindia and of the *damiourgoi* do not follow this prescription, scholars have been hesitant to consider this a general decree. The second part of the text raises further questions:

> [ὁ] δὲ ἐχομένος | ἱερατεύων μετὰ | τὸν ἐνεστακότα | ποτιγραφέτω | τῶι πρὸ αὐτοῦ | ἱερατεύσαντι ἔσ|[τ]ε τίνα καὶ τὰ ἔτη | [ὅσ]α ἱεράτευσε. [κατὰ] τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ | [οἱ ἀ]εὶ ἱερατεύον|τες ποτιγραφόντω.
>
> *And that the priest who succeeds the incumbent specifies to what (priest of Helios) and how many years the priest who preceded him exercised his priesthood. And that those who are priests in the future specify it in the same way.*

[418] *SIG*³ 723 = *LSCG* 138, ll.5-16; note some slightly different readings in Hiller v. Gaertringen (1929), 350; now also *TRI* 19; cf. Gabrielsen (2000a), 194.

Again, the precise meaning and some readings remain disputed. But there is clearly a mention of priesthoods held over several years (this being one of the elements to record), and a distinction made between these and annual ones. Evidently there were still cases even in the first century BC of priests for life, or priests who certainly held their office for more than one year. Although Hiller v. Gaertringen took this to mean that the inscription refers to only one, unknown, cult in which such priests were the norm, the reference to a *psaphisma*, from which this regulation is extracted, still speaks to a more general and more far-reaching set of laws on the proper recording of priesthoods. On the other hand, the lists of annual priests, as we have seen, were already widespread, well-structured and organised at this point. Badoud has nonetheless argued convincingly that, even if the decree from which this text is an extract did not (immediately) affect the established epigraphic habit of the major priestly catalogues of Lindos and Kameiros, its effects might well be seen in other epigraphic developments of the first century BC, most notably, the inscription of 'annotated' catalogues, that is, priest-lists that bear names of festivals in the margins. The use of demotics in such lists is also seen for the first time in this century.[419]

It comes as no surprise that the united Rhodian state would try to impose conformity on its various cult personnel. More surprising, perhaps, are the continuing regulations passed by the individual poleis, Lindos and Kameiros, applying, apparently, only to their own cults and religious offices. In chapter 1, I discussed the late fourth-century decree in which a group of Lindians are praised for their efforts to keep access to

[419] Badoud (2015), 135. Examples of such 'annotated' catalogues are that of *prophatai,* from the first century BC: *TRI* 2 and that of priests of Asklepios, 30-21 BC, *TRI* 5. Both also indicate the office-holders' demotics (in addition to their patronymics), a development we find only in the final quarter of the first century BC in the catalogue of *damiourgoi* (*TRI* 8 h.39), and never in that of priests of Athena Lindia.

Lindian priesthoods restricted.[420] Kameiros, in turn, also provides us with an almost opposite example of local administration and jurisdiction over access to priesthoods. At a later date, probably around the late first century BC, the position of *damiourgos* was opened up to 'all': δαμιουργοὶ ἀφ' ἅς ἔδοξε ἐκ πάν-/ των αἱρεῖσθαι[421] It appears that this meant 'all Rhodians', and was thought to explain the presence of a Lindian, Pausanios, son of Kleinombrotos, who went on to hold the priesthood of Athena Lindia in AD 26, appearing in both lists; however, Pugliese Carratelli showed that this man was in fact a member of the Kameiran deme the Tloioi, and was adopted by a Lindian Pedieus, Euphaniskos – an indication that the Lindian priesthood certainly retained its tribal restrictions.[422] Nonetheless, the phrase cited from the catalogue of *damiourgoi* must refer to an inclusion of other Rhodian demesmen, since no other plausible meaning presents itself.[423] It seems then that both Kameiros and Lindos had the power and inclination to regulate access to their religious offices; although the Lindian example indicates that this was not a straightforward procedure, but one that had to be fought for.

Both examples also provide us with clues about the selection process, although we remain largely in the dark on the specifics: while the *damiourgoi* are to be chosen (αἱρεῖσθαι) from all Rhodians, the Lindian representatives were protecting ταὶ αἱρέσιες of priests and other religious personnel. We might further cite the beginning of the list

[420] *IG* XII 1, 761; see pp.53-4.
[421] *Tit.Cam.* 3 Db.56f.
[422] *Tit.Cam*. 3 and *I.Lindos* 1; Benediktsson (1940), 14-5; Pugliese Carratelli (1956), 73.
[423] Badoud (2015), 42, 95, 107.

of annual priests of Poseidon Hippios at Lindos around 325 BC, who are described as 'τοίδε αἱρέθεν ἱερεῖς Πο<τε>ιδᾶνος Ἱππίου'.[424]

In the wording of all these cases, some form of *αἱρέω* is employed, implying a manner of election process. The recurrence of members of the same wealthy families[425] suggests that election was not entirely by lot, but somehow favoured the elite – perhaps soritition was used to select the candidate from a short list.[426] We may assume that the same process applied for the priests of Helios, but our information is, again, very scanty. Fraser has pointed out that a few inscriptions mention men who were 'ἐπιλαχὼν ἱερεὺς Ἁλίου'[427] – a title that is not uncomplicated, but seems to refer to a man who succeeded as priest of Helios if the incumbent had died in office, or otherwise been deposed. The use of a form of *λαγχάνω* may suggest that the election process was by lot. The same word is used to describe the selection of priests in the decree cited above.[428] Sortition was certainly used to appoint priests in other, similar Greek states, the manner perhaps conferring greater authority through the idea of divine agency in the matter.[429] Nonetheless, at least for the priesthood of Helios we already noted certain restrictions, dependent on tribe, and it is likely that there were other reasons for which the pool of candidates might have been rather limited, as we shall see.

As in the rest of Rhodian religious life, it seems that some religious offices were regulated by federal or pan-Rhodian directives, whilst others continued to vary and be

[424] Blinkenberg (1937).
[425] Gabrielsen (1997), 130-6.
[426] Note examples of a combination of selection methods (including sortition) being used for Athenian *gene* priesthoods: Aleshire (1994), 326; Horster (2012), 173.
[427] *IG* XII 1, 833*; I.Lindos* 312, 315; Fraser (1951), 525f.; Badoud (2015), 117-8, 155.
[428] *TRI* 19, l.16,
[429] Pl. *Leg*.6.759c; Aleshire (1994), 335.

varied on a local level. The privileges and appeal of holding a priesthood on Rhodes, discussed below, will cast further light on these crucial questions of participation and the civic identity of these Rhodian priests.

3.5. A priest's work: duties, functions and responsibilities

Before turning to the interaction and significance of these revolving annual priesthoods, and how they could shape the careers of Rhodians, I will first explore some of the individual religious offices, their duties and specific concerns, wherever our evidence sheds light on them.

Unfortunately, we are very poorly informed about the activities and responsibilities of priestly personnel on Rhodes. Our main evidence comes necessarily from the sacrificial calendar extracts, discussed in chapter 1.

One of these, already cited above (pp.39-40), informs us of a duty of the *damiourgos* of Kameiros: it is the only one of these texts that certainly concerns an eponym.[430] In this case, it is not the cult of Hestia and Zeus Teleios which the *damiourgos* is sacrificing for, but that of Helios.[431] He is not the only religious official named in this text: the *hieropoioi* officiate at a different sacrifice to the same deity in the month of Panamos. The *damiourgos'* role included, then, sacrifice to the main tutelary deity of the Rhodian state, in a community which, as far as we know, did not have priests for his cult. It is perhaps

[430] A *damiourgos* may also appear in another inscription, but the letter traces in question are unclear: where Segre (1951) no.8 reconstructs [--δα]μι/[ουϱγὸ]ς θύ-/[ει, the publications in *Tit.Cam*. 149 and LSS 99 suggest instead [ἱεϱεὺ]ς θύ-/[ει; the problem is that although the letter traces of M and I in the preceding line are clear, they are followed by a mark that looks like a diagonal starting on the bottom left, possibly indicating an alpha or a lambda; photograph in *Tit.Cam.* If the more recent editions are correct, this should be the sacrificial offering, but no reconstruction suggests itself.

[431] *Tit.Cam.*152 = *LSS* 97.

also worth noting that the offerings sacrificed by the *damiourgos* are bovines, victims of the highest value.[432] In chapter 1 I discussed the significance of the date and occasion of this sacrifice. Scholars have often suggested that this inscription shows a connection between the *damiourgos* and the *hieropoioi*, but this is not apparent: it seems that the *hieropoioi* were, as their name suggests, tasked with performing sacrifices regularly; in our Kameiran texts, they seem to be called upon when there is no suitable priest available.[433]

Significantly, if the cult in question had no priesthood attached, the officiant would be specified, rather than just being referred to as '*hiereus*': whether *hieropoios*, *hierothytas*, or priest of a different deity, as in the following case from third-century Kameiros:

> Δαλίου νευμη-
> νίαι Μούσαις
> ὄιν, Σμινθίου
> [ἐ]νάται δάμαλιν,
> Μναμοσύναι ὄιν
> ἱερεὺς
> [θύε]ι Διονύσου.[434]
>
> *On the 1st of the month Dalios, a sheep for the Muses.*
> *On the 9th of Sminthios, a heifer (for the Muses); a sheep for Mnemosyne.*
> *The priest of Dionysus makes the sacrifices.* (trans. *CGRN* 113)

Here, sacrifices are prescribed for both the Muses and for Mnamosyne; evidently these cults had no official priesthood, but were nonetheless within the responsibility of the priest of Dionysos.[435] The double sacrifice on the 9th of Sminthios indicates that this was a particularly significant date – perhaps, as the editors of *CGRN* suggest, it coincided

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[432] See Van Straten (1995): 170-81 on the value of different animals.
[433] Segre (1951), 147; Winand (1987), 74-6; on *hieropoioi*: *ThesCRA* V, 32-6.
[434] *Tit.Cam.* 151 = *LSS* 101 = *CGRN* 113.
[435] From the later third century onwards, we know of priests of 'Dionysos and the Muses' at Kameiros: *Tit.Cam*. 40, 41, 45, 46, 90. Plausibly all deities were worshipped within the same sanctuary (of Dionysos).

with the Sminthia festival.[436] If this is correct, we might again be seeing evidence for Kameiros ritually marking Rhodian festivals taking place in other parts of the island with sacrifices in its own temples.[437]

As all over the Greek world, we see that one chief function of priests was to sacrifice to their, or a related, deity.[438] The nature of these sacrificial inscriptions may also relate to the annual nature of Rhodian priesthoods: in a system in which a man was even less likely to obtain priestly 'training' of any duration, such aides-memoire, on display in the sanctuary, would make their duties substantially easier.

In addition to priests, these texts also name a number of other officials as sacrificers. The *hieropoioi* have already been mentioned; they appear frequently in Kameiran inscriptions, sacrificing to Apollo Pedageitnyos, Dionysos, Phama and, as mentioned above, Helios.[439] At Lindos, the *hierothytai* seem to have held the equivalent position to the *hieropoioi* elsewhere, flanked by a senior official, the *archierothytas*. Here too, we find them sacrificing in place of priests: to Athena Apotropaia and Zeus Apotropaios and to Zeus Amalos.[440] The social status of these different religious officials and their relationship to each other will be discussed presently. For now, just one peculiarity remains to be mentioned in these sacrificial texts: a Lindian inscription published by

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[436] *CGRN* 113, comm. They suggest that this might be the date of the Sminthia in Kameiros, but we have no other evidence for the festival taking place in this polis, and no theatre has been discovered in the vicinity. I think it more likely, therefore, to refer to the celebration of the Lindian festival, whose attestation and organisation was discussed above.
[437] See above on the Kameiran sacrifice at the occasion of the Hippokathesia and the multiple sacrifices prescribed for the 1st of Dalios (also mentioned in this inscription).
[438] See in general Guettel Cole (2008); Chaniotis (2008); Rasmussen (2008).
[439] *Tit.Cam*. 155, 156, 150, 152.
[440] *LSS* 88, 89. Note also *I.Lindos* 181, in which, however, the deity's name has not survived.

Kostomitsopoulos in 1988 mentions, as sacrificer, the 'τῶν φυλετᾶ[ν]/ ὁ γεραίτατ[ος:]', that is the 'eldest of the tribesmen'.[441] It was dated palaeographically to the mid third century, and seems to fit in very well with the class of documents we have been studying. Kostomitsopoulos suggested that the role of the elder might be due to this sacrifice being performed at a tribal gathering, but there is nothing in the text to confirm this. Nonetheless, it may be true; it should not surprise us, at any rate, to find the tribal system referred to in a religious context, when we have seen the importance of Rhodian tribes for the selection of priesthoods.

As regards further duties, we find some indications of responsibilities of the *hieropoioi* at Kameiros, including, apparently, setting up public stelai in the temple of Athena and calling together the *mastroi*, the functionaries who played some role in passing decrees in the separate Rhodian poleis.[442]

Finally, there are some indications that various priests and other cultic personnel were involved in the organisation of festivals, such as the Erethimia and the Halieia, but the evidence is unclear.[443] Several lists of names, including some who are certainly priests, bear the names of cyclical festivals in the left margin of the text, clearly linked to the men listed next to them – see for example fig.12. This is the case for the list of Ialysian priests of Apollo Erethimios and also for a text originally identified as cataloguing *agonothetai* or *choragoi*, but interpreted, since Blinkenberg, as bearing the names of

[441] Kostomitsopoulos (1988), 121-2; Lupu (2005), no.16; *SEG* 38 786.
[442] On the duties of Rhodian *hieropoioi* see Smith (1972), 532-5 and *ThesCRA* V, 35.
[443] E.g. on the Erethimia in Ialysia: Kontorini (1975), 99-103; Kontorini (1983), 69ff., a list of victors, which adds the *hieropoioi* to the initial dating clause; *IG* XII 1, 713 includes the *hieropoioi* among the festival's planning committee.

Rhodian *prophatai* – hereafter referred to as *SER* 5b and 5a respectively.[444] Pugliese Carratelli has published some similar texts, one of which consists largely of priests of Asklepios (*SER* 4).[445] As noted above, Badoud has linked this phenomenon closely with the decree whose extract prescribes certain rules for inscribing lists of priests' names.[446] However, it is worth considering, whether, at least in some instances, the inclusion of festivals might have had a further meaning than just dating the priest's tenure – which the decree cited above in fact suggested could be done by citing the relevant priest of Helios.[447]

It is possible that some of these cases signify a connection between the priests or other religious officials listed and the festivals. We know of the existence of Great Erethimia celebrated at the sanctuary of Apollo Erethimios and it has rightly been assumed that these are meant by the repeated mention of a πανάγ(υρις) next to priests of this god in *SER* 5b. It is not surprising that the priest would have some duties or responsibilities associated with a festival held in his god's honour and sanctuary. More unexpected are the other festivals that appear: the trietēris, Romaia, Dipanamia and Halieia. Since these appear in a similar manner in *SER* 5a, they appear to be festivals of the Rhodian state, not Ialysos in particular. Similar ones appear, again, in the context of Rhodian priests of Asklepios (*SER* 4), several of which are followed by the phrase '[ἐ]φ' ᾧ Ἅλίεια

[444] Apollo Erethimios: Hiller v. Gaertringen (1894); *IG* XII 1, 730; catalogue of '*agonothetai*': Maiuri (1929); Hiller v. Gaertringen suggested the text might list priests of Poseidon, based on the remaining 'pi' visible in the first line; on both texts: Blinkenberg (1938) who interprets the latter as a list of '*prophatai*'; later both were re-published by Pugliese Carratelli in *SER* 5a and b. Now *TRI* 2 and 6. See Badoud (2015), 111-18.
[445] *SER* 3-4; *TRI* 3 and 5.
[446] See above pp.140-1.
[447] *TRI* 19 ll.15-6.

τριετηρὶς Καισάρεια'.[448] The connection of unrelated priests to Rhodian state festivals is not apparent, and leads us back to their function as a dating mechanism. Nonetheless, we may postulate that certain priesthoods in Rhodes-town and Ialysos were attached to duties related to major state festivals, perhaps taking the form of a partial liturgy, perhaps incorporating organisational responsibilities.

As regards civic festivals, a great many of the financial and probably also organisational matters were undoubtedly the responsibility of *agonothetai*, *choragoi*, and so forth, who are amply attested on Rhodes. We discussed already the Lindian decree on the selection of *choragoi* for the Sminthia, the process for which certainly included the priests of Dionysos and of Athena.[449]

Finally, we should mention the recurring appearance of religious personnel in crowning individuals for their achievements, attested in numerous honorific decrees. We find various religious officials performing such functions, including the *damiourgos* at Kameiros.[450]

Clearly, our picture of the duties and responsibilities of Rhodian religious personnel remains fragmentary; although I have discussed a number of spheres in which *hieropoioi* and other religious officials were active, we are struck by the comparative paucity, in view of the evidence available for instance from nearby Kos.[451]

It is, nevertheless, evident that priests could be active in both the religious and also the civic sphere more broadly. This is indicated particularly by their role in honorific ceremonies, as well as by their representation in the Rhodian epigraphic habit in

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[448] *SER* 4 b.I, IV, c.I.
[449] *IG* XII 1, 762.20-1 and see pp.116-8.
[450] E.g. in *Tit.Cam.*106 (third century) the *damiourgos* and the *agonothetes* are both called on to crown Panaitios, son of Simos. Cf. *I.Lindos* 230, 249.
[451] Paul (2013b).

general, an observation that will be relevant for the discussion of the role priests occupied in society.

3.6. Hierarchies and the supposed religious 'cursus honorum' of Rhodes

In my discussion of the main types of epigraphic evidence concerning Rhodian priesthoods, I drew on a large number of different religious offices that existed on the island. It is now time to investigate how these were related to each other, and to explain what is meant by the supposed 'hierarchy' that is frequently alluded to in discussions of Rhodian priests.

In the past, theories postulating a priestly cursus honorum have seized upon cases of individual Lindians who are attested first as priest of Poseidon Hippios or of Apollo Pythios, later in the role of the eponymous priest of Athena Lindia.[452] Examples of such upward mobility form one major part of the basis for these ideas. The other crucial part is the belief that the religious offices in question existed in a sort of hierarchy of importance or authority, giving a structural basis for this kind of career progression. In order to test the validity of the entire theory, we need to revisit the evidence for these two prior assumptions: first, whether a priestly hierarchy existed, and secondly, what evidence there is for men holding several priesthoods in their lifetimes – and what order these occurred in.

[452] Precise cases will be discussed below; several examples can be found in the commentary in Blinkenberg (1937) and (1941).

The idea that different Rhodian priesthoods and other religious offices were structured and interacted in a sort of hierarchy is based largely on the evidence of the priestly joint dedications. In these, a fairly rigid order seems to appear: thus we find that at Kameiros, it is the eponymous *damiourgos* who is mentioned first, followed by the college of 12 *hieropoioi* and the *archieristas*. Evidently there was some development: the earliest examples list only holders of these three offices; then, around the mid third century, the priests of specific deities follow: of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, of Apollo Pythios, then perhaps the priest of Asklepios, Dionysos, and Aphrodite, with an *agonothetes* finishing off the list;[453] there is some variation in the number of priests named, with some, for instance the priest of Sarapis, being added in later third-century inscriptions.[454]

If this general pattern was determined by a hierarchy, this would indicate that the highest-ranking positions would conform to the *damiourgos*, followed by the college of *hieropoioi* – implying an unexpected seniority for this office.[455] Yet all our prosopographical evidence suggests that this religious office was held in the early years of adulthood and was always (except in one possible case[456]) held *before* other priesthoods. Thus it appears that this office was a rather junior position – tallying with our picture of *hieropoioi* from other Greek cities – and clearly speaking against a

[453] Example of 'original' type of list: *Tit.Cam*. 9 (c.300-290 BC); example of later, more complete type: *Tit.Cam*. 27 (c.253 BC).
[454] *Tit.Cam*.27; *Tit.Cam*. 30 mentions the priest of Sarapis in last place; cf. Vidman (1970), 38-40.
[455] Smith (1972), 532-6. Sherk (1990), 280-1; Dignas (2003), 41; *ThesCRA* V, 35.
[456] Philtis, son of Xenarchos seems to have been priest of Sarapis before he was *hieropoios*: *Tit.Cam*. 40 and 41; since this is the only exception it does not worry me too much; what is more, the priesthood of Sarapis seems to have been a junior one at Kameiros – unlike at Lindos (Vidman [1968], 31-8).

hierarchical organisation of these lists.[457] In addition, although the top of the Kameiran lists always looks the same, the precise order of lower priests was variable. Clearly we must conclude that these joint dedications do not inform us about any hierarchy that was reflected in the careers of Kameiran priests. Instead, their value lies in their insight into the communality of Kameiran religious personnel,[458] as well as into the developments within this sphere: the later inclusion of some priests, such as the priest of Sarapis mentioned above, might well reflect a new organisation of this cult, or even its introduction into the civic pantheon.[459]

Although Kameiros' epigraphic corpus in many ways presents a more complete picture, it has been Lindos which has formed the basis for most past hypotheses on the priestly hierarchies on Rhodes.[460] Here, we can observe a similar epigraphic custom of annual joint dedications, although with different priests and a college of so-called *hierothytai* apparently replacing the *hieropoioi* at Kameiros – although they tend to appear in last place.[461] Similarly to our Kameiran documents, it has been claimed that 'titles appear in

[457] This is not to say that there might not have been a hierarchy in priesthoods, just that it did not determine these lists; instead, the order reflects the relationship between the *damiourgos* and the *hieropoioi.*

[458] Particularly between the *damiourgos* and the *hieropoioi:* these two appear together in numerous dedications, and, as discussed above, are both active in the same cult (of Helios) at Kameiros: *Tit.Cam.* 152 = *CGRN* 110.

[459] Possibility of a cultic reform: the alternation in these texts of priests of Apollo Karneios, Apollo Pythios and Apollo Mylantios in different combinations of these *epikleseis*, followed by an eventual consensus seems to suggest that these three cults, initially separate, merged in the final quarter of the third century: see Badoud (2015), 99-100.

[460] Both Lippolis (1988-9) and Dignas (2003) focused largely on Lindos; Winand (1990), in his study on *hierothyta*i, also approaches the subject from a Lindian point of view; Connelly (2007) refers specifically to a Lindian religious 'cursus' for a parallel to the progression of women through various religious positions: 27-8.

[461] E.g. *I.Lindos* 70, 167. See Winand (1990), 88-9.

a certain order and reveal a rather rigid hierarchy.'[462] Again, however, it is by no means true that a particularly strict order is maintained. In fact, considering that a set pattern of offices would have facilitated the laborious task of engraving such long lists, this variation is even more remarkable. This is not to say that some trends cannot be detected: the priest of Apollo Pythaeus is named in second position, immediately following the priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, in all but one of our examples. On fourteen out of twenty-two occasions, the next place is filled by the priest of Sarapis [463] who is however, remarkably, completely absent in two texts from the first century BC; in the other cases, the priest of Artemis Kekoia comes in third place, and on one (or possibly two) occasions the priest of Dionysus stands in this position (see fig.13). Nor is a clear order apparent among 'lower' groups of priests, which again can be seen to vary their positions. In addition, some cults, such as that of Apollo Olios, appear in rather high positions in some years, yet are completely absent in others.

It is difficult to know what to make of this. Again, it is tempting to consider whether the changing ranks of priests reflected developments in the sphere of Lindian civic cults. Another possibility is that not all offices were filled every year, or that not all were annual. The joint nature of these dedications indicates at the very least a degree of cooperation among the various Lindian priests. We should not think for a moment that the order in which the religious officials appeared did not matter: we know enough of the epigraphic habit on Hellenistic Rhodes to understand the importance of these methods of display. For now, it is enough to underline that if there *was* a religious

[462] Dignas (2003), 41.

[463] Cf. Vidman (1970), 40-2: 'Die Sarapispriester scheinen in Lindos eine wichtige Rolle im priesterlichen *cursus honorum* gespielt zu haben' (at 41).

hierarchy among Lindian and Kameiran priests, we cannot truly see it reflected in these texts.

What this group of inscriptions demonstrates is that in both Kameiros and Lindos, there was a similar – although not identical – epigraphic habit among priests and other religious officials of dedicating monuments jointly at the close of their year in office. These dedications were all of a similar, rather straightforward format, in which the eponymous priest and a selection of religious – and sometimes other – officials listed their office and name. Despite some general patterns in the order of the contributors, the texts clearly do not correspond to the kind of hierarchy we are looking for. It remains to be seen whether other elements can be discerned by examining particular 'careers' of individuals: was there a fixed order in which priesthoods had to be held? And if so, to what extent did this shape the lives and careers of Kameiran and Lindian men?

3.7. Religious Careers on Rhodes

After all, the real interest in the potential hierarchy lies in the possibility that it shaped a sort of religious 'cursus honorum', by way of which Rhodian men might excel in priestly careers, holding one office after another, ideally culminating in one of the eponymous priesthoods.[464]

[464] On this notion of the priestly cursus honorum see in particular Lippolis (1988-9), 118-23 and Dignas (2003); Winand [1990] examines this topic by focusing on the *hierothytai*.

In order to assess whether this sort of 'cursus' can be discerned on Rhodes, we first need to define more closely what we might mean by using this phrase, familiar largely from the political life of Republican Rome. If we follow this comparison, suggested by the use of the Latin phrase, we would expect that certain offices needed to be held throughout a man's career in a certain sequence in order to enable him to stand for the highest religious positions. In addition, there might have been age restrictions attached to different levels of the hierarchy, to give further structure to this procedure. Alternatively, we might take the analogy with Rome more loosely, and look instead for evidence that the positions held by Rhodians within the religious sphere followed a certain order, even if there were no requirements to proceed through every stage and every office. It is with these two models in mind that we shall turn to look at the individuals themselves, to ascertain which, if any, type of cursus existed on Rhodes.

Of the approximately 1500 Rhodians we know to have held religious office from the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the imperial era, almost 700 are attested from the third century. It is naturally problematic to use numbers or statistics in such cases, so reliant on the accident of survival, but we may nevertheless spot some patterns or rules if we focus on a specific, epigraphy-heavy period. Kameiros provides the bulk of our evidence for the third century: a fairly large chunk of this period is covered by the priest lists both of Athena Polias and of the eponymous *damiourgoi*; the much shorter list of *archieristai* also coincides in parts.[465] Largely due to the overlap of these lists with annual

[465] *Tit.Cam*. 3, 5, 6; see Benediktsson (1940). Revised datings and commentary in Badoud (2015), 91-107.

joint dedications of this period, we can also with considerable certainty pinpoint the exact years in which third-century Kameirans held other priesthoods.

From the epigraphic corpus, I have recorded over 550 Kameiran individuals who held religious office in the third century, as various priests, as *archieristas* or *hieropoios*. Of these, 65 certainly held more than one office, most frequently attested as *hieropoios* and priest (including *damiourgos*). Since the office of *hieropoios* was held early in life, this might indeed imply that it was common for men who began their careers with this charge to hold a different, more senior religious office subsequently. Nevertheless, two annual positions held over the course of adulthood cannot truly be called a career. There are, indeed, only four certain cases of men who held *more than two* religious offices in the third century: Nikomedes, son of Nikostratos, who was priest of Apollo Pythios, Dionysos, Asklepios and *hieropoios*; Xenophon, son of Timarchos, who is attested as *damiourgos*, priest of Athena Polias and as *archieristas*; Damagetos, son of Xenophanes, who served as *damiourgos*, priest of Athena Polias and *hieropoios*; and Euphranor, son of Hagesagoras, who was *damiourgos*, priest of Asklepios and *hieropoios* (see table 1).[466]

Name	Religious offices	Reference
Nikomedes, s. of Nikostratos	Apollo Pythios; Dionysos; Asklepios; *hieropoios*	*Tit.Cam*. 56
Xenophon, s. of Timarchos	*damiourgos*; Athena Polias; *archieristas*	*Tit.Cam*. 3, 5, 17
Damagetos, s. of Xenophanes	*damiourgos*; Athena Polias; *hieropoios*	*Tit.Cam*. 3, 5, 12
Euphranor, s. of Hagesagoras	*damiourgos*; Asklepios; *hieropoios*	*Tit.Cam*. 3, 26, 18

Table 1: third-century religious officials from Kameiros attested as holding more than two offices.

[466] Nikomedes: *Tit.Cam*. 56; Xenophon: *Tit.Cam*. 3, 5, 17; Damagetos: *Tit.Cam*. 3, 5, 12; Euphranor: *Tit.Cam*. 3, 26, 18.

We have much less third-century evidence from Lindos: only around 120 names are known. Yet approximately 22 of these are recorded in more than one capacity, providing us again with several case studies. Especially common is the combination of the priesthood of Athena Lindia with that of Apollo Pythaeus, Artemis Kekoia or Poseidon Hippios.[467] However, again, only three men appear in more than two religious positions from this period, their offices attested, for the most part, in dedicatory inscriptions set up by the individual. Thus, the Lindian Archokrates, son of Archipolis was certainly priest of Helios in Rhodes-town and of Poseidon Hippios in Lindos, and may also have been priest of Athena Lindia and Artemis Kekoia – the latter two priesthoods are attested only in a heavily restored dedicatory inscription.[468] The other two third-century Lindians who seem to have held more than two religious offices list these themselves in surviving dedications: the first, Teison son of Kallikles, claims to have served as priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, Apollo Pythios, Dionysos and Poseidon Hippios; the second, a certain Philokrates son of Amphitimidas, to have served as priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, Poseidon Hippios and Artemis Kekoia.[469] Unfortunately the nature of these self-inscribed texts means that we cannot know the order these religious offices were held in, nor what age the men were. In neither case do we find attestations of the individual's achievements elsewhere.

Initially, these numbers demonstrate that a strict cursus honorum probably did not exist; despite a fairly comprehensive state of evidence for third-century Kameiros in

[467] E.g. *I.Lindos* 93, 109, 110, 111.
[468] Priest of Helios: *I.Lindos*134; priest of Poseidon Hippios: Blinkenberg (1937), ll.101f.; priest of Athena Lindia/Zeus Polieus and Artemis Kekoia?: *I.Lindos* 118.
[469] *I.Lindos* 136; 91.

particular, around 113 *damiourgoi* and priests of Athena Polias remain for whom we cannot reconstruct with any certainty another, earlier step in their career - not to mention the huge number of individuals only known as *hieropoioi*. Evidently not every *damiourgos* had previously been priest of Athena Polias – the overlap of the two priest lists actually displays surprisingly few correspondences, just five, despite covering almost the entire third century. In addition, for both Lindos and Kameiros, the evidence for men who held more than two religious offices is very slight. On the other hand, where we can reconstruct a 'priestly career', a clear progression is confirmed almost without exception.

The 'career progression' of individuals can be identified only where our evidence reveals the precise year in which an individual held each office. This is the case where we find the same man holding different positions attested in separate, dateable, inscriptions. For this, a combination of dated priest catalogues and joint dedications has necessarily been relied on; as indicated above, the particular conjunction of diachronic and synchronic documentation of priesthoods means that our relative chronology is well founded. The absolute chronology, too, is relatively certain. Thus, returning to our Kameiran examples above, Euphranor was *hieropoios* (in 267 BC), then priest of Asklepios and finally *damiourgos*, 17 years after starting his 'religious career' (Table 2). The lapse of time between holding these offices, where we can calculate it, also corresponds to the seniority of positions: for instance, the time it might take someone to get from *hieropoios* to *damiourgos* could be 20-30 years, whereas the priesthood of Athena Polias could be followed by the damiourgia in just a few years: Damagetos was probably *hieropoios* more than 20 years before becoming priest of Athena Polias, but it

was only 3 years until he became *damiourgos* (Table 3); Xenophon apparently held these two offices consecutively (Table 4). For obvious reasons we cannot make the same calculations for men whose careers we only know through an honorific or funerary inscription listing all offices held by an individual; although a largely consistent order is followed in these too, we are given no information regarding the time elapsed between each priesthood.

This pattern generally corresponds to our evidence from Lindos. Winand, in his study of *hierothytai*, has demonstrated that, at Lindos, this office was held early on in life[470] - presumably the equivalent to the *hieropoioi* at Kameiros. Other priesthoods then appear to follow in the cursus, much as at Kameiros, although the lack of useful examples of Lindians holding more than two religious offices during this period means that we struggle to make similar calculations. Nonetheless, if we examine a broader period, the results are largely similar to Kameiros: Winand calculated that the average lapse of time between a man serving as *hierothytas* and being appointed priest of Athena Lindia was 27 years. In both cities, there was a similar progression and time lapse between the junior religious office and the eponymous priesthood. Although there is no evidence for age restrictions attached to any of these positions, this observation does imply a certain structure and order to which Lindians and Kameirans conformed.

[470] Winand (1990), 34-43.

Position	Approx. date
hieropoios	267
Asklepios	254
damiourgos	250

Table 2: career of Euphranor, s. of Hagesagoras.

Position	Approx. date
Hieropoios	295-285
Athena Polias	261
damiourgos	258

Table 3: career of Damagetos, s. of Xenophanes.

Position	Approx. date
Archieristas	268
Athena Polias	236
damiourgos	235

Table 4: career of Xenophon, s. of Timarchos

Due to the vastly more complete epigraphical picture from Kameiros and Lindos I have been focusing on these towns and their priesthoods. But it would be remiss not to mention the highest priesthood of the Rhodian state, that of Helios. Many of this god's priests are known by name, some from a priestly catalogue discovered, but many more from amphora handles, which has made them difficult to date and thus tricky to identify with Rhodians known from the epigraphic corpus. However, substantial progress has been made, in particular by Finkielsztejn, Habicht and Badoud in recent years. As a result, a number of cases have become apparent of men who held both the local eponymous priesthood at Lindos or Kameiros, and that of Helios in Rhodes-town[471] – the most recent count stands at twenty probable or certain cases for individuals who were both priest of Athena Lindia and of Helios and four cases of men who were both *damiourgos* and priest of Helios.[472] Due to this discrepancy, the focus has, once again, been largely on Lindian priests. Although previous studies of these cases had suggested that, in general, men held the priesthood of Helios *after* that of Athena Lindia,[473] corresponding to the idea of Rhodes' religious cursus honorum,

[471] Amphora stamps: Nilsson (1909); Finkielsztejn (2001); Habicht (2003); Badoud (2015), ch. VII. Priests of both Athena Lindia and Helios: Habicht (2003), 567-9; Badoud (2015), 155-6.
[472] Badoud (2015), 155-6.
[473] Habicht (2003), 567-8; note already Hallof and Prignitz (2009), 81-6, who cast doubt on some of Habicht's dates.

Badoud's recent revision of the dating has countered this argument. It seems, now, that there were in fact several cases in which the priesthood of Athena Lindia was the final one, as well as plenty of instances in which we cannot be sure.[474] Consequently we cannot straightforwardly incorporate this prominent priesthood as a final step on the career ladder of Lindians progressing through a religious cursus. The few existing cases of Kameirans attested both as *damiourgoi* and as priests of Helios, on the other hand, all seem to show a progression from the local to the state eponym, several years later. It is possible that this tells us something about the age at which these offices were held, but the sample is so small and so spread out, and the dating of many still so uncertain, that all such conclusions must remain cautious and tentative.

3.8. The Priesthood of Artemis Kekoia – Evidence for or against a Religious Cursus?

Although we do not know as much as we should like about the priesthood of Helios, it comes as no surprise that it might have constituted a desirable office for ambitious Lindians or Kameirans to strive for. Even if some Lindians moved on to their local eponymous priesthood afterwards, Helios' prominence in the religious and civic life of Rhodes is clear – surely his priesthood formed the apex of one's career. Generally, then, it fits into the picture observed at Lindos and Kameiros separately, according to which the most prominent priesthoods were held late in life, as the final stage of a man's 'religious career'. One religious office, however – the Lindian priesthood of Artemis Kekoia – appears to contradict this pattern.

[474] Thus for instance Philodamos, the son of Aristoboulos was almost certainly priest of Helios in 186 or 183, becoming priest of Athena Lindia in 167, almost twenty years later: Badoud (2015), 178-9, based on *I.Lindos* 194 and amphora stamps.

Unfortunately we know very little about this Artemis cult: it is fairly certain that it was located in the countryside outside Lindos and that it was of considerable age, although it does not appear in our evidence until the third century BC.[475] Furthermore, we possess neither a catalogue of priests for this cult[476] nor any other information about its significance or organisation. However, following Blinkenberg's chronological reconstructions of Lindian priesthoods on the basis of the corpus of inscriptions published by him, it appears that this priesthood regularly followed that of Athena Lindia by *precisely* two years. Recovering the evidence for this is complex, since Blinkenberg, without a great deal of commentary or explanation, based much of his final dating on this assumption;[477] yet the number of cases for which this regulation holds up strongly supports his theory.[478] It should be pointed out that we have no evidence for this 'two-year rule' applying before the 170s BC, our earliest example being Nikagoras, the son of Panaitios, who was priest of Athena Lindia in 177 BC, of Artemis Kekoia in 175.[479] In fact, almost all of the examples date to the first century BC and later. This need not, however, undermine the idea: for it is only at this relatively late date that we begin to see a sharp increase in our evidence of lists of Lindian *syniereis*. In view of the evidence, Badoud suggests that this two-year rule formed part of a reform of the cult of Artemis Kekoia in the 220s – this is the time period in which priests of Athena Lindia add

[475] Location first hypothesised by Holleaux and Diehl (1885), 85-124; cf. Morelli (1959), 114 and, more recently, Papachristodoulou (1991), 259-60. Epigraphic evidence from the third century, e.g. *I.Lindos* 91, 93b 100, 101, 106a, 111b, 137. Cf. Morelli (1959), 114.
[476] Except for one possible fragment: *IG* XII, 1 884, dating to the third century and consisting of two fragmentary columns of names, which is hypothesized to comprise a priest list of this cult due to its findspot.
[477] Blinkenberg (1941), 92.
[478] *I.Lindos* 131e, l.12; 167, l.11; 282, l.13; 293c, l.13; 294, l.11; 308b, l.8; 317, l.14; 324, l.2; cf. Winand [1990], 34.
[479] Priest of Athena Lindia: *I.Lindos* 165, 166; priest of Artemis Kekoia: *I.Lindos* 167. The fragmentary list of *syniereis I.Lindos* 166 is also our first attestation of the priest of Artemis Kekoia appearing in this context.

the priesthood of the other goddess to their titulature in the monuments they dedicate following their term in office.[480] Although this does not in itself confirm the two-year rule, it establishes a clear link between the eponymous priesthood and that of Artemis Kekoia at Lindos.

Crucially, after this period we find no case of a man attested as priest of Artemis Kekoia who is not also attested as priest of Athena Lindia – although in a few cases this is based on reconstructions by Blinkenberg.[481] This presents a very strong case for there being some connection between these two priesthoods. It seems that, in a strange reversal to the norm, from the late third century onwards, having held the priesthood of Athena Lindia was a prerequisite for becoming priest of Artemis Kekoia.

The close connection between these two priesthoods becomes even more apparent with a detailed examination of the relevant lists of *syniereis*. Although the priest of Artemis Kekoia appears in some second-century BC dedications, his absence in most of our earlier lists of *syniereis* might suggest that this position was not fully incorporated into the Lindian system of annual religious offices until the first century BC.[482] Yet just over a decade after we see this priest of Artemis entering the ranks of the typical *syniereis*, we notice something interesting: the common inclusion of this priesthood in the title of the current priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, in whose honour these bases are dedicated: thus Timokrates, son of Eupolemos was 'ἱερατεύσαντα Ἀθάνας Λινδίας καὶ/ Διὸς Πολιέως καὶ

[480] E.g. *I.Lindos* 101: ἱερατεύσας Ἀθαν[αίας Λινδίας]/Διὸς Πο[λιέως]/ Ἀρτέμιτ[ος Κεκοίας] (ll.3-5). See Badoud (2015), 46-7.

[481] Examples for his reconstructions based on this theory: *I.Lindos* 166: Kallikles son of Teison; *I.Lindos* 299c: Anaxitomos, son of Anaxitomos. See commentary ad loc.

[482] It is thought that this was a gradual process: the Lindian priests of Poseidon Hippios, for instance, changed from *iereis statoi* to annually selected priests in the late fourth century BC: Blinkenberg (1937), ll.1-6; Dignas (2003), 38-40.

Ἀρτάμιτος Κεκοίας/ καὶ Διονύσου' in a dedication set up in 86 BC.[483] The priesthood of Artemis Kekoia is added in a similar manner in the corresponding inscriptions from 85 BC, 65 BC, 63 BC, 55 BC, 49 BC and 42 BC; the dedication from 47 BC also includes the priesthood of Apollo Pythaeus in the preamble.[484] On first impression, this simply reinforces the connection between these two positions – it seems to mirror, in fact, the development mentioned above, in which priests of Athena Lindia included the priesthood of Artemis Kekoia in their statue dedications.

Yet our understanding of these dedications by *syniereis* is that they honour priests of Athena Lindia upon completion of their year in office – if they held the priesthood of Artemis Kekoia two years later, the inclusion of this title leads us to a paradox. We cannot argue that both priesthoods were held by the same man in the same year, since in each case a separate priest of Artemis Kekoia appears among the *syniereis* listed beneath the eponym. The first of these cases may provide an answer: in the passage from *I.Lindos* 293c cited above, Blinkenberg's commentary states that the words 'καὶ Ἀρτάμιτος Κεκοίας' were inscribed later, with space left for them. If this is credible, it is remarkable: a gap left in an honorific inscription *between* two other, already fulfilled, offices, to be filled in two years later, when Timokrates executed this final responsibility. This would imply that it was clear at this point that the priesthood of Artemis Kekoia would follow, although the fact that it was not added until later may also indicate that there was some slight doubt about Timokrates' fulfilment of his responsibility. However, none of the other examples of this subsequent priesthood appearing next to the eponymous one, are said by Blinkenberg to bear such signs of later editing – although a gap, later filled in, would not necessarily be very noticeable.

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[483] *I.Lindos* 293c.

[484] *I.Lindos* 294, 308b, 317, 324, 343, 347; Athena Lindia, Artemis Kekoia and Apollo Pythaeus in *I.Lindos* 344.

We are left, then, with somewhat of a conundrum. If the priesthood of Artemis Kekoia regularly followed that of Athena Lindia, then why are some priests, upon leaving their eponymous position, already described as priest of both deities? One answer would be to suggest that these honorific statues and their signatories were organised later, not immediately connected with the Lindian eponymous priesthood. But in this case, the succession of the *syniereis*, evidently belonging to one and the same year, would make little sense: why assemble the various priests and numerous *hierothytai* years later to make such a dedication? Instead, we must assume that the current priest of Athena Lindia was somehow expected to proceed to this later priesthood, either inscribing it prematurely, or leaving the space to add it in at a later date; perhaps inscribing it in stone was merely a way to include this responsibility among those that this individual was undertaking at the zenith of his career. Then why, if it was compulsory to hold this second religious position, do we find some inscriptions that do not include this office? The answer here must be that it was not wholly compulsory, that it was either a position that was offered in tandem with the priesthood of Athena Lindia only in years in which it was otherwise difficult to fill, or that it could be avoided by an individual – in both cases we might wonder what happened in years in which the Athena priest of two years prior did not manage the cult: was it left without priest? Or were other ex-priests roped in to fill it?[485] And why did it follow the eponymous position of the priesthood of Athena Lindia, the most prominent office to hold in this sphere?

[485] We find groups of men identified as 'ex-priests' (ἱερατευκότες) of Athena Lindia and other deities in some inscriptions: *I.Lindos* 346 l.40, 350 l.14, 378 ll. B4, 96, 106, 119; cf. Dignas (2003), 44-5.

In view of our other evidence, the explanation for this phenomenon must lie in the undesirability of the priesthood of Artemis Kekoia, rather than in its desirability. I suggested above that the changes in lists of *syniereis* might reflect similar difficulties in recruiting people on an annual basis for each of the numerous religious offices. Returning to the above evidence for the 'two-year rule', we are faced with intriguing possibilities: could the Lindians have attached an additional responsibility to their eponymous priesthoods in the later Hellenistic period, requiring men who had the privilege of serving as priest of Athena Lindia to hold another traditional, yet perhaps less appealing office, two years down the line? We can imagine that this would be a substantial financial obligation for an individual. This theory appears all the more convincing in view of the historical context, which saw a general deterioration of Rhodian wealth and prosperity in the first century BC and the first century AD. The growing reach and impact of Roman rule had had an effect on the Rhodian state and its position as a major trading centre from the second century BC, but its increasing stranglehold in the Eastern Mediterranean, during the Macedonian Wars and later the Civil Wars seem to have brought Rhodian finances into crisis in the late first century BC.[486] That this affected the sphere of civic religion is attested very clearly by a lengthy Lindian decree dated to AD 22, which details measures to be taken to alleviate the financial problems facing Lindian religious practice.[487] The suggested courses of action include calls for privately funded contributions, cuts in costs and, crucially, that some religious officials fulfil their duty δωρεάν, that is, that they were expected to provide any funds out of their own

[486] In general: Berthold (1984), 195-232; Rauh (1999).
[487] *I.Lindos* 419 = *TRI* 25. The decree itself states as its reason: 'ἐπειδὴ συνβαίνει τὰς μὲν ποθόδους τὰς Λινδίων ὑστερεῖν, τὰ δὲ εἰ[ς]/τὰς θυσίας καὶ παναγύ[ρε]ις ἀναλ[ώ]ματα πολλάκις ἐπείγειν καὶ τού-/[τ]ῳ τρόπῳ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς δυ[σχρ]ηστίαν ἐνπείπτειν…'.

pocket.[488] Others were asked to contribute directly to sacred funds.[489] These measures indicate the financial pressure with which priests and other religious officials were burdened in this period. Bearing in mind this later situation, a measure which aimed to assign priests to an ancient, yet perhaps less influential Lindian cult, can well be imagined.

3.9. The price and the prize of holding religious office: Priestly perquisites and privileges

Finally, we must ask why men would enter this cursus, what privileges or advantages went along with holding a religious office on Rhodes. For, although we know very little about the financial obligations, we must imagine that these could be costly, as suggested by the case of the priesthood of Artemis Kekoia, as well as by comparative situations elsewhere in the Greek world. On the other hand, the first-century AD decree from Lindos urges some junior religious officials to fulfil their roles 'for free' – implying a change from a system in which salaries, or at least funds of some sort were provided. Nonetheless, it is highly unlikely that monetary remunerations were ever substantial enough to be an incentive in their own rights, or to counteract the expenses that were invariably involved.

The level of competition and display that existed, at least for the highest priesthoods, indicates, nevertheless, that they remained popular and prestigious. What was it that attracted prominent Lindians or Kameirans to these offices? And who were these men? The question of priestly authority and power is one that has long challenged scholars of Greek religion, and here I can do little to advance these notions. I have already conceded that our knowledge of priestly duties and responsibilities is very limited. Honorific inscriptions do

[488] *I.Lindos* 419, l.67: this is in reference to the *hierothytai*.
[489] On this decree: *LSS* no.90 with commentary; Migeotte (1992), no.41 with translation and commentary; Dignas (2002a), 94-5.

reveal, that eponymous priesthoods, in particular, were sometimes held by the same men who could boast positions of secular power.[490] But although we may assume that prominent Rhodians would not be drawn to these priesthoods without hope of exercising some sort of power or influence,[491] we struggle to determine the nature or form of this authority.

The case is different regarding material benefits and perquisites. As in many other areas of the Greek world, we have evidence for particular privileges granted to priests, such as *proedria* at games, public feasting in the Prytaneion, golden crowns and statues.[492] Certainly, the epigraphic corpus from Rhodes demonstrates that religious offices were publicly inscribed, in the numerous forms described above, and that, upon leaving the more prominent priesthoods, a statue was erected of the incumbent: customary for priests of Athena Lindia, Helios and the Kameiran *damiourgoi*.[493] As discussed at length above, these were set up by the eponym's priestly 'colleagues' in Lindos and Kameiros, although we also find examples of priests of Athena Lindia and Helios dedicating such statues themselves.[494] Although our inscriptions do not inform us about the precise location for which the statues were destined, we can imagine, based on their find-spots, that they would have crowded either the sanctuary itself, or a specially designated building. Although honorific statues are common in other parts of the Greek world, including for priests, this Rhodian custom is without parallel, in particular the fact that it tended to be other religious officials who were involved in these dedications, not the individual's family.[495]

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[490] See below.
[491] Fraser (1953), 36; Gabrielsen (1997), 130.
[492] See e.g. Dignas (2002a), 249-71.
[493] In general: Price (1999), 70 and *ThesCRA* V, 28-31.
[494] See above p.138.
[495] Cf. on statues for Athenian priests, by contrast, van den Hoff (2008).

In addition, as mentioned above, some of these statue bases, particularly our late Hellenistic Lindian examples, grow to monumental size. The lettering of the eponym's name becomes larger and more pronounced, and some inscriptions were found incorporated into larger family monuments, bearing several statues (see fig. 11).[496] Clearly these accomplishments were a source of pride for Lindian families. The honorific aspect of our *syniereis* dedications is brought out further in several instances by the inclusion, at the very end of the inscription, of the formula 'ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ εὐσεβείας τᾶς ποτὶ τοὺς θεούς.'[497] The frequent reference to this series of virtues undermines its value and its specificity,[498] but nonetheless informs us about the sort of characteristics or morals expected of the eponymous priests and possibly some of the reasons for honouring them so often. As Ma writes: 'Service as a priest, if well accomplished, gave form to a community's piety, and was rewarded by divine favour to the whole community.'[499] We might draw attention here to a Lindian inscription which honours a priest of Athena Lindia in similar fashion to the other texts discussed, but in this case the signatories are *not* the *syniereis* (whose dedication for the same individual we however also possess), but rather a group of other officials (*epistatai* and *hierotamiai*) and ex-priests.[500] Evidently there were many Lindian bodies who felt it necessary to demonstrate their gratitude to these men. In other cases the *syniereis* might choose to emphasise their gratitude to their eponym more specifically, thus

[496] E.g. the huge exhedra of *I.Lindos* 131 spanning more than a century of accomplishments; also *I.Lindos* 293.
[497] E.g. *I.Lindos* 247, 270, 282.
[498] Cf. Lambert (2012) on honorific inscriptions for Athenian priests; Mylonopoulos (2013), 132-42 on the difficulty in determining the reasons for priestly honours.
[499] Ma (2013), 174.
[500] *I.Lindos* 350 (38 BC); *syniereis* honour the same man: *I.Lindos* 349.

Philippos son of Philippos, priest of Athena Lindia in 42 BC, is described as 'ἐφ' οὗ ἁ εἰρήνα καὶ εὐετηρία ἐγένετο'.[501]

As laid out in an earlier section, we do have evidence, unsurprisingly, for the involvement by Rhodian religious functionaries in officiating at sacrifices. This was a common setting for priestly perquisites, usually in the form of particularly appealing cuts of meat.[502] Thus, the extensive sacrificial calendar from Kos lists the γέρη for the various sacrifices, and whom they were intended for. These include various parts of the animal, but skin and leg are the most common perquisites.[503] The same inscription demonstrates that there was a greater quantity of meat in these shares: Ekroth estimates that an entire back leg, commonly presented to the officiating priest, could amount to a ninth or tenth of the entire animal.[504] The Koan calendar takes pains to monitor the amounts, occasionally specifying that precisely '*half* the breast and *half* the stomach' be given to the priest.[505] As we have seen, this kind of information is completely lacking from our Rhodian calendar extracts. It is likely that similar measures were in place however; and one text from Ialysos, dated to the Hellenistic period based on letter forms, may refer to such priestly perquisites:

> ΚΑΙΕΣΤΙ ὤμου δεξιοῦ κρῆ τρία καὶ τρίπλευρον καὶ ὀσφῦς
> καὶ ἀκρίσχιον, κεφαλᾶς ἥμυσυ, γλῶσσαν, ἐγκέφαλον.[506]
>
> *[...] and there are (?) three portions of meat from the right shoulder and a triple-rib and a sacrum and a top of a hip, half a head, a tongue, a brain.* (trans. *CGRN* 180)

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[501] *I.Lindos* 347. Although this phrase probably refers to a particular historical period of peace, there also existed a tradition of the polis flourishing due to the virtues of its magistrates; see Parker (2011), 54-5, who cites comparable cases.
[502] Ekroth (2008a): 264-6.
[503] *RO* 62 with comm. ad loc.; see also 37.27-47.
[504] Ekroth (2008a): 265.
[505] RO 62.50.
[506] *NSER* 14; LSS 93 suggests the dating and reads the first letters as 'καὶ ἔστ(ε)'; now also *CGRN* 180 with valuable commentary on both the text itself, and its context and possible meaning.

Clearly we have here a detailed list of body parts, many of them similar to examples of γέρη from, for instance, Kos. We may hypothesise then that they list parts of sacrificed animals retained for special use or else presented to individuals.[507]

Our lack of knowledge regarding the duties and functions of our Rhodian priests also prohibits us from forming any clear theories on whether serving in multiple religious offices made you a more viable candidate for an eponymous priesthood, but it is certainly plausible: we saw earlier how quickly priests of Athena Polias might proceed to become *damiourgos* at Kameiros. In addition, the same sources that familiarise us with their names would have given these individuals renown in their own time: dedications, lists and other epigraphic monuments all chronicled their priestly offices. The possibility of holding several religious offices, and the eminence of certain of these positions, may have created a religious authority of a sort. Thus, Dignas writes, 'Although the long-term attachment to one particular cult was not given, these priesthoods were similar to long-term priesthoods with regard to "expertise" and a "religious profile"'.[508] Yet this point should not be overstated: we saw above that there could be substantial gaps between one religious office and the next. On the other hand, inscriptions, in particular from the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, mention groups of *hieroteukotes,* that is, 'ex-priests'. Dignas notes that 'the perfect tense emphasises the permanent status of priesthood'.[509] The experience of such men is called upon in the so-called 'Lindian Chronicle', the monumental project of listing all historical

[507] The commentary in *CGRN* offers an excellent discussion of this enigmatic text and points out that this list may also refer to specifc divine offerings.
[508] Dignas (2003), 40.
[509] Dignas (2003), 43. I noted the inclusion of a large number of such ex-priests in the Lindian inscription described above, *I.Lindos* 378b.

votives offered to Athena Lindia, which draws most of its information from the 'letters' of two fourth-century priests, Gorgosthenes and Hieroboulos.[510] The exact content and purpose of these letters remains unclear, but evidently they were considered authoritative by the Lindians in 99 BC. The same inscription informs us of the special relationship that could exist between an ex-priest and the deity he had previously served: for in the description of one of Athena's epiphanies to the Lindians, during the siege of Demetrios Poliorketes, she is said to have appeared to her *former* priest on six occasions.[511] This monument speaks to a life-long connection between the Lindian priests of Athena and their goddess. On a less spectacular level, we may see this connection in the dedications to Athena Lindia by men who had held her priesthood, then gone on to be priest of Helios in Rhodes-town: evidently they returned to their Lindian goddess to offer thanks.[512]

Privileges and honours for prominent civic priests are of course nothing particularly new or unexpected in the Greek world; but we should recall the unique situation of the island of Rhodes: the majority of priesthoods and individuals we have been examining were centred on the religious life of either Kameiros or Lindos. This should make us stop and think. The mere fact that the three old poleis continued to have eponymous priesthoods, despite losing most of their autonomy and importance in the synoikism, and continued to have such an active and vibrant religious life in general, is striking. And perhaps also enlightening: the 'cursus' that we have been attempting to reconstruct applies in particular within these poleis, where it was emphasised in several forms; and where priests and ex-priests formed groups and took pride in their 'religious careers'.

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[510] Cf. Meißner (1992), 194-5.
[511] Dignas (2003), 44-5.; *LC* A; D95ff.
[512] *I.Lindos* 194, 245, 250, 283 etc.

3.10. Sacred or Secular? The Careers of Prominent Rhodians

Physical benefits of holding priesthoods are difficult to ascertain. However, broader benefits of 'career-progression' can perhaps be spotted if we consider the evidence for 'religious careers' within the wider picture of Rhodian society. What social cachet, or 'soft power' could Rhodians hope to gain, and how might we find this expressed? And to what extent was this interest in religious offices indeed centred on Lindos and Kameiros? Strikingly, in the majority of these cases, the men in question appear to have pursued a wholly 'religious' career in their public lives – at least this is the picture our evidence gives us.

A typical example, picked more or less at random, from second-century Lindos thus informs us about the career of Mikythos, the son of Mikythos (fig.14).[513] This honorific statue base lists Mikythos' various religious offices: he was priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, of Artemis Kekoia, of Apollo Pythaeus, and he was *hierothytas*. In addition he was connected with one of the religious associations, so common in Rhodian society, the Hermaistai Alkimedonteioi, who are honouring him as their *euergetas*. All the offices mentioned in this inscription fall squarely into the sacred sphere, and all were centred on the Lindian religious system. Numerous similar examples could be called on, from both Lindos and Kameiros; some, like the one cited, are restricted to the religious positions of just one city; others include offices held in different cities and seem to demonstrate the mobility that existed between the old centres of Lindos and Kameiros and the capital city of Rhodes-town. To remain in Lindos, we might briefly cite the statue base of one Lysistratos, active in the early first century BC:

Λυσίστ[ρατ]ος

[513] *I.Lindos* 251.

Μοιραγέ[ν]ε̣υς
ἱερατε[ύσ]ας
Ἀθάνας Λ[ινδί]ας
καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως
καὶ Ἀρτάμιτος
τᾶς ἐν Κεκοίαι
[καὶ Σα]ράπιος ἐν τῶι ἄστε[ι].
θεοῖς.
Πλούταρχος Ἡλιοδώρου ἐποίησε.[514]

Lysistratos, son of Moiragenes, was priest of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, of Artemis in Kekoia, and of Sarapis in the city. To the gods. Ploutarchos son of Heliodoros made it.

In this case, the phrase 'ἐν τῶι ἄστε[ι]' clearly sets apart the priesthood of Sarapis from the other, Lindos-based, ones. Again, however, the man concerned, Lysistratos, is being remembered only for various priestly offices. A religious focus might conceivably be the obvious choice for a man who lived in Lindos[515] and wanted to hold some positions in public life without moving to Rhodes-town; although there were some local administrative and governing posts available in Lindos, these seem to have been much less prominent than the priesthoods, and certainly less authoritative than the secular offices of Rhodes-town. But it is interesting to note that Lysistratos *did* hold one of his priesthoods in the *asty* – yet was apparently uninterested in (or unqualified for?) holding a non-religious position in the city. Certainly, then, there were numerous Rhodians who apparently decided to restrict their public career to the sacred sphere.

A few, brief, words of caution should, however, be added to this conclusion. First, the majority of the Lindian inscriptions, which furnish us with so many of these examples of 'religious careers', come from the Lindian acropolis, many of them dedicated to Athena

[514] *I.Lindos* 197d.

[515] In the 'Lindian Chronicle', the authors think it worth explaining that Kallikles, to whom Athena appears in a dream, still lived in Lindos (despite having retired from his priesthood): *LC* D96-8; see Blinkenberg (1915a) ad loc. This implies that some mobility was the norm for men who held office in the old cities.

Lindia or the gods; it is conceivable that sacred positions were considered to be particularly fitting for these monuments (although the existence of similar inscriptions that include secular offices amongst the religious ones weakens this argument considerably[516]). The second point is, perhaps, more problematic: it regards the nature of the surviving evidence. Although we know the names of large numbers of Rhodians from the Hellenistic period, the majority survive in priestly inscriptions – catalogues and joint dedications – which necessarily gives us a biased picture of civic life and officials. No equivalent catalogues survive for secular offices, and although there are some surviving dedications by, for instance, *epistatai*, they are much fewer in number.[517] In consequence, there might be cases in which a man attested in the catalogue of priests of Athena Lindia was also a member of the *mastroi* in Lindos, or else a *prytanis* or *strategos* in Rhodes-town, but the relevant evidence has simply not survived.

In spite of these complications and drawbacks of our source material, there is no denying that there were numerous Rhodians in the Hellenistic period who focused on the religious sphere within public life. To what extent this number is exaggerated or influenced by our epigraphic corpus is difficult to ascertain. But how do these 'religious' careers fit into the achievements of families and individuals we know to have been prominent in Rhodian society and history? Men like Lysistratos and Mikythos may have received local recognition, but they were hardly Rhodians whose fame spread any further than their immediate communities. Were there other Rhodians who held both religious and 'secular' offices? Can

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[516] E.g. Andrias, son of Autokrates, who is honoured on his statue base as having been priest of Athena Lindia and Artemis Kekoia, as well as *strategos* and '*arxas aphrakton*': *I.Lindos* 322. Further examples of such 'mixed careers' below.

[517] E.g. *Tit.Cam.* 54; cf. *IG* XII 1, 49 and 50: joint dedications by various secular officials; see below pp.179-80.

we gain an impression of the connection between religious and civic power, if there was one?

Let us turn, then, to 'mixed' careers, and what the case-studies of men who were active both within the sacred and the secular spheres of public life can tell us about the relationship between the two within Rhodian society.

Any 'mixing' of religious and non-religious offices in an individual's career will be of interest to us – but it will be particularly relevant to note when particularly senior secular or military offices – such as *prytanis*, *strategos*, *epistatas* or *nauarchos* – were combined with religious positions. As already observed, examples of such 'mixed' careers are much more rare in our evidence than purely religious ones. Let us nonetheless examine some case studies.

To start with the most pertinent examples, there were certainly some Rhodians who were both priest of Helios – the highest religious position in the Rhodian state – and *prytanis* – arguably the most powerful political role. Two *prytaneis* of the early third century, Polyeuktos, son of Tharsagoras, and Phokion, son of Philodamos, both appearing in the same joint dedication in this role, have been identified by Badoud as priests of Helios, attested on amphora stamps from this period.[518] Unfortunately we have no further information about either man, so cannot know whether they held other public offices – surely they did – and whether these were sacred or secular. Yet the combination of these two prominent positions is nonetheless significant.

[518] Dedication: *Cl.Rh.* II p.200 no.32; Badoud (2015), 192: D3 and D4.

From Kameiros, we find several examples of men who served as *epistatas* – a reasonably senior position within the Rhodian *phylai* – as well as holding a variety of religious positions, usually rather junior ones: thus, for instance, we find an inscription recording the career of and honours granted to a certain Euanor.[519] This man was *hieropoios*, which was, as we saw earlier, the most junior of the annual religious offices, as well as *archieristas* within the religious system of Kameiros; his positions as *epistatas* and secretary of the *mastroi* were probably also based at Kameiros – or at least, they related to the local level of government, the *phyla* of Kameiris. In this context, it might be significant that he was honoured with a crown by the Kameirans – not the Rhodians – for his public service. A similar career was apparently pursued by a certain Aristomenes at Kameiros, who was *hieropoios*, *archieristas* and *epistatas*, as well as by a man called Pasicharis, who was *epistatas* and *hieropoios*.[520] Aside from these rather brief and undetailed cases, we should at this point briefly mention the remarkably extensive career of another Kameiran, one Philokrates, son of Philostephanos: among many other achievements and particularly generous benefactions, for which he is honoured by the Kameirans in a lengthy decree, he served as *hieropoios*, *agonothetes*, secretary of the *mastroi*, and finally also *damiourgos*.[521]

A few parallel cases from Lindos can be added: in the first half of the second century BC, one Aristarchos, son of Sostratos, made a dedication to Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, in which he records that he was *epistatas* and priest of Sarapis and Isis at Lindos.[522] A statue base from around the same time informs us about the career of a Lindian who, if the text is

[519] *Tit.Cam.* 62.
[520] Aristomenes: *Tit.Cam.* 55; Pasicharis: *Tit.Cam.* 66.
[521] *Tit.Cam.* 110; cf. Meier (2012), no. 25.
[522] *I.Lindos* 193.

correctly restored, was priest of Helios, of Athena Lindia, and of Artemis Kekoia, as well as *strategos*.[523]

Again, the most striking observation is how few cases of such 'mixed' careers survive for us in this corpus of largely honorific epigraphic material – particularly compared with the substantial evidence for purely 'religious careers' from Lindos and Kameiros.

For our final epigraphic case study for this section, let us return to Rhodes-town and a much more detailed inscription than the ones referred to above: it concerns a dedication to the Samothracian gods by their priest, a certain Diopeithes son of Ariston.[524]

Ἱερεὺς
θεῶν Σαμοθρᾴκων
Διοπείθης
Ἀριστωνίδα Χαλκήτας
Ἄλεια καὶ τριητηρίδα καὶ
ἱερατεύσας Ἀφρ[ο]δίτας
Ῥωμαῖα vac καὶ τρι̣ητ̣ηρ̣ὶς
καὶ γ̣ε̣ν̣ό̣με̣ν̣ο̣ς̣
ἐπιμελητὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ
τῶν θ̣εῶν τῶν Σαμ̣οθρ̣ᾴκων
καὶ πρυτανεύσας καὶ Ἄλεια
καὶ στεφ̣ανωθέντα
ὑπὸ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλᾶς
γραμμ⟨α⟩τέων συναρχόντων
κοινοῦ χρυσέῳ̣ [σ]τεφάνωι
καὶ ὑπὸ στρα[τ]α̣γῶν
συναρχόντων κοι̣ν̣οῦ
χρυσέωι̣ στεφάνωι καὶ
ὑπὸ ταμιᾶν συ[ν̣α̣ρχ]όντων
κοινοῦ χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ
εὐνοίας, ἂν ἔχων
διατελεῖ εἰς αὐτούς· καὶ
σ̣τ̣ε̣φανωιθέντα ὑπὸ
Πτολεμ̣αι̣έω̣ν̣ τᾶς ἱερᾶς
καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ αὐτο̣νόμου
χρυσέῳ στεφάνωι καὶ

[523] *I.Lindos* 194; a further office seems to have been listed between the third priesthood and the generalship; unfortunately not enough remains to conjecture what this might have been.
[524] Kontorini (1983), no.3; *SEG* 33 644; *TRI* 36; also Ma (2013), 50-1.

λαβὼν πολιτείαν
παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος αὐτῶν·
καὶ διασώσας τριήρη
τῶν κατὰ Λιβύαν τόπων·
θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκᾳ
vacat
χαριστήριον
vacat

The priest of the Samothrakian gods, Diopeithes, son of Aristonidas, of Chalke—the Haleia and the trieteris—and having served as priest of Aphrodite—the Romaia and the trieteris—having become curator of the shrine of the Samothrakian gods and also having served as prytanis—the Haleia—and the prytaneis and the secretaries of the council who served with him crowned him jointly with a gold crown, and so did the generals who served with him, jointly, with a gold crown, and so did the treasurers who served with him, jointly, with a gold crown, on account of the excellence and the goodwill which he shows continuously towards them; and the Ptolemaians, sacred and inviolate and autonomous city, crowned him with a gold crown—and having received citizenship from their city, having saved a trireme off the coast of Libya; to the gods in Samothrake, in gratitude. (trans. Ma [2013], 50-1)

The text is quite grammatically disjointed in places, and rather inelegantly phrased[525] – perhaps reflecting the man's social status or background. But the focus on his achievements and contributions to the community could not be expressed more clearly.

Let us consider his career in Rhodes and how it is presented. The initial focus is on festivals and religious offices; next we find out that he was also *prytanis*, for which he was honoured by fellow magistrates. Due to the unsyntactical nature of the festival names – the Halieia (misspelled 'Haleia' in the inscription), the Romaia and the *trieteris* – it is unclear what precise function Diopeithes performed in this area:[526] it is possible that he gave financial support, or else performed some duty at them. Considering the Rhodian habit of tying

[525] Note the recurrence of festival names in the nominative in several lines, with no grammatical structure and unclear meaning; Ma (2013), 51 sees the 'syntactical looseness' of this inscription as characteristic of the 'frozen' state of being honoured.

[526] We find festivals added in similarly unsyntactical ways (also in their nominative forms) in the margins of some Rhodian priest lists; see Kontorini (1983), 47 and the following note.

festivals to certain religious offices, in the years in which they fell,[527] it is also conceivable that they were connected with Diopeithes' priesthoods in the city. The mention of the Halieia following the information that he served as *prytanis* might then imply, by analogy, that additional duties concerning major Rhodian festivals could also be attached to non-religious offices held in that year – although presumably these commitments were voluntary. Although Diopeithes emphasises his religious duties – as priest of Aphrodite and *epimeletas* of the sanctuary of the Samothracian gods[528] – these are not the contexts in which he receives honours. Rather, it is for his prytany that he is crowned 'ὑπὸ στρα[τ]αγῶν/ συναρχόντων κοινοῦ/ χρυσέῳ στεφάνωι καὶ/ ὑπὸ ταμιᾶν συνα[ρ]χόντων/ κοινοῦ'. This suggests a similar collective spirit among civic and military officials to that existing among priests and other annually elected religious officials.[529]

Diopeithes' remarkable career is however not confined to civic offices in Rhodes; the inscription further informs us that he was honoured by the demos of Ptolemais and that he saved a Rhodian trireme off the coast of Libya. Kontorini has plausibly connected this latter achievement with Lucullus' activities in this region in the years 87-6 BC, and we might speculate whether it was his maritime skill and this heroic deed specifically that qualified him for the priesthood of the Samothracian gods – a true 'mixing' of secular and sacred achievements.[530]

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[527] *SER* 3-5b; cf. Badoud (2015), 111-120, 126-7 and see above.

[528] Note that an '*epimeletas* of a sanctuary' is an otherwise unattested position at Rhodes – although there are a number of other *epimeletai:* Kontorini (1983), 48.

[529] There are some joint dedications by *stratagoi* and other non-religious officials from Rhodes, similar in composition to those of the *syniereis*: e.g. *epistatai* on behalf of themselves and fellow soldiers: e.g. *I.Lindos* 149 and 154. See also *TRI* 31, from early first-century Rhodes-town: a statue dedicated by the council and a number of secular officials.

[530] Kontorini (1983), 53-8.

So far, the evidence for 'mixed' careers on Rhodes is so scattered and selective that any conclusions drawn from it must remain tentative. From our examples, it appears that it was less common for men to hold a combination of secular and sacred offices than to focus solely on those within the religious sphere; but as noted above, the nature of our surviving material may be skewing our picture. It is nonetheless worth commenting on the *nature* of our – undeniably meagre – evidence. It comes almost exclusively from honorific texts, the majority decorating statue bases, which would have crowded the great sanctuaries of Lindos and Kameiros in particular. This means that, even if our examples might not represent the entire citizen population of Rhodes accurately, they do provide an important insight into the sort of careers that prominent Rhodians displayed at the religious centres of their communities.

Nonetheless, this picture seems to reflect a rather limited and highly local group of dignitaries[531] – the men who perhaps excelled on a local level, but were not internationally prominent. What, for instance, of the Rhodians named by Polybius, who were active in the negotiations with Rome in the second century BC? Can we ascertain whether the priesthoods that we have seen featuring so prominently within the island's epigraphic record played an important role in the careers of these kinds of men? Unsurprisingly, this is not the kind of information that an author like Polybius is interested in including in his account. However, by narrowing our focus to such Rhodians as can be argued to be internationally recognised, or prominent beyond the local sphere, some prosopographical observations may be made.

[531] Cf. van den Hoff (2008), 124-34 on the 'competitive demonstration of prestige' on the Athenian acropolis; his study shows that, initially restricted to a narrow elite, this statuary practice was, by the third century, copied by a wider social group of religious functionaries.

One father-and-son pair immediately presents itself to us from Polybius' account: Theaidetos and his son Astymedes. Both are heavily involved in the Roman negotiations concerning Rhodian possession of Lykia and Karia, and in the ensuing years in which Rome comes close to declaring war on the island, addressing both the Rhodian assembly and the Roman senate.[532] Both were clearly influential at Rhodes and are often presented by modern historians as important members of the 'pro-Roman' faction in the Rhodian assembly.[533] From Polybius' account we learn that both were sent as envoys to Rome on numerous occasions, and further that Theaidetos was appointed to be *nauarchos*.[534] Already Blinkenberg associated this pair with a number of Lindian inscriptions and pointed out further potential identifications. Thus, we find a roughly contemporary Astymedes, son of Theaidetos being honoured by the Lindian deme of the Nettidai with a golden crown and a bronze statue, as well as a man of the same name who set up a statue of himself commemorating his office as priest of Athena Lindia.[535] Although these prosopographical matches can never be entirely certain, particularly when based only on name and patronymic, the identification seems rather likely, in view of the relative rarity of the name and the chronological similarity. Both men's names further appear on amphora stamps of this period, probably suggesting that father and son were also priests of Helios.[536] A final connection that has been suggested relates to a fragmentary text from Rhodes-town, which

[532] E.g. Pol. 22.5, 27.7, 28.2, 28.16, 30.4-5. Walbank (1957-79) in his commentary on 22.5 is cautiously open to the possibility of the identification of these two men as father and son; Blinkenberg in his commentary (1941: 1001) is more confident.
[533] Berthold (1984), 181-200.
[534] Pol. 30.5.
[535] *I.Lindos* 216 and 217.
[536] Theaidetos already identified as priest of Helios by Nilsson (1909), 428, no.229; for both men now Badoud (2015), 193-5 (D23-24).

mentions a *koinon* of Apolloniastai Theaideteioi Astymedeioi.[537] Given the Rhodian habit of naming associations after founders or particularly prominent members,[538] it is perhaps not too farfetched to see here another link to these two men. If all, or even just some, of these identifications are accurate we find a demonstrable presence of these men in the religious sphere of Rhodes: as priests of important cults and perhaps also as founders of an association in honour of Apollo.

Unfortunately no similar identifications are possible for the other Rhodians named, in similar capacities, by Polybius. A few exceptional cases do also survive in our epigraphic record, of men whose careers cannot be said to be limited to the local sphere, and whose position in Rhodian society must have been of the highest level. One such man is Polykles, whose impressive career survives for us on a first-century BC block of marble: thirty-six lines inform us of the numerous offices he held and the many honours he received from various groups – largely Rhodian associations, but also 'ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος/ τῶν Ἀστυπαλαιέων προξενίαι πολιτείαι χρυσέωι στεφάνωι εἰκόνι/ χαλκέαι' *(by the city of the Astypalaians with proxeny, citizenship, a gold wreath, and a bronze statue*) – honours which are repeated verbatim for the cities of Miletos, Hyllarima and Kys.[539] Clearly this Polykles had achieved recognition both in Rhodes and in the surrounding region. Plausibly this was connected to the many military offices he held (some of which were naval).[540] In addition, we learn that he was *prytanis* and secretary of the *boula;*[541] undeniably, this man had left a

[537] *IG* XII 1, 163. Cf. Gabrielsen (1997), 126-7.
[538] See below, ch. 5.
[539] *NS* 18, ll. 30-6.
[540] Six military offices are listed: ἀγεμὼν ἄμισθος ἐπὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς Λινδίας (ll.4-5); ἄρξαντα ἀφράκτων καὶ ἁγησάμενον τῶν πεντερέων κατὰ πόλεμον (ll.7-8); ἀγεμὼν τῶν ἀγεμόνων (ll.8-9); στραταγήσας ἐν τῶι πέραν (ll.9-10); σύμβουλος τῶι ναυάρχωι (l.14); τριηραρχήσας τετρήρευς (l.15).
[541] *NS* 18, l.12-13.

substantial mark both at home and abroad. However, nowhere does Polykles' impressive career include a priesthood – true, he engaged in festivals in a variety of liturgical offices (*gymnasiarchos*, *phylarchos* and *choregos*), but there is no mention of a stint as priest of Helios, *hieropoios*, or anything comparable.

A similar career was pursued by one Teisias, son of Theudamos in the second century BC, whose exploits will be further discussed in the next chapter, due to their relation to the Rhodian peraia: he held a variety of military offices in different locations within Rhodian territory, which must have spread his reputation to the furthest confines of the island state, if not further abroad. In addition he served as *prytanis*, indicating, once again, a prominent position within the *asty's* political life. In contrast to Polykles, we do find a priesthood listed among his other accomplishments – he was priest of Apollo Pythios and Kedrieus, the main cult of his peraian hometown of Kedreai.[542] The religious sphere is, nonetheless, far outweighed by his other activities. In addition, although connected to a significant local cult, his priesthood was not one of the most prominent ones in the Rhodian religious system.

Do these final case studies change the picture that was forming of the role and significance of religion for the careers of Rhodians? Perhaps unsurprisingly, we find that holding a priesthood was not essential, nor, perhaps, especially desirable, for ambitious Rhodians. Particularly in the military and navy, there were many high offices available that provided opportunities for far-reaching repute. It might be significant that the only man of this group of internationally prominent Rhodians who *does* appear to have substantially incorporated religious offices in his distinguished career was Astymedes, a Lindian. As has become clear

[542] Fraser and Bean (1954), no.42; *SEG* 14 719; Bresson (1991), no.3; Blümel (1991), no. 553.

at various points in this thesis, the Lindian community continued to attach particular significance to their traditional – and for the most part religious – positions.

The role of priesthoods within Rhodian society is a complex issue, and one that will be discussed further in chapter 6, where the importance of wealth and family connections in religious life will be studied. For now, it should be reiterated that, although a direct link between religious and political authority cannot be discovered, the vast amount of evidence discussed in this chapter certainly demonstrates beyond a doubt the significant role priesthoods played in civic Rhodian life, and in the careers of numerous individuals.

3.11. Rhodian priesthoods: a man's world?

A final remarkable characteristic of Rhodian priesthoods to comment on is the ubiquity of men, particularly noticeable as priests of Athena, Aphrodite and Artemis – thus breaking the general rule that male priests minister to gods, female priests to goddesses.[543] How can we explain this striking lack of priestesses?

First it should be noted that, although this gender pattern does appear to be the norm, it is by no means universal, even outside Rhodes. Male priests are attested for Athena in Gonnoi, Kos and Delos, amongst others, and various examples are cited for other goddesses too in the appendix of Holderman's still valuable *Study of the Greek Priestess*.[544] In other cases, where the 'gender-rule' did not apply, specific aspects of the cult or deity are usually called on to explain this anomaly: frequently these are cases where two divinities are worshipped

[543] E.g. Price (1999), 68.

[544] Holderman (1913). See also *SEG* 40 956 (probably early first century BC) from nearby Herakleia under Latmos, where the priesthood of Athena Latmia was held by men. Although these demonstrate that this 'gender-rule' was not always the norm, even outside Rhodes, the near-complete absence of priestesses in our case is highly unusual.

as a pair, one male, one female[545]; alternatively, 'masculine' aspects of a goddess may be emphasised, such as the military character of Aphrodite Strateia in Ionian poleis.[546] It might be argued that this principle could explain the existence of priests of Athena on Rhodes: worshipped on each acropolis (Ialysos, Kameiros, Lindos and Rhodes-town), she was apparently linked on each of her sites to Zeus Polieus. But this explanation is inadequate on many levels: first, despite the joint worship, it was always Athena who was the primary deity, so much so that the priests in question were frequently referred to as just 'priest of Athena'. At various points in this thesis, the goddess' supremacy for Rhodians in cult and mythology has become clear. In addition, the votive deposits, discussed in the previous chapter, point to female worshippers and potentially feminine aspects of at least some of the Athena-cults. One important exception to this, however, is the exclusion of women from the cult of – or perhaps more specifically sacrifice to – Athena Apotropaia. Women are indicated as not '*hosia*' in the Lindian sacrificial inscription discussed in chapter 1.[547] Such a restriction in an *Athena* cult seems highly unusual, and should be borne in mind, although it presumably reflects an unusual, cult-specific regulation of a relatively minor deity.[548] We

[545] Holderman (1913), 7-10.
[546] Male priest attested for Mylasa in *I.Mylasa* 203, 204; cf. Graf (1985), 177, although he does not explicitly make this connection.
[547] *LSS* 88 = *CGRN* 62 a l.5, also stipulated for the sacrifice later added to the same inscription for Zeus Apotropaios; for an identically phrased restriction on women see the extract prescribing a sacrifice for Zeus Amalos, also from Lindos, dated to c.400 BC: *CGRN* 63. Cf. *CGRN* 27 for the exclusion of women as not '*themis*' from a Thasian sacrifice to Herakles, with concise discussion of this phenomenon in the commentary.
[548] There has been much scholarly debate on the possible prohibition of women from Greek sacrifice; Detienne (1989) argues most strongly for a general prohibition, with only few exceptions, in line with women's limited political roles in the Greek polis; his extreme position was countered by Osborne (1993), who argues that sacrificial regulations excluding women, including the Lindian one referred to here, relate to marginal cults, rather than particularly political ones, and suggests instead that such 'prohibitions on women are cult-specific' (403). Comparable epigraphic examples, however, all relate to male deities.

have no evidence for a similar exclusion from the cults of Athena Lindia and Polias, and no information on the priesthood of Athena Apotropaia (if one existed).

Another possibility for the general absence of priestesses might be that, on Rhodes, the high priesthoods and their duties and responsibilities were kept in the hands of men due to their civic importance or seniority. This is not a very satisfying conclusion either – in particular as we have numerous examples from the Greek world of women holding a polis' highest priesthood, such as at Athens[549] – but may be the best answer we have at present. We saw how highly regulated and structured religious offices were on Rhodes. In addition, most of them were, or became, annual. However, the nature of our sources may also be skewing our picture. For the annually changing offices are the ones we find, again and again, in our epigraphic corpus, where we see them forming parts of the careers of prominent Rhodian men – indicating, perhaps, a social reason rather than a 'religious' one. Crucially, we do find a few mentions of priestesses, proving that some few ones *did* exist: most important here are two sacrificial regulations, one from the territory of Ialysos, the other from Kameiros.[550] Both detail sacrificial offerings to a deity in the short-hand style familiar to us from these Rhodian inscriptions – demonstrating that some priestesses did exist and did participate in one of the main duties of religious officials: sacrifice.

The question, then, becomes: does this enormous imbalance in the evidence suggest that there existed almost no priestesses on Rhodes, or, that they existed, but were almost entirely passed over in the island's epigraphic habit?

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[549] Cf. e.g. Kron (1996), 140f.; Connelly (2007, 59-69); Lambert (2012), 77-81 on honorific decrees for Athenian priestesses: he points out that their piety (*eusebeia*) is stressed more than their *philotimia,* separating them, to an extent, from the civic (male) sphere. Crucially, however, this has no impact on the institution of senior priestess-hoods. Horster (2010) cautions against overemphasising the power of women in Athenian religion, based solely on exceptional cases of priestesses of Athena Polias.

[550] Ialysos: *I.Lindos* 680 = LSS 92 = *CGRN* 154, c.200 BC; Kameiros: *Tit.Cam.* 148 = *LSS* 96 = *CGRN* 109, dated to the third century BC; Blinkenberg (1939), nos. 8 and 11.

A closer look at the sparse evidence for priestesses might illuminate this matter. The sacrificial text from Ialysos seems to relate to a Ialysian deme, the Pontōreis, and was already discussed in chapter 1: Ποντωρέων/ Ἀρταμιτίου/ ἰκάδι, Ἀρτέμει/ ἐς Φαγὰς αἶγα/ καὶ τὰ ἐφίερος/ θύει ἱέρεια.[551] (*Of the Pontoreis: On the twentieth of Artamitios, for Artemis at Phagai, a goat and the sacrificial complements (or: cakes?). The priestess sacrifices them.* [trans. *CGRN* 154]). As in other inscriptions of this type, the regulation does not specify which priestess, but the context strongly suggests that she was priestess of Artemis. The location and simplicity of the text imply that this was not a cult or shrine of great importance.

The second inscription is more illuminating: in this case we are dealing not with sacrifices to a minor deity in a small town, but with offerings made to Athena Polias, a major deity of Kameiros, her temple situated prominently on the acropolis.[552] A priestess is here named, again without indication of *whose* priestess she is, making the second sacrifice, in the month of Artamitos. Significantly, we see here the presence of a priestess attested alongside a male priest, making an offering of apparently no less value to the polis' most important deity.[553] The same text also prescribes a sacrifice of a lamb by the *anthestrides*, 'flower-girls', whose significance was discussed above.[554]

These two examples attest not only to the existence of priestesses but also to female participation in at least one prominent cult, officiating over sacrifices, just like their male counterparts.

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[551] *LSS* 92 = *CGRN* 154; Blinkenberg (1939), 106; for attestation of the deme see Maiuri *NS* 429.
[552] *LSS* 96 = *CGRN* 109; cited above p.103.
[553] Male priests of Athena Polias in Kameiros are, as we saw above, well-attested throughout the Hellenistic period: e.g. *Tit.Cam.* 5 (priestly catalogue). It is possible that she is the wife of the priest of Athena, sharing his priestly title, as in the Lindian examples below, but the context here is earlier (third century BC), and we have no evidence of this practice in Kameiros.
[554] Hesych. s.v. 'anthesteriades' and see above pp.103-4.

Besides their role in sacrificial activity, the other main area we tend to find priests attested in epigraphic evidence is that of honorific inscriptions, as we have seen at length in this chapter. Given the vast numbers of male religious officials monumentalised in this manner, over 1500 in our period, the absence of women is particularly striking. A very small number of exceptions exist: in the first century BC, a statue of Hageso was erected in Rhodes-town, of which the base remains, revealing that she was 'ἱέρεια Ἀρτάμιτος Περγ[αί]ας'.[555] No other honours are added, although a number of family members acted as dedicators. Artemis Pergaia is not found on Rhodes before the first century BC, and seems to be a 'foreign' import,[556] which may explain why the cult was officiated over by a priestess. In fact, we know of one other inscription apparently honouring a woman for having been priestess of Artemis Pergaia, discovered at Lindos, and dated to the final years of the first century BC.[557] This text, bestowing numerous honours, surprisingly refers to the honorand as 'ἰερίαν Ἀθάνας Λινδίας καὶ Ἀρτάμιτος/ Περγαίας'; this apparent reference to a priestess of Athena Lindia also appears in an honorific inscription dated some 20 years later.[558] Although Blinkenberg correctly noted that in both cases the women are related to the current priest of Athena Lindia – in the first case it is his mother, in the second his wife – we should not exclude the possibility that this was more than the mere honorific title that Blinkenberg imagines.[559] If these women had statues erected and were presented with crowns and other honours, it is certainly conceivable that they had involved themselves in some way in this highest Lindian cult; if they shared their husband or son's title as priest, a great mark of

[555] *IG* XII 1 66.
[556] Morelli (1959), 115; cf. Blümel (1991), no.21 which testifies to a priestess of the same cult in Hellenistic Loryma, in the Rhodian peraia.
[557] *I.Lindos* 384e.
[558] *I.Lindos* 392a.
[559] Blinkenberg (1941), 105-6.

distinction at Lindos, they must have had a connection to the duties performed. This shared responsibility and also recognition is further demonstrated in a curious example of a Lindian *syniereis* dedication: a large base for two bronze statues is inscribed, on the left hand side, with the name of the eponymous priest of Athena Lindia of 42 BC, Philippos, son of Philippos. On the right side, underneath a second statue, the *same list* of *syniereis* appears, underneath Philippos' wife's name, Agauris. Both lists are followed by the same description of the couple's crowning by the Lindian damos. Agauris is even praised with the customary formula used of other eponymous priests in these texts.[560] This parallel honour demonstrates a recognised inclusion of the eponym's wife in his business. However, Agauris is not, herself, *priestess* of Athena.

It is undeniable that the religious profile of Rhodian women was very low and seemingly almost non-existent in the public sphere. The exceptions that I have cited reveal that there were priestesses of Artemis – although the prominent priesthood of Artemis Kekoia at Lindos was always held by a man – but we know nothing else about them. The fact that Hageso was remembered as priestess of Artemis Pergaia may imply that this was a particular honour, and perhaps, unlike most of the priesthoods discussed, was held for more than one year.

On the one hand, our Rhodian case study cautions us against exaggerating the commonness of female priesthoods in the Hellenistic world in general, on the other, this promounced gender imbalance appears to be a particular idiosyncracy of Rhodian religious life.[561] Even if there were numerous priestesses of Athena and Artemis, alongside male counterparts, their

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[560] *I.Lindos* 347; honorific formula: εὐσεβε[ία]ς ἕνεκα τᾶς ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἀρετᾶς καὶ ε[ὐ]νοίας κ[αὶ] φιλοδοξίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς.

[561] I explore this entire issue in greater detail in an article, to be published in Kernos: Zachhuber (forthcoming).

lack of epigraphic presence is striking. Significantly, priestesses were not involved in the 'priestly hierarchy', nor in any of the communal or civic projects embarked on by *syniereis*. This crucial absence from priestly epigraphy makes it possible, not to say plausible, that more priestesses did exist: particularly in such cases where we find no male priests attested, such as the cult of Demeter – largely known through archaeological evidence.[562] Even if this is the case, however, we do not find women represented or recognised in such religious roles. In chapter 6, I return to the involvement of women in Rhodian religion and discuss whether their low profile and apparent absence in much of the cultic organisation is paralleled more generally in the island's society and civic life.

[562] This might lead us to regard with less scepticism Blinkenberg's restorations in *I.Lindos* 261, a fragmentary statue base, whose inscription he rendered as: [ἰέρεια Δά]μ̣ατρος/ [— — — —]α Λυσίωνος/[κατὰ θυγατροποϊ̈α]ν δὲ Θευδότ[ου].

4. Rhodian religion in the peraia: inclusion, participation, religious policy?

In the previous three chapters, I have explored religious life, mobility, and interaction within and between the poleis of the island of Rhodes. The effect of certain political events was traced in the cultic sphere. It became clear that our evidence provides us with a particularly vivid picture for religious activity and expression in the old cities of Lindos and Kameiros, more than for the bustling Hellenistic metropolis of Rhodes-town. A number of these themes will now be expanded upon within a wider geographic setting; for the Rhodian state was not limited only to the island of Rhodes, but included territories on the mainland and on nearby islands. How do the themes of mobility and cultic emulation and diffusion that I have been tracing relate to this wider region? What impact do political and geopolitical developments have on the religious sphere in this area?

4.1. The Rhodian peraia

It is well known that Rhodes had control over parts of the mainland and islands that surrounded it, certainly throughout the Hellenistic period. Ever since the publication of Fraser and Bean's *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* in 1954, it has been customary to distinguish between the 'integrated' and 'subject peraia'. Although some aspects of their definitions – geographic and chronological – and some of the characteristics of Rhodian rule have been questioned or debated by scholars since, this basic division continues to be accepted.[563] The fundamental basis for this distinction is that members of the incorporated peraia were full

[563] Fraser and Bean (1954); the most recent general studies of the Rhodian peraia are: Gabrielsen (2000b) and Wiemer (2010).

citizens of the Rhodian state, a privilege that was never extended to inhabitants of the subject peraia. This division appears to correlate to two separate processes of territorial integration: the initial Rhodian expansion to the nearby mainland and surrounding islands incorporated these lands into their state, while later additions came under Rhodian sway with none of these privileges.

Yet, although this fact is firmly established, there remain complications: what were the precise areas of each category of peraia and their delineations? When were different regions added to the Rhodian state/domain? What methods of control were exercised by Rhodes? Some of these questions may never be answered satisfactorily. We are confronted with a series of problems: a lack of evidence; difficulties in dating crucial inscriptions; and apparent contradictions in the accounts of historians of the period.

Not least, we are dealing with one of the knottiest and most convoluted periods of Hellenistic history: the decades of the early second century BC, beginning with the Second Macedonian War, and the activities of various Hellenistic kings and other powers on the western coast of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands.[564] For Rhodes, this difficult and dangerous period seems to have ended fruitfully – initially. The Peace of Apamea of 188 BC saw Rome grant Rhodes 'Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίας τὰ μέχρι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ πλὴν Τελμεσσοῦ'[565], apparently adding great swathes of territory to the island's possessions. However, Rhodes' fortunes were not to last: just over 20 years later, Rome decided to revoke these territories again, in addition forcing Rhodes to withdraw her garrisons from Kaunos and Stratonikeia – two significant cities of the subject peraia, acquired only some decades

[564] In general: Ma (1999), 74-105.

[565] Pol.21.48; cf. now LaBuff (2016), 40-2 on Rhodian control over Karia.

before Rhodes was forced to give them up again.[566] These events and their rendition by Polybios have played a crucial role in all studies of the development not only of the Rhodian peraia, but also of the island state's heyday and its subsequent decline in the late Hellenistic period.[567] For our purposes, however, the complexities of these situations matter less. What is significant about this period is that it shows the extent of Rhodian interest in the area, which was surely not confined to this short period; it should not surprise us, therefore, to find traces of Rhodian influence as far afield as central Lykia. For although Lykia was in revolt for much of the short period for which it was under Rhodian rule, the area around Phaselis,[568] lying on the southern-most tip of Lykia, shows definite signs of early Rhodian impact – in epigraphic habit, mythology and possibly also cult.

Although my main concern is not to trace the topographical or political development of the Rhodian peraia, whether incorporated or subject, these issues all affect the topic at hand: the relationship between Rhodian religion and the religion of the peraia. Initially, therefore, a careful account of the peraian territories will be presented. Following this, my main approaches are twofold: first, I will attempt to determine the participation of citizens of the incorporated peraia in Rhodian religious life. For although it is evident that these citizens

[566] Kaunos was purchased as late as the 190s; Stratonikeia was granted them by 'Antiochus and Seleucus', probably around 240 BC: Pol. 30.31.5-6; Dmitriev (2010). Both were lucrative possessions for Rhodes and their loss is usually read as a particular punitive measure by Rome: Bresson (2003) on the financial benefits for Rhodes; for the changing relationship between Rome and Rhodes in these years see esp. Gruen (1975). Questioning the harshness of Rome's punishment and the actual financial benefits of these possessions: Gabrielsen (1993).

[567] Reger (1999); Bresson (2003); Wiemer (2002a), 251-71; but see already Gabrielsen (1993) who warns against reading these measures as a straightforward Roman policy of punishing Rhodes, or else as the beginning of Rhodian decline; Wiemer, too, is fairly cautious in following the traditional narrative (2002: 317-39).

[568] According to ancient sources, Phaselis itself was a Rhodian colony: see Malkin (2011), 72; some doubt about the veracity of these traditions: Adak (2007).

were enrolled into Rhodian demes and allocated to Rhodian tribes,[569] it is not necessarily clear whether they could participate in Rhodian festivals or hold Rhodian priesthoods on the island – at the very least, there were practical difficulties to overcome. For the second part, I will approach the issue more broadly, looking generally for religious influence and evidence of cultic diffusion – in particular of especially 'Rhodian' deities, such as Helios and Athena Lindia – but also of similar religious organisation or offices. At the same time, it will be important to note the continuing existence of local Karian – or other – cults in these areas. A related issue to consider will be whether there was a particular relationship in the religious sphere between peraian communities and their 'mother cities', that is, the Rhodian city to which their deme was assigned.

A full study of the religious life of the Rhodian peraia unfortunately goes beyond the scope of this thesis. For that reason the second approach will necessarily also focus largely on the incorporated peraia, as well as on select case studies.

Underlying this second section are the claims made by Fraser and Bean on the 'Rhodian religious policy' in the peraia.[570] In their view, the existence of cults of Helios, Rhodos, and others in the peraia is indicative of Rhodian control over Karians and 'aimed at a wide-scale infiltration of Rhodian cults into the life of the subject-peoples'[571]. A review of the evidence, including numerous inscriptions and substantial archaeological evidence unknown to Fraser and Bean at the time, must re-address this issue: to what extent does the religious sphere in various parts of the peraia indicate Rhodian control, and of what type? What impression do we get of, in particular, Karian religious identity in this period? To what extent is it shaped by Rhodes?

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[569] Jones (1987), 242-244; Berthold (1984), 38-58.
[570] Fraser and Bean (1954), 130-7.
[571] Fraser and Bean (1954), 136. See below pp.224-38.

4.2. The nature of the Incorporated Peraia

Since the majority of my focus will lie on the incorporated peraia, it will be worthwhile briefly to explain what this term entails and, more importantly, what areas formed part of it. As mentioned above, the crucial determining factor of the regions described since Fraser and Bean as the 'incorporated peraia' was their political inclusion into the Rhodian state. Thus they were divided into demes and, like the other Rhodian demes, assigned to one of the three old cities – Ialysos, Kameiros, Lindos – that is, to one of the tribes of the new state. Largely due to epigraphic finds, a number of these demes have been identified and located, but several remain for which crucial information is still missing.

In general, the area of the incorporated territories encompasses the peninsular Karian Chersonesos, as well as several surrounding islands including Syme, Nisyros, Telos, Chalke, Karpathos and, off the Lykian coast, Megiste. The term 'peraia' technically applies only to the mainland possessions, not to the incorporated islands.

Our information about these areas varies greatly depending on the archaeological remains and epigraphical evidence. Our knowledge is much greater for the Karian Chersonesos, where scholars have recorded ancient remains and inscriptions at various points throughout the 20th century.[572] Many of these results were published by Fraser and Bean in the 1950s, but more recent finds have also been made, both epigraphically[573] and archaeologically.[574] From the islands, by contrast, much less is known: comparatively few inscriptions have been

[572] Maiuri (1924); Giudi (1924); Robert (1954); Fraser and Bean (1954); Bean and Cook (1957); Bean (1971).

[573] The two volumes of inscriptions of the 'Rhodian peraia' by Bresson (1991) and Blümel (1991) both deal only with the mainland territories. See also Blümel (2007); Debord and Varinlioglu (2001).

[574] Various publications by Held; Rice (1993); Pimouguet-Pedarros (1994); Pimouguet-Pedarros (2000), 380-405.

published,[575] a substantial limitation, and there has not been much recent interest in places such as Nisyros or Telos – even Karpathos, a comparatively large island, has not been the subject of much research.[576]

Nonetheless, focusing only on the mainland territories is not sufficient. Too often the islands have been neglected, reflected, for instance, in the fact that maps of Rhodian possessions tend to show only the Karian Chersonesos, when in fact the Rhodian state reached as far west as Karpathos – a significant expanse.

Let us briefly characterise these areas, based on the epigraphical and archaeological evidence. In the Karian Chersonesos, a naturally mountainous and inaccessible region, numerous sites have produced remains of Hellenistic buildings, primarily military and religious. Three theatres are known from this area, at Amos, at Kastabos, and on the small offshore island of Kedreai.[577] Kedreai has further yielded ruins of a temple and of several fortification walls, including towers, all dating roughly to the Hellenistic period. The archaeological remains of Loryma are similar: an extensive military fortification around the harbour – located just opposite the island of Rhodes – can be linked with some certainty to Rhodian activity here in the early third century BC.[578] In addition, several temples and shrines to various deities have been identified on this site, which will be discussed in greater detail below. Other sites display similar fortification walls, implying that in the Hellenistic period efforts were made to protect the deme centres and other areas of habitation.[579] The epigraphic evidence discovered in these settlements supplements the picture: we find that

[575] Relevant sections in *IG* XII 3; Segre (1933); Susini (1963-4); Peek (1969).
[576] In general: Craik (1980); Reger (2004b). Recent interest in Karpathos has focused largely on the mysterious group of Eteokarpathioi, attested in *IG* I^3 1454; cf. esp. Ma (2009). See now also Stampolidis et al. (2011).
[577] Bean (1971), 153-65; Rice (1993), 287.
[578] Held (2009); cf. Blackman (2010), 387-9.
[579] Rice (1993); Pimouguet-Pedarros (1994); Pimouguet-Pedarros (2000), 380-404.

these peraian communities had their own officials, priests and administrative systems. Thus, although it is tempting to see the incorporated peraia as secondary to the main island of Rhodes, we have plenty of evidence for thriving communities here too, providing opportunities for local worship and civic careers.

Turning to the islands, our picture is much more varied. Karpathos is easily the largest of these, accommodating at least three separate settlements: Arkesia, Brykous and Karpathos.[580] Although several of the archaeological remains date to the classical period, the majority of inscriptions are Hellenistic or later. The importance of the famous sanctuary of Poseidon Porthmios is attested in Hellenistic documents, but the archaeological record indicates a longer history, with traces of an archaic building remaining.[581] The smaller island of Kasos, lying just off the southwestern tip of Karpathos, may also have formed part of Rhodian incorporated territory.[582] In this case, little besides a few inscriptions remains – physical remains are scarce.[583]

Moving north, we reach the group of islands lying between Rhodes and Kos: Chalke, Telos, Nisyros and Syme. Their location between these two islands as well as off the coast of Karia is reflected in their mythology and in their history. There are archaeological remains of fortifications around the city of Nisyros, which coincide with the years in which Mausolus of Karia was holding sway over a number of these islands; the same is probably true for the defensive walls surviving on Telos.[584] In addition, traces of the Telian acropolis survive,

[580] Ps.-Skylax 99 calls it a *tripolis*; Str. 10.5.17, however, calls it a *tetrapolis*. This is probably confusion due to the existence of the semi-independent *koinon* of the Eteokarpathioi: Reger (1997), 453; Reger (2004b), 745-7.
[581] Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962), 167.
[582] Two Hellenistic inscriptions bearing Rhodian demotics constitute near proof of this: *IG* XII 1, 1061 and Susini (1963-4), 218.
[583] Susini (1963-4), 206-12.
[584] Nisyros: Filimonos-Tsopotou (2011); Telos: Reger (2004b), 776.

among them remains of a temple of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus – also attested epigraphically.[585] Nearby Syme also bears traces of a temple of Athena on its fortified acropolis.[586] Finally, Chalke, the small island located closest to Rhodes: again, little is known besides Strabo's account of the ancient harbour and classical centre, confirmed by archaeological remains of walls and some inscriptions.[587] Aside from Karpathos, all these islands only had one polis or settlement, not all of which, however, were deme centres once integrated into the Rhodian state. In addition, all were subject to a series of powers or influences throughout the classical and Hellenistic periods: Persian, Athenian, Koan, Karian, Rhodian, all left an impact on some or all of these islands. The prominence of fortification walls in their archaeological remains demonstrates the defensive importance of these islands in this region, acting at times as a buffer zone between expanding or rival powers. Again, the presence of late classical and Hellenistic buildings as well as the surviving inscriptions demonstrate that these islands were relatively prosperous in this period, even if our evidence remains limited.

Following this very general picture of the main sites within the incorporated peraia, let us attempt to map the Rhodian deme division onto it, proceeding city by city. The allocation of these overseas territories to the three old Rhodian cities and their administrative systems is likely to provide significant information about their social, cultic and religious connections. A key document to inform us about the allocation of demotics to different Rhodian cities and the application of this division to religious and pan-Rhodian matters is the Hellenistic list of Rhodian *theoroi* discovered at the Rhodian sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios on Mount

[585] Susini (1963-4), 261-77; Peek (1969), nos. 26, 45.
[586] Reger (2004b), 775.
[587] Str. 10.5.15; Susini (1963-4), 247-259; Reger (2004b), 738.

Atabyrion, briefly discussed in chapter 2. Originally published as two separate texts, they were joined together by Papachristodoulou, providing us with, in all, 5 *theoroi* for each of the three Rhodian cities.[588]

From the demes assigned to Ialysos, two are not recognised from the Rhodian island and may be located in the peraia: the Ἐριναεῖς and Κρυασσεῖς. The former was located by Fraser and Bean in a region of the Chersonesos just north-west of Amos. Since then, however, this site has been found to belong to a different deme, that of the Bybassioi (see below). Thus the Erinaeis inhabit an unknown region – perhaps in the peraia, perhaps on the island of Rhodes itself.[589] The Kryasseis, although certainly located on the peraian mainland and not an island, have unfortunately not yet been located, although several inscriptions bearing the demotic are known.[590] This comprises our only reliable information about Ialysian peraian demes. Due to this scarcity of evidence, and our general lack of knowledge for this Rhodian city, the demes attached to this city will not feature in the study below.[591]

Moving on to Kameiros, we are much better informed. Of demes situated in the peraia and allocated to Kameiros we know of six: Βυβάσσιοι, Εὐθηνῖται, Θυσσανούντιοι, Κασαρεῖς, Τλῶιοι and Τύμνιοι. To this may be added the island deme of the Χαλκῆται.[592] In locating

[588] *Tit.Cam.App*. 19+20 with Papachristodoulou (1999a), 32; *SEG* 49 1070.
[589] Papachristodoulou (1999a), 35.
[590] Erinaeis: Fraser and Bean (1954), 67-8; Kryasseis: Fraser and Bean (1954), 55-6. On their allocation to Ialysos: *Tit.Cam.App.* 19+20; cf. Jones (1987), 244-5; Papachristodoulou (1999a), 32.
[591] The only relevant piece of information we might possess is the short catalogue of priests of Apollo Erethimios; in this, we find only Ialysian demotics that were located on the island of Rhodes itself. Due to the brevity of the document and lack of comparisons we cannot, however, extrapolate that peraian demesmen were excluded from Ialysian priesthoods.
[592] Mentioned in the Kameiran inscription *Tit.Cam.* 109 as an exception to the regulations concerning the *ktoinai* of the Kamireis: 'χωρὶς Χαλκῆς'. This clearly implies that the Chalketai were members of

the peraian demes, much progress has been made since Fraser and Bean's initial attempts, largely due to further epigraphic discoveries. As they had already noted, the Tloioi were probably centred on the town of Phoinix in the southern tip of the Chersonesos, and the Tymnioi located just to the north-west of the former.[593] The latter certainly belonged to the Kameiran tribe; a Tymnian demesman is found among the Kameiran *theoroi* at the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios.[594] However, as noted above, the Bybassioi have been located with certainty at the site at which Fraser and Bean had wanted to place the Erinaeis – near the modern town of Hisarönü.[595] In addition, Thyssanous, although already located correctly by Fraser and Bean just north of Phoinix, at the modern site of Ortaca, was only later recognised to belong to Kameiros.[596] The demotic Kasareus seems to encompass an area covering Loryma and a town probably called Kasara, both located at the southern tip of the Chersonesos. For a long time, this was believed to be a Lindian deme, but more recent epigraphic evidence demonstrates that it too belonged to Kameiros.[597] The Euthenitai, finally, have not yet been located satisfactorily; the assumption remains that their deme was centred on a town called Euthenai or perhaps Euthana, and is thought to have lain in the northern part of the Karian Chersonesos.[598] The list of *theoroi* from the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios allocates them to Kameiros without a doubt.[599]

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the Kameiran tribe, but were exempt from this specific ruling for some reason: cf. e.g. Fraser and Bean (1954), 144-5; Susini (1963-4), 251-2; Reger (2004b), 738.

[593] Fraser and Bean (1954), 58; 60-2. Blümel (1991), 63.

[594] *Tit.Cam.App.* 19+20, l.21.

[595] Cook (1966), 5-9; Blümel (1991), 109.

[596] Fraser and Bean (1954), 59, 81; Jones (1987), 245-6; Blümel (1991), 47.

[597] Kasara and Loryma: Fraser and Bean (1954), 59; Blümel (1991), 3f., 21. On the difficulties in attributing it to a Rhodian city see Papachristodoulou (1991), 33.

[598] Fraser and Bean (1954), 69-70; Blümel (1991), 142.

[599] *Tit.Cam.App.*19+20, l.19.

Lastly, let us consider the Lindian demes outside Rhodes. On the basis of epigraphic evidence, in the peraia, these seem to comprise the Ἄμιοι, and Φύσκιοι. On the islands, the three cities of Karpathos were classified as Lindian demes by Fraser and Bean. Although this is not absolutely certain, the reasons for this attribution remain strong: in particular the presence of at least one temple of Athena Lindia – more on this below. If we accept this, we should add the Ἀρκασειεῖς, Βρυκούντιοι and Καρπαθιοπολῖται to the demes of Lindos.[600] Of the Lindian peraian demes, Amos has long been located at the easternmost point of the Karian Chersonesos, at modern Hisarburnu, on the basis of epigraphic finds. Physkos, thanks to literary and epigraphic testimony, has been located at the modern site of Marmaris.[601]

Most of this information about the demes of the Rhodian peraia and islands is sound; where locations are provided, they are based for the most part on the growing corpus of inscriptions, which provide us with the demotics and references to the deme centre, and, in certain cases, reveal connections with its Rhodian 'mother city'. In one respect, however, caution must be advised: although the allocations to Rhodian cities cited above are all likely, many of them are not completely certain.[602] The list of *theoroi* mentioned above, with its division of demesmen according to tribe, is one of the few completely reliable sources for this; other cases have to be inferred from epigraphic allusions. In addition, as has already been stated, and will continue to be evident throughout, most scholarship has focused on the Karian parts of the mainland peraia; the islands that formed part of the Rhodian state

[600] Karpathos: Fraser and Bean (1954), 141-4; Jones (1987), 249, 252.
[601] Amos: Fraser and Bean (1954), 57; Blümel (1991), 95; Physkos: Fraser and Bean (1954), 57; Blümel (1991), 119.
[602] E.g. Blümel, in his edition of peraian inscriptions, is much more cautious in making some of these assumptions (1991).

(Megiste, Chalke, Karpathos, Kasos, Syme, Telos and Nisyros) have been comparatively neglected.

Not many island demes have been allocated to the Rhodian tribes – the case for the cities of Karpathos being incorporated into the Lindian deme system is likely, that for Chalke into Kameiros certain. Nisyros, on the other hand, cannot be allocated to a Rhodian city with any real conviction;[603] the same applies to nearby Telos. Syme does not seem to have accommodated a deme centre – no demotic is known, despite a fairly substantial epigraphic record from the island and surrounding territories. It is possible that its inhabitants formed part of one of the demes of the nearby mainland – although its size makes this rather surprising.[604] The same is true for Megiste, also not attested in our epigraphic corpus as a deme in its own right.[605] Little Kasos, finally, also provides no reliable evidence for such a link – although a connection to Lindos is perhaps most likely in view of its proximity to Karpathos.

A thorough understanding of the topography and deme organisation of the Rhodian peraia and islands would be advantageous for a close study of the relationship between public religion on the island of Rhodes and in its incorporated territories. The above provides a portion of this information, enabling us to make some such observations, but defining the precise borders and characteristics of this region remains highly complex.

[603] Fraser and Bean (1954), 152 suggest that it might be Kameiros due to the existence of an eponymous *damiourgos* on Nisyros, but admit that this is insufficient evidence.
[604] Fraser and Bean (1954), 139-40; cf. Papachristodoulou (1991), 38.
[605] Papachristodoulou (1991), 38.

The other matter which remains difficult is the exact date at which various regions entered the sphere of the 'peraia'. While some argue for an early inclusion of most of the 'incorporated peraia' already before the Rhodian synoikism,[606] others point out that we have no concrete evidence before the earliest inscriptions from these territories, around the final quarter of the fourth century BC. More recently, even this more sceptical position has been decisively downdated by Badoud, who argues that the archaeological picture of Rhodian activity in the peraia, which dates largely to the third century BC, is in fact mirrored by the epigraphic evidence.[607] This largely hinges on two Rhodian texts, both traditionally dated to around 325 BC, one from Kameiros, the other from Lindos, often seen as crucial evidence for the integration of the peraian territories by this point, which Badoud has downdated to 304 BC.[608] His arguments appear sound and are indeed backed up by the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the peraia, of which the vast majority dates to the Hellenistic period or later. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the Rhodians had exercised influence of some nature in most of the relevant regions already in the early classical period. At the same time, it is evident that the traditional Karian *koina* and customs continued to exist on some level into the Hellenistic period, even within the Rhodian state.[609]

4.3. The 'incorporated peraia': incorporated into Rhodian civic religion?

With the incorporation of certain regions outside the main island into the Rhodian deme system must have come regulations or an understanding of what this would mean for public

[606] Fraser and Bean (1954), 94-8; Papachristodoulou (1989), 49-50, based on the existence of *ktoinai* in the peraia; Constantakopoulou notes that there is no direct evidence, but finds the arguments compelling: (2007), 244-5.
[607] Badoud (2011).
[608] These are the decree concerning Kameiran *ktoinai Tit.Cam.* 109 and a subscription list from Lindos, in which Physkioi contribute: *I.Lindos* 51.
[609] Held (2009). More below.

civic – including religious - life. In this section I attempt to determine to what extent this incorporation included religion, or was realised in cultic organisation: do we find deme-members of peraian or other island demes holding priesthoods on the island of Rhodes? Are there attestations of them in the celebrations of pan-Rhodian festivals or worshipping at Rhodian temples? How much mobility can we see within this mini-empire surrounding Rhodes in the religious sphere? What picture do we get of religious life in the peraia? To what extent was it overshadowed by or reliant on religion on the island of Rhodes?

It is in the epigraphic corpora that we must seek traces of the religious activities of peraian Rhodians and their interactions with the islanders. The most pressing question, and the most likely to yield results, is whether members of peraian or island demes were permitted to hold religious office on Rhodes itself. Were they on an equal footing with members of the original Rhodian demes? I demonstrated in the previous chapter that annual priesthoods were a particular feature of Rhodian civic life, especially in Lindos and Kameiros, and that holding a high religious position in one of these cities formed a prestigious part in a Rhodian's career. One striking element of this world was its physical visibility, the hundreds of inscriptions listing the names of these priests in various contexts. Concerning the significance of the deme organisation within this context, we saw how the selection process for eponymous priesthoods was partly governed by a 'triennial' cycle, and how religious offices in Lindos and Kameiros seem to have been restricted to demesmen from that city. However, the triennial rule only ensured a rotation between tribes; there was apparently no regulation to alternate demes, and, indeed, we find some demes represented far more than

others.[610] We must, then, approach the question of participation and eligibility for these offices on a case-by-case basis.

The Rhodian city for whose peraian and other outlying demes we possess the most evidence for interaction is Kameiros. Epigraphic finds and archaeological excavations of the last 50 years have seen our knowledge in this field increase substantially beyond the scope available to Fraser and Bean. In the peraia and surrounding islands, our most significant evidence comes from towns in the Karian Chersonesos and from Chalke. My focus will be on mobility between the island of Rhodes and its outlying territories; although this happened in both directions, I will mainly examine the evidence for participation in cults or festivals on the island of Rhodes by overseas deme members and the presence of such peraians or other islanders in positions of religious authority – in particular priesthoods – in their 'mother-city' of Kameiros or elsewhere on Rhodes.

That Rhodians could capitalise on the opportunities provided by the expansion of their state and hold office in the peraia is evident from the existence of military offices specifically tasked with governing *'to peran'*. Several inscriptions survive that record honours for men who held these positions. Although we cannot know for certain where these *stratagoi* were stationed, it was surely necessary to travel between Rhodes-town, the centre of the federal government, and the peraian territories. But it was not only military offices which could provide the impetus for such mobility; priesthoods could similarly see men move around the full expanse of the Rhodian state. One familial dedication from the second century BC

[610] Athena Lindia: Blinkenberg (1941), 95-96; *Damiourgoi*: Fraser (1953). Helios: Morricone (1952); Fraser (1952); O'Neil (1981); Berthold (1984), 41; Demand (1990), 93-94; Gabrielsen (2000a), 189.

for a certain Teisias son of Theudamos made by his brother, wife and daughter at Kedreai records this man's various achievements, spanning several locations throughout his lifetime: he was *stratagos* in the peraia – presumably based in Kedreai, where he also held the priesthood of Apollo Pythios and Kedrieus and received various crowns and honours; then he was *hagemon* in Megiste; to his career are added various athletic victories at a Herakleia, Dioskouria and Poseidania – none of which we can identify with any certainty, but which are likely to have taken place on or near Rhodes, since no further information is provided; finally we learn that in addition to these achievements, he was *agonothetes* 'ἐν τῶι ἄστει'.[611] This document illustrates how the career of a Rhodian citizen could span the incorporated territories as well as the island itself: from the little island of Kedreai, off the northern coast of the Chersonesos, to the island of Megiste off the southern coast of Lykia, far to the east of the Rhodian state, finally to the capital itself. Although nowhere stated, we can assume that Teisias was originally a resident of Kedreai, where his family set up this monument to him; yet his career, for military and religious reasons, took him to various places in the peraia and finally the *asty* itself, Rhodes-town. Within the military sphere, this is not surprising, since some of the highest positions within this career naturally encompassed overseeing different parts of Rhodian territory; travel was an expected part of military careers. In addition to emphasising Teisias' interest in athletic competitions, his stint as *agonothetes* in Rhodes-town implies a sense of civic responsibility and a desire to demonstrate his status as a Rhodian by contributing with one of the most important liturgies. Other examples show that the mobility Teisias displayed was not unusual. A statue base, also from Kedreai, dated to the first century BC honours a man

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[611] Fraser and Bean (1954), no.42; *SEG* 14 719; Bresson (1991), no.3; Blümel (1991), no. 553.

[ἱερατεύ]σα̣ς̣ Ἀπόλ[λωνος]
Πυθίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος
Κεδριέως καὶ ἱεροθυτήσας
καὶ χορα̣γήσας
ἐν τῶι ἄστει κωμοιδοῖς·
θεοῖς.[612]

[---] was priest of Apollo Pythios and Apollo Kedrieus, hierothytas, and choragos for the comic choruses in the city. To the gods.

Again, we encounter the priesthood of Apollo Pythios and Kedrieus, held by an unknown individual, honoured in his hometown of Kedreai for his religious career, which further encompassed a stint as *hierothytas* and as *agonothetes* – again, ἐν τῶι ἄστει. It is unclear from the inscription's wording whether the post of *hierothytas* was also held in Rhodes-town – where we know this office to have existed – or in Kedreai – which would be our only attestation of its existence there. In either case, inscriptions such as this one fit into the characteristically Rhodian epigraphic habit and confirm the observations made for the island in the previous chapter on religious careers: this individual also held multiple religious offices and, moreover, set up an honorific statue, a practice especially common for Rhodian priests. It is interesting in this context, that the only priesthoods certainly held by both men were located in Kedreai itself, rather than in Rhodes.

Although the evidence is rather scanty, these two cases indicate a relatively high level of mobility between even remote parts of the peraia[613] and the rest of the Rhodian state;[614] or at least that this was an option for some. Also noteworthy is these men's participation in two of

[612] Blümel (1991), no.557 = Bresson (1991), no.8.
[613] Note that in his account of Lysander's attack on Kedreai in 406 BC Xenophon describes the inhabitants as 'μιξοβάρβαροι' (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.5); cf. Bresson (2009), 115.
[614] Note also the Hellenistic inscription Blümel (1991), no.551 = Bresson (1991), no.6, in which the demos of the Kedreatai honours a well-known Rhodian *stratagos*, Nikagoras (for Nikagoras, see: *I.Lindos* 102.24, 151, 152, 637; *Syll.*[3] 586; *IG* XII 1, 202).

the main Rhodian liturgies: as *agonothetes* and as *choregos*.[615] This implies both a wish to contribute substantially to life in the Rhodian capital and that we are dealing with wealthy individuals. In view of this, it is possible to hypothesise about the standing of the priesthood and cult of Apollo Pythios and Kedrieus, known only from these two texts, and possibly centred on the temple discovered on the Kedreaian acropolis.[616] Apollo's epiclesis suggests a strong local identity for this cult, and the careers of his only two priests known to us may further imply that this was a prominent position to hold in this deme, although it does not appear to have translated into religious authority in the wider Rhodian state.

Aside from these individual examples of particular men whose careers saw them move between the incorporated territories and the island of Rhodes, holding office in different towns, prosopographical studies can shed some further light on the mobility of Rhodian citizens within the religious sphere, particularly in cases where long lists of names survive – such as subscriptions and priest lists.

From the peraia, two valuable inscriptions of these types have been discovered in Phoinix, part of the deme of the Tloioi, as noted above, and in Thyssanous, both of which formed part of Kameiros politically. The first is a list of individuals who contributed money towards the construction of a temple of Dionysos, from 220-210 BC.[617] The second consists of two substantial fragments of a catalogue of priests of Asklepios, tentatively dated by Badoud to around 304 BC, the year in which the peraia was incorporated, and containing around 155

[615] On Rhodian liturgies in general: Fraser [1951], 567-9. More below, in ch. 6.
[616] Guidi (1924), 381-4.
[617] Blümel (1991), no.101 = Bresson (1991), no.149; for the date (later than both Blümel and Bresson's suggestions) see Badoud (2015), 241.

legible or partly legible names. In typical Rhodian style, these are given with their patronymics, but with no indication of the individuals' demotics.[618]

In response to Fraser and Bean's publication of the catalogue of priests, Pugliese Carratelli attempted some immediate prosopographical connections, looking, in particular, for contact with Kameiran civic life.[619] In a note, he also lists some possible identifications of men involved in financing the Dionysos temple at Phoinix, identifying several with priests of Athena Polias at Kameiros, others who were *hieropoios* or priest of Sarapis.[620] Clearly, we must be careful in making such connections in view of the uncertainty concerning the precise date of the subscription. Nonetheless, even if not all Pugliese Carratelli's identifications are accurate, homonyms (name and patronymic) are generally restricted to the same town, if not the same family in Rhodes; thus, finding these 'Tloan' names attested in Kameiran priest lists and dedications confirms that members of this peraian deme could and did travel to Kameiros to hold religious office in their 'mother city' – while also being involved in their home deme's civic and religious life.[621]

This picture is reinforced by the catalogue of priests of Asklepios from Thyssanous, also a Kameiran deme. Again, homonyms need to be treated cautiously, but several examples of the 21 listed by Pugliese Carratelli seem likely to represent the same person. Most of these were *hieropoios* at Kameiros, already shown in the previous chapter to have been a common junior position for men embarking on a religious career. But at least one man almost certainly moved on to become *damiourgos* at Kameiros after holding the priesthood of

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[618] Fraser and Bean (1954), no.23; Blümel (1991), no.151; Bresson (1991), no.118; for the date see Badoud (2015), 91 n.5.

[619] Pugliese Carratelli (1953b).

[620] Pugliese Carratelli (1953b), 132 n.4.

[621] Note also the attestation of two Tloan demesmen as priests of Apollo at Kameiros: *Tit.Cam.* 7; the inscription is highly fragmentary, and only these two demotics can be read.

Asklepios at Thyssanous: Aretakritos son of Timokrates appears towards the end of the peraian catalogue (e15), making it highly plausible that this is the same Aretakritos son of Timokrates who appears in the long list of Kameiran *damiourgoi* in the position dated to 167 BC.[622]

As Pugliese Carratelli himself notes, those homonyms who appear in Kameiran inscriptions that clearly do not correspond chronologically, are likely to represent a different generation of the same peraian family, again demonstrating the general involvement of individuals from this deme in the civic religious life at Kameiros.[623] For those men who truly appear to have held both a religious office at Kameiros and at home in Thyssanous, this mobility is even more pronounced, another feature of the annual system of religious organisation.

The involvement of peraian deme members at Kameiros is, then, fairly well established. The great advances made by careful prosopographical studies of only two such lists of names indicates that this was common – and is likely to be corroborated by future discoveries. In such cases of mobility between different Rhodian communities, involvement by individuals in the religious sphere was often pronounced, signalling its appeal. This can be seen for instance in the career of a certain Euanor, son of Praxippos, who appears in the Kameiran epigraphic record, where his contribution to a subscription for an unknown cause in 125 BC reveals that his demotic was 'Τλῶιος' - presumably through adoption.[624] In a dedication to Zeus Teleios and Hestia – associated with the *damiourgia* at Kameiros – his career is described as follows:

Εὐάνωρ Πραξίππου
καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ

[622] *Tit.Cam.* 3 E c35; Pugliese Carratelli (1953b), 130; Rice (1999a), 50; Badoud (2015), 257 on the date of his *damiourgia.*
[623] Pugliese Carratelli (1953b), 131; Rice (1999a), 50.
[624] *Tit.Cam*. 157.9-10: Εὐάνωρ Πραξίππου/ καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Εὐάνορος Τλῶιος.

Εὐάνορος
ἱεροποιήσας
ἀρχιεριστήσας
ἐπιστάτας γενόμενος
γραμματεὺς μαστρῶν
τιμαθεὶς
ὑπὸ Καμιρέων
θαλλοῦ [στε]φάνωι
Ἑσ[τί]αι
καὶ Διὶ Τελείωι.[625]

Euanor, son of Praxippos, adoptive son of Euanor, was hieropoios, archieristas, who became epistatas and secretary of the mastroi, was honoured by the Kameirans with a wreath of olive. To Hestia and Zeus Teleios.

This makes no mention of his peraian home and does not need to; clearly Euanor had pursued a career based largely in Kameiros, where he accumulated several offices – both military and religious – and showed his devotion to the important divine pair of the Kameiran pantheon, Hestia and Zeus Teleios. His presence in the *epidosis,* from which we know his demotic, reveals his eagerness to contribute to this community – a sentiment apparently shared by the six other Tloan demesmen who appear listed in this fragmentary inscription – and perhaps reminding us of the liturgies held by individuals cited above. This case demonstrates the opportunity and appeal of religious life in Kameiros for members of any deme belonging to this city, and underlines the connection to a deme's 'mother city' in the religious sphere. His identity, however, is complicated by his adoption; we have no way of knowing what deme he might have belonged to before this change, nor what benefits he hoped to gain. That such adoptions could facilitate, or even enable, access to particular religious offices is shown by the example of another Tloan man found in the Kameiran subscription of 125 BC, one Nikasagoras, son of Hippokles.[626] Badoud has suggested that this is the same man who was priest of Athena Lindia two years later, in 123 BC, by which

[625] *Tit.Cam*. 62; cf. Rice (1999a), 50-1.
[626] *Tit.Cam*. 157.2.

time he has been adopted by a man whose full name does not survive ([--]sistratos), but who must have belonged to a Lindian deme.[627] This same man, following Badoud, is likely to have been priest of Helios earlier, in 131 BC, while still a Tloan demesman of Kameiros.[628] This changing identity through adoption, and the different locations of priesthoods – in Lindos and Rhodes-town – emphasises again the importance of these Rhodian tribal subdivisions, but also illustrates a way for peraians (and others) to circumvent these restrictions.

The rarity of demotics in Rhodian inscriptions inhibits us in these observations, meaning that we must rely, for the most part, on prosopographic attempts at identifying homonyms. Even so, these examples demonstrate a fair degree of mobility between Kameiros and the peraia – especially those demes associated with it. Can we observe a similar custom for Lindos and its peraian demes? As illustrated above, our knowledge of Lindian demes in the peraia is more limited than for Kameiros. Yet, even allowing for these problems, the number of comparable examples from Lindos is surprisingly low.

As outlined above, the only overseas demes we know for certain to have formed part of Lindian territory are, in the peraia, Amos and Physkos, and, probably, all demes on the island of Karpathos. Yet unlike at Kameiros we can trace almost no examples of mobility between Lindos and these locations. Again, the general lack of demotics may be obscuring our picture, as well as the absence, in this case, of any relevant or substantial lists of names from these areas that could be compared with Lindian documents. A late fourth-century subscription for replacing Athena's ornaments from Lindos does name some Physkioi, but

[627] He appears in the priestly catalogue at *TRI* 8, h.60; Badoud (2015), 42.
[628] *I.Lindos* 246; Badoud (2015), C2, 188.

not, strangely, any Amioi – although this may be due to the inscription's fragmentary nature.[629] Nor can we make any prosopographical observations about the Physkioi that do appear; possibly due to the rather early date of this text, none of the names are known to recur elsewhere. The early date, however, does imply an immediate concern with their new mother city and a wish to contribute generously to her oldest cult. Yet Physkioi do not appear explicitly in any other Lindian text, so perhaps it is not just the context that is to blame.

In the first century BC, *I.Lindos* 330 records considerable honours for a certain 'Ζήνωνα Σατύρου/ Ἄμιον', who is, however, 'καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Νικολάου Πεδιῆ' – that is, although originally from Amos, Zenon was adopted by a member of the deme of the Pedieis, located in the territory of Lindos-proper.[630] The honours bestowed on him – including a golden crown, a statue and proclamations at public festivals – indicate that Zenon had been active at Lindos and had gained a considerable amount of prestige for his activities – whatever these might have been. Although retaining his original demotic, he had clearly incorporated himself even more into Lindian life by being adopted by one of the island's demesmen. Whether or not this extra level of incorporation was necessary for true involvement in Lindian civic life, it is important to note his dual status; his natural, birth membership belongs to the Amioi and the peraia, but his official, chosen allegiance belongs to the Lindian Pedieis.

As for religious officials, we have almost no evidence for peraians as priests or *hierothytai* at Lindos, although it is possible that the absence of demotics in most relevant inscriptions is

[629] *I.Lindos* 51 cII 17-20. Dated by Blinkenberg to 325 BC; Badoud, however, convincingly dates it to 304 BC: Badoud (2011), 546-54; Badoud (2015), ch. III; *TRI* 15.
[630] The same Zenon also appears in *IG* XII 1 46.264f. and possibly should also be restored in *I.Lindos* 703.

concealing such activity. One single priest of Athena Lindia, attested in the Lindian catalogue, a certain Dionysios, son of Dionysios, grandson of Eupolemos and adopted son of Euanor, seems to be identifiable with a man originally from Karpathos. This individual – whose extensive name makes him a convenient object for prosopographical study – is worth tracing through the different inscriptions in which he left his mark: the information about his deme can be supplied from the catalogue of '*prophatai*' discovered in Rhodes-town, which lists, for the year 79 BC:

> Διονύσ[ιος Δ]ιονυσίου
> το[ῦ Εὐπο]λέμου
> Καρ[παθιοπο]λίτας
> καθ' ὑοθεσ[ίαν δὲ Εὐ]άνορος Πάγιος.[631]
>
> *Dionysios, son of Dionysios, grandson of Eupolemos, Karpathopolitan, through adoption by Euanor, a Pagios.*

The restorations seem certain as does the identification with the homonymous priest listed in the catalogue *I.Lindos* 1 for the year 72 BC. This would mean that Dionysios from Karpathos held high religious office in Lindos in the first century BC as well as in Rhodes-town. Finally, he is surely also the only person who can be restored in the following text:

> [Διονύ]σιος Διονυσίου τοῦ Εὐ[πολέμου]
> [κα]θ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Εὐάνορ[ος]
> [ίερα]τεύσας Ἁλίου. θ[εοῖς].[632]
>
> *Dionysios, son of Dionysios, grandson of Eupolemos, adopted by Euanor, was priest of Helios. To the gods.*

It is certainly convincing, then, to trace Dionysios the Karpathiopolitan all the way to the eponymous priesthood of the Rhodian state.[633] His stint as priest of Athena Lindia is comparable to the evidence for peraian Kameirans attested as *damiourgoi* – but again, we

[631] *SER* 5.31-4 = *TRI* 2.31-4.
[632] *ASAA* 2 (1916), 150 no.26.
[633] Badoud (2015), A29, 171; he suggests 69 BC for his tenure as priest of Helios.

should note that this man too was adopted by a demesman from Lindos-proper, Euanor of the Pagioi. Taken alongside the comparative rarity of demesmen from overseas territories at Lindos, this point should certainly not be ignored.

Besides these individual cases, which are likely to be exceptional careers, we detect no mobility or access to Lindian religious life. We do find that the wife of a man in the epidosis *I.Lindos* 252 was apparently from Amos[634]; her husband Aristonomos was priest of Athena Lindia in 95 BC, but is himself a member of the Klasioi. Not surprisingly, there was contact and intermarriage between prominent families, but the absence of Amioi or Physkioi in the religious organisation at Lindos is striking – as is the near-total lack of citizens from Karpathos or elsewhere.

In view of these observations, it will be worth reconsidering the decree recently downdated to around 304 BC,[635] which honours the delegation of Lindians who fought to keep access to Lindian offices restricted.[636] As demonstrated at length above, all our evidence indicates that, for the most part, Lindian priesthoods were held by only Lindians in any case, even before this date. Consequently, as already suggested in chapter 1, it seems likely that this exclusivity had a more pointed aim than merely excluding Kameirans or Ialysians, although it surely also did that. In fact, it seems highly likely that it sought to exclude those who belonged to Lindian demes in the peraia or on other islands.[637] This seems particularly plausible in view of the absence of peraian demesmen holding office at Lindos – especially

[634] *I.Lindos* 252.120-3: Ἀρι]σ[τόνομ]ος Καλλισθένευς/[Κ]λ[άσιο]ς καὶ ὑπὲρ τᾶς/ [γ]υν[αικὸς — —]τορίδος/ Δ[ει]νοκρά[τε]υς Ἀμίας.
[635] Badoud (2011), 547-553; id. (2015), no.22.
[636] *IG* XII, 1 761; cf. Fraser (1952), 192-7; Gabrielsen (1997), 130-4.
[637] Cf. Fraser and Bean (1954), 118f., 130-7; Bresson (1991), nos. 3 and 8; Bresson (1999), 105-6; Rice (1999a); Papachristodoulou (1999a), 31-2; Dignas (2003), 46.

when compared with Kameiros. For we know that Lindian religion thrived just as much as religious life at Kameiros; nor was Lindos any less accessible from the peraia than Kameiros – the opposite was surely true, if anything. All the evidence – or lack of – points towards a particular policy of exclusion in Lindian religion in the Hellenistic period. Considering the legal proceedings referred to in the decree cited above, it seems that the Lindians went to great lengths to bar men from overseas demes from holding religious office. The exceptions discussed above are few, and in both cases concern men who can be shown to have been adopted by demesmen from Lindos itself. Badoud's new dating of this and other inscriptions also supports this argument: as mentioned above, there is both archaeological and epigraphic evidence for an integration of these territories taking place in this very period: the final years of the fourth century. Badoud thus argues convincingly that this honorific decree is a direct response to the recent addition to the Rhodian deme system – a successful protest by Lindians against the infiltration of their traditional offices by newcomers.[638]

The participation of deme members from the peraia or incorporated islands varied. At Kameiros, we gain an impression of fairly substantial numbers of peraians involved in various parts of religious life. They were certainly entitled to be *damiourgos*, implying that overseas demes were, in this polis, incorporated into the triennial cycle of priesthoods. At Lindos, on the other hand, we find almost no evidence of peraian or other demesmen, and they seem to have been legally excluded from holding religious office. In both cases, there does however seem to be a noticeable connection between 'mother city' and its demes. Yet there was also the new city of Rhodes-town for peraians to hold civic office in. The

[638] Badoud (2011) and see above.

epigraphic record of that polis indicates a high mobility for peraians who came to live – and die[639] – there, and who involved themselves in civic or religious life.

As we have seen in various contexts, our evidence for the religious organisation and practice of Rhodes-town is far less rich than that for Lindos and Kameiros. Yet it will be worth reconsidering the relevant inscriptions that do exist for the capital city – for standing outside the deme-system, its position was different from the other Rhodian cities.

A more diverse picture immediately presents itself in the surviving catalogues of religious personnel from Rhodes-town. Of particular interest are those of the *prophatai* and of the priests of Asklepios, especially since these provide us with the demotics of the office-holders – a feature, as noted repeatedly, which is unfortunately completely absent from similar lists inscribed by Lindos and Kameiros. This is a clear advantage: the disadvantage, however, is the fragmentary and relatively short nature of these catalogues. Nonetheless, they serve as prime examples for the variety, in Rhodes-town, of demesmen.

Let us begin with the list of *prophatai*,[640] mentioned at various points above. 17 names survive fully or partially, yet only nine demotics can be read or restored with any certainty. These demotics are a mixture of Lindian, Kameiran and Ialysian and, pertinent to our current interest, also include some demes not located on the island itself. Thus we find an Ἀριστοκ[λῆς Ἑρ]μοκρῶντος/Εὐ[θηνίτα]ς listed for 83 BC, a fairly certain reconstruction of the Kameiran deme located in the Karian peraia, and a man from Karpathos, a

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[639] Demotics of most peraian (including island) demes are present in the funerary inscriptions discovered in the necropoleis of Rhodes-town: Amioi: *IG* XII, 1 251-5; Amnistioi: *IG* XII, 1 256-8; Bybassioi: *IG* XII 1, 262-3; Euthenitai: *IG* XII, 1 264-7, 1447; Thyssanountai: *IG* XII, 1 269-72; Karpathian demotics (Arkaseieis, Brykountioi, Karpathiopolitai): *IG* XII, 1 218-35; Kasareis: *IG* XII, 1 273-82; Kasios: *IG* XII, 1 236; Kedreatai: *IG* XII, 1 283, 285-7, 217; Nisyrioi: *IG* XII, 1 238-49, 149; Telioi: *IG* XII, 1 237; Tloioi: *IG* XII, 1 309-16, 1449, 184; Tymnioi: *IG* XII, 1 291-3, 199; Hygasseis: *IG* XII, 1 197, 294-300; Physkioi: *IG* XII, 1 301-6, 477b; Chalketai: *IG* XII, 1 216-7. Note that there are numerous women amongst these; also several examples of husbands and wives from different demes.

[640] *TRI* 2; *SER* 5.

Καρ[παθιοπο]λίτας, attested for 79 BC[641] - the same man we traced earlier to the priesthood of Athena Lindia at Lindos, and to Helios in Rhodes-town. As elsewhere, we find here the reference to his adoption by a Lindian from the deme of the Pagioi: καθ' ὑοθεσ[ίαν δὲ Εὐ]άνορος Πάγιος. The other surviving demotics in this catalogue include some, such as two Lindopolitai, one Ladarmios and an Istanios, which were certainly located in territories on the island of Rhodes; two, however, seem to mark demesmen of the Kameiran demes of the Phagaioi and Erieis – neither have been located by scholars, indicating, perhaps, that they, too, lay in an overseas territory.[642] The evidence is fragmentary and small in volume, but relatively high in percentage. In addition, there survives a further fragmentary inscription which it is tempting to interpret as another section of this catalogue: it is clearly composed in the same style, with the same habit of inscribing festivals in the left margin.[643] Only five demotics can be made out in this fragment, and barely any of the accompanying names: yet it supports our previous impression of variety even more. Alongside a Brygindaios of Ialysos and a Druitas of Lindos, there are clear traces of a Tymnios and a Bybassios, both certainly lying in the mainland peraia, and an Amnistios, another Kameiran deme with uncertain location, conceivably situated overseas.[644] In this case, the evidence is overwhelming: a short fragment, densely packed with demotics, in which peraian demes form a substantial part, perhaps the majority.

The second document to consider is the catalogue of priests of Asklepios, also from Rhodes-town, and also dating to the first century BC.[645] This is similarly short, but much less damaged. We are able to make out the demotics of seven out of the eight priests listed; three

[641] *TRI* 2 nos. 10 and 14. I am following Badoud's slightly earlier dating.
[642] Fraser and Bean (1954), 81 with n.5; cf. Papachristodoulou (1989), 68.
[643] *TRI* 3; *SER* 3.
[644] Fraser and Bean (1954), 81 with n.5.
[645] *TRI* 5 = *SER* 4b-c.

of these are Lindian, one Kameiran, and the other three Ialysian. Of the men listed, only one stemmed from a peraian deme, a certain 'Ἀντίοχος Χάρμωνος/ Κασαρεύς' – evidently from the Kameiran deme of Kasara on the peraian mainland. This Antiochos has unfortunately left no other trace of his activities, but it is significant to note his presence here nonetheless. Although the total number of cases of peraian demesmen attested in the catalogues of religious personnel in the Rhodian capital is slight, within their individual contexts, they constitute a significant percentage. Above all, the two lists demonstrate the variety of demes represented in Rhodes-town – also reflected in other epigraphic evidence for the demographic makeup of this city, in particular in the funerary sphere (as cited above, n.608). The first-century BC honorific document from Rhodes-town for Diopeithes, a Chalketan priest of the Samothracian gods, cited above, provides us with particularly vivid details of this man's life.

The distinguished career of this member of the deme centred on the small island of Chalke appears to have taken place entirely in the Rhodian capital: he held the priesthoods of the Samothracian gods, of Aphrodite, he was *epimeletes* of the sanctuary of the Samothracian gods and he was *prytanis*. Despite our earlier evidence for a strong connection between Kameiros and her overseas demes, there is no trace in Diopeithes' career of any time spent in this city. Together with the other examples drawn on, it seems that we can safely conclude that Rhodes-town was a city in which all Rhodian citizens could embark on a career – religious, as well as political or military. Considering its position outside the tripartite divisions of the deme system, this comes as no surprise. It is worth pointing out, however, the greater emphasis on demotics – was this, after all, a way to draw attention to different backgrounds? An inscription from the same city bearing only lists of names arranged in

columns, with no clue as to its purpose, appears to divide them by deme;[646] prosopographically, different columns can be identified with different demes.[647] Yet the only demes actually named are peraian ones: Amioi, Physkioi and Kedreatai[648] – plausibly this was a practice that, while including peraians, also differentiated them.

Finally, what observations can we make about the participation or involvement of peraian Rhodians in pan-Rhodian religion? As noted in an earlier section, concrete evidence for pan-Rhodian religious practice is rare. But there are two important inscriptions that document such practice and emphasise the joint activity of Lindians, Kameirans and Ialysians. The first is the Hellenistic text discovered at the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios atop Mount Atabyrion, which probably gives a list of *theoroi* from the three old cities and, crucially, provides these men's demotics. Despite its fragmentary state, most of these can be read:

[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
1 [— — — — — —] Εὐκλεῦς [— — —]
[— — ἀρχιθέωρ]ος ἐκ Καμίρου
[— — — — — —]σιστράτου Κυμισαλε[ύς]
ἐγ Λίνδου
5 [— — — — — Τι]μ̣ομβρότου Νεττίδα[ς]
[— — — — — Θ]ευπόμπου Κλάσιος
[— — — — — Π]αναιτ[ίου] Ἀργεῖος
[— — — — — — —]κρ̣άτευς Ἀργεῖος
[— — — — — — —]ου Πάγιος
10 [ἐξ Ἰα]λ̣ύσου
[— — — — — —]α̣νος Κρυασσεύς
[— — — — — — —]χάρμου Ἐριναιεύς
[— — — — —]μου Ὑπερεγχεύς
[— — — — — —]ητος Ποντωρεύς
15 [— — — — —]ακτος Ποντωρεύ[ς]
[ἐκ Καμί]ρου
[— — — — — — —]μάχο[υ] Ἠριε[ύς]
[— — — — — — —]ρο[. Ἀ]μνίστιος

[646] *AER* II.3 = *SEG* 39.731.
[647] Kontorini (1989), 49-53.
[648] *AER* II.3 Γ.4, Δ.3, E.2.

[— — — — — — — — — —]υς Εὐθηνίτας
20 [— — — — — — — — Κυ]μισ̣αλεύς
[— — — — — — — — — —] Τ̣ύμνιος[649]

Although the text provides no hint of what duties these *theoroi* were tasked with, it seems highly plausible that they were involved in some sort of pan-Rhodian religious meeting, to discuss or plan festivities or other religious activities. The pan-Rhodian nature could not be clearer: representatives are designated by their demotic and ordered by 'mother city'. Of significance for our present purpose is the appearance of at least three, perhaps four peraian demesmen. For Kameiros, one *theoros* is a Εὐθηνίτας, another a Τ̣ύμνιος – both definitively peraian demotics. One Ialysian representative, the Κρυασσεύς, is also certainly from a peraian deme; it remains likely that the same is true for the Ἐρινaιεύς listed alongside him, but as noted above, this deme has not so far been correctly located. Thus, a fairly substantial percentage of surviving demotics in this intriguing list belong to the Rhodian peraia. Given our above conclusions about Lindian exclusivity, it may be no coincidence that none of the Lindian *theoroi* stem from overseas demes.

The second case of pan-Rhodian religion to consider is based on victor-lists for the *megala Erethimia*.[650] As discussed above, these included a pan-Rhodian torch race in which the three *phylai* competed. Unfortunately the text itself does not give demotics, nor, indeed, many names undamaged enough to identify with known Rhodians. Yet Kontorini has pointed out the reference to torch races in other Rhodian inscriptions, such as the one listing the many

[649] Three fragments, published by Iacopi *in Cl.Rh.* II nos.150-1, 186; then re-published as *Tit.Cam.App*. Nos.19 and 20; joined together: Papachristodoulou (1989), 70 n. 293; Papachristodoulou (1999a), 32; *SEG* 49 1070.
[650] Kontorini (1975).

athletic victories of a man from Kedreai in the peraia, briefly referred to in chapter 2.[651] The reference to this man's victory '[λαμπ]άδι ἀπὸ πράτας ἄνδρας' must refer to the pan-Rhodian torch races at the Great Erethimia, particularly since the wording of the phrase recalls the Erethimia inscription in several places.[652] The text thus confirms peraian involvement in these torch races between the three Rhodian *phylai*. The rest of this man's achievements refer to other Rhodian festivals – in particular the Halieia and the Tlapolemeia – providing us with a final example of mobility between the peraia and Rhodes within the religious sphere and for religious purposes.

Aside from involvement and participation in religious offices and festivals, it is difficult to trace such mobility; merely worshipping at a Rhodian sanctuary or even leaving a dedication was often not enough to leave a clear trace for us to follow. And even within the better-attested areas, the general absence of demotics means that our picture might still be hopelessly skewed. Yet the comparison between Kameiros and Lindos does seem to indicate different attitudes and policies towards the inclusion of their overseas deme members. This also indicates that, at least for the peraian demes linked to Kameiros, the connection between deme and 'mother city' was strong. Rhodes-town, already outside the traditional tripartite division, must also have been a common destination for peraians in search of more prestigious forms of religious expression – by holding a priesthood or entering an athletic competition, for instance.

[651] Blümel (1991), no.555 = Bresson (1991), no.5 = *Syll.*[3] 1067; cf. Kontorini (1975), 198-9.
[652] Kontorini (1975), A ll.4-6: [λα]μπάδι ἀ[π]ὸ πράτας […]ἀνδρῶν; B ll.22-4: [λαμπ]άδι ἀπὸ π[ράτας ἐφήβων … ἀνδ]ρῶν'. Note also Blümel (1991), no.11 which lists *lampadistai.*

4.4. Cultic expansion in the Rhodian peraia?

I have demonstrated the levels of mobility between Rhodes and its incorporated peraia, which, due to its inclusion in the deme system, had ties to one of the three old cities, and whose citizens could partake in Rhodian civic religion – with some crucial exceptions for Lindos. To further our impression of the interaction between these areas in the religious sphere, it remains to trace these links on a cultic level: what characteristically Rhodian deities do we find in the peraia? How incorporated were these cults into the local religious system? Although the focus remains on the incorporated peraia, cases from the wider, 'subject' peraia will also be drawn on.

In their study of Rhodian treatment of the peraia, Fraser and Bean noted the evidence for three cults in different locations in the peraia: those of Helios, the nymph Rhodos and the Demos of the Rhodians. After a brief examination of the evidence, they conclude that:

> [Rhodes] appears to have aimed at a wide-scale infiltration of Rhodian cults into the life of the subject-peoples: the cult of Helios, the city-god of the Rhodians, whose worship the subject communities were taught to share with Rhodes; the cult of Rhodos, the eponymous nymph, which was fostered among friends no less than subjects, and survived after the collapse of Rhodian power; and finally the cult of the Rhodian Demos by which the subjects recognized the superiority and supremacy of the Rhodian ecclesia in a world in which most ecclesiae were subject to royal authority.[653]

This view, in general, prevails, especially among scholars like Wiemer who see Rhodes as an ambitiously imperialistic state; the cultic evidence is virtually ignored, on the other hand, by Gabrielsen, who argues for a more harmonious relationship between Rhodes and its peraia.[654]

[653] Fraser and Bean (1954), 136-7.
[654] Wiemer (2002a), 235-88, esp. 258; cf. also Wiemer (2011); Gabrielsen (2000b).

Although Fraser and Bean focus primarily on the subject peraia, a number of Rhodian deities are found in areas of the incorporated peraia too. In order to understand the significance of cults of Helios, Rhodos and the Demos of the Rhodians, I propose studying them within the broader context of the cultic diffusion of Rhodian deities in the island's overseas territories, as well as in their specific contexts. Let us then consider these different divinities: clearly Helios and Rhodos are closely linked with Rhodian identity. Other deities that have a characteristically Rhodian flavour and are found dispersed are Athena Lindia and Zeus Atabyrios. Of these, Helios is the primary symbol of the synoikised Rhodian state, worshipped in particular in Rhodes-town, where his eponymous priesthood was also centred. Athena Lindia is, of course, clearly linked with Lindos – although the cult also had pan-Rhodian dimensions, as discussed in chapter 1. While the cult of Zeus Atabyrios was also pan-Rhodian, worship of the nymph or goddess Rhodos is in fact barely attested on the island of Rhodes itself. Like Helios, she forms an important part of the joint foundation myth, as recounted by Pindar, but the only traces of her in the island's epigraphic record occur in two Lindian dedications from the Hellenistic period.[655]

Let us begin by tracing the cultic dissemination of Zeus Atabyrios, a deity closely linked to Rhodian topography and mythology, and worshipped both in the great pan-Rhodian mountain sanctuary, and possibly in a smaller temple in Rhodes-town.[656] The most striking 'overseas' attestation of this cult comes from Loryma, at the southern tip of the Karian Chersonesos. This site has revealed numerous inscriptions as well as substantial

[655] *I.Lindos*140 and possibly 242, if correctly restored. Cf. Morelli (1959), 172.
[656] See above pp.112-3.

archaeological evidence as a result of extensive surveys and excavations in the area.[657] At the easternmost point of the ancient harbour fortifications, three inscriptions have been discovered which speak very clearly of the presence, in antiquity, of a sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios.

One of these identifies the deity as Zeus Atabyrios beyond any doubt; this is the altar dedicated to this god by an *epistatas*:

> [βωμὸ]ν̣ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου ἱδρύσατο
> [Τιμ]ασι[κρ]άτης Φιλοδάμου Ἄ[μι]ος
> ἐπιστατή[σ]ας [κα]ὶ τοὶ συνστρατ̣ευσάμεν[οι][658]
>
> *Timasikrates, son of Philodamos, an Amian, who was epistatas built an altar of Zeus Atabyrios together with those who served with him.*

In exactly the same place, another, very fragmentary, inscription was discovered, detailing sacrificial regulations for Δι[ὶ Ἀταβυρίωι] – this reconstruction is very likely in view of the previous text.[659] The third text found in this same area is also short; it states merely that ἱερὸς/ ὁ τόπος.[660] Held is surely correct in thinking that this, too, must refer to the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios that stood on this spot.[661] The surrounding fortifications, like the texts, date to around the early third century BC, at which time Loryma was apparently being fortified as a naval base by the Rhodians.[662] The dedication of the altar by an *epistatas* [κα]ὶ τοὶ συνστρατ̣ευσάμεν[οι] evidently brings with it a military flavour, perhaps revealing something about the character of the cult of this Zeus. Moreover, the precise position of this altar meant that it was within sight of Mount Atabyrion itself – perhaps the sanctuary atop

[657] In particular: Held (1999); (2000); (2001); (2002); (2003a).
[658] This is the rather more complete reading suggested by Held (2003b), no.2 = *SEG* 53 1236; the previous text at Blümel (1991), no.2 = Bresson (1991), no.185.
[659] Held (2003b), 57-8; *SEG* 53 1237 = Blümel (1991), no.1 = Bresson (1991), no.186.
[660] Held (2003b), no.1 = Blümel (1991), no.5 = Bresson (1991), no. 178.
[661] Held (1999), 183-4; (2010), 366-7.
[662] Held (1999), 182-8; Held (2002); Held (2003a).

the mountain was even visible on clear days.[663] The existence of the dedicatory inscription for this altar has the potential to bring us close to the very context of this cult's initiation. The military character has already been remarked on, and may also be seen as an extension of the power Rhodes was exercising over this part of the mainland in this period; the defensive fortifications undertaken in this strategic location were probably accompanied by other measures, such as patrols by warships; during their conflict with Demetrios Poliorketes, the Rhodians had learned the importance of keeping this coastline and the bay and narrow strait under their control.[664] The foundation of this typically Rhodian cult might then be interpreted as a further symbol of control, a way to legitimise 'von sakraler Seite den Machtanspruch der Rhodier auf den Hafen von Loryma'.[665] This is certainly a possibility, although we might also, on this scenario, imagine a less aggressive reason, whereby this shrine was established merely as a place for Rhodian soldiers and sailors to worship – the particular choice perhaps made for a variety of reasons, including vicinity to the original sanctuary of this god.

Moreover, if Held's reconstruction of the dedication is correct, the *epistatas* was himself the member of a peraian – and nearby - deme: Ἄ[μι]ος. Held concludes that 'die Altarweihung lässt darauf schliessen, dass er seinen Status als rhodischer Bürger und Offizier offenbar auch religiös verinnerlicht hatte.'[666] But again, we can also suggest a more muted motive: perhaps the cult of Zeus Atabyrios was indeed a popular one, particularly with Timasikrates and his fellow soldiers. As I showed above, peraian demesmen (albeit no Amioi) are securely attested at the pan-Rhodian sanctuary on Mount Atabyrion. In either case, as an

[663] Held (2010), 367.
[664] Discovery of shipsheds: Held (2003a); Blackman (2010). Demetrios Poliorketes: Diod.Sic. 20.82.4-5; cf. Held (2009), 124-9.
[665] Held (1999), 188.
[666] Held (2010), 367.

Amios, Timasikrates was member of a Lindian deme – yet there is no sign of a connection to this city or its deities. Held is at least correct to emphasise only the more general Rhodian identity; there is no trace of a Lindian one.

Elsewhere, we find some further evidence for this Zeus cult – including a possible attestation at Sura in Lykia: here a dedication discovered at a temple of Apollo makes reference to 'τῷ Διὶ/ Ἀταβυρίῳ τῷ Παγ-/χαρουτῶ'.[667] 'Pagcharoutos' is otherwise unknown and may be, as Bean suggests, a local addition to this deity's epiclesis. Since this dedication was apparently located at a temple to a different god, this does not necessarily provide evidence for a cult. Yet it designates interest, and, if the expanded epiclesis is indeed a Lykian variation, might reflect more widespread worship of this deity. In addition, as noted above in chapter 2, Polybios tells us that this cult also existed in Agrigentum, in Sicily.[668] This suggests that diffusion of this Rhodian deity had a long history, and was certainly no novelty in the Hellenistic period.

A cult that is particularly and inextricably linked to a specific geographic location is that of Athena Lindia. Her epithet clearly evokes her home in Lindos, and yet we find examples of her being worshipped elsewhere. There is some evidence that this cult was picked up in earlier times in the Rhodian overseas colonies in Sicily, and possibly also at Phaselis in Asia Minor.[669] But most significantly, substantial evidence points to her having one, if not two or

[667] Bean (1962), 7-8.
[668] Pol. 9.27.7; see above p.112.
[669] The Lindian chronicle records dedications by men from Phaselis, Gela, Sybaris, and Akragas: *LC* XXIV-XXVIII; cf. On Lindian colonisation Malkin (2011), 72-5; Athena's position at Gela as influenced by Lindian colonists: Malkin (1987), 180.

even three temples on Karpathos – which, as we remember from above, was probably incorporated into the Lindian deme system.

Unquestionable evidence for a temple of Athena Lindia comes from the town of Potidaion on Karpathos: an honorific decree stipulates that one copy be set up in the temple of Poseidon, one 'ἐν Ποτιδαίωι ἐν τῶ<ι> ἱερῶι τᾶς Ἀθάνας/ [τ]ᾶς Λ[ι]νδίας'.[670] The existence of this temple is, then, indisputable. Further attestations of this cult come from Brykous, where an inscription records the name of Thersippos, son of Aristagoras, 'ἱερατ[ε]ύσας/ Ἀ[θ]άνᾳ [Λι]νδίαι.'[671] Thersippos may, of course, have been priest elsewhere,[672] but in that case it seems likely that he would have specified the city. Finally, a decree from Arkeseia likewise refers to a temple of Athena, in which the stele is to be set up:[673] ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τᾶς Ἀθανᾶς is all the information we are given, but it would not be farfetched, given the other evidence, to speculate that this temple too might belong to Athena Lindia. Another, perhaps more plausible, possibility is that all the cited inscriptions in fact refer to the same temple of Athena Lindia, the one at Potidaion. If this is true, its appearance in documents from the other cities on Karpathos would imply a pan-Karpathian role.

It seems, then, that the cult of Lindian Athena played a major role on Hellenistic Karpathos: aside from her temple(s), we know only of one other: that of Poseidon Porthmios, certainly an important deity on Karpathos and a fitting god for an island.[674]

This diffusion of a specifically Lindian, not Rhodian, cult on Karpathos is striking. On Rhodes, the Lindian sanctuary had in the archaic and classical period apparently possessed

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[670] *IG* XII 1 1033.25-6.
[671] *IG* XII 1 998.3-4.
[672] He appears nowhere in Lindian epigraphy, making it unlikely that he was priest there.
[673] Segre (1933), no.1.
[674] A number of Hellenistic decrees and other public documents were set up in this sanctuary: *IG* XII, 1 1031-7; cf. Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1962), 167 on the archaeological remains; Reger (2004b), 745.

some pan-Rhodian appeal, but by the Hellenistic period it was being promoted as a primarily Lindian cult. Although our evidence for Karpathos is slight, the epigraphy suggests that the temple, or temples, were important places in the community, where decrees and honorific inscriptions were positioned to be visible to all. We saw above that a Karpathopolitas formed the one certain exception to the apparent exclusion of overseas Lindians from the priesthood of Athena Lindia. Perhaps, in addition to his adoption, he had particular credentials for this cult, rooted in his home community.

It is worth citing and commenting on one final inscription, which, for Blinkenberg, constituted proof of a priestess of Athena Lindia existing at Amos, on the mainland:

[Λίνδιοι ἐτείμασαν]
[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
Τροκόνδα [ἰ]έ[ρι]α[ν Ἀθάνας τᾶ]ς [Πολιάδος?]
καὶ Λινδίας Ἀμία[ν στεφανωθε]ῖ[σ]αν [καὶ]
5 τιμαθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τ[οῦ] σ[ύμπαντος]
δάμου καὶ νεικάσασ̣α̣ν̣ [— — — — —]
φιλοστοργίας ἕνε[κα τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς?].
vacat
8 [θ]εοῖς.[675]

[The Lindians honoured….] (daughter?) of Trokondas, priestess of Athena (Polias?) and Lindia, an Amian, crowned and honoured by the whole demos, and won (?....), on behalf of her affection (towards them?). To the gods.

The text is, in places, very fragmentary, but the important words 'Λινδίας' and 'Ἀμία[ν]' appear clearly enough. Blinkenberg writes in his commentary on the text that this is presumably an honorific inscription for a woman from Amos who was priestess of Athena Lindia at home in the peraia. Although this is a possibility, it is perhaps more likely that this inscription forms another example of Lindian women honoured as 'priestess of Athena

[675] *I.Lindos* 404a.

Lindia', of which we discussed two cases earlier;[676] in both of those, the women were closely related to the current, male, priest of Athena. In the present case, the second part of the inscription adds honours apparently due to the woman's husband, whose name is unfortunately completely lost – is it not possible that this was the official priest of Athena Lindia, but that this particular monument was emphasising the honours paid to his wife? A crucial difference, however, is the double epiclesis – if correctly restored – of Polias kai Lindias, which we do not find at Lindos, but which does occur later, in the second or third century AD, in describing a (male) priest from Cilician Pompeiopolis.[677] Parker explains this as either an artificial or a historical link to Lindian settlements in the area, perhaps providing us with a parallel case for this particular diffusion of the Lindian Athena cult.[678]

In contrast to Athena Lindia, Helios did not, in himself, convey a strong geographical link to Rhodes. Yet his relative rarity, alongside his prominence as a symbol of the synoikised state of Rhodes, meant that he was seen and represented as *the* Rhodian deity, as I discussed above.[679] Although there are some traces of his cult to be found in Lindos and Kameiros, he must surely have been connected particularly with Rhodes-town – where his temple was located and his festivals, presumably, took place.

Thus, it is relatively safe to assume that a Helios cult in the surroundings of Rhodes would have been in some way influenced by the island state's religion. Let us consider the evidence, again all epigraphic. Briefly, there are two dedications that mention Helios, one from Physkos in the incorporated peraia, the other discovered at Mobolla, part of the subject

[676] *I.Lindos* 384e; 392a; cf. Blinkenberg (1941), 105-6; see above pp.189-90.
[677] Laminger-Pascher (1975), 68 no.43.
[678] Parker (2016), 73-4.
[679] See above esp. pp.63-4.

peraia.[680] Both date from the first century BC, and in both, Helios is honoured alongside others; but there is no sign of an organised cult.[681]

This is similarly the case for the intriguing focus on Helios in a funerary inscription from Hellenistic Lykia, probably from Tlos: a particular ritual is prescribed for 'the Sun', apparently connected to a local cult.[682] Aside from this one individual's particular connection with this deity, we have no knowledge, however, of a cult.

In fact, there are only three certain attestations of cults of Helios, all from the subject peraia.[683] The first of these comes from Alabanda, where an inscription honours a certain Aristogenes, son of Meniskos, who, among other achievements, was priest of Hygeia, of Soteira of the emperor, and of Helios.[684] The existence of a priesthood does indeed indicate that there was a civic cult of Helios. Of course, the text itself must evidently be dated late in our period, towards the end of the first century BC or the early first century AD.

The second case is equally problematic. It concerns a text from Knidos, honouring the wife of a man who was priest διὰ βίου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐν-/φανεστάτου θεοῦ Ἡλίου. Again, this certainly constitutes proof for the existence of a cult of Helios at Knidos, and again, we may be entitled to attribute it to Rhodian influence in the Hellenistic period. Yet this text is to be dated even later than the previous one, to the second half of the second century AD.[685]

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[680] Fraser and Bean (1954), no.3 = Bresson (1991), no.26 = Blümel (1991), no.505 from late first-century Physkos and Blümel (1991) 784 = *HTC* 65 discovered at modern Muğla.

[681] What is more, in the Physkian inscription it is *Zeus*-Helios who is being honoured, not Rhodian Helios. According to Fraser and Bean, this text might also refer to a cult of the Rhodian demos (l.3: καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τ[ῶν…]), but this is rightly rejected by Bresson (comm. ad loc.).

[682] Parker (2010); *SEG* 58 1640.

[683] There are some imperial examples from Aphrodisias (e.g. Aphrodisias 250), but these are almost certainly unrelated to Rhodian religion, due both to geographical and chronological distance.

[684] Laumonier (1934), no.3: ἱερέα διὰ γένους Ὑγιείας τε καὶ/[Σ]ωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος/καὶ Ἡλίου.

[685] *I.Knidos* 91 with comm.

The final case, on the other hand, is much more promising. A text from Lagina dated to the early second century BC records how a certain Menophilos, son of Leon, attained the priesthoods of Helios and Rhodos in addition to the one he already had – that of Hekate:

> Μηνόφιλος Λέοντος
> ἱερεὺς Ἑκάτης ἀποκα-
> τασταθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
> βουλευτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν
> ἱερωσύνην Ἡλίου καὶ Ῥόδου.[686]
>
> *Menophilos, son of Leon, priest of Hekate, was restored(?) by the bouleutai to the priesthood of Helios and Rhodos.*

This attestation of not only the cult of Helios, but also that of Rhodos is striking and should not be understated, in particular since we can be confident that the area around Stratonikeia was in Rhodian hands during some of this period – and at other times was certainly fiercely contested.[687] We also know that the cult of Hekate had particular local significance in the religious structures of Stratonikeia, suggesting that its priesthood was a prestigious one – and perhaps forming a significant link between local and Rhodian religion.[688] The exact procedure referred to is also curious: what are the *bouleutai* doing in this? If '*ἀ*ποκατασταθεὶς' has its usual meaning of '*re*instating' or 'returning', does this imply a hasty return to Rhodian loyalty and cults? Does the official addition of these cults to the duties of the priest of Hekate indicate that they were new and meant to be integrated as quickly as possible?

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[686] *I.Stratonikeia* 504.

[687] On the complicated change in Stratonikeian religious identity: van Bremen (2004); on Rhodian possession of Stratonikeia: Gabrielsen (2000b), 171-4; Bresson (2003), 177-82; Rome punishing Rhodes by forcing them to relinquish claim to Stratonikeia and Kaunos: Pol.29.19.5, cf. Liv.45.3.6-8; Gabrielsen (1993).

[688] Çetin Şahin (1976), 48-50. More below.

In addition, this is also one of the few examples of a cult of Rhodos.[689] A priest of her is found at Minoa on Amorgos in the late Hellenistic period[690] - possibly even in an eponymous role[691] - and she is referred to in Koan inscriptions too, alongside Poseidon and Kos.[692] Unlike Lagina, neither of these places were in any way subjugated to Rhodes.

Finally, let us consider what is perhaps the most remarkable case of 'Rhodian' religion in the peraia: the apparently unique attestation of a cult of the Demos of the Rhodians, [693] referred to in a text from Hyllarima, detailing the sale of a number of priesthoods – including, among many others, that of τοῦ Ῥοδίων δήμου.[694] Its position within the long list of priesthoods implies that it existed alongside local cults, with no particular notice paid to its Rhodian links. Immediately before it, a cult of Zeus Soter is listed, raising the possibility of a connection between these two, perhaps a reference to 'salvation' by the Rhodian demos. The priest of Helios who dates the relevant part of the stele, Agloumbrotos, has been dated by Badoud to 197 BC – crucially providing a date *before* the Peace of Apamea, and referring precisely to the period in which Rhodes intervened militarily in the region in order to

[689] As noted above, there is no evidence for a cult of her on Rhodes itself, although we do find some dedications to her: Morelli (1959), 173.
[690] *IG* XII 7 245.
[691] Wiemer (2002a), 275.
[692] *IG* XII 4 293; Paul (2013a), 156-8.
[693] Mellor (1975), 23 n.59 refers to a text from Priene (*IPriene*^{2} 77) as a further case without any discussion: [ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς] πόλεως κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ῥοδίων ἐπ[ετέλεσεν —] (l.4). Depending on the restoration of the final word in this line, and, if '*epitelesen*' is correct, of our interpretation of it, this might indeed be a reference to an annual sacrifice to the Rhodian demos. Due to the fragmentary state of the decree, however, I remain cautious. The text seems to be referring to embassies, in relation to a dispute with Magnesia, raising the possibility that Rhodes is being thanked for her role as arbitrator. Cf. Ager (1991), for e.g. Rhodes' involvement in the border dispute with Samos in the 190s BC: 24, with *I.Priene*^{2} 132.
[694] Blümel (1991), App. V; *LSAM* 54; Laumonier (1934), no.39; now *CGRN* 193.

recover Stratonikeia.[695] The priesthood sale from Hyllarima shows clear Rhodian presence through its use of the priest of Helios, and perhaps also reflects a moment of political upheaval or change in its very attempt to sell and thus safeguard a number of civic cults, or else find quick replacement for priests no longer available, or no longer suitable.[696] The particular historical context is therefore crucial for understanding this unusual inscription; Hyllarima was later included in the grant of territory to Rhodes in the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BC, but, alongside much of the rest of Karia, left the island state's control again in 167, presumably spelling an end to their veneration of the Rhodian demos.

If we were to plot these different attestations of 'Rhodian' deities on a map, the 'network' that would manifest itself might seem to correlate neatly to Rhodian influence and interest in the region (see fig. 15). Certainly two of the examples – the one from Lagina and the one from Hyllarima – are tempting to slot into the context of Rhodian expansionism in Karia. Others, such as the cult of Zeus Atabyrios in Loryma, could also be read that way.
Does this equate to a Rhodian religious policy? Returning to the passage cited from Fraser and Bean's work, we certainly have no signs of a 'wide-scale infiltration', nor any indication that Rhodes 'taught' others their cults. Such an imperialistic religious agenda was long considered to be one of the Athenian Empire's instruments of control in the fifth century, on

[695] On the date of the priest of Helios: Badoud (2015), 165 (A6), 256; on the events around Stratonikeia in these years: Ma (1999), App.5.
[696] Excellent commentary in *CGRN* 193; the editors point out that the name of the individual who bought the priesthoods in question suggests kinship links with Rhodes (his own name, Leon, is prevalent in the region, but the spelling of his father's name, Theudoros, is much more common in Rhodes).

the basis of evidence for the worship of *Athena Athenōn medousa*.[697] But even in this case, caution is advisable.[698] The majority of the Rhodian evidence, as we saw, does not date to the period of aggressive expansionism in the region, and none of it bears any traces of Rhodian control *per se*.

The mechanisms by which cults spread are difficult to grasp. Let us briefly consider some other cults that may have been diffused through Rhodian religious practice, but that would not be included in any theory of a 'religious policy'.

Thus, for instance, two dedications discovered at Loryma attest to the worship of a goddess referred to as Soteira.[699] Held has suggested that these refer to an epithet of Artemis, known from Lindos and perhaps indicating a degree of cult replication.[700] Similarly, we find a priestess and sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia attested in Hellenistic Loryma, another distinctive epithet, and one which also appears in Rhodian epigraphy.[701] Two texts, one from Lindos, one from Rhodes-town, also refer to a *priestess* of Artemis Pergaia (an exception to the male domination of Rhodian priesthoods, as remarked above), perhaps indicating that the cult was also organised in a similar manner. But in the case of this cult, the link does not just exist between Loryma and Rhodes; rather, a much wider network can be detected if we trace the diffusion of this cult through its epigraphic attestations: it certainly existed at

[697] See Meiggs (1972), 295-8 and especially Garland (1991), 106-8: 'the cult [of Athena] is likely to have been a further mechanism by which the Demos sought to concentrate the minds of her recalcitrant subjects upon her sovereignty at a time when they were becoming increasingly rebellious' (at 107).
[698] See Parker (1996), 144-5.
[699] Blümel (1991), nos. 6 and 7.
[700] Held (2010), 370-1.
[701] Rhodes-town: *IG* XII 1 66; Lindos: *IG* XII 1 784; *I.Lindos* 384e. A temple of Artemis Pergaia has been identified at Loryma: Held (1999), 167; Held (2000), 300; Held (2010), 369-70. Its dedicatory inscription has been published in Held (2003b), no.12.

Halikarnassos[702] as well as at Naukratis[703] - originally, of course, hearkening back to her native Perge.[704] Although these cities could also be said to be within Rhodes' broad sphere of influence, the extent of this cultic diffusion suggests that it had little to do with policy. Presumably the cult travelled as many others did, by sea.[705]

Instead of seeing these cases of cult replication or diffusion as an imposition of Rhodian religious policy, I believe that they are merely symptomatic of the sort of religious networks that prosper with mobility and interaction of people and cities.[706]

There are many other examples, besides specific cults, that could be mentioned in a study on the religious interchange between Rhodes and the surrounding territories: for instance similarities in the cultic epigraphy. Earlier on, for example, I referred to the list of annual priests of Asklepios published at Thyssanous; this was, of course, common practice in the religious epigraphy at Rhodes. Following a similar course, an extract of a sacrificial calendar, discovered at Kizilköy, details sacrifices to Aphrodite in the same, highly abbreviated, style familiar to us from Rhodes.[707] Moreover, we find many examples of *hierothytai* – a religious office that traditionally seems to have had a particularly Rhodian, or even Lindian, flavour.[708] Finally, the presence of numerous religious *koina*, whose names echo those

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[702] L*SAM* 73 (=*CIG* 2656).
[703] Milne, *JHS* 21 (1901), 285 no.8.
[704] E.g. Bean (1978), 26-8.
[705] Cf. Horden and Purcell (2000), 407-8.
[706] Van Bremen (2009) on 'networks' of Rhodians in Karia, visible in numerous honorific and other inscriptions.
[707] Fraser and Bean (1954), no.39 = *LSS* 110 = Blümel (1991), no.292 = Bresson (1991), no.65. Cf. e.g. *LSS* 101 and 104 from Kameiros.
[708] E.g. Blümel (1991), 51, 303; *ThesCRA* V 40-3; Sherk (1990), 287 on the eponymous *hierothytes* of Tymnos.

familiar from Rhodes, has rightly been seen as a sign of Rhodian influence on cultural and religious life in the peraia. There are many examples of honours accorded by *koina* of Asklapiastai or Adoniastai, and even one fragmentary attestation of an association of Haliastai.[709] Not only are their names formed in the same manner as their Rhodian counterparts, there are even examples of the particularly idiosyncratic style of incorporating several components or names: thus we find the [τὸ κοι]ν[ὸν τ]ῶ̣ν Ἁλιαστᾶ̃[ν]/ Πολεμακλείων/ τῶν σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρωι/ Ἀντιοχεῖ̣., apparently denoting a *koinon* of Helios worshippers founded by one Polemakles and including or incorporating an Alexander from Antioch.[710]

4.5. Rhodian vs. local religion

There are clear indications on all levels of religious life of Rhodian influence on its surroundings. But that is not to say that local traditions were suppressed. In fact, a major problem in attempting to trace a 'Rhodian religious policy' lies in the fact that the cults in question are taken out of their contexts, giving us the impression that this dissemination occurred in an otherwise empty religious landscape. In his comprehensive study of the cults and sanctuaries of Loryma, Held finds evidence for an impressive thirteen different locations of worship. Only three of these – Zeus Atabyrios, Artemis Pergaia and (Artemis) Soteira – have links with Rhodes, and in the case of the Artemis cults this is not necessarily a

[709] Blümel (1991), nos.52, 156, 471, 571. See chapter 5.
[710] Blümel (1991), no.571. Cf. Blümel (1991), no.604 and 471. On the names of Rhodian *koina* see below pp.260-74.

straightforward transfer, but may be the result of a greater network of these deities, as discussed above.[711]

But the prominent cults of Kybele and Apollo do not seem to show a particular connection to the Rhodian island.[712] Since Loryma is a town which certainly experienced a considerable degree of Rhodian interference – as the naval fortification and ship sheds mentioned above demonstrate – we would expect this to be a place to feel the full brunt of any religious policy – if there was ever one.

The most significant cult and temple of Loryma, as well as the only one for which we have pre-Hellenistic evidence, is that of Apollo, located in a plain on the coast of the Bay of Loryma, between the actual settlement and the fortified port.[713] Not much of the temple has been excavated, but epigraphic evidence points to the sanctuary's prominence, not just for Loryma, but beyond: one dedication to Apollo is made by a priest, a certain Hagemōn, as well as a man called Moschiōn from Kyrene.[714] In addition, this temple provides the only 'civic' documents discovered so far in Loryma – honorific decrees, statue bases and a list of torch race victors.[715] Held thus concludes that this extra-urban temple functioned as a secondary civic centre for Loryma, in addition to the agora in the nearby urban settlement.[716] This is a sound interpretation of the available evidence, little though it is. But what of the cultic aspects of this Apollo? The dedications discovered on the site refer only to 'Apollo', without another name. Yet an inscription from Lindos offers an intriguing possibility: a list of *syniereis* from the early first century BC includes amongst its number a certain Ἀ[γήτ]ωϱ

[711] On Artemis Soteira's diffusion see also Jim (2015).
[712] Held (2010).
[713] Held (2010), 355-60; id. (2006), 49-51.
[714] Blümel (1991), no.8; cf. also dedications nos. 9-10 from this sanctuary.
[715] Blümel (1991), nos. 11, 13; Held (2010), 357-8.
[716] Held (2006), 51-2.

Π[ολ]υξένου/[Ἀπόλ]λωνο[ς] Καρνείου/[τοῦ ἐς] Λώρυμα·[717] Blinkenberg interpreted this reference to Loryma as denoting a small town near Lindos – one of that name does seem to have existed by the third century AD.[718] Held suggests, instead, that this is a reference to the Chersonesian Loryma, and thus to the priesthood of the local Apollo – providing us with his epithet, Karneios.[719] The matter is not straightforward: we know of no other cases in which Lindian or Kameiran priest lists included any official from a different town. In addition, Loryma formed part of the deme of Kasara, which was allocated to Kameiros, as noted above. In view of this, it is possible that Blinkenberg is correct and that we have a reference here to a minor settlement in Lindian territory. Apollo Karneios, is, of course, a significant deity in the study of regional identities in the Greek world. As has been discussed at length by Malkin, his cult shows strong links with myths of Dorian migrations.[720] He enjoyed prominence in the Peloponnese in particular, but was also worshipped in other Dorian parts of the Greek world. On Rhodes he is generally overshadowed by other Apollo cults – Pythios and Erethimios – but is also found with some consistency in first-century Lindos and in third-century Kameiros.[721] On the other hand, if we do have a major cult of Apollo Karneios at Loryma, it is unlikely to bear significant links with the Rhodian cults of this god and much more likely to fit into the wider network of this Dorian deity; an interesting observation, notwithstanding, about the religious identity of this town. However, the evidence for this is not wholly convincing.

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[717] *I.Lindos* 282 = *IG* XII 1 845 ll.23-5.
[718] *IG* XII 1 928.
[719] Held (2010), 358 with n.11.
[720] E.g. Malkin (1994), 149-58.
[721] Priests of Apollo Karneios at Kameiros: *Tit.Cam.* 31, 38; at Lindos: *I.Lindos* 294, 299c, 347, 349, 378b, 398. Priests of Apollo Pythios and Karneios: *Tit.Cam.* 43-6, 50. Cf. also priests of Apollo Pythios, Karneios, Mylantios and Digenēs: *Tit.Cam.* 7, 47. Morelli (1959), 23-4, 27.

In addition, Apollo cults and temples are popular in the surrounding Chersonesos: at Amos, there was a prominent temple of Apollo Samnaios, at Phoenix, evidence for worship of a different Apollo, and at Tymnos evidence for both Apollo Dalios and, probably, Apollo Karneios.[722] On top of that, we remember the evidence for the priesthood of Apollo Kedrieus at Kedreai – held by a number of prominent peraian Rhodians.

Evidently there was a substantial network of Apollo cults in the Karian Chersonesos, many of them clearly in important positions, some bearing specifically local epithets, others demonstrating their links to wider cultic networks. On the other hand, cults of Athena/Athana, so significant on Rhodes, are comparatively rare in the Karian Chersonesos: we find evidence for one priest of Athena and Zeus Polieus from Phoinix in a Rhodian-style list of *syniereis*,[723] and what might be the beginning of a list of donations for a temple of Athena Kameiras from Thyssanous:

> τοίδε ἔδωκ[α]ν ἐς τ[ὰν ?ἐπισκευὰν τοῦ ναοῦ τᾶς]
> Ἀθάνας [Κ]αμ[ειράδος — — — — — — — — — —]
> [ἑ]κατὸν καὶ [— — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
> [Ἀρ]ιστόφι[λος — — — — — — — — — — — —][724]
>
> *The following individuals donated for (the restoration? of the temple) of Athena Kameiras (?) [----] a hundred and [----] Aristophilos [-----].*

Clearly this text is too fragmentary to provide infallible evidence for this cult; a cult of Athena is attested for certain, but the epithet is not found anywhere else outside Kameiros and its restoration here is no more than a possibility – strengthened, however, by Thyssanous' assignation to Kameiros.

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[722] Amos: Blümel (1991), no. 358, Fraser and Bean (1952), 6-22 and Bean (1971), 159; Phoinix: Blümel (1991), no. 105; Tymnos: Blümel (1991), nos. 201, 203, 204.
[723] Blümel (1991), no.103.
[724] Blümel (1991), no.152.

Alongside the evidence for the cult of Athena Lindia on Karpathos, this might be read as a further instance of dissemination of a Rhodian Athena cult – perhaps signalling that this deity had less of a local presence and significance than Apollo, although we would not want to push the evidence too far.

A prominent cult and temple which had no apparent links to Rhodes was that of Hemithea at Kastabos. This rather obscure deity was worshipped in a sanctuary located within the deme of Bybassos, whose site has yielded a number of inscriptions and archaeological remains. These all point to the sanctuary's popularity in the Hellenistic period: documents reveal that new land was sought for expanding the sanctuary, whose accommodation was apparently inadequate for its visitors.[725] This text also refers to 'τὰν κλίσιν' at various points in its description of the sanctuary's insufficient resources, presumably referring to rooms where incubation was performed. That this was practised here is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, whose account of the sanctuary is worth quoting in full:

> In later times the temple of Hemithea enjoyed so great a development that not only was it held in special honour by the inhabitants of the place and of neighbouring regions, but even peoples from afar came to it in their devotion and honoured it with costly sacrifices and notable dedications. And most important of all, when the Persians were the dominant power in Asia and were plundering all the temples of the Greeks, the precinct of Hemithea was the sole shrine on which they did not lay hands, and the robbers who were pillaging everything they met left this shrine alone entirely unplundered, and this they did despite the fact that it was unwalled and the pillaging of it would have entailed no danger. And the reason which men advance for its continued development is the benefactions which the goddess confers upon all mankind alike; for she appears in visible shape in their sleep to those who are in suffering and gives them healing, and many who are in the grip of diseases for which no remedy is known are restored to health; furthermore, to women who are suffering in childbirth the goddess gives relief from the agony and perils of travail. Consequently, since many have been saved in these ways from most ancient

[725] Fraser and Bean (1952), no.15; Blümel (1991), no.401; Bean (1966), 61-5.

> times, the sacred precinct is filled with votive offerings, nor are these protected by guards or by a strong wall, but by the habitual reverence of the people.[726]

It is noteworthy that Diodorus considers this sanctuary worthy of such a lengthy treatment. Evidently one of his sources (perhaps Zeno?) placed substantial emphasis on this particular cult. There is no doubt, considering the archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence, then, that we are dealing here with an important local sanctuary – its wider appeal, although asserted by Diodorus, finds no substantiation. As to the question of its origins, scholars have been particularly keen to find evidence for a pre-Greek site of worship: for this there is no proof, although there is no doubt that the sanctuary was old, with features dating back to the archaic period.[727] Evidently this cult existed long before the region's incorporation into the Rhodian state. Yet the evidence for the temple's expansions and reconstructions dates, as stated above, to the Hellenistic period, the very time, in other words, when the Rhodians had laid claim to these territories.

The sanctuary's regional importance is emphasised by the new temple's dedication, dating to around 300 BC:

> Ἡμιθέαι Φιλίων
> Φιλώνδα Ὑγασεὺς
> τὸν ναὸν ἀνέθηκε.[728]
>
> *Philion son of Philion, a Hygassean, dedicated the temple to Hemithea.*

We are still unsure of the precise location of the deme of Hygassa, but it seems likely that it was somewhere near Bybassos. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that this individual, Philiōn, was a member of a different deme, yet appears in this prominent role. That members of peraian demes could show interest in dedicating structures to gods located in different

[726] Diod.Sic. 5.63, transl. Loeb.
[727] Cook (1966), 166-7. More cautious concerning the evidence: Debord (1982), 41-5.
[728] Bean (1966), no.1 = Blümel (1991), no.451.

demes was shown by the parallel case of the dedication of the altar to Zeus Atabyrios at Loryma being made by a member of the deme of Amos. Dedicating a temple to a major local goddess was, however, a different and vastly more expensive gesture and, aside from his demotic, Philiōn is not overtly advertising his connection to the Rhodian state. Given the cult's long history, it seems likely that this was an expression of Karian or Chersonesian, rather than Rhodian identity.

Other than the apparent practice of incubation, we know next to nothing of Hemithea's cult. But it does draw our attention to the wider context of healing cults in this part of the ancient world, where worship of Asklepios was very widespread.[729] Above, we discussed the catalogue of Asklepios priests from Thyssanous, attesting the existence of a prominent civic cult there; a priest of Asklepios is also attested for Phoinix.[730] A temple is also known to have existed at Syrna.[731] Of course, the presence of cults of this healing god is far from surprising; he was popular, too, on Rhodes. Again, however, we should see his worship in this region as part of a wider network, with prominent sanctuaries and festivals in many cities and on many islands along the western coast of Asia Minor.

There is no doubt that Rhodian cults and practices spread to the Karian Chersonesos. Yet the extensive archaeological evidence, in combination with the epigraphy, indicates that Rhodian influence and mingling with other parts of the Rhodian state was balanced by focus on Loryma's Karian traditions: in particular the continuing importance of the decentralised Karian *koina* reflected in their traditional meeting places in extra-urban sanctuaries: that of

[729] See the map in Debord (1982), 32.
[730] Thyssanous: Blümel (1991), no. 151; Phoinix: Blümel (1991), no.103, l.12.
[731] Blümel (1991), no. 301-2: subscription for constructing the temple; no.303: decree concerning sacrifice for Asklepios. See Hornblower (2015), 382 (comm. on l.1048) for the mythological links between Karian Syrnos and Asklepios' sons, with Steph.Byz., s.v. 'Syrna'.

Apollo just outside Loryma, or that of Hemithea, by Kastabos[732] - paralleling nearby Karian centres such as the sanctuary of Zeus Karios at Panamara.[733]

4.6. Rhodian control

This does not mean that I believe that the Rhodian peraia was left to cherish its local religious and cultural traditions in peaceful harmony and exchange with its powerful island neighbour. Rhodian aggression and attempts at expanding its territories are well attested. The absence of Fraser and Bean's posited 'religious policy' does not mean that Rhodes did not make its power known in other ways. Long accepted, for instance, is the financial exploitation of its territories – analysed brilliantly by Fraser and Bean in their commentary on three land leases from Amos.[734] In these, the involvement of the Rhodian state, that is, the island of Rhodes, can be seen beyond a doubt. More relevant to our study is the so-called Gölenye-stele, also published by Fraser and Bean, and concerning the expansion or reconstruction of a sanctuary at Kastabos – almost certainly that of Hemithea.[735] Unfortunately the decree is very fragmentary. As Fraser and Bean understand it, it appears to mention ὥστε μ̣ε̣ι̣ο[ῦσθ]α[ι] τὰς παρ' αὐ̣τ̣ῶν ποτιδό̣[σ]εις , that is, that the contributions or donations (potidoseis) from 'them' (surely the Bybassians, mentioned just prior) are being reduced. Since the following line mentions a festival (apparently called ta Kastabeia), Fraser and Bean concur that the Rhodian state usually took a percentage of the proceeds of the festival, and was making a loss due to the overcrowded nature of the sanctuary. This is

[732] Held (2006); Held (2009); Cook and Plommer (1966); Bresson (2009).
[733] Van Bremen (2004), 222-38.
[734] Fraser and Bean (1954), nos.8-10 with comm. ad loc. Cf. Börker (1978b) on the dating of this text.
[735] Fraser and Bean (1954), no.15; Bresson (1991), no.44 = Blümel (1991), no.401. Cf. Bean (1966), 61-2.

reading a great deal into a very tricky and fragmentary text; in this case it seems that Fraser and Bean are starting from their general assumption that Rhodes was exploiting the towns in its peraia. But the text itself cannot be stretched that far.

Instead, another inscription can be called on: a *lex sacra* from Physkos, dated, by the priest of Athena Lindia, to either 66 or 36 BC by Badoud.[736] Various attempts have been made to fill the gaps in the text satisfactorily. As it stands, all we can say for sure is that we are dealing here a decision by the Lindians to ensure that the 'logeia'[737] for certain sacrifices be collected properly. What is striking is that the decree is passed by the '[μαστροῖ]ς καὶ Λινδίοις', is dated by the eponymous priest of Lindos, and that the Lindians seem to be involved in the collection of the logeia, too. Given their status as a Lindian deme, it is surprising to see them listed as a separate group to 'hoi Lindioi'. As Bresson has noted, this level of Lindian interference is striking, considering their attempts to exclude peraians from their religious life since the incorporation of these territories.[738] Although we have noted some exceptions in this chapter, this decree demonstrates continuing Lindian double-standards in the late first century BC, content to exert their authority in a peraian deme, but not willing to welcome them to their own *hiera.*

An indisputable Rhodian mark on peraian civic life, including religion, is the use of the eponymous priest of Helios in the decrees of its incorporated territories. For those areas that had long been under Rhodian control and formed part of the incorporated peraia, this was a

[736] Blümel (1991), no.501; Bresson (1991), no.22 is more cautious with his restorations; some different readings suggested by Sokolowski (1958), but rejected by Robert, BE (1961), 675. On the date, Badoud (2015), 242 (the priest's patronymic is unfortunately missing).
[737] Hiller van Gaertringen, *AthMitt.* 21 (1896), 66: defines logeia as 'eine zu einem sakralen Zweck vorgenommene Kollekte'.
[738] Bresson (1991), no.22 comm. ad loc., referring to *IG* XII 1, 761.

natural by-product of being a member of the Rhodian state. However, we again find cases in which local tradition continued alongside Rhodian regulation: Syme, for instance, heads its decrees with a double formula: ἐ[π]ὶ ἱερέως Ἐπιχάρμου καὶ δαμι-/[ο]ργοῦ Ἱπποκρά[τ]ευς.[739] Epicharmos, in this example, must be the Rhodian priest of Helios, while Hippokrates fulfils the position of *damiourgos* – evidently the traditional Symian eponym.[740] Although use of the same eponym was surely convenient in economic and other matters, it could also be a symbol of control and, on the other hand, independence. Thus the little Karian town of Amyzon apparently took great pleasure in (re?)instating their own eponyms after their two decades under Rhodian control in the second century BC, heading their list with the words:

> [στ]εφανηφόροι οἱ γεγονότες ἀφ' οὗ
> [Κ]ᾶρες ἠλευθερώθησαν·[741]
>
> *Those who became stephanephoroi from the time when the Karians were freed.*

But since the use of the Rhodian eponym in this case symbolised Rhodian control, apparently highly unpopular in many parts of Karia and Lykia,[742] and was not a reflection of the cult of Helios itself, this observation is part of a different discussion.

For a final example of the impact of Rhodian religious practice or cultic exports, let us look at one of the most remote locations of the incorporated peraia – the little island of Megiste, off the shore of Lykia. What picture does this present of the nature of Rhodian control? Despite the scarcity of evidence, Megiste is an interesting case study since its location and history ties it to both Rhodian and Lykian identity; this is reflected in the descriptions by

[739] IG XII 3 1269; cf. 1270.
[740] Sherk (1990), 286.
[741] Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon,* no.51; Wiemer (2002a), 260.
[742] Wiemer (2002a), 251-60; Reger (1999).

ancient authors, some of whom depict it as a Rhodian island, others as a Lykian one.[743] Its geographical location and convenient natural harbour made it an obvious choice for a naval base – especially considering Rhodian interest and ambitions in Lykia. Archaeological remains testify to the fortified state of much of the island, which supports this general theory. Other finds include some coinage, much of it Rhodian, burials, and, interestingly, a high number of *patitiria* – an indication that wine production was major activity and business on the island.[744] Overall, however, the archaeological evidence remains scarce; concerted excavations of the acropolis at Palaiokastro, for instance, might reveal more information.

We are left, instead, with a number of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period, in particular dedications by Rhodian *epistatai*. The precise function of these officials remains unclear; it is likely that they were appointed to particular posts within the Rhodian state to oversee general military and perhaps judicial matters; although it seems that they could also be dispatched on particular missions.[745] Aside from Rhodes itself, they are found in various places in both the incorporated and subject peraias.[746] Their prominence on Megiste is nonetheless striking and suggests a particular concern with this island's condition – potentially a defensive concern.

Perhaps the epigraphic traces left by these officials can help us identify their role on Megiste. Thus, one text reads:

1 Σωσικλῆς Νικαγόρα{ς}
Ἄμιος ἐπιστατήσας
ἔν τε Καστάβ<ω>ι καὶ

[743] Ps. Scylax 100 calls it an island of the Rhodians; Herodian and Steph.Byz. both call it a Lykian island (s.v. Megiste).
[744] Ashton (1995), 45-67; Zervaki (2011).
[745] E.g. Bresson (2003), 182-8; Wiemer (2002a), 254-7.
[746] E.g. at Idyma: Blümel (1991), no. 601 and at Mobolla: Blümel (1991), no. 781.

ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ ἐν Με-
5 γίσται, Ἑρμᾶι προπυ-
λαίωι χαριστήριον.[747]

Sosikles son of Nikagoras, an Amian, having been epistatas in Kastabos and at the tower in Megiste, (dedicated) a thanks-offering to Hermes Propylaios.

This dedication, loosely dated to the third century BC, records the presence of a man, otherwise unknown to us, from the peraian deme of Amos who was *epistatas* in Kastabos, in the Chersonesos, and 'at the tower in Megiste'. The military character of his responsibilities in Megiste is perhaps hinted at by the specification 'ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου', but is emphasised more strongly in another, similar, text:

1 Ἐπικρατίδας Ἀναξικράτευς
ἐπιστατήσας
καὶ τοὶ
συστρατευσάμενοι
5 [Δ]ιοσκόροις.[748]

Epikratidas son of Anaxikrates, epistatas, and those who served with him, to the Dioskouroi.

This *epistatas'* joint activity with his συστρατευσάμενοι adds a distinct military flavour to his duties, possibly linked to a local garrison.[749] The choice of deities appears to reflect local cults; the Dioskouroi, of course, were popular with sailors and soldiers. Comparing the two documents, we note that only the former *epistatas* included his demotic, informing us of his origins in the Chersonesian deme of Amos. Epikratidas, on the other hand, bears no label. Perhaps this implies that he was a local Megistean; but since the Amian Sōsiklēs is the only example from this group of inscriptions that includes a demotic we cannot be sure whether this was merely an isolated exception. All in all, six such very similar dedications by *epistatai*

[747] *SGDI* 4332 = Ashton (1995), I.1, p.18.
[748] *SGDI* 4331 = Ashton (1995), I.2, p.20.
[749] A very similar dedication of an *epistatas* and his *systrateusamenoi* to Aphrodite also exists from Megiste: Ashton (1995), BI.4, p.21. Note also the instance in which 2 *epistatai* appear to have been stationed on Megiste simultaneously: Ashton (1995), BI.5, p.22 = *SGDI* 4330.

have been discovered on Megiste. In addition, we should remember the inscription discovered at Kedreai, and discussed above, honouring a certain Teisias for his numerous achievements.[750] Alongside his athletic victories, he held a number of religious and military offices, acting at some point during his career as 'ἀγεμόν̣α [γ]ε̣-/[νόμ]ενον ἐμ Μεγίστ[αι κ]ατὰ πόλεμον'. The reference to war, given the inscription's early second-century date, must relate to the period in which Antiochos III and Philip V were campaigning in the region – indicating Rhodian anxiety about this outpost of their state.

Evidently and unsurprisingly given its location, Megiste was the focus of Rhodian defensive strategies, much like Loryma. It is interesting to note that the common manner in which Rhodian officials left their mark was to make dedications, apparently to local deities. Above, I cited dedications to Hermes Propylaios and the Dioskouroi; others were made to Apollo Pylaios and Artemis Soteira, Aphrodite and Apollo Megisteus.[751] Of these, Apollo Pylaios and Hermes Propylaios are clearly linked through their epithets with their immediate location; Artemis Soteira, addressed together with Apollo Pylaios in the dedication, was, as we saw above, a widespread cult in the Rhodian state and surrounding area. Apollo Megisteus, evidently, bears an epithet related to the island's name. Interestingly, we also find evidence for a Zeus Megisteus, whose name is inscribed in a natural rock face near the harbour.[752]

The epigraphic evidence, limited though it is, does however bring out another aspect of Rhodian relations with peraians. All the dedications are made by Rhodian officials, perhaps from a peraian deme, but certainly not by native inhabitants.

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[750] Fraser and Bean (1954), no.42; SEG 14 719; Bresson (1991), no.3.
[751] Apollo Pylaios and Artemis Soteira: Ashton (1995), BI.3, p.20; Aphrodite: ibid. BI.4, p.21; Apollo Megisteus: ibid. BI.5, p.22 = *SGDI* 4330.
[752] Ashton (1995), BII.1, p.24: Διὸς Μεγιστέως ἄκρα.

Clearly our picture for the religious landscape of Megiste is highly fragmentary to say the least. Yet it is interesting to note the absence of any particularly Rhodian deities, as well as the relative prominence of local divinities. The habit of making dedications is of course neither restricted to *epistatai* on Megiste, nor restricted to *epistatai* in general; but it is nonetheless significant that they chose to leave their mark on the religious landscape and that they chose such local deities. As final evidence for their involvement in the island's religious life, we should note that the *epistatas* who honoured Apollo Pylaios and Artemis Soteira did so in rather a lavish manner:

> 1 Κρατ[ίδαμος]
> Κρατιδάμου
> ἐπιστατήσας ὠκοδ[όμη]-
> σε καὶ ἐστέγασε τὸν πυ-
> 5 λῶνα καὶ ἀνέθηκε τὰ
> ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνι
> Πυλαίῳ καὶ Ἀρτάμιτι
> Σωτείρα.[753]
>
> *Kratidamos son of Kratidamos, having been epistatas, built and roofed the archway and dedicated statues to Apollo Pylaios and Artemis Soteira.*

In addition to dedicating statues, Kratidamos built and roofed an archway for these deities. Again, we might be reminded of the altar of Zeus Atabyrios, founded at Loryma by a Rhodian official (possibly also an *epistatas*). In both cases, certainly, we see additional effort and munificence within the religious sphere by military officers on assignment.

None of the evidence from Megiste reveals methods of Rhodian control, or even its existence. It does however provide a useful case study for the presence of Rhodian military officials and their garrisons, and their imprint on local cults. As the evidence for the worship of Zeus Atabyrios in Loryma shows, this religious engagement could have a distinctly Rhodian flavour; but our texts from Megiste point to a much stronger local emphasis.

[753] Ashton (1995), BI.3, p.20.

Both the balance between local and Rhodian cults and the evidence for Rhodian control in this area are difficult to describe accurately. Although there was an undeniably strong presence of Rhodian military commanders in strategically important locations in the peraia who left their mark on the religious landscape, this does not necessarily correlate with particularly Rhodian cults or worship. From all over the incorporated peraia we continue to find evidence for traditional, local religion, apparently unconnected to Rhodes, as well as cults that fit into wider networks.

Concluding remarks

Rhodian treatment of the peraia is a topic that has been tackled by numerous scholars in the past century. Although the degree to which it exploited its peraian demes or subjects is important to the contextual understanding of this chapter, this concern has in the past influenced the discussions of religious life excessively. No evidence available to us attests to the sort of 'religious policy' or control that most scholars, since Fraser and Bean, have attempted to see. The diffusion of cults of Rhodian deities is noteworthy, in particular where those deities have strong geographical or topographical ties to the island of Rhodes – such as Athena Lindia and Zeus Atabyrios. Yet most of their appearances in the incorporated peraia can be traced to the mobility and exchange of people that often left its mark on the religious sphere. In cases such as the sanctuary and altar of Zeus Atabyrios at the Rhodian fortifications in Loryma, these cults may have been brought by the islanders themselves; but even in that example, the dedication of the altar by a peraian Rhodian shows that the picture is more complex. The diffusion and spread of Rhodian cults should rather be seen in terms

of a religious network, enabled by the Rhodian state's expanse and mobility, but merely a natural effect of the movement of people between the different islands and coastal regions of this area.

The one exception to this is the inscription from Hyllarima, providing information about the existence of a cult of the demos of the Rhodians. Yet if this truly dates to the brief and turbulent period in the second century BC when Rhodes was attempting to control its increased territories following the peace of Apamea, it might merely reflect one attempt in this time to establish loyal ties on a religious level to the Rhodian state. Hyllarima almost certainly regained its independence again in 166, meaning that this policy would only have been short-lived and undertaken in extreme circumstances. This might also explain why we find no other examples of this cult.

The historical context is, then, crucial to our observations on the functioning and interactions in the religious sphere. Unfortunately, too few cases provide us with this information. Yet with the archaeological advances made, for instance, in Loryma, we edge close to an understanding of the coexistence of Karian and Rhodian religion.

5. Religious associations on Rhodes: practising religion privately?

So far, this thesis has dealt exclusively with civic religion in Rhodes, and for good reason: one primary way of defining 'Rhodes' was by a political act, the synoikism, which formed the basis for my study of religious life. The wider region of the peraia, discussed in the previous chapter, was also connected to Rhodes through political structures. In addition, the body of evidence, archaeological and epigraphic, demonstrates that this was a fruitful approach, that civic religion provided numerous avenues for Rhodians to express their identity at varying levels of the polis and of society.

The distinction between public and private religion is not always a helpful one, but it serves a useful purpose in Rhodian religion, where it opens up to us the world of associations or *koina*, so far almost entirely ignored. This is not to say that the two spheres were entirely separate – as we shall see – but that this was an aspect of religious life and experience that was not organised by polis institutions.

5.1. Past and present scholarship on associations

The study of *koina* in the Greek world – variously called 'voluntary' or 'private' associations – has progressed in leaps and bounds throughout the last century. Although no new attempt at producing a comprehensive study has been published since Poland's *Geschichte des*

griechischen Vereinswesens of 1909, various projects have contributed to the greater picture of this phenomenon.[754]

In addition, there has been a wave of articles and chapters in edited volumes, which bring to the forefront the many issues inherent in the study of Greek associations: taxonomy, geographical distribution, network theory, the relationship to the polis.[755] For many scholars it is this last point which continues to dominate thoughts on this subject: the great explosion of associations appears to take place in the Greek world in the very period in which the polis is decreasing in power and importance. Thus Kloppenborg, for instance, echoes other scholarship when he writes that 'Voluntary associations […] are essentially phenomena of the Hellenistic period, of the urban centres and of the urban poor', continuing to argue that it 'might be said that voluntary associations compensated for the demise of the importance of the polis by imitating civic structures'.[756] The supposed 'demise of the polis' was similarly at the root of Tod's declaration that 'an increasing cosmopolitanism took the place of the old exclusiveness, while the growth of the empires of Macedon and of the successors of Alexander robbed Greece of her autonomy and sounded the death-knell of much that was characteristic of the old city-state.'[757] In recent years, scholarship has worked to revise this traditional theory, by exploiting the vast amount of, particularly, epigraphical evidence from the late Classical and Hellenistic period which demonstrates the continuing functioning of many institutions and practices of individual cities.[758] This is not to deny that the Greek

[754] Poland (1909); for instance, Otto van Nijf's book looks specifically at professional associations within the civic world, while Nicholas Jones narrowed the subject down geographically and chronologically, in his study of the associations of classical Athens: van Nijf (1997); Jones (1999).
[755] E.g. Kloppenborg (1996) and other chapters in Kloppenborg and Wilson (1996); Malkin et al. (2009); Maillot (2012).
[756] Kloppenborg (1996), 17; 18.
[757] Tod (1932), 73-4.
[758] Papazarkadas (2012).

world faced challenges and changes in the face of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the rise of Rome; these developments certainly affected and influenced the policies adopted by many cities. But, as countless examples of civic decrees, ordinances, honorific proclamations and other documents indicate, these new challenges were still dealt with by the traditional polis institutions. As a result, we cannot view the growing world of *koina* as a response to the status quo in the way long imagined. Nonetheless, there may have been other contextual factors that contributed to the phenomenon.

Recently, research has been carried out in a number of related areas, noticeable particularly in the work of the Copenhagen Associations Project, and a recent monograph by Julietta Steinhauer.[759] Current studies are ongoing, including on Rhodes, meaning that this chapter can be no more than a preliminary discussion of relevant evidence, which may well be supplemented and revised in future years.

Turning to our specific case of Rhodes, we should consider factors such as the great influx of foreigners, at a time when it was one of the dominant trade centres of the Mediterranean. For one of the main functions of such associations was surely to provide a network and a base for metics and others not permitted to involve themselves actively in the state's religious and civic life;[760] famous examples include groups of Thracian worshippers of Bendis in Athens.[761] But in associations, members could also hold offices, vote on measures and receive and deal out honours to others.[762] This approach offers answers to both the question of why these associations sprung up and what their functions and activities were:

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[759] Gabrielsen and Thomsen (2015); Steinhauer (2014); cf. also Nielsen (2014) who focuses on the archaeological context of religious and mystery associations.

[760] On the involvement of non-Rhodians in religious life, see further below ch. 6.

[761] *IG* II^2 1283 with Jones (1999), 43-7. See now also Steinhauer (2014), 34-5, although she emphasises the adaptability of even 'foreign' associations to the polis and its structures and institutions, 92-3.

[762] Gabrielsen (2009), 182; Steinhauer (2014), 71-3.

either worship of a particular deity, possibly foreign, possibly in a particular manner, or involvement in pseudo-civic activities within the association. Of course, these two aims or functions are not mutually exclusive.

Such are some of the scholarly approaches to answering the crucial question of *why* these associations sprung up when they did and what their function was. Fortunately my aim is not to unearth the reason or reasons for which associations were formed on Rhodes; rather, I intend to outline their religious activity, an important part of what such communities did according already to our ancient sources. So-called *thiasoi* or *eranoi* existed throughout the Greek world, usually with the express purpose of worshipping gods such as Dionysos in a smaller community. Frequently they are also found in the context of mystery cults, in which identity and right of participation is clearly a fundamental feature.[763] According to a crucial passage in Aristotle, religious practices were common amongst such groups, although the same text also warns us against simplifying this matter: different groups formed for different motives, of which worship was only one:

> Now the other types of *koinonia* aim at partial advantage. Sea travellers, for instance, seek the advantage proper to a journey, in making money or something like that, while fellow soldiers seek the advantage proper to war, desiring either money or victory or a city; […] Some *koinoniai* – religious societies and dining clubs – seem to arise for pleasure, since these are, respectively, for religious sacrifices and for companionship.[764]

This passage occurs in the context of the importance and role of *philia* in Greek communities and does not refer to any specific cases. Nevertheless, it demonstrates the central role of *koinonia* in Hellenistic Greek society and the different contexts it could apply to. It is this

[763] Burkert (1987), esp. 44-5. Nielsen (2014), 1-6 *et pass.*
[764] Aristotle, *NE* 1160a (tr. Irwin, with some modifications); cf. Jones (1999), 17-20; Gabrielsen (2001), 217-8.; id. (2009).

diversity which we must continually be aware of: the phenomenon I am exploring in this section defies clear categorisation and remains highly elusive.

This complexity increases for our particular geographical location, Rhodes, which was arguably the greatest centre for these *koina* in the Hellenistic period. Our rich epigraphic evidence from this island – in particular from Rhodes-town, but also from the older cities – attests vast numbers of associations, in honorific inscriptions, funerary contexts and also some decrees, subscriptions and other documents[765]. Although the majority of previous scholarship has focused primarily on the so-called private or voluntary associations, comprising for the most part foreign members, Rhodian society in general had a particular predilection for forming groups. In chapter 3, I discussed the phenomenon of *syniereis*, and briefly commented on colleges of ex-priests. Similar customs can also be observed in other magisterial areas as well as for military offices.[766] In addition, we must not forget the existence of what are often called 'gentilicial' associations, aristocratic or familial groups calling themselves *patrai, synnomai* or *diagoniai.* Although their precise function and history remains elusive,[767] it is evident that these groups existed in 'private' life and consisted of Rhodian citizens. They appear primarily within the territory of the three old poleis, further implying a different tradition and form to the 'mixed' associations of city life.

It is within this wider social context that we must see the existence of the *koina*, or voluntary associations in Hellenistic Rhodes. Unlike the other groups mentioned, these were clearly

[765] Some progress is also being made on the archaeological remains by the 'Rhodes Centennial Project'.

[766] See above n.529.

[767] On *patrai:* Andrewes (1957); on these and *diagoniai:* Gabrielsen (1997), 141-51.

open to, and popular with foreigners, although Rhodians also took part.[768] This 'mixed' element is even more striking, since, what limited evidence we have for membership lists of *koina* reveals wide arrays of different ethnics, with no clear geographical focus.[769] More will be said below on the membership of specific associations, but the general presence in these *koina* of Rhodian citizens, although outnumbered by foreigners, is important to bear in mind.

Associative life on Rhodes thus appeared in many shapes and forms. It is then no surprise that it has fascinated scholars for years. The funerary aspects of Rhodian associations were covered systematically by Peter Fraser, whose work remains authoritative.[770] Championed in large part by Vincent Gabrielsen, who called associations 'the life-blood of Hellenistic Rhodes'[771], a number of recent contributions have approached Rhodian *koina* from an economic and social perspective.[772] Currently the Rhodes Centennial Project is studying the physical and visible aspect of associations in the cityscape of Rhodes-town and its necropoleis, on the basis of six complexes.[773] For my purposes, many of these areas will be bypassed. Instead, I will peruse the documents for tangible information about the religious life and activity of Rhodian associations – an area in which the evidence is frustratingly limited, as will become clear. These 'religious' interests in many cases of course combine

[768] Maillot has recently argued that the presence of Rhodians within these *koina* was secondary to that of foreigners. She lists a number of criteria that indicate, in her opinion, that the majority of Rhodian associations consisted either entirely, or in large part, of foreigners: Maillot (2015).
[769] Note e.g. the subscription list *SEG* 39 737b: of 33 contributors, 7 are Rhodian, the rest are a mix of foreigners (from Miletos, Ephesos, Kyzikos, Herakleia, Chios, Thera, Halikarnassos etc.); cf. Migeotte (2013), 119-20. Similar patterns are visible in the other evidence we have: Maillot (2012), 242-7.
[770] Fraser (1977).
[771] Gabrielsen (1997), 123.
[772] Gabrielsen (1992), (1994), (2001); Leiwo (1997); cf. also Maillot (2012) who draws on Rhodian material for much of the chapter.
[773] Skaltsa, 'The Rhodes Centennial Project', delivered at the Oxford Rhodes Seminar in May 2016. Two of these complexes are located on the eastern slope of the acropolis, four in the necropolis area.

with economic or political ones; on the other hand, the cultic activity and focus of many of these groups is often dismissed too quickly as an 'obvious' factor in view of their almost exclusively theophoric names. These names reveal interesting choices in themselves, and constitute perhaps the only opportunity to approach our evidence in bulk. Regarding further aspects – sanctuaries, sacrificial practices, involvement in festivals – we shall need to proceed on a case-by-case basis.

5.2. What is in a name? Theophoric titles and the Rhodian pantheon

As stated above, Hellenistic Rhodes furnishes us with evidence for a plethora of different *koina*. However, much of this informs us about little else besides their names, frequently in the context of an honorific dedication or pronouncement, but often too in cases where the precise context can no longer be discerned.[774] In most cases this, often fragmentary, material cannot help us reconstruct religious – or any other – activity, but it nonetheless forms part of the substantial list of names known to have been carried by Rhodian associations. Already in the 1930s, Pugliese-Carratelli produced a list of 170 different Rhodian *koina* – including some fragmentary and reconstructed ones – and thus provide confirmation for the vitality and variety of associative life on Rhodes. The publication of new inscriptions since then has added some further names, providing a large body to dissect for general patterns. For these onomastic observations it matters less how much we know of the association itself.

[774] Steinhauer (2014), 151, on the limitations of the Rhodian evidence (compared with that of Athens and Delos).

A glance at the list of Rhodian associations known to us by name immediately demonstrates that the vast majority of *koina* formed their name on the basis of divinities, that is what we call theophoric names. This naming convention is not an unusual phenomenon in itself, but its particular adaptation in Rhodes is worth pointing out: whereas numerous Greek cities might boast associations of Poseidoniastai or Apolloniastai, Rhodian associations bear the remarkable trait of combining various titles and creating amalgamations of names based on deities as well as other names (frequently those of founders or benefactors of the community). Thus we find attested a *koinon* calling itself simply Aphrodisiastai, but also the Poseidaniastai kai Asklapiastai, and, perhaps best demonstrating the extent to which this naming process could reach, the Soteriastai Asklapiastai Poseidaniastai Herakleistai Athanaistai Aphrodisiastai Hermaistai Matros theon.[775] In general, theophoric names evidently suggest a cultic connection to a particular deity; combinations of more than one divinity surely point to more than one cultic concern, although we may wonder whether all eight deities listed in the last example would have received equal treatment. Yet in some way it must have entailed worship of these different gods. This is not to argue that these groups were *primarily* concerned with cultic activities; nonetheless I believe that the choice of name should not be dismissed as a mere formality, or the adoption of an impressive title merely for the sake of sounding impressive. As the extract from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* stated, and as other epigraphic and archaeological evidence attests, sacrifice and religion were a major part of associative life. And as the increasing amalgamation of deities in Rhodian associations shows, naming one's community was a significant and probably competitive matter.[776]

[775] *NS* 43; *IG* XII 1, 164; *IG* XII 1, 162.
[776] Gabrielsen (2009), 180; Maillot (2012), 242-7.

Let us begin, then, by making some general observations on the distribution of theophoric names, noting which gods appear to have been particularly popular choices. Do we find a preponderance of deities popular in Rhodian civic religion, or instead a focus on foreign gods being imported by groups of slaves or metics?[777] Also, can we find evidence for cultic relationships or interactions between associations and civic worshipping groups, where there are shared religious interests?

To answer the first question, let us consider, initially, associations that seem to base their name on specifically Rhodian local deities. To begin with, in line with the goddess' long-lived popularity in the entire island's cultic landscape, numerous associations containing the title Athanaistai exist, attested mainly for Lindos, but also for Rhodes-town. Of these, three further identify their allegiance by adding 'Lindiastai' to their name, an addition evidently stemming from the epithet of the famous and ancient deity worshipped on the Lindian acropolis, Athena Lindia.[778] Similarly numerous are *koina* deriving their names from the Rhodian state god, Helios, most of them following the expected form of Haliastai, others Haliadai – referring to the sons or descendants of Helios, also featuring prominently in Rhodian foundation mythology.[779] Other Rhodian deities also appear, including Zeus Atabyrios and Apollo Erethimios, both bearing distinctive epithets and both worshipped in pan-Rhodian sanctuaries, since at least the classical period.[780] In addition to these, we find large numbers of traditional Greek gods, frequently worshipped in an associative setting and, for the most part, missing from the civic cultic scene at Rhodes: in particular these

[777] Famously the case for the Thracian orgeones of Bendis in Athens: *IG* II² 1283 with Jones (1999), 43-7.
[778] *I.Lindos* 391, 420; *NS* 41.
[779] Diod.Sic.5.56-7; Str.14.654; Steph.Byz. s.v. 'Καμίρος' and 'Λίνδος'; Roscher s.v. 'Heliadai'. The fact that they are found combined with 'Haliastai' in the association name on the following page shows that they cannot be referring to Helios too.
[780] Diosatabyriastai: *IG* XII 1 31, 161; [Ialysioi] Erethimiazontes: e.g. *IG* XII 1, 734; *NS* 25; *Cl.Rh*. II p.104, no.1, p.105, no.2.

include Hermes and Aphrodite.[781] Unsurprisingly, therefore, neither type of association includes any specific epithet in their name, although they might nonetheless add one or more deities (for instance the Hermaistai Athanaistai Haliadai Haliastai).[782] So far then we are finding a satisfying link between public and private religion: those associations that name themselves after prominent Rhodian deities are keen to emphasise the specific epithets, while gods who are less well-known in Rhodian religion are given no further name.

But this is not particularly surprising, nor does it provide us with any real evidence about these groups. Can we discover anything more specific about these associations that chose to call themselves after local Rhodian deities? Did their members have a particular affiliation to the civic cults in question? Who were their members?

Let us look in more detail at the associations that seem to be referring most closely to distinctively Rhodian deities: *koina* of Haliastai or Haliadai, of Athanaistai Lindiastai, of Diosatabyriastai and of Erethemiazontes.

Koina of Helios worshippers are, as I mentioned above, well attested in our epigraphic corpus. Most seem to have been located in Rhodes-town, although there is also one possible group from Lindos.[783] This seems to tally with the civic worship of Helios, which, as we saw above, was never taken up in the old cities with the same prominence it enjoyed in the new capital. We might also mention the theory that the cult of Helios, almost certainly not practiced publicly before the Rhodian synoikism, was grounded in the private worship of certain prominent Ialysian families. There is very little evidence for this suggestion, but such

[781] Morelli (1959), 117, 133-5.
[782] *ASAA* XXII p.151 no.6.
[783] *I.Lindos* 292 – an honorific inscription found on the Lindian acropolis.

vestiges, if they existed, may have paved the way for some of these later associations.[784] Helios associations are almost exclusively attested in honorific contexts, more specifically as groups involved in honouring prominent individuals. Most famous and distinctive amongst these honours are those accorded to a certain Dionysodoros of Alexandria in the second century BC, attested in an inscription set up by the honorand himself, detailing his many achievements and awards – amongst which was his long tenure as *archeranistas* of the Haliadai kai Haliastai.[785] However the Haliadai kai Haliastai are only one of the numerous associations honouring this man, who was apparently a member of several *koina.* More will be said below on this remarkable inscription; for now it suffices to make the straightforward observation that this *koinon* of 'Halios descendants and Halios worshippers' was certainly open to foreigners – granted, perhaps, that they were prominent and wealthy. From a different perspective, we might speculate that an association named after the state god might be a sensible choice for an affluent and ambitious foreigner to enter and shower with benefactions. The inscription informs us that he was the *koinon's archeranistas* for many years and, although other associations are also mentioned, the honours conferred by the Haliadai kai Haliastai certainly occupy the most space.

The so-called 'clubhouse of Haliastai' was already referred to in chapter 2, but deserves another mention in this context: the term is used by some scholars to describe the structure at the foot of the Rhodian acropolis in which a number of statue bases of priests of Helios were discovered.[786] Since none of the inscriptions actually mention a *koinon* of this name, we must remain cautious in this identification. All indications suggest, however, that we are

[784] Morelli (1959), 89-90; 94-7; cf. also Pugliese Carratelli (1951), 80-1. See chapter 1 on the cult of Helios in the new Rhodian state.
[785] *IG* XII 1, 155 with Gabrielsen (1994a).
[786] Inscriptions: Kontorini (1989), 129-84; on the identification as a 'clubhouse' see especially Hoepfner (2003), 43-9 and above p.71.

dealing with an honorific space, in which priests of Helios were perhaps particularly important. Other inscriptions show a focus on the Halieia games, but many also indicate no link to the cult of Helios; a number relate to public honours (by the *damos)* for individuals, with no further information.[787] Since no mention is made of the name 'Haliastai', the building should not be associated with such a *koinon.* Nonetheless, the prominence of honorific statuary somehow relating to the cult of Helios might suggest that the function of this building somehow related to this important civic cult.

Moving on to associations of Athanaistai Lindiastai,[788] we are this time looking for connections to a much older cult, that of Athena Lindia. Unsurprisingly the majority of attested associations calling themselves Athanaistai Lindiastai appear in Lindian documents. Again, we are faced with a series of honorific texts. Among these feature several of the more elaborate statue bases dedicated in honour of the eponymous priests of Athena Lindia in the early imperial period.[789] This may show a particular connection with this civic cult and its priests; the *koinon's* honours follow those awarded by civic officials including the *mastroi*, the priest's *syniereis* and by *hierothytai*. On the other hand, the association in question is one among several that appear in these inscriptions: certain Grennadai patriotai and Damageteioi appear in more prominent positions,[790] and a further nine associations follow –

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[787] I am grateful to Stella Skaltsa for her comments on this building. Note that the statue bases of Helios-priests are not the only inscriptions discovered there; a large number of other texts, both public and private, with no mention of Helios were also found: Kontorini (1989), 149-84.

[788] I omit here associations calling themselves simply 'Athanaistai'; although Athena/Athana was worshipped in all three old poleis since the archaic period, the lack of a distinctive epithet in these cases makes me hesitate to include these as specifically Rhodian theophoric names – no more do I include in this part of the study *koina* simply calling themselves 'Apolloniastai'. It is not inconceivable that there were connections intended with the civic worship of Athena or Apollo, but we lack any evidence for such links.

[789] *I.Lindos* 391, 392a, 392b. All three consist of very similar honouring bodies.

[790] This may, however, be a question of category: the former, at least, is a group of members of a Lindian *patra,* presumably identical to the one whose *horos* marker was discovered near the Boukopion, dedicated to Athana Phratria, some centuries earlier: *I.Lindos* 615.

as far as our fragmentary texts let us reconstruct.[791] Given the example of Dionysodoros, we cannot preclude the possibility that the eponymous priests being honoured were members of some or all of these associations – but it is more likely that his case is an exception; nor was even Dionysodoros a member of so many associations.

Rather than indicating a particular connection between the Athanaistai Lindiastai and the priest or cult of Athena Lindia, then, we observe a group of associations, evidently all keen to demonstrate their involvement in the honorific and civic sphere.[792] The variety of names attested in this context, however, does nothing to suggest either a special placement for or particular interest of the Athanaistai Lindiastai. On the other hand, it is interesting that we find in this same text another association naming itself after a traditional pan-Rhodian cult – a group of Atabyriastai [-]erotheioi P[e]rgaistai. The context suggests that this association too was of relatively high standing in Lindian society; or at least that they tried to involve themselves in this elevated part of Lindian social life, competing on the polis' honorific stage.[793] Given the exclusionary tendencies of Lindian religion, particularly regarding their high civic cults and priesthoods, it is plausible that these associations of Lindiastai provided some opportunities of 'informal' worship, for non-Lindians who were otherwise restricted, or at least severely limited, in their access to these rites.

Another association deriving its name from the cult of Zeus Atabyrios gives us a different picture, however. This one is known from an undated inscription found in Rhodes-town, frustratingly fragmentary but highly intriguing:

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[791] See Blinkenberg's table ad loc.

[792] We may note a particularly striking phrase in one of these texts, recording parallel honours for the wife of a priest of Athena Lindia, Ieroboula, who was '[σ]τεφανωθεῖσαν δὲ [ὑπὸ συνπά]ντων τῶν ἐράνων τῶν πα-/[ρα]γενομέν<ω>ν ἐπ' ἰ[ερέως τᾶ]ς Ἀθάνας Καλλιστράτου' *(I.Lindos* 420 ll.26-7).

[793] Gabrielsen (1997), 130-6; groups of Athanaistai Lindiastai and Diiatabyriastai also appear together in a second-century BC dedication by an Alexandrian found on Kos: *I. Cos EV* 223.

[δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ]
[τῶν Διοσαταβυρι]-
αστᾶν τῶν τᾶς πό-
λ[ι]ος δούλων, Εὐλί-
μ̣ενος γραμματεὺς
[δα]μόσιος ἱερατεύ-
[σας] Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου
[ὑπὲρ] τ̣ῶν κυρίων Ῥο-
[δίων ἀ]ν̣έθηκε Διῒ Ἀ-
[ταβυρίῳ] τοὺ<ς> βοῦς
[χαριστήρ]ιον.[794]

[By decision of the koinon of Diosatabyriastai?] of the slaves of the city, Eulimenos, public secretary, who was priest of Zeus Atabyrios, on behalf of the Rhodian masters, dedicated bovines to Zeus Atabyrios, as a thanks-offering(?).

Evidently we must tread carefully: the surviving inscription, now in the British Museum,[795] only gives us a few rows of writing. The stone has straight edges all around, implying that the editors have been right to assume that we have a full line's length of letters in the first three extant rows of writing. Strangely, the top edge is similarly straight; I would caution, therefore, that an unknown amount of text is missing from a separate slab, evidently fixed above our text. That this stone contained only two lines of writing, as suggested by the editor, with the final word spilling over onto our stele, seems rather unlikely, but there may have been decorative elements, names, or other text.

If the beginning to this text has been rightly reconstructed[796] it informs us of the dedication by a priest of Zeus Atabyrios, by decision or ordinance of a *koinon* of slaves, probably calling themselves Diosatabyriastai, to that same deity. As elsewhere in the Greek world, our knowledge of slaves on Rhodes is very limited.[797] In its role as a major trade centre, Rhodes-

[794] *IG* XII 1, 31.
[795] I have not seen the original but have studied a photograph of the stone carefully: *BM* 346.
[796] Earlier editions postulated the first word to be [ἀν]αστάντων, in view of the reference to slaves later on in the text. The later reconstruction seems safer, since we know nothing of a slave revolt or anything similar affecting Rhodes. Yet the alternative reminds us to be cautious.
[797] The main research still consists of Morelli (1955); cf. *SEG* 31 734.

town in particular undoubtedly had a large servile population. The fact that this group had the resources to set up a Greek inscription along with their decision to participate in the Rhodian associative life is striking.[798] Yet we are also informed that they are doing so 'on behalf of' (or 'under the authority of') the *kyrioi Rho[dioi],* the Rhodian masters, that is, in relation to *damosioi* slaves, the *demos.*

Even those parts of the text that survive are, then, problematic. Yet if we bear in mind these uncertainties and nonetheless postulate the existence of this association of Diosatabyriastai, and further assume that they did call themselves after the great Zeus cult located atop the highest mountain on Rhodes, situated between Kameiros and Lindos, their attempt to incorporate themselves into the island's religious life is even more apparent. This would provide a contrast to the more common deities worshipped by slaves in the Greek world, which tended to be foreign, as well as a contrast to the usual way in which such worship was organised. Bömer makes it clear in his comprehensive study on slave religion in the ancient world that, as opposed to the *collegia* formed later in the western Mediterranean, slaves in the Greek world tended not to worship in this kind of group setting.[799] Meanwhile, although it is possible that the dedication to Zeus Atabyrios mentioned in the text was made at the great mountain sanctuary, it is perhaps more plausible, especially given the text's provenance, that the *koinon* was connected instead with a cult-site or clubhouse of the deity in Rhodes-town itself.[800] The text's findspot, just southwest of the hill on which the Rhodian acropolis was located, may then contribute to our knowledge of this site's location.

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[798] Not the only slaves to have done so: Morelli (1955), 137-8.

[799] Bömer (1990) esp. 5-6.

[800] For the arguments supporting this cult's existence in the *asty,* see above p.112. This location is also assumed by Ismard in his discussion of the text: Ismard (2017), 49.

Finally, let us note the mention of the priest. Eulimenos is otherwise unknown on Rhodes, and generally a rare name, mainly attested from the imperial period,[801] implying a late date for our inscription. We do not know of any priests of Zeus Atabyrios (although some religious personnel surely existed for the cult) and so cannot contextualise this individual any further. If our reading of the text is correct, it would follow that he was priest of the association of worshippers of Zeus Atabyrios. Ismard sees this as an example of a city entrusting a civic priesthood to an association of *damosioi,* citing other cases in which public slaves were active in polis religion,[802] but given our lack of knowledge of such a priesthood existing at Rhodes in the first place, I remain cautious about this conclusion. I will return to Eulimenos in a later discussion on the officials of such *koina.*

Notwithstanding the epigraphical problems of the text and its uncertain date, we appear here to have one example of an association of non-Rhodians and non-citizens deriving their name from a traditionally Rhodian deity, and evidently showing interest in his worship. If the text's findspot indeed links it to the deity's sanctuary in Rhodes-town, it seems likely that the group used or at least visited this temple. This would attest to a specific connection between the civic cult and the association's religious activity in this case. However, this conclusion must remain a very tentative one.

We have seen cases from almost opposite levels of society employing specifically Rhodian theophoric names. Although in most cases the associations seem to be located in poleis

[801] *LGPN* online search for the name produced only 8 results from across the Roman Empire; two of these were freedmen: http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?namenoaccents=%CE%B5%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%BC%CE%B5%CE%BD%CE%BF%CF%82.

[802] Ismard (2017), 47-9.

which we know had a civic cult to the deity in question, we cannot securely attest a connection.

Our final case may however prove more interesting in this respect. Let us turn to the associations of [Ialysioi] Erethimiazontes.[803] Evidently this title derives from the epithet of Apollo Erethimios, worshipped in Ialysian territory in a great sanctuary accompanied by pan-Rhodian games.[804] As mentioned in chapter 2, Kontorini remarked on the presence of associations of Ialysioi Erethimiazontes in the context of games held in later periods at the sanctuary. She concluded that the involvement of a group bearing this name was likely to be substantial, and that they might in fact have taken over charge for the Rhodian Erethimia's organisation, following a reduction in this festival's size and importance.[805] This argument relies partly on their name and partly on an inscription from the first century BC, in which this *koinon* honours a priest of Apollo Erethimios with '[ἐπαίνωι, χ]ρυσέωι στεφάνωι/[εἰκόνι] χαλκέαι/[προεδρίαι ἐν] τοῖς ἀγῶσι/[σιτήσει ἐν ἱ]εροθυτείωι'.[806] The fact that this *koinon* not only shows a clear and individual connection with the cult's priest, but also is in a position to offer *proedria* in the games (a plausible reconstruction), suggests that it played an important role at this sanctuary.[807]

The evidence thus does demonstrate a close connection of this association both to the cult of Apollo Erethimios and to the polis of Ialysos. Indeed, although little is known of the organisation and make-up of the association itself, its appearance in several documents of

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[803] There is some variation on the spelling of this theophoric name: Eretheimiazontes: *I.Lindos* 384, 282; *Tit.Cam*. 283; *AD* 18, A p. 1 no. 1. For Eretheibiazontes: *Tit.Cam*. 87; *ASAA* n. s. I-II, p. 154 no. 14. There is no apparent chronological development.

[804] See above p.110-1.

[805] Kontorini (1975).

[806] Papachristodoulou (1989), 171 n.7, discovered on the site of the temple of Apollo Erethimios.

[807] An earlier text *may* provide evidence for similar honours granted by this *koinon*, but it is badly damaged and difficult to reconstruct : *IG* XII 1 734. See below for the possibility that this refers instead to *koinon*-organised festivals and related honours.

the Roman period suggests that it rose to some prominence in Rhodes. On numerous occasions, it is listed alongside 'Kameiroi', 'Lindioi' and also 'Ialysioi'. Thus a fragmentary inscription from the first century AD has been reconstructed by Pugliese-Carratelli to record honours paid '[ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων καὶ Λινδίων καὶ]/ [Ἰαλυ]σίων καὶ Καμειρέ[ων καὶ Ἰαλυσίων τῶν]/[Ἐρε]θειβιαζόντων…' and another text, this time from the mid first century BC reveals that a priest was crowned 'ὑπὸ/ Λινδίων καὶ Ἰαλυσίων καὶ Καμειρέων καὶ Ἰαλυσίων/ τῶν ἐρεθειμιαζόντων'.[808] The latter text continues to list other honours, including some by a different association, the Panathenaistai; but the placement of the Ialysioi Eretheibiazontes clearly separates them from other associations, appearing to include it among the collectives denoting the three old poleis. We can only guess at the reasons: perhaps this group had achieved such great prominence on Rhodes that it was considered on a par with the old poleis; perhaps Ialysos, which we know so little about, comprised two major communities in this period, one based around the acropolis of Ialysos-proper, the other around the sanctuary of Apollo Erethimios, near modern Tholos.[809] However, our evidence, sparse though it is, confines itself to honorific and specifically religious contexts. It is highly unlikely that this mysterious group held any political prominence, let alone autonomy, within the Rhodian state. Their apparent jurisdiction concerning privileges in the sanctuary and games is however highly significant, and constitutes a remarkable overlap between 'polis' and 'private' religion.

I have outlined, then, several cases where *koina* of various types appear to be adapting specifically local, traditionally Rhodian deities for their private worship. Clearly there are no

[808] Pugliese-Carratelli (1939-1940) no.14 ll.3-5; Konstantinopoulos (1963) *AD* 18A no.1 ll.10-12.
[809] Note the special status of priests of Apollo Erethimios in early imperial documents, forming a group alongside the three eponyms, discussed above pp.131-3.

uniform rules for this adaptation, and often few or no traces of direct interaction with the civic cult, yet we find all the primary Rhodian deities represented – in particular those with pan-Rhodian significance: Helios, Athena Lindia, Zeus Atabyrios and Apollo Erethimios. Although this reflection of civic cults in the religious focus of associations is not unheard of in the Greek world – note, for instance, the groups of Aphrodisiastai on Kos – the adoption of their locally specific epithets is more unusual. Returning to Kos, we know that the civic cults of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia were of particular local significance, but none of the known *koina* include either epithet in their name.[810] This phenomenon is apparently exclusive to Rhodian society and religion.

Besides associations deriving their name, or at least partial name, from traditionally Rhodian or more generally Greek deities, we also find more foreign elements, either in the form of a non-Greek god or goddess – such as the Aphrodisiastai Syroi – or in the addition of an ethnic to an association's name, for instance the Paphiastai Seleukeioi toi syn Pasikratei.[811] As regards supposedly 'foreign' names, however, we should not exaggerate their meaning; although we have numerous examples of associations deriving their names from Egyptian deities (Isis and Sarapis in particular) and some from the Phrygian god Men, most of the evidence points to these groups being very Hellenized – both in their members' names and in their epigraphic practice.[812] The cult of Isis and Sarapis was, moreover, also present on the Rhodian civic scene from the Hellenistic period onwards.[813]

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[810] Paul (2013a), 79-95; on Koan associations, note the list in Maillot (2013), 222-6.
[811] Attested in an imperial honorific inscription from Nisyros: *IG* XII 3 104 – probably denoting worshippers of Aphrodite Syria; *ASAA* 12 p.165 no.19.
[812] Cf. in particular the members named in a subscription of a 'Phyrgian' *koinon* attested at Astypalaia: Peek (1969) no.88; Migeotte (2013), 116. On associations of Egyptian gods: Nielsen (2014), 125-32, esp.

The traditional picture of religious associations being formed in order to provide foreign residents with an opportunity to worship their native deities is not, then, particularly applicable to Rhodes.[814] As mentioned above, associations frequently had mixed membership, both citizens and non-citizens, and many foreigners were apparently keen to demonstrate their attachment to Rhodian religion and customs. Thus, for instance, a certain Nikasion of Kyzikos himself founded an association at Rhodes in the early second century BC, naming it Asklapiastai Nikasioneioi Olympiastai – derived from the god Asklepios, Nikasion himself as founder, and his wife Olympias. The cult of Asklepios was popular on Rhodes in this period,[815] both within associative and civic life, but it is the other evidence we have about this particular group that demonstrates the general willingness to adapt to Rhodian culture and religious practice. For a lengthy inscription informs us that this association was divided into three *phylai*, like the Rhodian state and each of the old Rhodian cities, which competed in games.[816] The text provides us with a series of winners, dated by apparently annual offices of *agonothetai*, *phylarchoi* and *gymnasiarchoi*. The context and vocabulary remind us forcibly of inscriptions found at the sanctuary of Apollo Erethimios, recording winners in the Erethimia games. The members of Nikasion's 'little Rhodes', to use Gabrielsen's fitting phrase,[817] come from a variety of different origins, largely from Asia

125-6. On the other hand, evidence from Delos suggests that non-Greeks commonly took second Greek names, or else 'translated' their names: Parker (2017), 157, with n.15.

[813] Cf. e.g. *I.Lindos* 134; *IG* XII, 1 8; On the civic cults see above.

[814] Note Delian cases e.g. the Poseidoniastai of Berytos who conducted their activity and worship in a large and now excavated building: McLean (1996) with *ID* 1520; Steinhauer (2014), 65-6, who however argues that all these groups adapted well to the context of the polis that they were established in, no matter how foreign the origins.

[815] See above p.121-2.

[816] *IG* XII 1 127; cf. Gabrielsen (2001), 231-2.

[817] Gabrielsen (2001), 232.

Minor.[818] Instead of forming a 'little Antioch' or 'little Kyzikos' with other immigrants from their home towns or regions, they combined their various networks and established an associative setting that mirrored the state in which they were now resident, but from whose institutions they were largely excluded.[819]

Thus we must not think of these associations as existing in order for foreign residents to worship their own gods in their own way, at least not primarily. There may have been such cases, but we have recognised several links with Rhodian civic religion as well as an involvement in public honours. However, as Nikasion's association demonstrates, many foreign members of associations did apparently crave a greater degree of involvement in a faux civic life – the existence of annual positions within associations demonstrates that numerous members were keen to fill these roles and take on such responsibilities. This is an issue that I will revisit at the end of this chapter.

5.3. Associations and public life

I have already mentioned several areas of public and civic life in which Rhodian associations involved themselves; in particular, of course, various honorific ceremonies for civic or religious officials. That some associations chose to contribute to honours for a priest of Athena Lindia, for instance, indicates a level of concern for civic religious life, but also of interaction between *koina* and the polis. Other instances where such communication can be observed, or where interests might have been aligned, are subscriptions to finance public

[818] 43 members are attested bearing 16 different ethnics (either from a city or a region); cf. Maillot (2012), 243-4.
[819] See below, chapter 6.

projects. This practice seems to have become a fairly standard procedure in cases of unexpected or extraordinary expenditures, not covered by the regular fiscal systems. Thus they often concerned projects undertaken in the military sphere, always a pricey affair, or else building or repair works, perhaps as the result of an earthquake or similar disaster. Recent studies of this phenomenon have highlighted the social and ideological aspects of such subscriptions: the expectation, but also benefit, in the form of honours granted to donors.[820] It is within this complex context of reciprocity and 'social capital'[821] that we must understand the presence of *koina* alongside dutiful individuals.

The best example for this, conveniently concerning the religious sphere, comes from late second-century Lindos, where money was contributed by a large number of individuals, but also by various groups for golden crowns for three deities: Athena Lindia, Zeus Polieus and Nike.[822] The text provides a long, in places rather fragmentary, list of the individual contributors, either giving their demotic or, in the case of non-citizens, their status, for instance [ὧι ἁ ἐπιδ]αμία δέδοται (l.116).[823] Some are also grouped into families. Around two hundred lines into this list we start finding some *koina*: Athanaistai Timapoleioi, Agathodaimoniastai, Hagestrateioi kai Leukareioi, Apolloniastai, Arsinoeioi kai Aphrodisiastai [--]eioi, Soteriastai and Timapoleioi. Individuals continue to intersperse these entries, perhaps reflecting the amounts donated or, more probably, the order in which the money was given.[824] What, then, is the significance of the various *koina* in this inscription? Group donations exist in similar contexts, such as the contributions made by demes in an

[820] Chaniotis (2013); Evans-Ellis (2012); in general: Migeotte (1992).
[821] For the phrase in this context see Chaniotis (2013), 98-100.
[822] *I.Lindos* 252. This may reflect greater changes in religious organisation and the Rhodian financial situation at the end of the third century: Benincampi (2009), 300-5.
[823] On these different statuses of non-citizens see below n.897.
[824] The latter kind is much more common (Evans-Ellis [2012], 109) and more likely in our case, although most of the contribution amounts are unfortunately lost.

epidosis from Kalymna.[825] The precise reason or organisation for such group contributions is unknown, but their donations must be seen within the same social framework of reciprocal gift-giving. Yet the involvement of demes is less surprising than the presence of associations which are, as far as we know, completely independent of the polis. Let us therefore study our Lindian example in some greater detail. Although some of the *koina* are separated by otherwise unknown individuals, there is one name that stands out: a certain Timapolis appears before five of the surviving *koina* (possibly even more, since our inscription cuts off at this very point), with no further identification – neither patronymic, nor demotic, nor any other indication:

> [Τ]ι[μ]άπολις καὶ Τ̣ιμαπολείων κο[ιν]ὸν [—]
> Τιμάπολι[ς] καὶ Ἀγαθοδαιμο[νιαστᾶν κοι]νὸν
> Τιμάπολις καὶ Ἀγεσ[τ̣ρ]α[τείω]ν
> καὶ Λευκαρείω[ν] κο[ινὸν —]
> Τιμάπολις [καὶ — — — — — — —]
> καὶ Ἀπολλω[ν]ια[στᾶν κο]ι[νὸν —]
> [Τ]ιμά[πολις] κ[αὶ] Ἀρσι[νοείων? καὶ]
> Ἀφροδ[ισιαστᾶν — — — —]είων κ[ο]ινὸν
> Τιμάπο[λις καὶ Σ]ω[τη]ρ̣[ι]αστᾶν… (ll.250-8).

His position at the head of this series of *koina*, including one that seems to have been named after him, or perhaps a homonymous father or grandfather, suggests very strongly that he had a link with these groups and was perhaps *archeranistas* or at least a member.[826] Again, his prominent position and the repetition of his name may suggest that it was at his urging or on his initiative that these *koina* contributed to this publicly funded project. Timapolis is a name which, in this form at least, is only known to us from the Rhodian region.[827] Although

[825] *Tit.Cal*. 85: among the contributors we find 'ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ποθαίων' (l.5) and later on 'δᾶμος Πανορμίων' (l.42).
[826] We find numerous examples of Rhodian *koina* apparently bearing the name of their founder: Maillot (2013), 205-7.
[827] An *LGPN* search provides us with 18 different individuals, all from Rhodes, the peraia, or nearby islands: http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-

the lack of a patronymic in our inscription makes a definite identification impossible, it is perhaps not too fanciful to connect him with Timapolis, the son of Euphragoras, or else his homonymous son, both mentioned earlier on in the same subscription. The former of these might be identical to the man who, around the 130s held various religious offices at Lindos.[828] In either case, our *koinon*-linked Timapolis is likely to belong to this Lindian family, where the name is well attested over generations. We note, then, the involvement of prominent Lindians in the life of associations, as members and founders. In view of the above observations, I also think it likely that particularly prominent members could give their *koina* a more public image, persuading them to involve themselves in projects of civic euergetism. On the other hand, Migeotte has emphasised that in such cases the *koina* retain a certain anonymity. Whereas the individual Rhodian citizens as well as their families may include a fair amount of information to identify themselves and their contribution,[829] the *koina* present in this inscription, as well as a fragmentary one from Kameiros, appear in what Migeotte describes as a 'manière anonyme'.[830]

Contributions by *koina* are otherwise quite rare in such subscriptions; one further exception may be *Tit.Cam.* 159a, a text which appears to provide us with a subscription list from second-century Kameiros, consisting, for the most part, of *koina.* However, the motive for the monetary sums that appear on the stone does not survive, so that we cannot make much of this evidence. The surviving names of *koina* conform to the two major different types we

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bin/lgpn_search.cgi?namenoaccents=%CE%A4%CE%99%CE%9C%CE%91%CE%A0%CE%9F%CE%9B%CE%99%CE%A3.

[828] Priest of Apollo Pythaeus, *archierothytas, hierothytas, choregos* and *epistatas*: *I.Lindos* 228; *IG* XII 1 836.

[829] Migeotte (1992), 101-37.

[830] Migeotte (1992), 132. Note the Sarapiastai in *Tit.Cam.Supp*. 157b B.8-13 who seem to have shared their contribution with two Rhodian citizens.

have so far encountered, theophoric and those derived from an individual's name, but we also find contributions by *patriotai*, members of the elusive Rhodian patrai. Thus, as Migeotte concludes, this might be an example of contributions of associations of non-Rhodian citizens being listed on a par with those of Rhodians.[831] However, the highly fragmentary nature of the text together with our general ignorance concerning the membership of Rhodian associations, and especially on the *patriotai*, should caution us against overly hasty and simplistic conclusions. Rather, we might observe that, perhaps as with the honours for Lindian priests, it was the individuals involved that affected the participation of associations. If a particular Rhodian citizen had connections to or held membership of a *koinon* (or several), this relationship was likely to be reflected in civic and honorific contexts. Thus prominent Rhodian or non-Rhodian members of associations may well have utilised their networks to participate in such projects as were of interest to them and perhaps this was also true vice versa. Nonetheless, the majority of Rhodian public subscriptions do not include contributions by *koina*; where these do appear, we cannot, with any real conviction, find an immediate reason or link. The prominence of Timapolis in the example from Lindos might suggest that this exception was orchestrated by a Rhodian individual who wished to make a greater impact in this project: the additional contributions brought in by affiliated groups recorded on the list not only increased the sum raised, but also allowed Timapolis to record his name many times more than any other donor.

[831] Migeotte (1992), 135-7.

5.4. Private projects and worship

Following this slightly inconclusive venture into the links or overlaps between civic life and associations, let us consider the other side of this category of evidence: private subscriptions and the funding of *koinon*-related projects – again, with particular emphasis on religious projects and practice. How was religious life financed within these non-polis settings? Migeotte has, in recent years, added to this area of research by writing a contribution on private subscriptions. He includes three from Rhodes and one from nearby Astypalaia; all involve building projects or repairs to *koinon* constructions – most from the funerary context: cemetery walls, tombs, necropoleis etc – giving us a valuable insight into some physical aspects of the *koina*'s meeting places.[832] Clearly this reflects both a primary concern of many *koina* and also the manner in which such projects were usually funded. Constructing buildings, purchasing land and repairing the damage caused, for instance, by an earthquake would all require large sums of money: thus it is not surprising that we find these to be the motives for just about all the cases discussed by Migeotte. Of particular interest for our purposes is evidence for financing and constructing cultic buildings or structures. This could evidently happen by means of subscriptions by members – Migeotte gives several examples of associations in other parts of the Greek world who contribute to the construction or repair of a local sanctuary or shrine[833] – but might also happen as the result of benefactions by a single individual. Numerous surviving honorific decrees mention the monetary contributions made by the honorand to the *koinon*, usually in the non-specific terms favoured by the language of euergetism. However we also find more detailed evidence for such benefactions. Thus an inscription from third-century Kameiros informs us of the

[832] Rhodes: *IG* XII 1 9; *SEG* 53 822; *SEG* 39 737B; Astypalaia: Peek (1969) no.88; cf. Migeotte (2013), 116, 118-20.
[833] Migeotte (2013). Cf. in general Gabrielsen (2001), 226-33.

threefold donations made by an unknown person to an unknown *koinon*, consisting of a grant of land to be used for funerary purposes, a second plot of land in a specific location, and a third area, including as a further δωρεὰν/ τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ἀσκλαπ[ι]-/οῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλ[λωνος καὶ]/τᾶς Ἀφροδίτα[ς — — —].[834] This combination of three different deities conforms to the common Rhodian pattern for associations, reflected in the many multifaceted theophoric names. Although this particular combination of gods is not so far attested anywhere else in connection with a Rhodian *koinon*, it is similar to many other examples and further provides proof that at least one such association evidently did worship three separate deities in the same location – plausibly calling themselves Asklapiastai Apolloniastai Aphrodisiastai.

Along with buildings for communal gatherings and funerary enclosures, some Rhodian associations, then, certainly owned or used sanctuaries or shrines. This indicates that religion was not just a concern in naming an association, but could be reflected in the group's practices and perhaps expenses. Unfortunately we have little other concrete evidence for such religious buildings intended specifically for one *koinon.* The archaeological material and findspots of relevant inscriptions do not help much.[835] A building that is assumed to constitute an *andron* of a *koinon* of Sabaziastai has been excavated close to that group's funerary enclosure, its identity made probable by mention of such an *andron* in a decree discovered *in situ*.[836] It is not surprising that such buildings existed, yet it remains frustrating that more such communal spaces cannot be restored; even identifying the cemeteries of *koina* proves difficult.

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[834] *IG* XII 1 736 ll.12ff.

[835] This will likely change soon, with the research being conducted as part of the Rhodes Centennial Project.

[836] Decree: Kontorini (1983), no.8 = *SEG* 33 639; *AD* 34 (1979), 435-8. Cf. the funerary epitaphs discovered in the same area, published in Kontorini (1983), nos. 9-26.

On the actual religious practice which presumably took place in such sanctuaries we barely fare any better. However, there are some scattered hints. For among the peculiar Rhodian inscriptions outlining sacrifices to specific deities, discussed in a previous section, we find some that seem to refer to the sacrificial activities or duties of 'private' groups of worshippers. Let us take the relevant documents one at a time.

The first consists not of a sacrificial regulation, but rather of an altar, discovered by Blinkenberg on the Lindian acropolis:

> [Ἁ]λι̣αδᾶν
> Δαματέρων
> καὶ Διὸς
> Δαματρίου.[837]
>
> *Of the Haliadai. [Altar] of the Damateres and Zeus Damatrios.*

This short text is included by Blinkenberg in his compilation of sacrificial regulations, but cannot be classed as such (as already noted by Segre[838]), due to the lack of any actual stipulation of an act or practice. Yet it still relates generally to the context of worship and sacrifice, since it evidently constitutes an altar set up by a theophoric association, a group of Haliadai, in honour of the Damateres, that is Demeter and Kore,[839] and Zeus Damatrios. It is immediately striking that this group's sacrificial interest does not conform to the god honoured in their adopted name. Instead they are here expressing their piety for Demeter – a goddess otherwise almost unknown in Lindian religion – and deities connected with her. Besides this hint of private worship by a group at Lindos we also find some evidence for sacrificial regulations possibly relating to non-civic groups. Generally these are composed in the peculiar Rhodian style, discussed at length in a previous section, causing them to have

[837] *I.Lindos* 183 = LSS 87; cf. Blinkenberg (1939), no.4.
[838] Segre (1951), 149.
[839] For use of this form on Rhodes see the Kameiran sacrificial regulation *Tit.Cam.* 156a = *CGRN* 149; on these goddesses on Rhodes in general see Morelli (1959), 119-121.

been classed among the group of other sacrificial regulations in the past.[840] One of these, discovered at Netteia, in Lindian territory, prescribes an offering to Helios on the 14th of Hyakinthios, beneath the heading of 'Λάκων', presumably indicating the group who carried out the sacrifice.[841] The name is otherwise unknown to us and certainly does not conform to the theophoric or similar titles which we have so far focussed on. In fact it looks more like the name of a deme, in particular when compared with the similar text found near Ialysos which is headed 'Ποντωρέων', and goes on to prescribe a sacrifice to Artemis.[842] Unfortunately, however, all Lindian demes are known to us, so that we cannot interpret the 'Lakoi' or 'Lakeis' as having had this function. However, the parallel example from Ialysos may still be helpful. For the two texts have a further similarity, aside from their heading and general style and content: both were discovered on sites *away* from the acropolis and the surrounding town of the region's main city. This implies strongly that we are largely dealing with a geographic distinction; if 'Λάκων' does indeed refer to a non-civic group as some scholars have claimed, it likely describes a non-cosmopolitan association of people, presumably tied together by locality rather, perhaps, than a specific cult, trade, or other interest. However, it is not clear whether it is a type of 'voluntary' of 'gentilicial' association.[843] In either case, it is interesting to note that these sacrificial regulations follow the general patterns of the texts depicting instructions for civic ceremonies.

The other area that these texts illuminate for us is the non-civic, although perhaps not necessarily 'private', religion practised outside the main cities. Life outside Rhodes-town

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[840] Blinkenberg (1939).

[841] Blinkenberg (1939), no.7; *LGS* 149; *LSCG* 142 (with some revised readings); now also *CGRN* 117. Cf. also Segre (1951), 151 on its classification as a text.

[842] Blinkenberg (1939), no.8; *LSS* 92; cited above p.188.

[843] See above pp.78-9 with n.223 on the possible classification as a *patra* based on the obscure final lines of the text; cf. *CGRN* 117.

and the three old cities is virtually unknown, aside from scattered inscriptions, although some archaeological surveys have taken place in the south of the island, in the Lindian region. Already Kinch's early 20th century observations and excavations uncovered some small temples and other buildings in the countryside around Lindos, which, one can imagine, might have been the locations for such non-urban groups to gather and perform sacrifice.[844]

The evidence for actual worship and religious practice of Rhodian associations is extremely sparse. Yet we should not overlook other types of religious experience and sacred acts, in particular those inherent in the funerary sphere. This is the context from which a great deal of our evidence of *koina* stems. We know that many *koina* had their own cemeteries in which funerary and honorific monuments of members were placed. Most notable amongst these monuments are so-called 'funerary altars', both in rectangular and cylindrical shape. As their name suggests, these apparently served the 'dual function' of grave stele and altar:[845] they were inscribed with the name of the deceased and marked his burial spot, but their design, similar to a type of dedicatory monument popular in Lindos, clearly also betrays their function as an altar, in particular the top surface. This surface is hollowed out, providing areas to deposit offerings for the dead.[846] Some monuments bear, in addition, one

[844] Note in particular the Hellenistic building on the slope of Hagios Phokas and the temple atop the same hill; interesting buildings and tombs were also uncovered at nearby Marmaro: *Lindos* IV/2, 124-131. A temple of Zeus Patroos belonging to the patra of the Euthalidai in the Netteia region is mentioned in a second-century inscription: *IG* XII 1 890: 'τὸ ψάφισμα εἰστάλαν λιθίναν ἀναθέτω ἐ[ν]/Νεττείαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶι τοῦ Διὸς το[ῦ]/Πατρώιου, εἴ κα Εὐθαλίδαι ἀποδείξωντα[ι]·' (ll.23-5); on this deity on Rhodes see also *I.Lindos* 648; Morelli (1959), 144-5.; on the epithet and connections to phratries, but also groups defined by different terminology – including *patrai* – see Parker (2008).
[845] Fraser (1977), 11-2; 13-15. See Coulton (2005). On the distinction specifically between funerary and votive altars on Rhodes see Fabricius (1999a), 217 with n.251.
[846] Offerings rather than blood sacrifice; see Coulton (2005), 127-33.

or two circular bosses protruding from the upper surface (e.g. fig.16). This feature has puzzled scholars, and various theories have been advanced to explain them – it has been suggested that they served as supports for sacrificial objects to be positioned on, or else that they were either purely decorative or else symbolised life after death in some manner. Perhaps the two most convincing theories are, first, that they represent sacrificial cakes, well-known from funerary offerings and rites, or second, that they served as fixtures around which ceremonial wreaths could be placed.[847] The choice then becomes between whether we consider these bosses to have served a practical function or to be decorative and symbolic. In either case these possibilities both allow us to understand why only some monuments bear these features; whether decorative or functional, it was clearly an addition to the standard type that could be commissioned. Both theories also allude to the ritual function these monuments appear to have had.[848] In fact, for *koina,* where much of the communal activity might be located within the funerary enclosure (the *andron* of the Sabaziastai was, after all, very close to the association's cemetery), cultic honours for deceased members might form a major part of the religious experience. Our epigraphic evidence fleshes out the picture suggested by the design of the monuments, providing some concrete examples of such rituals for the dead. A rectangular altar from Rhodes-town for a certain Dionysios of Alexandria,[849] dated to the second century BC, records perhaps the most lavish and extravagant instructions of this sort. Decorated with several crowns it reads:

Face A

[847] For all of this: Fraser (1977), 13-25; Fabricius (1999a), 215 with n.243 favours the interpretation that these bosses served as fixtures for honorific wreaths. She also points out that the majority of these altars commemorated non-Rhodians, suggesting that such commemorative rituals, performed by *koina*, were particularly popular among foreigners: 215-6.
[848] On the 'cultic' design see also Berges (1996), 102-4.
[849] *NS* 46 – long considered to be the same individual whose honours are listed in *IG* XII 1, 155; see Gabrielsen (1994a) for some difficulties concerning this identification.

1 Διονυσοδώρου Ἀλεξανδρέως
εὐεργέτα καὶ ἀρχερανιστᾶ.
face B
1 Ἰάκχου καὶ Διονυσοδώρου Ἀλεξανδρέων εὐεργετᾶν
τιμαθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ εὐεργεσίαι καὶ
ἀτελείαι πάντων διὰ βίου, καὶ στεφανωθέντων
ἐπαίνωι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι, τιμαθέντος δὲ
5 Διονυσοδώρου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Ἁλιαστᾶν
ἀτελείαι πάντων διὰ βίου καὶ ἀναγορεύσει τᾶν τι-
μᾶν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ στεφανωθέντος ἐπαίνωι
ἐπὶ τῶν τόπ<ω>ν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον· τιμαθέντος
δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Διονυσιαστᾶν εὐεργεσί-
10 αι καὶ ἀτελείαι πάντων διὰ βίου καὶ στεφανωθέν-
τος ἐπαίνωι χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ἐπ' ἀρετᾶι·
καὶ Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρέως καὶ Ἰθάκης Σολίδος.

Face A: Dionysodoros, son of Alexandreus, euergetas and archeranistas.
Face B: The euergetai Iakchos and Dionysodoros, sons of Alexandreus were honoured by the koinon with euergesia and ateleia of all things for life, and were crowned with praise with a wreath of olive. Dionysodoros was also honoured by the koinon of the Haliastai with ateleia of all things for life and with public proclamation of his honours at the graves, and was crowned with praise at the graves for all time. And he was also honoured by the koinon of Dionysiastai with euergesia and ateleia of all things for life, and was crowned with praise with a golden wreath for his virtue. Also Dionysios son of Alexandreus and Ithakes son of Solis.

Although side A of the stone only names Dionysodoros, the reverse side attests that this man was honoured in perpetuity alongside a certain Iakchos. Both names appear in the genitive, customary on these Rhodian monuments.[850] The various references to different *koina,* some specified, others apparently not (l.2) have caused difficulties in interpreting the context and function of this altar. Although the implication seems to be that Dionysodoros was member of at least three separate *koina*, the Haliastai, the Dionysiastai and the unnamed *koinon* of the text's second line, we do not know for which one he acted in his role (advertised on side A) as *archeranistas*. Nor do we know which association's funerary

[850] That is, it should not be read it as a sort of dedication to the dead *koinon* member, or else in a possessive sense; apparently there was no distinction between the use of the genitive and of the nominative for contemporary Rhodians: Fraser (1977) calls it the 'sepulchral genitive': 49-50; note the joint tombstone which records one person in the nominative, the other in the genitive: *NS* 127.

enclosure his altar was set up in, although the logical assumption would be that it was the cemetery of the *koinon* referred to without a name – presumably because there was no need to specify in the context. However it is the section listing the honours paid by the *koinon* of Haliastai that refers to tombs, at which the honours and crown shall be proclaimed in perpetuity.

The ritual context implied by this monument is further articulated by the honours detailed in a stele possibly set up by the same individual, where similar allusions are recorded to acts carried out after Dionysodoros' death: this, too, mentions proclamations and crowning ceremonies, as well as annual libations, to be held at the member's funerary monument on an annual basis after his death.[851] We might note that the same text includes the phrase 'ἐν ταῖς συνό/δοις τᾶι δεύτερον ἁμέραι μετὰ τὰ ἱερά' (D ll.27f.) for a particular part of the ceremonial crowning, giving us some idea of the regular meetings of the Haliadai kai Haliastai; it seems that sacrifices (*ta hiera*) took place at the beginning of the synodoi, a procedural order well-known from the civic world.

Some of Dionysodoros' honorific measures are surely particularly extravagant, but our general evidence for the vibrant nature of funerary customs at Rhodes, attested primarily by the hundreds of funerary altars and other monuments[852] that survive in the various cemeteries and necropoleis, suggests strongly that this is an area of piety and religious experience that should not be overlooked, in particular in terms of 'private' religion.

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[851] *IG* XII 1 155 especially ll.22-3 and ll.66-9. There are careful prescriptions for how the golden crown to be laid on his monument is to be financed: an annual contribution by all members will pay for the first occasion; thereafter it is to be sold and a further one, apparently, should be bought in the following year from the proceeds of this sale; see Gabrielsen (1994a). Also Fraser (1977), 61-3 and on posthumous crowns in Rhodian funerary practice: 68.

[852] On Rhodian funerary culture, especially in its physical and monumental form see Lauter (1988) and Fabricius (1999a), 165-8, 197-210.

The presence of these 'altars' and the rituals focused on them also raises some questions about what sort of 'cult' we are dealing with here. Were such practices akin to hero cult, similarly focussed on the tomb of dead individuals, and incorporating libations, sacrifices or other rituals?[853] Heroization of recently dead – and, indeed, sometimes still living[854] – mortals of exceptional renown is a practice familiar from at least fifth-century Greek society onwards. However, the categorisation of 'hero' cult is problematic and should probably be avoided in the almost complete absence on Rhodes of attestations of the term 'heros'.[855] Instead of attempting to categorise these ritual practices, we should recognise the particular funerary culture in this time and place: funerary rituals including perhaps sacrifices could be carried out at the tombs of recently dead members of *koina*, presumably ranging from the very lavish celebrations depicted by the example of Dionysios to more simple libations and offerings left on the many other rectangular and cylindrical funerary altars.[856] It is striking to recognise the parallel function which the *koina* served in this context: involving themselves in the graveside rituals of their deceased members, they took over the responsibilities usually borne by the family and were interested in rewarding particular distinction and bestowing extravagant honours.

Information about actual ritual practice among non-civic or private groups on Rhodes is thus very scarce. Within the cities, and in particular Rhodes-town, most of our evidence

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[853] This seems to be Kurtz and Boardman's view (1971): 300-1.
[854] Currie (2005), 158-200.
[855] Fraser (1977), 76-81. Cf. Fabricius (1999a), 216-20.
[856] Note also the potential site of worship of a Dionysiac *koinon* in a Rhodian necropolis; it is based on the discovery of a late Hellenistic courtyard structure, decorated with reliefs depicting Dionysos and other deities: Lauter (1988), n.33; Bilde (1999) is a little more cautious in her analysis, since the theory relies solely on the iconography of the reliefs, but agrees that the site was likely the location for ritual activity.

relates to the funerary context, where offerings were made to deceased members. Scattered finds of altars, both inscribed and not, attest to basic offerings in such and other contexts. The only texts which might fairly be called sacrificial regulations relate to different kinds of associations, those that were located outside the vibrant religious life of the cities. Thus, although we have discovered some relevant traces of religious practice, our understanding of religious experience remains stunted. Further exploration of one particular type of theophoric association may illuminate this latter aspect a bit further: an examination of groups calling themselves Samothraikistai, or variations on this name, derived from the Great Gods at Samothrace.

5.5. Samothraikistai at Rhodes: networks and religious experience

Religious links between Rhodes and Samothrace were strong, or rather, Rhodian interest in Samothracian cult. Rhodians are well attested at the sanctuary at Samothrace itself –as initiates, *theoroi*, and *proxenoi*.[857] In addition, a civic cult of the Samothracian gods, complete with priesthood, is known to have existed at Rhodes as early as the end of the third century BC.[858] Possibly even before this date, various religious officials of Lindos made a dedication to the Samothracian gods.[859] The popularity of these deities is not difficult to comprehend in a state which relied so heavily on maritime activity; for the Samothracian gods were traditionally regarded as guardians of sailors and sea voyages, fulfilling a similar role to the

[857] Guettel Cole (1984), 37-52; Dimitrova (2008); cf. Blakely (2016), 30-1: Rhodes is amongst the states that are represented most at the sanctuary.
[858] *I.Lindos* 134; Morelli (1959), 152-3.
[859] *IG* XII 1 788.

Dioskouroi.[860] The presence of Rhodians in the Samothracian lists of initiates also demonstrates, however, that a substantial number of our islanders took a greater interest in this cult, by travelling to Samothrace and becoming *mystai.* Not much is known about the initiation procedure,[861] but it was certainly open to both men and women. Nevertheless, far more men are attested, presumably due to the necessity of travelling there by boat. The clientele came from a wide catchment area, although the majority originated from the Aegean islands and coastal towns of Asia Minor.

For a long time the *koina* calling themselves Samothraikistai at Rhodes were explained along the lines of the local civic cult, on the assumption that most of them consisted of sailors and were interested in maritime protection. This is certainly true in some cases: we find evidence, for instance, of a group calling itself *Samothraikistai mesoneoi,* 'midship' men, appearing in an honorific inscription from Rhodes-town for a man who had served in the military.[862] A connection seems evident. However, it should also not be overstated: we find related terms in numerous other associations' names on Rhodes – indicating, as already argued by Gabrielsen, a particular popularity for forming such groups within naval and military contexts.[863] Thus this was not necessarily a feature characteristic of groups of Samothraikistai *per se*, but rather a reflection of Rhodian society in the Hellenistic period. Nonetheless, by virtue of practical factors and hindrances, the Rhodians who journeyed to the sanctuary at Samothrace and were initiated presumably included sailors or soldiers too. An unpublished inscription from Tenos, possibly relating to crews under the command of a

[860] It is interesting that *both* these cults are attested at Rhodes; see chapter 6 below. The Samothracian mysteries, too, were believed to offer protection at sea: Blakely (2016), 17-28, with n.5 for literary references.
[861] Dimitrova (2008), 245-7.
[862] *IG* XII 1 43. 'Mesoneoi' depicted a type of rower: cf. [Arist.] *Mech.* 850b.
[863] E.g. the Panathenaistai strateusamenoi: *I.Lindos* 303; Athanaistai strateuomenoi: *I.Lindos* 264; Gabrielsen (1997), 124-5; id. (2001), 222-3.

Rhodian navarch, refers to initiation into the mysteries of Samothrace, in addition to those at Lemnos, and Eleusis.[864] Yet another inscription, from first-century Samothrace, lists Rhodian initiates giving us a vivid picture who such groups of initiates who travelled to the sanctuary together might have included:

1 [ἐπὶ βασιλέως]
Πυθίωνος τοῦ Ἀριδήλου
Ῥοδίων ἱεροποιοὶ
μύσται καὶ ἐ̣πόπται
5 εὐσεβεῖς·
Σωσικλῆς Εὐκράτευς
Πεισικράτης Τιμαράτου
Δαμάτριος Ἀμφ̣οτεροῦ
συνέγδαμοι·
10 Καλλικράτης Δαματρίου
Ἀναξικράτης Ἀναξικρά̣τ̣ε[υς]
Θεύδωρος Ἡραγό̣ρ̣[α]
Ἰσίδοτος — — — —
Δαμασ̣α̣— — — — —
15 Ἀγα̣σ̣— — — — — —
b.
1 ἐπὶ βασ[ιλέως — — — —]
ὡς δὲ ἐν Ῥόδ[ωι ἐπὶ ἱερέως]
τοῦ Ἁλίου Ἀ[ριστ]ά̣κου
Ῥοδίων
5 ἱεροποιοὶ μύσται εὐσεβε[ῖς]·
Δαλιάδας Ἀντιπάτρου̣
Ἀριστογένης Νικομάχο[υ]
ναῦται·
Διονύσιος Ἐφέσιος
10 Θήρων Περίνθιος
Εὐσύης Ἐφέσιος̣
[Ἀγ]αθάνγελος
. . . . . ιος̣ ἐν Ῥόδω[ι]
[ἀγορανομ]οῦντος̣.[865]

a. In the year of the basileus Pythion, son of Aridelos. The hieropoioi of the Rhodians are mystai and pious epoptai: Sosikles son of Eukrates, Peisikrates son of Timaratos, Damatrios son of

[864] Preliminary readings and comments presented by Sofia Kravaritou at the Epigraphy Workshop, University of Oxford, 28/11/2016. I am very grateful to Sofia for her presentation, and for further email correspondence on the text.
[865] *IG* XII 8 186; Dimitrova (2008), no.50 with commentary

Amphoteros. Fellow-travellers: Kallikrates son of Damatrios, Anaxikrates son of Anaxikrates, Theudoros son of Heragoras, Isidotos [---], Damasa[-], Agas[--].
b. In the year of the basileus [---], just as in Rhodes, in the year of the priest of Helios Aristakos, the hieropoioi of the Rhodians are pious mystai: Daliadas son of Antipatros, Aristogenes son of Nikomachos. Sailors: Dionysios from Ephesos, Theron from Perinthus, Eusyes from Ephesos, Agathangelos, [--] was agoranomos (?) in Rhodes.

This text offers us several enlightening insights into Rhodian religious interest and interaction with the great sanctuary at Samothrace. It demonstrates that groups of initiates were rather small, in these cases fewer than ten – that is, if the *synegdamoi* of side a and the nautai of side b were also initiated; the inscription does not state this clearly. But more importantly it reveals the kinds of Rhodians who travelled to the sanctuary to be initiated: sure enough, and perhaps due to the practicalities of the maritime approach to Samothrace, a group of ναῦται appears in the second part of the inscription (b.23ff.), but in both cases we also find *hieropoioi*, whom we saw attested at Kameiros in vast numbers. A Kameiran honorific inscription from around the same time may add to our picture: it lists the offices of an individual and his many honours for his activities, including: '*ἀποσταλέντος ἱεροποιοῦ εἰς/[Ἴ]μβρον καὶ ε]ἰς Λῆμνον καὶ Διδυμεῖον…'.*[866] The fact that he was *hieropoios* at Kameiros had already been mentioned earlier in the text, in the 6th line, but the repetition of the position in this context suggests that this was a special mission he fulfilled, not merely a normal part of this office.[867] It seems that in his function as a 'doer of sacred things' he was sent as a representative to a number of locations in the northern Aegean and to the oracle at Didyma. Presumably he was fulfilling a function that benefitted the Kameiran community, since they explicitly mentioned these ventures in his honours. Unfortunately the text does not elaborate on what the honorand may have done or performed in these locations; his

[866] *Tit.Cam*. 78 ll.13-4.
[867] Smith (1972), 532-4 believes that this must be seen as a separate *hieropoios* office to the 'normal' one, but this is not supported by the evidence.

journey would certainly have taken him very close to Samothrace, but sadly there is no way to reconstruct this as one of his stops. Lemnos itself was also a place with strong connections to the Kabeiroi and with a mystery cult of its own,[868] a link which may be reflected in the Rhodian association of Samothraikistai kai Lemniastai.[869] In either case, it is conceivable that the *hieropoioi* we read of in the initiate lists were sent in similar official functions, in particular since they are inscribed beneath the title of their office. We may imagine that such missions strengthened ties and networks between Rhodes and other religious centres in the eastern Aegean, perhaps in a similar way to the sending of *theoroi* – a capacity, incidentally, in which we also find links between Samothrace and Rhodes.[870] The 'international' atmosphere of the Samothracian mysteries, might be relevant in this context.[871] Recently, Blakely has emphasised the social networks created through exchange in the sanctuary, not just between the delegations and Samothrace, but between all the different groups that encountered each other in this location.[872]

A final observation to take from the Samothracian list of Rhodian initiates is that the *nautai* who accompany the second group are not themselves Rhodians: we find two men from Ephesos, one from Perinthos and one whose ethnic is missing, but who was apparently involved in markets and business at Rhodes. It is not unlikely that all nonetheless came from

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[868] For a brief overview of the present state of evidence: Bowden (2010), 54-6; cf. Str. 10.3.21 and *SEG* 50 824. Excavations at the Lemnian Kabeirion are ongoing. Note the presence of the Rhodian *demos* in a fragmentary (honorific?) inscription from the late second century BC: *ASAA* 19-21 (1941-3), p.101, no.19.

[869] *IG* XII 1, 43.

[870] Although this was unconnected to initiation: Blakely (2016), 24-5; cf. Guettel Cole (1984), 48-52: very few cities appear both in the Samothracian lists of initiates and of *theoroi*. Dimitrova points to other examples of *hieropoioi* in the Samothracian documents and suggests that this office may have denoted the same functions as *theoroi* in other poleis: Dimitrova (2008), 127-8.

[871] Unlike for instance Eleusis, the sanctuary regularly attracted numerous initiates from an extensive catchment area: Guettel Cole lists *mystai* from 40 different cities attested in the inscriptions, mainly from the eastern Aegean islands, Thrace and western Asia Minor: Guettel Cole (1984), 43-4.

[872] Blakely (2016).

Rhodes and perhaps were all resident there, explaining their availability for accompanying the *hieropoioi* on their journey.

Did this initiation into the Samothracian mysteries, by both Rhodians and non-Rhodians, provide an impetus for any of the Samothraikistai who existed back at Rhodes? The associations we briefly looked at earlier, those apparently linked to military or at least naval groups of Rhodian society, may comprise some Samothracian initiates, but there is no evidence for this. However, there is one inscription, published by Pugliese-Carratelli, which, although very fragmentary, mentions a *koinon* calling itself the Samothraikistai [Nikos]trateioi synmystai [synstra]teusamenoi.[873] Unfortunately the text does not give us much beyond the association's name; but it is evident that we have here a group of Rhodian residents who were initiated at Samothrace, presumably together. We can only guess at their activity when they met; apparently they had also served in the military together, so we cannot expect their concern to have been exclusively religious. However it is not inconceivable that they bonded over their shared religious experience as *synmystai*, and perhaps revisited Samothrace together.[874] This sort of 'group feeling' can in fact be shown to be a characteristic feature of ancient mystery cults; Burkert cites, for instance, Plato's 7th letter, in which the philosopher speaks of the ties of friendship that participating in mysteries can forge between initiates.[875] While our literary sources refer, for the most part, to the Eleusinian mysteries, these sorts of bonds surely also connected fellow initiates at Samothrace – in particular, perhaps, those who were initiated in the same group, but feeling of a common and exclusive knowledge and experience would surely have extended to other

[873] Pugliese-Carratelli (1939-1940) no. 13.
[874] Note the unpublished inscription from Tenos, mentioned above; on the shared religious experience of Rhodian naval crews, see also *IG* XII *Suppl.* 317 from Tenos, and more below.
[875] Burkert (1987), 44f.; Pl. *Ep.* VII 333e; Plut. *Dio* 56; Sopatros *Rhet.Gr.* viii, 123.26.

mystai too. That such ties would have resulted in at least one *koinon* on Rhodes, clearly a fertile breeding-ground for associations, is then not a surprise.

There were many reasons for the popularity of the cult of the Samothracian gods at Rhodes. Much of the interest in them was surely a result of Rhodes' position as a maritime power – although we might note that worship of these deities and cultivation of the associations outlasted the period of Rhodian naval power by a considerable period of time. The Samothracian mysteries should, however, be considered separately from the civic cult. Rhodian interest in these was also intensely serious, as demonstrated by the *hieropoioi* and *theoroi* who made the journey regularly. The group initiation that occurred at Samothrace seems to chime perfectly with the associative spirit of Rhodian religion; it would not be surprising at all to find more evidence of groups of *synmystai* who continued to foster this relationship.

5.6. Religious Associations: a microcosm of civic religion?

As observed at the beginning of this section, a common observation in the study of Greek associations is their customary mirroring of the institutions and structures of a polis, particularly evident in the existence of similar offices and hierarchies, visible in the language of decrees. For Gabrielsen, each such *koinon* 'endowed with its own constitution, officials, institutions, and a kind of a territorial base […] posed as a "little republic".'[876] The fact that it was often foreign residents who organised themselves into these familiar civic structures

[876] Gabrielsen (2009), 182. Also in the context of Rhodian associations cf. Fabricius (1999a), 213: 'Als Art Ersatz- oder Miniaturpoleis übernahmen die Vereine viele Charakteristika des staatlichen Lebens.'

created, on the most basic level, possibilities for non-citizens to act like citizens of their new home, holding office and participating in areas that were perhaps closed to them. In short, such an association, like the collegia under the Roman Empire, 'provided a social setting in which persons who normally could never aspire to participation in the cursus honorum of the city and state could give and receive honours, enjoy the ascribed status that came with being a quinquennalis or mater, have a feeling of control over at least the destiny of the collegium, and enjoy regular banquets.'[877] Although Kloppenborg's observation refers to life in the Greek East under Roman rule, it applies equally well to the highly bureaucratic Hellenistic state of Rhodes – the political, military and economic, but also the religious life of the island. As I demonstrated in chapter 3, religious offices were organised into annual priesthoods, in a rather secular style. Thus the careers of prominent Rhodians could include several illustrious priesthoods, in addition to their other achievements. Do we see such local customs reflected in the organisation of our associations?

It is difficult to determine whether Rhodian associations ever offered actual priesthoods to their members. One possible case is provided by the problematic inscription already discussed above, that appears to record a dedication by Eulimenos, 'γραμματεὺς/ [δα]μόσιος ἱερατεύ-/[σας] Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου', possibly in connection with a *koinon* of Diosatabyriastai consisting of slaves. If this reading is correct it appears that Eulimenos was the *koinon*'s priest, especially since it is difficult to imagine a slave holding such a position in a public cult in Rhodes. If correctly restored (and there seems to be no alternative) the aorist tense of ἱερατεύ-/[σας] implies that Eulimenos was no longer priest; it is the typical tense which denotes Rhodian priests after their, usually annual, term in office.[878] On the basis of

[877] Kloppenborg (1996), 26-7.
[878] See above p.137.

these parallels to Rhodian civic religion, we may extrapolate that Eulimenos had been the *koinon*'s priest for a fixed term, perhaps only a year.

This constitutes the only possible attestation of a priesthood in this context, although we do find other offices mentioned in the text relating to Nikasion's *koinon* of Asklapiastai Nikasioneioi Olympiastai.[879] This list of victors in his games includes the names of *agonothetai*, *phylarchoi* and *gymnasiarchoi*. The similarity of this organisation with that of, in particular, the Erethimia was pointed out above. For although foreigners could and did participate in the Erethimian games, contests also existed which pitted the Rhodian *phylai* against each other – thus naturally excluding any non-citizens. It is this aspect of the festival which Nikasion seems to be intent on replicating in his version, in perhaps the best evidence we have for true parallels between civic and privately organised religion.

That *koina*-organised festivals might play a bigger role in providing parallel institutions and experiences to those of the polis has recently been suggested by Stella Skaltsa on the basis of a Lindian honorific inscription:

> [τὸ κ]οινὸν τὸ Λαπηθιαστᾶν ἐτίμασε Ἀπολλόδωρον [τοῦ δεῖνος]
> θαλλίνοις στεφάνοις δυσίν, χρυσέοις στεφάνοις δυσίν,
> προεδρίαι, ἀτελείαι πάντων ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἂν ἔ[χων]
> διατελεῖ εἰς αὐτούς.
> vacat
> Νίκαια Λητοδ[ώρ]ου
> γυνὰ δὲ Ἀπο[λλοδώρου]
> στεφαν[ωθεῖσα]
> ὑπὸ Λαπη[θιαστᾶν]
> θαλλίνωι [στεφάνωι].[880]
>
> *The koinon of Lapethiastai honoured Apollodoros [son of ---] with two wreaths of young shoots, with two golden crowns, with proedria, with ateleia of all things, on account of his virtue and the goodwill which he displayed towards them.*

[879] *IG* XII 1 127.

[880] *IG* XII 1, 867; Skaltsa, 'Rhodes: a melting port? Associations and religious interactions', presented at: 'Religious Interactions in the Hellenistic World', 18.-19. March 2017, University of Oxford.

Nikaia, daughter of Letodoros and wife of Apollodoros was crowned by the Lapethiastai with a wreath of young shoots.

Focusing on the grant of *proedria* made by the *koinon* of the Lapethiastai to Apollodoros, Skaltsa argued that this was likely to refer to a *koinon*-organised festival, perhaps similar to Nikasion's, providing us with further evidence for the mirroring of polis institutions, not only by *koina*, but more specifically in the agonistic sphere.[881] These observations open up exciting new possibilities of tracing the relationship between polis and *koinon*, and the imitation of civic structures in the religious sphere of privately organised festivals.

However, although, throughout this chapter, we have found ample evidence for parallels in choices of deity and in these last cases also religious practice between Rhodian civic religion and the life of voluntary associations, direct links are almost entirely absent. Most associations naming themselves after particular Rhodian deities did not, as we saw, have any identifiable special relationship with the civic manifestation of the cult. The one possible exception of the Diosatabyriastai perhaps leaving a dedication to the deity in the civic sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios has been discussed at length; other evidence for religious practice seems to have taken place in structures belonging to and often built by associations, although the evidence for festivals might imply a use of civic stadia or odeia.

If connections or networks existed between associations and civic cult, they seem to have been constructed mainly on other, social factors, but not religious ones. We find, for instance, no evidence of any collaboration between associations worshipping the same deities. Much of this might be due to our lack of evidence. But based on the information we

[881] She also drew attention to the attestation of Bakcheia in connection with a *koinon: IG* XII 1, 155, ll.46-50. It is possible that this also explains the grant of *proedria* made by the Erethimiazontes, mentioned above, but the group's close connection to the civic sanctuary, as well as their high profile makes this unlikely in my opinion.

possess, it seems that associations and networks relied on their members, whose interests might be reflected in the activities of their *koinon* (or *koina*) in particular in the public sphere.[882] The mixed membership of most of these associations demonstrates that Rhodian residents were keen to expand their networks along more complex avenues than nationality, profession or joint cult. Even the groups of Samothraikistai, some of whom may have shared the experience of initiation, evidently also focused on other links, such as military service. The multitude of these links and relationships is demonstrated by the vast number and different combinations of these *koina* appearing in honorific inscriptions, for both Rhodians and non-Rhodians. This was after all the context in which the majority of them were immortalised, highlighting their participation in the civic language and practice.

[882] Gabrielsen (2007).

6. Religion and Society in Hellenistic Rhodes

In the preceding chapters, I have attempted to illustrate the various aspects of religious life on Rhodes. Since by its very nature religion forms an integral part of ancient Greek society, this discussion has at times incorporated social matters too – in particular the sections on priesthoods, associations and the inclusion of members of the Rhodian peraia in the island's religious life and practice. It remains to ask how the picture of Rhodian religion expounded in this thesis fits into the wider framework of Rhodian society. In contrast to the island's religion, Rhodian society has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention over the past century; the topic was keenly pursued by Italian scholars such as Pugliese Carratelli, formed a major focus for Peter Fraser's work, and, more recently, constituted the basis for several of Vincent Gabrielsen's publications. Whereas an underlying theme of much of my study so far has been the difference between the various Rhodian communities and their particularities in the field of religion, the present chapter aims to step back and look at Rhodian society and religion more generally – all the time aware, of course, of the tripartite nature of the Rhodian state. Thus, questions of participation and authority will be approached from the new perspective of Rhodian society: did 'religious authority' relate to social standing? What role did the 'elite' or 'aristocracy' play in Rhodian religion? What participation in religious life do we find at the different levels of Rhodian society? These questions will also provide an opportunity to examine the sort of democracy that Hellenistic Rhodes was governed by and to what extent this influenced religious life.

More generally, this section will aim to consider the particular characteristics of Rhodian society and in what ways the religious life we have been tracing relates to these. For the various idiosyncrasies of Rhodian religion that have emerged from my study must not be

seen in isolation; rather they should be seen in conjunction with other elements and aspects of Rhodian society and everyday life in the island state. This is indeed a prime concern for studies of regional religion: an interest in detecting the relationship between religious life and specific events or characteristics that shape that region's social or political history – thus we find Mili's book on religion in Thessaly particularly interested in questions concerning ethnos and polis and the complicated power structures of that region; Paul's study on the cults and sanctuaries of Kos, similarly to this thesis, takes its main starting point as the island's synoikism in 366 and is concerned with tracing religious life on both the local and the federal levels of the new state;[883] studies of Athenian religion, due to the much fuller picture of that polis' history, must find ways of incorporating that state's democratic ideals and institutions, as well as the developments of its foreign policy and imperial aspirations. This is not to claim that every political event or social policy can or should be traced on the religious level; rather that the embedded nature of Greek religion means that we should explore such links where possible and fruitful.

I will therefore, in a final section of this chapter, examine the characteristics of Rhodian society that have appeared distinctive to our ancient authors and modern historians and determine in what way religion relates to these: aspects such as naval power and the sea, and Rhodes' position as a trade centre and the corresponding influx of foreigners. As regards the initial questions concerning religious and other forms of authority and to what extent these were dominated by a small group of notables, or, indeed, an 'aristocracy', these are issues that are equally pertinent to a study of Rhodian society. Throughout the 20th century, scholars propounded, for the most part, a picture of a particularly prominent

[883] Mili (2015); Paul (2013a).

aristocratic class on the island, which dominated in political, military and economic matters. This belief was central to Rostovtzeff's portrayal of the trade and prosperity of this island state, and was re-iterated by Walbank in his discussion of Rhodian economy: the latter coined the phrase 'naval aristocracy' in this context, the term which formed the title of Gabrielsen's book on the subject.[884] Gabrielsen's primary aim was to determine the context and circumstances 'which enabled the Rhodian élite of wealth to exercise considerable influence over political and social institutions, and above all over Rhodes' naval organization'[885] – clearly demonstrating that the underlying assumption about Rhodian society is that it was controlled, for the most part, by a wealthy elite. To what extent this assumption is accurate will be a major question for this chapter to engage with.

6.1. Rhodian society in the late classical and Hellenistic period

The majority of our evidence for the Rhodian constitution and government comes from the Hellenistic period (and even here we are not as well informed as we should wish). But what of the situation in between the synoikism and the Hellenistic period? Can we find any hints of what Rhodian politics looked like in the tumultuous fourth century BC?

Following the synoikism, which had been achieved with Spartan support, the early fourth century saw a newly united Rhodes split between opposing factions.[886] Although our sources diverge in some of the details, it seems that the democratic, pro-Athenian party

[884] Rostovstzeff in *CAH* VIII, 620-40; Walbank (1981), 162; Gabrielsen (1997), 15 on the phrase 'naval aristocracy' and his use of it.
[885] Gabrielsen (1997), 36.
[886] Sometimes characterised as a dispute between pro-Spartan and pro-Athenian factions, but see Funke (1980) on the importance of domestic issues over those of foreign policy in these years.

succeeded in ousting the oligarchs.[887] Rhodes returned into alliance with Athens until the Social War of 357-5 BC, when the island succeeded in freeing itself from Athenian hegemony. This newfound independence did not, however, last long; Rhodes soon found itself under the control of the Hecatomnid satraps of Karia, under whose influence the island state was ruled by an oligarchy. Possibly with the arrival of Alexander the Great and the establishment of a Macedonian garrison on the island, democracy was reinstated.[888] After Alexander's death, the Rhodians expelled the garrison and, finally, enjoyed an autonomous existence, which was to last until the Roman conquest of the Greek East. Democracy, too, lasted throughout the Hellenistic period and possibly beyond.

Clearly the fourth century was a period of great political turmoil for the newly formed state. Although it is important to bear this in mind when considering the ensuing Hellenistic period, we have so little evidence from this century that it seems safer to focus largely on the period following Alexander's conquests and death – and thereby the democratic government that was to persist for centuries – in our study of Rhodian society. For although it is possible that this democracy was modelled on the government that had existed earlier that century, while in alliance with the Athenians, the majority of our evidence is Hellenistic in date, and cannot be applied retrospectively with any real conviction.

The precise nature and organisation of this democracy has been the subject of heated discussion among scholars; according to the traditional view, the Rhodian government, although a democracy in name and consisting of democratic institutions, was in reality

[887] Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.20-5; Diod.Sic. 14.97.1-4, 99.4-5; Specifically on these accounts of this Rhodian stasis: David (1984); cf. also Westlake (1983).

[888] Generally on this period: Berthold (1984), 19-37; Wiemer (2002a), 52-66. See also Robinson (2011), 166-70 for the development towards democracy.

closer to an oligarchy, 'an aristocracy disguised as a democracy'.[889] This interpretation owes a great deal to a much-discussed passage in Strabo, in which the author states that 'δημοκηδεῖς δ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ Ῥόδιοι καίπερ οὐ δημοκρατούμενοι, συνέχειν δ᾽ ὅμως βουλόμενοι τὸ τῶν πενήτων πλῆθος.'[890] For some reason, then, Strabo thinks it fitting to describe the Rhodians as 'οὐ δημοκρατούμενοι' – a judgement which, however, goes against the presentation of the Rhodian constitution in other sources, such as Cicero, Diodorus and Polybios, as well as against the epigraphic evidence, according to which decisions were made by the *damos*.[891] Thus, although Strabo's comment should not be disregarded, it cannot on its own discount the evidence we have for democratic institutions, and even less should it be used to apply to the earlier Hellenistic period – as it too often has. For, as Grieb has recently demonstrated, the supposed control of Rhodian politics by a small aristocracy (Gabrielsen's 'naval aristocracy'), is not borne out by any evidence pre-dating the second half of the second century BC.[892] It is likely, then, that Strabo's assessment illustrates a later development of Rhodian society, one which should certainly not be discounted; yet the evidence from the third and second centuries demonstrates beyond a doubt that we are dealing with a democratic government: the *ekklesia* appears to have had complete authority, assisted by a probouleutic council, with no apparent property restrictions; even the board of *prytaneis*, often assumed to have held substantial power, were democratically elected by the

[889] Rostovtzeff, *CAH* VIII, 633. See also O'Neil (1981) and Gabrielsen (1997), 15-36.
[890] Str. 14.2.5. See especially Migeotte (1989) on this passage and its interpretation.
[891] Note, for instance, Diod.Sic. 20.93.6-7 who recounts how, during the great siege of 304 BC, the *damos* voted down the suggestion by some men to pull down the statues of Antigonus and Demetrios; the author goes on to refer to the Rhodian state specifically as a 'democracy'. Cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.47 and 3.48. Not many Rhodian decrees survive for us, and even fewer that preserve the introductory formula, but see e.g. *IG* XII 1, 3 (cautiously dated to the first century BC or AD) which mentions both the *damos* and the *ekklesia* in its first line.
[892] Grieb (2008), esp. 276-304.

assembly and held office for the very limited period of half a year.[893] However, it is nonetheless worth stressing that, accidents of survival notwithstanding, the Rhodian state was remarkably uninterested in recording its democratic decision-making structures and processes epigraphically. As this thesis has demonstrated, the island's epigraphic habit shows a particular emphasis on honorific statuary, alongside priestly dedications, catalogues, and funerary epigraphy. The mere fact that we are so much better informed about the achievements of notable individuals, than decrees passed by the Rhodian demos, demonstrates a very different mentality from a state like Hellenistic Priene, providing crucial context to our understanding of the many sacred and secular 'careers' we traced in chapter 3.

In practice, nonetheless, the Rhodian state was governed by a democratic constitution throughout the Hellenistic period – although with a potential development in the later part of that period to a greater reliance on the wealth of a smaller group of the population. This is not to say that wealth and family connections did not play a role earlier too; but it is important to stress that power was not solely in the hands of the aristocracy – particularly since this remains the common view in most scholarship. The same democratic principles seem to have existed in the three old cities, Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos, which, under the category of *phylai*, had their own assemblies and councils, whose members were called *mastroi.* This local organisation continued to possess a certain amount of autonomy; various decrees are passed at this level, and only some make reference to obtaining permission from

[893] For the traditional view of the undemocratic nature of the *prytaneis* and their power see e.g. Rostovtzeff, *CAH* VIII, 634 and O'Neil (1981), 471; for the half-year terms and emphasis on their democratic election see Grieb (2008), 294-6 and more recently Badoud (2015), 20.

the *sympas damos*.[894] Although we have no firm evidence for the term of office of the *mastroi*, it seems likely that the local level of government mirrored the federal. Finally, there must have been some level of political activity on the deme level; here, however, our evidence almost completely fails us. Evidently the deme system was created or reformed at some stage after the synoikism, but a more precise date still eludes us.[895]

These different levels of government and administration demonstrate the high number of offices that were available for Rhodians to hold and thus offered them an opportunity to involve themselves in the functioning of their state. In addition to these political offices, we should remember the large number of religious positions, discussed previously, the vast majority of which also rotated on an annual basis.

Although we do not have much information about the activity of the Rhodian demes,[896] it is clear that membership of a deme was a quintessential part of being a Rhodian citizen. As discussed in a previous section, the deme-system was divided between the three *phylai*, which comprised the three old communities of the island, and at which level numerous decisions were passed. We saw that membership of a particular deme determined what priesthoods a man could hold and in what years (at least in the case of the prominent eponymous positions). But a demotic was also a marker of full citizenship in other parts of society: it denoted membership of a *phyla*, as well as of the Rhodian *damos* more generally; it

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[894] E.g. *IG* XII 1, 677 l.1: ἔδοξε τοῖς μαστροῖς καὶ Ἰαλυσίοις·; cf. for Kameiros e.g. *Tit.Cam.* 108 and for Lindos e.g. *IG* XII 1, 761. References to the authority of the *sympas damos: IG* XII 1 1032, l.32; 1033, ll.30-1. Cf. Grieb (2008), 273-5; Gabrielsen (1994b).

[895] Apparently 12 per polis. Van Gelder (1900), 207-222; Papachristodoulou (1999a). Difficulty of dating this, but certainly no evidence for demes before the synoikism: Fraser (1952); O'Neil (1981); Berthold (1984), 41; Demand (1990), 93-94; Gabrielsen (2000a), 189.

[896] Our epigraphic evidence for the activities of demes in the Rhodian state is largely limited to honorific texts (*I.Lindos* 216, *NSER* 27) and contributions to subscriptions (*Tit.Cam.* 158, 159). Cf. also *IG* XII 1, 978, 995 and 1032 from Karpathos, which are also all of an honorific nature.

enabled men to hold political as well as religious office, and have their voice heard in the different Rhodian assemblies. The importance of full Rhodian citizenship is further emphasised by the apparent rigour with which it was guarded. For although there is ample evidence of foreigners being granted '*epidamia*', or right of residence, grants of citizenship are much rarer. When they occur, they usually honour a prominent individual.[897] The phenomenon of adoption, too, although still posing many unanswered questions, must relate to particular restrictions or laws on citizenship and inheritance.[898] In addition, as we saw in some of the case-studies of peraian demesmen holding religious office on Rhodes, adoption could be a key method to gain eligibility for those priesthoods that would otherwise be inaccessible – particularly that of Athena Lindia – and could result in a change of demotic, or even tribal association. Other instances, again particularly tied to Lindian society, suggest that, in a similar vein, adoptions could be used to circumvent the strict tribal cycle by which the priesthood of Athena Lindia was organised.[899] The fact that such a technique was used in this context demonstrates the incredible appeal which holding these high priesthoods continued to have for a number of Rhodian families.[900]

This exclusive nature of Rhodian citizenship is crucial to bear in mind in any discussion of society and religion. Further, despite my argument above that the Rhodian constitution was

[897] Grieb (2008), 263-6. In fact there were apparently a number of different categories into which foreign residents were divided, although we lack information about what these distinctions signified: *metoikoi, matroxenoi,* those granted *epidamia* and *katoikeuntes;* see Maillot (2015), 152-62.
[898] Stavrianopoulou (1993) on the adoption of women on Rhodes; Rice (1988). Gabrielsen (1997) demonstrates that Rhodian adoption served to establish links with the adoptive father's family and (if relevant) deme, while ALSO retaining one's original affiliations: 116-20.
[899] Gabrielsen (1997) notes that an astounding 41% of individuals listed in the priestly catalogue of Athena Lindia were adopted; however, the number of men for whom this affects their tenure of the priesthood is much smaller, only 11: 113 and 137-40. This cautions us against assuming a direct, causal relationship between the règle triennale and adoption.
[900] There appears to have been a substantial increase in adoptions in the second and first centuries BC: Gabrielsen (1997), 113.

democratic and not ruled by a small elite, it is undeniable that there were certain families whose members occur in numerous honorific inscriptions and dedications holding prominent positions, whether religious or military. That many of these men were wealthy can be deduced, for instance, from their involvement in equestrian competitions, as well as from their liturgical roles or their appearance in subscriptions. 'Aristocracy' is, however, not a helpful term for Hellenistic Rhodian society:[901] instead we can talk of groups of wealthy families, whose members are found attested in numerous honorific and other inscriptions throughout the period, holding religious and secular offices, and also contributing to the Rhodian state in a variety of other ways. Some of these families will be investigated in greater detail below, to determine to what extent religion interacted with other concerns among the Rhodian elite.

The general picture of Hellenistic Rhodian society must be seen against the background of a democratic federal state, with the peculiar tripartite division characteristic to Rhodes. Its democratic constitution notwithstanding, the epigraphic habit, particularly in the three old cities, does emphasise the achievements of prominent individuals, through holding office or behaving generously towards their local communities. As Gabrielsen has demonstrated, naval offices and services received particularly high recognition and presented an opportunity for munificence – giving the navy a much more privately funded character than was the case at Athens.[902]

[901] On the problems of using this term with reference to ancient society more generally see van Wees and Fisher (2015).
[902] Gabrielsen (2013).

Drawing on the detailed case-studies presented in the above chapter on priests, I return to the question of who had religious authority in Rhodian society, and what the significance of holding these amply attested religious offices was. By discussing the role of wealth and family connections, some further comments can be made about the significance of such religious careers for members of the elite.

6.2. Money, religion, and family connections

In chapter 3, I presented a number of case-studies, to demonstrate the prominence of 'religious careers' in our Rhodian epigraphy. On a general level, the vast bulk of evidence for men who apparently confined themselves to sacred offices within the civic sphere is striking, as is the tendency to monumentalise these offices. Although the context for inscribing such achievements could be religious – particularly the many monuments set up on the Lindian acropolis – and most texts were dedicated to one or several deities, the accumulation and presentation of these 'careers' give this epigraphic habit a secular air, as discussed above. On the other hand, no clear link between religious and political authority could be established, nor any evident benefit from a religious career for holding high political office. An exception to this may be Lindos, where, several times, we noted the emphasis on local religious achievements, over other civic offices. The case of Astymedes and his father Theaidetos, both prominent in Polybios' account of Rhodian negotiations with Rome, supports this observation: both men had evidently supplemented their military and

political career with a number of religious offices in Lindos.[903] Let us contextualise these observations further in Rhodian society.

As I argued in the introduction, the concept of an 'aristocracy' in Hellenistic Rhodes is not a helpful one. But this is not to say that some of the characteristics commonly associated with an aristocratic class are irrelevant – particularly those of wealth and familial connections. These two elements are those that are easiest to trace in our epigraphic records, where prosopographical observations often point to such indications of wealth as contributions in subscriptions, liturgies or benefactions, as well as to family ties. As before, we must rely on the disjointed evidence of case studies to piece together a picture.

The first question we must ask ourselves is, was there a connection, official or else implicit, between religious offices and wealth on Rhodes? Initially, our evidence seems to suggest that such connections did not exist. Interestingly, for example, we find no evidence of priesthoods being sold, in contrast to nearby cities in Asia Minor and on Kos. A Lindian inscription dated to AD 22 and dealing at length with measures to alleviate financial difficulties in the city's religious structures includes references to the money usually awarded to priests of Athena and instructions on paying it to the public funds instead in certain cases [the precise conditions of this are unfortunately lost]: καὶ εἴ τίς [κα?]/ [ἰ]ερεὺς παραγείνηται τᾶς Ἀθάνας καθε[— — — —]/.ωσις Λινδίοις τοὶ ἱεροταμίαι τὸ ὀφ[εῖ]λον δίδο-/[σθ]αι τῷ ἱερεῖ ἀργύριον εἴς τε τὰς ὑποδοχὰς κτλ.[904] The same decree seeks to persuade men to hold the lower position of *hierothytas* for free, promising to inscribe their

[903] See above pp.182-3.
[904] *I.Lindos* 419 ll.58-75. On this inscription, see above p.166.

names.[905] The clear implication of both clauses is that these positions were usually provided with 'expense accounts' – although the clause concerning the office of *hierothytas* might even imply that this position was usually salaried, as noted above.

On the other hand, several of the activities and customs associated with priesthoods, as also seen in chapter 3, would have required both a certain amount of leisure time and also personal funds. Thus, for instance, the habit of Lindian priests of Athena erecting statues of themselves after their term in office and dedicating them to the goddess would have been an expensive project, difficult to finance for a man of moderate or modest means.[906]

That many of the Rhodians who held prominent priesthoods were indeed wealthy can be demonstrated through a number of case studies of men who contributed to public subscriptions or else held liturgical offices.[907] For instance, we might cite the example of a late third-century priest of Helios, known from amphora stamps, called Simylinos; it seems the same Simylinos was a priest of Apollo at Kameiros, attested in a contemporary but highly fragmentary inscription, and contributed money to a subscription raising money for the building of a *temenos* and temple of Dionysos in Phoinix.[908] Admittedly this subscription bears the names of over seventy men; nonetheless, his presence in it places Simylinos not only among the wealthy citizens of this peraian deme, but also demonstrates his civic involvement and generosity.[909]

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[905] *I.Lindos* 419 ll.75-8.

[906] These are separate from the honorific statues dedicated by other civic officials, and appear to have been set up by the priests themselves, certainly at Lindos and in Rhodes-town: see above p.138 with n. 416. For this practice within the context of family representation in private and public statuary in the Hellenistic period see van Bremen (1996), 176-90.

[907] On Rhodian liturgies see Gabrielsen (1997), 33-5.

[908] Either Simylinos, the son of Minnion or Simylinos, son of Euphragoras, both attested in the subscription from Phoinix in the Rhodian peraia (Badoud, 2015, 193; D15); the former seems to have contributed more to the subscription than the latter, perhaps making this identification more likely: Blümel (1991), no. 101, A l.12 and B l.25. *Tit.Cam.* 44a; Badoud also makes this connection.

[909] Ellis-Evans (2013) on the public and 'staged' aspect of subscriptions.

Another example of a priest of Helios who was clearly wealthy, as well as gaining international prominence, concerns one Kleonymos, son of Damokrates, who held the eponymous priesthood around 182 BC.[910] Badoud identifies him as the man who was *proxenos* at Delphi in 180, subscriptor at Kameiros for an unknown project, and also a victor in the chariot race at the Nemean Games.[911] While still keen to avoid the term 'aristocracy', we can nonetheless remark on his wealth (demonstrated both by the subscription and by his success in the chariot race) and on his international role. That such a man also held the priesthood of Helios at Rhodes may tell us about this office's desirability and social cachet, as well as about the kind of men who ascended to this highest religious position of the state. Further cases could be named of priests of Helios who can also be found in public subscriptions.[912] Indeed, many of the case studies discussed in chapter 3 fit well into this pattern: we might remember Philokrates, who held several offices at Kameiros, but also ensured, single-handedly it seems, the reconstruction of many of the city's buildings following an earthquake in the early second century BC.[913]

The many opportunities that were open to and exploited by prominent and wealthy Rhodians can perhaps best be demonstrated by a closer look at a more detailed case study, an inscription honouring the many achievements of Eupolemos, son of Eupolemos [whose

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[910] Badoud (2015), 193, D19.

[911] Proxeny: *Syll.*[3] 585, ll.224-5; *FD* III, 3, 383, l.25; Subscription: *Tit.Cam.Suppl.* 157 b, l.26; Victory: Ebert (1972), p.203, 63, ll.13-5. Note, however, that the sums provided in the Kameiran subscription are very modest (4-30 drachmas per person), cf. Migeotte (1992), 132. His presence in this inscription on its own is therefore no indication of particular wealth.

[912] E.g. Aristogeitos, son of Pamphilidas, priest of Helios c. 141 BC and subscriptor at Lindos around 125 BC (*I.Lindos* 252 l.167); two priests of Helios can also be found in the subscription *TRI* 33 dated to 80 BC: Bakchios, son of Hermon and Drakon, son of Ouliades (Badoud, 2015, D31 and D33). Several other priests are closely related to men who appear in these subscriptions.

[913] Probably of c.198 BC: Badoud (2015), 104-5; *Tit.Cam.* 110 = *TRI* 22; Meier (2012), no.25. Note also the first-century AD *damiourgos* Pythagoras who, together with his wife, built a temple to Pan 'ἐκ τῶ[ν] ἰδίων.' (*Tit.Cam.* 57). Many more such private contributions by priests could be listed.

name has been restored with some confidence].[914] In addition to being general and *prytanis*, Eupolemos was active in the religious spheres of both Rhodes-town and Lindos: in the *asty*, he served as treasurer 'kata Halieia' and *prophatas*; he may also have been priest of Helios;[915] in Lindos, he held the eponymous priesthood of Athena Lindia and that of Artemis Kekoia. After the lavish honours paid him by the Lindians are described, we find out that he was also active in the agonistic sphere: as *phylarchos* and *choragos* as well as victor at a number of festivals. The text finally also informs us that he was *trierarchos* twice – probably the most expensive duty one could fulfil in Hellenistic Rhodes.[916] This implies strongly that we are here dealing with a man of considerable wealth, an impression substantiated by this individual's recurrence in a number of other Lindian documents, including a subscription and several further honorific inscriptions.[917] It is noteworthy that Eupolemos is honoured most explicitly by the Lindians, who set up a statue of him, but is also establishing his presence in Rhodes-town, where the text cited above was found. Eupolemos' aim was clearly to leave a mark in both Rhodian communities; if the honours and epigraphic recognition are anything to go by, he evidently succeeded greatly at Lindos. We saw above the great significance in Lindian society of the priesthood of Athena Lindia, to which that of Artemis Kekoia was tied in this period. The text just cited, meanwhile, demonstrates that he also achieved recognition in Rhodes-town.

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[914] Kontorini (1989), no.73; *TRI* 34: the latter edition, Badoud suggests a line above the honorand's name, reading: [(τὸν) ἱερῆ (τοῦ) Ἁλίου]. Dated after 83 BC.
[915] Based on Badoud's reconstruction (see prior note) and supported by his theory of the link between the office of *prophatas* and priest of Helios: Badoud (2015), 112-8; 195-6.
[916] On the *trierarchos* see Gabrielsen (1997), 100-8.; Grieb (2008), 316-20.
[917] Subscription: *I.Lindos* 252 l.45, where he appears alongside other members of his family of the Klasioi; honours: *I.Lindos* 293b. He also appears in the list of priests of Athena Lindia, *I.Lindos* 1, F III, ll.5-7. Note the generally privileged position and comparative wealth of members of the deme of the Klasioi: Bresson (1988), 147-8.

Aside from holding a number of offices in both Lindos and Rhodes-town, Eupolemos was clearly concerned with expressing his munificence through financial contributions, that is, liturgies and subscriptions. As noted above, the record of these denotes an impressive accumulation of cost-heavy roles and a particular interest in pan-Rhodian festivals, as opposed to local Lindian ones; his past position as *phylarchos* denotes a role in pan-Rhodian games, in which he surely acted as leader of the Lindian *phyla.* There is no indication that Eupolemos' wealth translated directly into political or other influence, yet it certainly enabled him to be highly active and engaged in the civic and religious spheres of not just one but two Rhodian communities.

This case-study of Eupolemos' career brings us to one further consideration, particularly relevant to the sphere of Lindian society: the recurrence of members of certain families and the possibility that this reflects the influence and privilege of a small elite. One of our attestations of Eupolemos' career comes from a family monument honouring three members of his family, all of whom had been priests of Athena at Lindos; Eupolemos' statue base is set up by his wife, his three sons, his daughter, and his brother.[918] We find this sort of demonstration of family connections frequently in Lindian priestly epigraphy.[919]
Due to the fairly comprehensive state of our epigraphic picture from Lindos, scholars have managed to trace stemmata of the families that appear regularly over the generations.[920] Eupolemos belongs to one such family, members of the Lindian deme of the Klasioi, many of whom can be seen to distinguish themselves in various aspects of Lindian life.[921] Thus

[918] *I.Lindos* 293.
[919] See above p.169.
[920] Blinkenberg (1941), 29-50; Rice (1986), using Rhodian family monuments; Badoud (2015), 287-304.
[921] Stemma no. V in Badoud (2015), 292-3.

Eupolemos' brother Timokrates was priest of Dionysos, as well as priest of Athena Lindia, three years before Eupolemos held the post.[922] According to the triennial rule, members of the same deme could only hold the eponymous priesthood at Lindos in three-year intervals. The dates thus indicate that the two brothers occupied this office in succession, that is, when the rotation of demes next made it possible for the other to advance to it. Tracing Eupolemos' family further in both directions we find that his adoptive father, Timokrates, had himself been priest of Athena Lindia in 112 BC, a position finally also ascended to by his grandson, also called Eupolemos, in 14 BC.[923]

Similar observations can be made in various other periods and other families at Lindos: thus we know that a certain Pythagoras, who was priest of Athena Lindia around 198 BC, had three sons, Archokrates, Lysistratos and Pythagoras, who all went on to fill this position too – in 168, 162 and 156 respectively.[924] This remarkable achievement is further highlighted by the familial monument, in which the three brothers honour each other for having attained this highest Lindian priesthood.[925] Unsurprisingly, the priesthood of Athena Lindia features prominently in the achievements recorded by and for members of these families. This is not to say that other religious offices were entirely ignored or neglected; we certainly know of several members of these prominent Lindian families who were priests of Poseidon Hippios, Dionysos or even just a *hierothytas*. But the prominence and appeal of the eponymous priesthood was clearly felt to provide a particular focal point for many Lindian notables.

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[922] Timokrates was priest of Athena Lindia in 86 BC, Eupolemos in 83; see their positions in *I.Lindos* 1 (F III, l.2 and ll.5-7); priest of Dionysos: *I.Lindos* 293b-c.

[923] Timokrates: *I.Lindos* 1 G II, ll.4-5; 254; 255; Eupolemos (grandson of Eupolemos): *I.Lindos* 1 J II, l.1.

[924] Pythagoras (father): *I.Lindos* 197b; Archokrates: *I.Lindos* 1 F I, ll.4-5; Lysistratos: *I.Lindos* 1 F I, l.12; Pythagoras: *I.Lindos* 1 G I, l.1.

[925] *I.Lindos* 197. Note also the common habit in Lindos of family members setting up monuments on behalf of relatives serving as priests, e.g. *I.Lindos* 96, 100, 158.

Can the same observations be made for Kameiros? In the chapter on priests we saw that this community, no less than Lindos, appears to have seen a number of individuals accumulating several religious offices throughout their careers. We might then imagine similar interest among the upper echelons of Kameiran society. Yet prosopographical studies have had much less success in establishing stemmata of Kameiran families than of Lindian ones. The main one we have to work from is Badoud's stemma number X, which combines a total of nine generations of Kameirans from three different demes. Within this, the picture is indeed quite similar to that presented by the Lindian stemmata: a father, sons and grandsons from the deme of the Arioi are found in a Kameiran subscription for an unknown cause;[926] and, as in the Lindian example, we find brothers holding the eponymous priesthood, the *damiourgia*, in quick succession. Thus, Kritoboulos' son Nausippos was *damiourgos* around 96 BC, while his brother Dionysios held this office around 94 BC.[927] In a similar vein, we might observe the three successive generations – father, son and grandson – who were all certainly *damiourgoi*: Menekrates, who was *damiourgos* around 204 BC and served as *stratagos* around 210, his son Nauphilos, who was *damiourgos* in 162; and finally *his* son, Nausippos, who held the same office in 135 – and perhaps became priest of Helios around 113 BC.[928]

Naturally these are only scattered examples of certain years in which our evidence allows us to observe such patterns. It seems that some families made a particular habit of pursuing these prominent religious positions in both Lindos and Kameiros – perhaps because it was

[926] Kritoboulos and his sons Aristombrotidas and Nausippos, as well as Aristombrotidas' sons Kritoboulos, Mnasippos, Eukleidas and his daughter Timasikrateia: *Tit.Cam.* 157 ll.17-21.
[927] *TRI* 8, f, l.35 and l.37; if the triennial rule truly does not apply here it appears to be due to the overlap between two demes in this part of the family: Badoud believes that while Nausippos held the office as a member of the Plarioi, Dionysios did so as an Arios (Badoud [2015], 301).
[928] Badoud (2015), 301; B1, B2, B3.

an appealing way to exert influence on a local scale in the Rhodian state. Yet once again we must also ask ourselves how much this picture is dependent on the particular type of 'sacred' epigraphic evidence that abounds in both Kameiros and Lindos. However, the particular nature of our evidence might be a clue in itself: clearly Kameiran and Lindian individuals valued and advertised their achievements in the religious sphere, an attitude which in turn implies that they were also appreciated and honoured by the communities themselves. Yet even between Kameiros and Lindos some dissimilarities can be observed in the epigraphic habit: the Lindian family monuments, relating almost solely to achievements within the religious sphere, find no real parallel at Kameiros.[929] Taken alongside the evidence presented at various points in this thesis for the exclusivity of Lindian sacred offices, this emphasis on family structures in honorific monuments recording religious careers further supplements our picture of Lindian society in the Hellenistic period as one where kinship ties and local identity were frequently articulated through the highly bureaucratised system of priesthoods. Much money was spent on the monumentalisation of these family achivements within the sacred sphere.

I have explored a number of cases in which our evidence allows us to ascertain the social contexts within which some individuals held prominent priesthoods on Rhodes or contributed in some other way to civic religion on the island. Although we cannot (and should not) claim that religious authority was entirely the purview of a small group of Rhodian notables, the number of examples discussed demonstrate that these religious positions were certainly desirable for wealthy individuals, who otherwise made their mark

[929] Although there are several examples of family members dedicating statues on behalf of priests: e.g. *Tit.Cam.* 84, 91, 97.

through contributions to public projects, liturgies, or else high secular office. Nonetheless, as I demonstrated in chapter 3, the overlap between sacred and secular offices was not, in fact, very substantial in the careers of Rhodian individuals. This indicates that the appeal of offices in the religious sphere lay elsewhere, perhaps in the very competitiveness that led to the accumulation and monumentalisation of these 'careers', often with a particular emphasis on familial connections.

6.3. The sea in Rhodian religion

The first half of this chapter, like much of this thesis, has explored the role of religion in Rhodian society through the individuals who were active in these spheres. It is through these men that we have gained a picture of the role religion, and particularly religious offices, played in Rhodian Hellenistic society, and to what extent this corresponds to the perception scholars have of the Rhodian state in this period and its 'ruling elite'. In the second half of this chapter, I turn, instead, to more general, inter-related, characteristics of Rhodian society, the sea and cosmopolitanism.

Let us look first at the role of the sea and naval power in Rhodian religion. For ancient and modern writers alike this was one of Rhodes' greatest achievements and claims to fame: the description by Lycurgus in the late fourth century of the Rhodians as 'οἳ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην περιπλέοντες δι᾽ ἐργασίαν' is echoed more than two millennia later by Gabrielsen who writes that 'the Rhodians won world-wide acclaim for their consummate

skill in naval matters'.[930] Given its undeniably great significance to much of Rhodian society and life, how were maritime matters and interests integrated into religious life?

One approach to this question is to examine the record left by communities at Rhodes who were particularly concerned with such matters: that is, members of crews and of associations connected with the navy.

Several such groups are named in a first-century BC text honouring a man whose name is unfortunately completely lost:

στρατευσάμενον κατὰ πόλ[εμον]
ἔν τε ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ
καὶ ἐν τριημιολίαις 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
ἂν ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ Σαμοθραικι-
αστᾶν μεσονέων κοινόν· ——— καὶ
τοὶ συνστρατευσάμενοι ἐτίμασαν
Σαμοθραικιαστᾶν καὶ Λημνιαστᾶν
τὸ κοινὸν ἐπαίνωι χρυσέωι στεφάνωι
ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας
ἂν 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.[931]

[930] Lycurgus, *In Leocratem* 15; Diod.Sic. 20.81 with Funke (1999b); Gabrielsen (1997), 85. Cf. also Gabrielsen (2013).
[931] *IG* XII 1, 43. See above p.292.

[---] served in the war, in the kataphrakts and triemioliai, and was honoured by the koinon of his comraders with a wreath of olive and a golden one, on account of his virtue and his goodwill towards them.
He also served under the commander Antiochos, and was honoured by the koinon of Samothraikistai mesoneoi with a golden crown on account of his virtue, his goodwill, and the love of glory which he displayed towards the koinon of Samothraikistai mesoneoi.
Those who served with him honoured the koinon of the Samothraikistai and Lemniastai with praise with a golden crown on account of his virtue, his goodwill, and the love of glory which he displayed towards the koinon of those who served with him of the Samothraikistai and Lemniastai.
He was also prorates of the triremes and commander of the aphrakts, and became supervisor of the boys; he was also hierothytas and prytanis. To the gods.
Epicharmos of Soli, to whom epidamia was granted, and Epicharmos son of Epicharmios, Rhodios, made this.

This unknown man clearly had an impressive career in the Rhodian navy: he served the navy 'ἔν τε ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ/καὶ ἐν τριημιολίαις' and also served under a specific *archon*, one Antiochos.[932] It seems that, in connection with this, he was the member of two associations of worshippers of the Samothracian gods, the 'Samothraikiastai meseoneoi' and the 'Samothraikistai kai Lemniastai'.[933] The mention of the *koinon*'s *halikiotai* and the *systrateusamenoi* indicates that the honorand was an active member of these associations and reminds us of the centrality of these groups to the religious but also professional life of many Rhodians.[934] The separate listing of his other offices – *prorates*, *archon* of the *aphracts*, *epistatas*, *hierothytas* and *prytanis* – implies that these were not connected to his membership in the aforementioned associations; nor does he receive any honours from the *koina* specifically for his services in these positions – although the first two were high naval offices. Rather, the stress seems to be on the communality of the crews – those who served with him (τοὶ συνστρατευσάμενοι).

[932] *IG* XII 1, 43 ll.2-3, 20-1.
[933] On these naval associations see especially: Gabrielsen (1997), 124-5, and above.
[934] See Gabrielsen (2013), 73-5 on the function of such *koina* in supplying the Rhodian fleet with naval manpower.

This contrasts with the otherwise similar inscription honouring Polykles – also a distinguished general, as we saw, who held a number of prominent positions within the Rhodian military and navy.[935] He, too, was honoured by at least ten such *koina*, but in that instance they appear in a single, unbroken list of honouring bodies. In our inscription, they are much more closely connected to the honorand's specific offices and activities – and demonstrate one manner in which naval concerns could be addressed on a sacred level and within an interested community.

It is likely that this particular connection is due to the naval focus of the associations of *Samothraikiastai* – which was discussed in the previous chapter on Rhodian *koina.*

However, the connections to the navy exist not only for *koina* of Samothraikistai; we find a number of associations bearing the names of Rhodians who held prominent positions in the island's navy.[936] This suggests that they were either founded by these individuals, or else received substantial benefactions from them. It is conceivable that there were further links between crews and such associations whose names, however, do not reveal this connection. In fact the significance of these *koina* for the Rhodian navy was one of the major observations made by Gabrielsen, which helped him define his 'naval aristocracy'.[937] Although most scholars have focused on the non-religious implications of these groups – their economic value to the Rhodian state, their establishments of networks between Rhodians and foreigners, their implications for professional life at Rhodes – their role as a setting and vehicle for religious experience should not be disregarded, as I argued above.

[935] *NS* 18; see above pp.183-4.
[936] See Maillot (2015), 164-5 for several examples.
[937] Gabrielsen (1997), 123-9 *et pass.*

Can we detect any religious activity in the Rhodian navy that took place outside the sphere of such *koina*? One type of inscription found on Rhodes is particularly relevant here: dedications by crews, often in honour of a distinguished naval officer. The most striking – and best-preserved – example is the third-century BC Lindian inscription found on an enormous base (thought to be for a statue of Nike) in the shape of a prow of a boat (fig.17).[938] A long list of names[939] in several columns follows the heading:

> [ἄρχοντες ἀφράκτων ναυαρχεῦντος — — — — τοῦ Ν]ικασύλου καὶ τριηραρχεύντων Ἀγαθοστράτου τοῦ Πολυαράτου Γόργωνος τοῦ Ἀρχέλα καὶ τοὶ σὺν/ [αὐτοῖς ποτὶ Τυρρανοὺς στρατευσάμενοι, οὓς καὶ ὁ δᾶ]μος ἐστεφάνωσε πλεύσαντας ἐν ταῖς τριημιολίαις, ἀπαρχὰν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων Ἀθάναι Λινδίαι.
>
> *[The leaders of the aphrakts, while the navarch was …. son of] Nikaylos, and the trierachs were Agathostratos son of Polyaratos, Gorgon son of Archelas, those who served with them against the Tyrrhenias, whom the demos crowned, who sailed in the triemoliai; a first-fruit offering of the spoils to Athena Lindia.*

In this case we find at least three naval officers named, two of whom were trierarchs.[940] The crews who sailed with them were then honoured jointly by the Lindian *damos,* probably for successful ventures against Tyrrhenian pirates. The visual aspect of this prominent monument speaks volumes about the appreciation of activities within the naval sphere. Crucially, these Lindian crew members chose to express their gratitude to Athena Lindia following their campaign, by dedicating 'ἀπαρχὰν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων' to her: the 'first fruits of the booty'. Campaigns against 'pirates' were certainly commonplace in Hellenistic

[938] *I.Lindos* 88.
[939] Only around 65 remain legible; originally there were probably 288.
[940] One of these, Agathostratos, son of Polyaratos, is probably the same man who is honoured with a statue by the *koinon* of the Nesiotai at Delos: *IG* XI 4, 1128.

Rhodes, and the booty captured must have been substantial.[941] This evidence for dedicating an '*aparche*' to Athena attests a significant joint religious venture, as well as supporting Gabrielsen's theory about such booty being a significant source of revenue and adornment for major Rhodian sanctuaries – 'the "first fruits" of the sea'.[942]

A few similar dedications survive: in the first century BC, 43 crew members decided to honour one Alexidamos, dedicating the base, in this instance, to no specific god, but merely *theois*.[943] The names that follow the honorific heading are all defined by the position they held within the crew. Dating a little earlier is a crew dedication to the hero 'Naulochos', otherwise unattested on Rhodes, discovered near the ancient military harbour.[944] Two examples following a similar pattern probably fall into the same category of dedication.[945] Aside from communal spirit and activity, these texts reveal some crucial characteristics about the make-up of Rhodian crews: the majority seem to consist of Rhodian citizens. Indeed, the only foreigner we can detect in these lists is one Theudoros Tripolitas *metoikos* – a metic, who served as doctor in the crew honouring Alexidamos.[946] Whether this reflects the true make-up of Rhodian crews, or merely the status of those who held important naval positions and were included in these joint dedications, this observation points to a crucial exclusivist and citizenship-oriented streak in this aspect of social – and religious – behaviour at Rhodes – one that stands in apparent contrast to the (probable) makeup and activities of

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[941] Note Aelius Aristides' comments about the rich adornment of Rhodes through the booty captured from Tyrrhenian pirates (43.540).
[942] Gabrielsen (1997), 109-10.
[943] *Cl.Rh.* VIII, 227-8.
[944] Kontorini (1983), no.6; *SEG* 33 640.
[945] *NSER* 4; *AER* 2. Note also the extremely fragmentary *SEG* 41 659.
[946] *Cl.Rh.* VIII, 228, col. II, ll.11-2. Note also the possible restoration of another metic doctor in the fragmentary list *SEG* 41 659, col. II, l.1. Cf. Gabrielsen (1997), 94-6. Ibid. 104-5 also points out a number of family ties between the members of these crews.

the associations considered above. Clearly, at least on the surface,[947] the navy was a very Rhodian affair in the Hellenistic period, a trait also visible in their religious activity.

Let us move on to consider civic cult in Rhodes. Did it express the undeniably large role played by the navy in Rhodian society on a sacred level?

The cult of the Samothracian gods existed separately from associations of Samothraikistai – we saw above that, in the first century BC, Diopeithes had been particularly engaged and active in this cult.[948]

Other civic cults that may have had particular associations with maritime matters are those of the Dioskouroi,[949] those protectors of sailors, of Aphrodite and Isis, whose temples were excavated in close proximity to the harbours, Poseidon Hippios and perhaps even Helios – if we believe Festus' account of the ritual submersion of a quadriga to that god.[950] A marine link is, in most of these cases, based on common associations of these deities and, in the case of Aphrodite, the location of her sanctuary and the type of statuary discovered on Rhodes.[951] Given the significance of the sea in all its facets to Rhodian society and mythology, it is perhaps strange that we do not find a festival, say, or a major civic sacrifice devoted to ensuring safe maritime travel, for instance.[952] Yet perhaps this is an unrealistic expectation or

[947] It is possible that this is why we find so many *koina* in this sphere; see my arguments below.
[948] *TRI* 36. The cult certainly already existed in the third century BC, with a priesthood attested in *I.Lindos* 134 ll.24-5. Cf. *IG* XII 1, 788 = *TRI* 50 for an altar dedicated to the Samothracian gods from second-century Lindos.
[949] Certainly existing with a priesthood in Hellenistic Rhodes-town: *I.Lindos* 134 ll.22-3.
[950] See above pp.75-6.
[951] *Cl.Rh.* I, p. 46 for initial excavation of the temple of Aphrodite; Note the similar position of the goddess' sanctuary in Kos and the deity's connection with the sea in this city: Paul (2011), 79-95. On the statuary of Aphrodite and its identification with Aphrodite Euploia or Pontia, see Machaira (2013). For the temple of Isis see Fantaoutsaki (2011), 48-9; she also mentions the goddess' maritime aspects.
[952] A possible exception is the Hippokathesia festival – probably in honour of Poseidon Hippios (see above pp.76-7.). Yet nothing beyond the name survives.

overly simplistic perception of Greek religion: although the popularity of certain cults might depend on specific circumstances and needs of the polis' society, this was certainly not the only reason for worshipping a specific god, nor was it necessarily reflected in the availability of specific deities and their epithets.

Nonetheless, it remains interesting that we *do* find such a strong naval focus in some of the *koina* that existed at Rhodes. If naval affairs was one of the elements that brought them together and common worship of a particular deity or deities, be it the Samothracian gods or Apollo, was another, it is likely that their religious activity bore some connection to their joint interest in maritime matters. Perhaps this indicates a further function of these *koina* within Rhodian society. Their ritual importance for crew-members would perhaps be understandable if we assumed that the navy did, in truth, contain many non-Rhodians, who might be excluded from much civic religion.

6.4. Cosmopolitan Rhodes

This leads us on to consider the other major characteristic of Hellenistic Rhodes: its position as one of the Aegean's great trade centres and the consequently cosmopolitan character of the *asty*.[953] In particular, this section will comment on how civic religion was affected by or sought to adapt to the substantial population of non-Rhodians who settled in the capital city during this period.[954]

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[953] On Rhodian trade see e.g. Rauh (1999); Wiemer (2002b). For trade and Rhodes' subsequent wealth as a draw for foreigners, see Morelli (1955).

[954] It is not always evident from our inscriptions whether foreigners resided in Rhodes or were merely stopping over; however certain types of epigraphic evidence point strongly to a permanent presence: particularly the numerous funerary inscriptions, but also membership in associations and, arguably, the presence of non-Rhodians in subscriptions. In addition there are numerous attestations of

Again, the majority of evidence for this area concerns associations and their religious practices. But it is worth noting, first, the few instances we find of foreigners (resident or not) involving themselves in or interacting with Rhodian civic religion.

To begin with, we find a number of foreigners (of varying statuses) making dedications to Rhodian deities. Thus, for instance, we find two Aitolians who have been granted *epidamia* dedicating *charisteria* to Athena Lindia in the late third century BC; earlier that century we find a woman from Salamis honouring her husband, a *euergetas* from Aspendos, with a statue base, also dedicated to Athena Lindia.[955] Finally, one Epagathos from Patara dedicates a *euche* to the same goddess at some point in the first century BC.[956] The first two of these cases bear traces of integration into Rhodian, or Lindian, society: the two Aitolians had been granted *epidamia*, to reside in their new home, and the inscription in fact also informs us that the son of one of them became *proxenos.* In the second case, the man from Aspendos had been granted the title of *euergetas.* All three instances, finally, declare these residents' respect for Lindos' main, tutelary deity.[957]

Yet dedications to a goddess do not seem to constitute the same level of involvement or participation in her cult, as sacrifices or festivals in her honour. Can we establish the role and rights of metics and other foreign residents in these aspects of civic religion? Even for Athenian religion, far better attested and studied, these questions are notoriously difficult to

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'*metoikoi'*. Cf. the subscription in Migeotte (1992) no.38 from first-century Rhodes-town in which metics outnumber citizens.

[955] *I.Lindos* 130; 78.

[956] *I.Lindos* 340.

[957] Cf. dedications by foreigners from Rhodes-town: *NSER* 12: Milesian woman makes a dedication to Aphrodite; *NSER* 16: a metic dedicates a *charisterion* to Isis Soteira.

answer.[958] In general, it can be said that, given the importance of cult in establishing common identities on the various levels of *polis* society, it is likely that metics and other foreigners were excluded from the majority of civic cultic life.[959] It is possible that, as at Athens, there were exceptions; certain festivals or cults at which groups of metics could participate.[960] Unfortunately our evidence for Rhodian festivals is so patchy anyway, that any such cases no longer survive for us – if they ever did. Past scholarship on the foreign population at Rhodes – scarce and for the most part outdated as it is[961] - has held that metics were strictly excluded from Rhodian public life, and, consequently, also religious life.[962] Given the numerous different categories into which foreigners appear to have been divided on Rhodes,[963] it is possible that there were various gradations of access to this and other aspects of civic life.

This does not mean, of course, that metics and other *xenoi* were prohibited from participating when it suited the Rhodian state, particularly if they could contribute financially: I discussed already the Lindian decree of the early first century AD which refers to the appointment of *xenoi choregoi* for the Sminthia festival.[964] Admittedly this (highly fragmentary) text is more or less contemporary with the Lindian decree that seeks to

[958] E.g. Parker (2011), 238-40; on metics in Athenian religion see now Wijma (2014).
[959] See especially Sourvinou-Inwood (2000), e.g. 27: 'Each significant grouping within the *polis* was articulated and given identity through cult.'
[960] At Athens, metics participated in the procession of the Panathenaia, at the Bendideia and the Hephaisteia: Parker (2005), 170-1; Wijma (2014), 37-64, 86-93; their presence is also likely at the Lenaia and City Dionysia: Wijma (2014), 69-85.
[961] The only piece of scholarship dealing specifically with foreigners in Rhodes remains Morelli's 1955 article 'Gli stranieri in Rodi'; more recent work has touched on the foreign population in discussing Rhodian *koina,* but they are not treated in their own right: e.g. Maillot (2012) and (2015) (see below).
[962] Morelli (1955), 127-8 *et pass.*
[963] See above, n.897.
[964] *IG* XII 1, 762: *xenoi* from the group of Lindian *katoikeuntes kai georgeuntes*: either a separate category of resident foreigners, or else (more probably) a *koinon,* cf. Pugliese Carratelli (1939-40), 175 n.4; Morelli (1955), 134-5; Grieb (2008), 266-8.

alleviate the sanctuary's financial difficulties, indicating that the measure about targeting foreigners in particular for these liturgies might also be a product of the economic turmoil of these years. However, metic *choregoi* are also attested for the Athenian Lenaia festival, their generosity in this liturgy potentially constituting a marked improvement to their status in Athenian society.[965] It was an opportunity for self-promotion that provided recognition within one's adopted home – while simultaneously further entrenching the differences in status. On Rhodes, the presence of foreigners in earlier public subscriptions, including some that raise money for sacred projects, indicates that financial contributions to Rhodian civic life were a common way for *xenoi* to integrate themselves into – and ingratiate themselves with - their new society.[966] The fact that these contributions are frequently made by *koina* demonstrates the integrative function of these associations for Rhodian society.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Rhodian *koina* do not present us with the straightforwardly foreign associations found, for instance, on Delos, which consisted of groups of people from the same place, often worshipping a deity from their home (for instance the Poseidoniastai Berytioi emporoi naukleroi on Hellenistic Delos).[967] Although there are some examples of *koina* basing their names on regional ethnics, such as Syroi, this common ethnic origin does not appear to have played as important a role in the associative phenomenon on Rhodes.[968] Instead, as noted in the previous chapter, it appears that the vast majority of these associations were 'mixed', with both foreigners from various places as well

[965] Wijma (2014), 66-75.
[966] Foreigners as contributors in public subscriptions: Migeotte (1992) no.38, pp. 110-1, no.40, pp. 118-20, no. 44, pp. 131-2, no. 46, pp. 135-7.
[967] McLean (1996) for this association and others on Delos.
[968] Even when such ethnics formed part of an association's name, it does not appear that it excluded members who originated from other places: e.g. a *koinon* of Herakleotai (the ethnic of Herakleia) appears on the funerary stele of a member who was from Phaselis: *IG* XII 1, 158; Maillot (2015), 144.

as Rhodians forming their membership. For Maillot, the many inscriptions honouring prominent foreigners in this context, as well as the Rhodians who were connected with associations, emphasise 'the mediatory role played by associations – and the framework they provided – in the relations between foreigners, the city and its most important figures.'[969] The integrative function of these groups, further demonstrated through their imitation of civic offices and procedures, will have been of the utmost importance for the smooth functioning of Hellenistic Rhodes' cosmopolitan society. But in addition to providing resident foreigners with methods of creating contacts and networks within Rhodian society, and of involving themselves in such central social ceremonies as honouring prominent men with crowns, these *koina* may also have played a role in integrating non-citizens into the religious sphere of the *asty*. In the above chapter on associations, I observed that the majority of these groups call themselves after gods worshipped in the Rhodian pantheon; only a small number recall the names of foreign deities. It seems that, as with the other aspects of these groups, the aim was not to segregate and separate groups of foreigners from the rest of Rhodian society and religious life; rather, they acted as vehicles of integration, in which foreigners could join with people from other backgrounds, as well as with Rhodians, to worship one or several common deities.

We have established, then, that associations formed a major vehicle for including groups of mixed foreigners in Rhodian society and also in some aspects of religious life. But did Rhodes' cosmopolitan population leave its mark more permanently on the city's civic religious scene? We might expect to find a larger number of 'foreign' deities adopted by the Rhodian state, made popular by immigrants bringing their cults with them – a process that

[969] Maillot (2015), 158.

can be traced in other Greek cities, for instance at Athens with the cult of Bendis, or on Delos with the cult of Sarapis. In both cases, these cults were initially worshipped by groups of foreigners residing in the polis, but were later integrated officially into the city's pantheon.[970] It is difficult to find any parallel cases on Rhodes: admittedly the cults of Sarapis in particular, but also Isis, were popular throughout the island, existing with temples and priests at Rhodes-town as well as Lindos, but we have no evidence for their introduction relating directly to any groups of immigrants. Yet their early attestation in the Rhodian religious system probably suggests an introduction directly from Egypt, rather than from somewhere else.[971] Frequent contact with Egypt had indeed existed for centuries and perhaps reached its peak in the Hellenistic period with close relations with the Ptolemaic dynasty, culminating in cultic honours paid to Ptolemy Soter and Berenice.[972] In addition, we have one fragmentary inscription from third-century Lindos recording a dedication to '[Ἄμμ]ωνι καὶ Παράμμωνι/ καὶ Ἥραι Ἀμμωνίαι'[973] – deities otherwise, however, unattested on Rhodes. Recent excavations of the temple of Isis in Rhodes-town have further unearthed inscriptions and statuettes that might suggest that the site catered to a broader

[970] Note particularly the situation on Delos, where the 'international community' of the Hellenistic period resulted in a much greater mix of deities in the pantheon: Mikalson (2006), 209-13 (particular focus on Delos as a 'mixing pot' of different cultures).
[971] Fantaoutsaki (2011) comments on the combination of Egyptian and 'hellenising' structural aspects of the Isieion: 'The designing of the crypt and the finds from within clearly demonstrate that, although the cult of Isis on Rhodes was hellenized, it maintained many significant features of the country of its origin, betraying the reluctance of the Rhodians to break their traditionally close ties with Egypt' (63).
[972] The cult with the epithet 'Soter' is attested in Paus. 1.8.6; without epithet and separately for both Ptolemy and Berenike in a list of *syniereis* at the *asty*: *BSAA* 34 (1940) 29,VII; Ptolemaion attested in Diod.Sic. 20.100.3f.; cf. Morelli (1959), 171-2; separate cult in Lindos: Segre (1941), see also *LC* XXXIX; Habicht (1970), 109-10. Exactly which Ptolemy is being honoured (or whether it is indeed always the same one) is debated. On the Rhodian-Ptolemaic 'special relationship' see Gabrielsen (2013).
[973] *I.Lindos* 77; Morelli (1959), 100.

range of Egyptian deities than just Isis: Osiris, Horus and possibly the sacred bull of Apis are all found represented, in addition to Isis and Sarapis.[974]

Aside from these Egyptian deities – not uncommon in Greek poleis in the Hellenistic period – we find few traces of what we might call 'foreign' gods in the Rhodian pantheon – a surprising observation given the island's location and international population.[975] Although our picture might be skewed by the less than satisfactory evidence, the largely traditional selection of Greek deities worshipped at Rhodes might also further support the integration of foreigners into Rhodian society, particularly through the huge number of associations.[976]

6.5. Rhodian religion and Rhodian society

This chapter set out to identify and describe, as well as possible, the relationship of Rhodian religion to society. Due to the nature of the evidence, this has proceeded, in part, in a series of case studies. The emphasis on honorific epigraphy has perhaps seemed to revolve excessively around the individual and thus, perhaps, the 'elite'. But this category of inscriptions also serves to inform us about the collective, the people who are doing the

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[974] Fantaoutsaki (2011): statuettes of Isis, Sarapis, Horus and Apis; inscribed plaque dedicated to Osiris – all displayed in the current 'Rhodos – 2,400 years' exhibition. The same exhibition displayed objects connected to Egyptian cults from other locations in the *asty*, including a small faience statuette of Taveret, a Hellenistic marble relief on which Anubis is visible, as well as a first-century BC terracotta figurine of the latter god. In her reports on the 'Isieon's' excavation, Fantaoutsaki also does not discount the theory that the temple was originally dedicated to the Ptolemaic dynastic cult (which would explain the relatively early date): ibid. 62.

[975] A few small Hellenistic statuettes depict the goddess Cybele and the heads of – perhaps – priestesses, but there is no indication of whether these were related to cultic worship on the island or not (inv. Nos. 75-6 and 80-1 in the 'Rhodos - 2,400 years' exhibition).

[976] Note e.g. the association of *katoikeuntes* at Lindos, who added 'Athanaistai' to their name in the early first century BC: *I.Lindos* 300. Funerary evidence might support this conclusion: note for instance the rectangular Rhodian funerary altar of one Parnassos from Galatia, decorated, in addition to the common bucrania, with the symbols of a rose and the head of Helios: *SEG* 27 478; Fraser (1977), 19, comments that the use of these symbols indicates 'the attachment that the large foreign population of the city may have felt to their adopted home'.

honouring, or, at the very least, were exposed to the statuary and corresponding texts. It also served to show the appeal that religious offices and careers continued to hold for wealthy individuals and families. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the focus has been on the exceptional careers of the few, with only the vaguest idea of what role 'normal' Rhodians played in religious life, and how these positions were perceived.

This is not the only group of Rhodian society that our evidence passes over: I noted already the lack of information we possess on the life of metics and other foreigners in the Rhodian state, including within the religious sphere. Yet an even greater, and more surprising, gap in our evidence concerns the role of women in Rhodian religion. As noted in the chapter on priesthoods, the vast majority of Rhodian religious offices were held by men. Since most of our above case studies were based on Rhodians who had held a priesthood or other religious position, this unusual gender imbalance affects our picture yet again. Usually, in studies of Greek society, religion is presented as the sphere in which women were particularly active, 'the one arena in which Greek women assumed roles equal and comparable to those of men.'[977] If their presence in the religious sphere at Rhodes was negligible, does this imply that Rhodian women led an even more restricted public existence than Greek women in other cities? To a large degree the answer must be yes. As noted in chapter 3, their absence from the bulk of 'priestly epigraphy' renders Rhodian priestesses almost invisible. Few seem to have existed, and even fewer were honoured with or immortalised in monuments. This invisibility also seems to affect other aspects of women's religious life, most noticeably their cultic interests. Evidence for Demeter-cults and festivals

[977] Connelly (2007), 2.

is sparse, although not non-existent, and few signs of women's cultic or ritual activity in other cults remain.[978]

Interestingly, if we turn away from the religious sphere, the sources present a somewhat different picture, which in fact seems to suggest that Rhodian women could hold relatively prominent positions within society. Perhaps most striking is their presence in several *epidoseis,* including one consisting solely of female donors – something otherwise very uncommon in the Greek world.[979] They are moreover found as members of associations and are even seen to bear the title of *euergetis* – another rarity.[980] We might also mention examples of honorific statues erected for Rhodian women,[981] or their appearance on amphora stamps, indicating their involvement in the production of pottery. Fabricius' study of Rhodian *Totenmahl* reliefs finally argues for a reflection of this general picture in the funerary art of Hellenistic Rhodes: she points out that the iconographic representation of women in these reliefs presents them in an unusually prominent position, reclining on couches in the same manner as men. In addition, some bear symbols of education, such as a scroll.[982] It seems, then, that women's apparently restricted role in Rhodian religion was not necessarily mirrored in society more generally, although their absence from important sacred responsibilities and monuments would still have affected their overall public presence (or lack thereof).

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[978] See above pp.185-91.
[979] Migeotte (1993): in total 21 contributions survive, from a mixture of citizen and foreign women, with sums ranging from 100 drachmas to just 5. Migeotte believes this to be a private, rather than civic enterprise, possibly connected with an association. All women are accompanied by a *kyrios.*
[980] *IG* XII 1, 114 and 385 for the title; Kontorini (1989) no.10 for women in associations.
[981] Although these are a) still far outweighed by statues for men, and b) exist largely within the private sphere (family dedications): Eule (2001), 107-12.
[982] Fabricius (1999b). For the monuments in question see Pfuhl/Möbius (1977-9), nos. 1547, 1844-8, 2025-7, 2039.

This peculiarity once again draws our attention to the social function of these annually rotating priesthoods and their epigraphic monumentalisation. Clearly this related to the spheres of Rhodian society in which male citizens competed with each other, in munificence and civic duties.

A final observation to make is that, although we seem to have a strongly localised picture of religion, in the sense that most religious life was practised at the level of the Rhodian *phylai*, we have almost no evidence for activity at deme-level. The scattered examples of deme sacrifices[983] make it likely that we are missing a great deal from this picture – presumably due to the very focused and limited excavation work; a greater survey of the countryside and settlements throughout the island would surely bring new evidence to light.

[983] See above, chapter 1.

Concluding Remarks

In many ways, the final chapter, on Rhodian religion and society, was a conclusion to this thesis. It sought to tie in the findings presented in the first five chapters with what is commonly known or thought about Hellenistic Rhodes, without claiming, in any way, to constitute a comprehensive, or even near-comprehensive, overview of the island's society. These final pages will serve, in turn, to locate this picture within the wider context of the history of Greek religion and society, to demonstrate how my research contributes to this wider area of scholarly interest, and to illuminate what is Rhodian about Rhodian religion. A more thorough comparison with the religious systems of other Hellenistic Greek poleis would be desirable, but unfortunately goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet a number of distinctively Rhodian characteristics have nevertheless become apparent in my study of the island's religious life.

To begin with, it became clear that the process of synoikism, largely studied in the past on a political level, was facilitated by as well as realised on a religious plane too. The pre-synoikism evidence for pan-Rhodian identity, defining the region that forms the basis for this thesis, revolved around shared myths and cults. Following the unification, a number of organisational reforms can be traced that were effected through the religious sphere, particularly the sacrificial calendars, diffused in a highly unusual format, and the systems of eponymous, and other, priesthoods.

The selection of public cults for the new federal capital's pantheon was demonstrated to promote 'Rhodian' tradition, while also forging an innovative cultic identity, epitomised by the choice of a unique state god in Helios.

Finally, the new organisation of the citizen body into *phylai* and demes was shown to be vital to religious life, structures, and experience in a number of ways. The different reactions and policies of Kameiros and Lindos to such crucial events as the incorporation of the peraia showed a certain level of autonomy, but more importantly a tribal identity that might determine the votes of Rhodian citizens in their Assembly on religious matters. Although this synoikizing process turned the region of 'Rhodes' into a political entity, the complexity of defining a Greek polis or state and its religion became clear in chapter 4, where I discussed the organisation of cults and mobility of Rhodians within the 'incorporated peraia'.

The impact of 'political' events such as the synoikism and the incorporation of the peraia on cultic life serves to iterate the value of studying religious history diachronically, where possible, as affected by and contributing to the same major events that form the basis for studying political or military history.

In addition, both these effects on religious life, and the detailed study of civic cults that followed, demonstrated the complex and unique process that is encapsulated by the term 'Rhodian synoikism'. Overwhelmingly, the evidence bears witness to the extent to which civic cults continued to be practised and organised by the old poleis.

This is perhaps most vividly illustrated by the study of Rhodian priests in chapter 3, the vast majority of whom are attested for religious offices tied to Lindos and Kameiros. Although they belonged to the same federal state and had, as we have seen, very similar priestly systems and epigraphic habits, there are some noticeable differences between religious life in the two poleis. This manifests itself for instance in the nature of the eponymous priesthoods: whereas the Lindians valued their cult's ancestral and ancient reputation (and

indeed were keen to emphasise and preserve these aspects whenever possible), the Kameirans had at some point opted for the unusual cultic combination of Hestia and Zeus Teleios – instead of the ancient cult located on their acropolis, that of Athena Polias. Although there were some hints of reforms of certain priesthoods, and occasional difficulties in filling them, it is striking to what extent the attractiveness and vitality of the priestly systems of Kameiros and Lindos was kept alive. Assignation appears to have been the norm throughout this period, and there are no instances of priesthood sales, so common in this part of the Greek world.

The continued, and in some cases increasing, vitality of the cultic systems of Kameiros and Lindos also affected their interrelationship with 'their' peraian demes, which prosopographical studies showed to have been linked by networks of mobility, in the military, civic, and also religious spheres. Cultic networks, on the other hand, were shown to be much more complex, and I argued strongly against Fraser and Bean's suggestion of a 'religious policy' enacted by the Rhodian state. Further study of the religious landscape and ideology of Karia will result in a better understanding of the context of the 'Rhodian' cults attested in the region.

As the numerous case studies suggest, prominent priesthoods held enough prestige for wealthy and noble families to pursue them and advertise their role in the religious sphere ostentatiously. In the later Hellenistic period, this appears to have developed into a 'cursus' of sorts, in which men could accumulate a number of religious offices of varying degrees of seniority. Once again it is worth pointing out that women were almost entirely excluded from this part of civic life –an unusual phenomenon for polis religion, particularly in this

period. This results in a picture of Rhodian, and especially Lindian, male society, in which priesthoods became a symbol of prestige and family pride, something which publicised one's name in the great sanctuary of Athena.

As with the naval sphere at Rhodes, which also benefited from the munificence of individuals, civic religion was a natural area for wealthy families and men to gain recognition and advertise it. The sheer number of monuments attesting religious careers demonstrates this beyond a doubt, and the opportunities provided by liturgies in this sphere show the role that wealth could play. Nevertheless, as I demonstrated in chapter 3, and noted again in chapter 6, there was no obvious connection between sacred and secular authority, that is, activity and munificence in the religious sphere was no prerequisite to holding high political office.

Throughout the thesis, but particularly in the final chapter, I noted the ostentatiousness with which wealthy men advertised their contributions to the religious life of the polis. This is particularly telling when we consider that the importance of individual contributions seems to increase in the later Hellenistic period – a development that is in line with Gauthier's suggested distinction between the 'high' and 'low' periods of Hellenistic history.[984] Its relevance to this study is further strengthened by Deshours' recent support for this division within the developments of Hellenistic civic religion.[985] It is to this later part of the Hellenistic period that the more ostentatious of the 'careers' discussed above belong, and when we find private wealth playing a greater role in religious and other civic projects.[986]

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[984] Gauthier (1985), 66-73.

[985] Deshours (2011), 19-83.

[986] Note that most of Gabrielsen's examples of the 'naval aristocracy's' authority also date to the second and first centuries BC, although it should be noted that the importance of the 'private sphere' in Rhodian naval organisation seems to have existed throughout the Hellenistic period – particularly when compared with the navy of classical Athens: Gabrielsen (2013).

Once again, however, women are not involved, in stark contrast to other cities, particularly in the eastern Aegean and Asia Minor in this period, where we see a noticeable increase in their public roles within this more general development.[987] Conceivably, the male-oriented nature of Rhodian civic and religious organisation and display was more resilient or resistant to such social changes.

Aside from the navy, another highly significant social grouping of Hellenistic Rhodian society was that of religious associations. I noted their importance particularly for integrating the substantial foreign population of the *asty.* Although Rhodes appears to be in many ways unique and certainly rather different from other places (particularly Delos and Athens), the emphasis on the religious aspect of these associations can and perhaps should be applied to all cases equally and can tell us something about one of the ways in which Hellenistic poleis and urban centres dealt with high influxes of foreigners.[988] Yet it is plausible that the particular exclusivity with which the Rhodians guarded their citizenship brought about, as a consequence, the far-reaching opportunities provided by these *koina*, which in turn gave these groups a highly integrative function. The limited presence of non-Greek deities in the civic pantheon of Rhodes may suggest that these policies were successful in integrating foreign populations into Rhodian society and into civic religion.

Some of these general observations are in line with what studies of Hellenistic religion from other regions in the Greek world have discovered, while some are rather different: we find, for instance, only few instances of ruler cult (the case of the Ptolemies was discussed above),

[987] Van Bremen (1996); cf. Thonemann (2010).
[988] Steinhauer (2014) has also argued for a renewed emphasis on the religious function of such associations in the post-classical polis.

often thought to be a particular characteristic of Hellenistic religion.[989] Nor do we find any substantial evidence for other religions (such as Judaism) or cultures leaving their mark on the city of Rhodes, any more than cults of 'foreign deities' (as mentioned above). Some of these idiosyncrasies can be explained from the historical context: although Rhodes was always keen to foster good relations with the Hellenistic kings, for instance, she was never in a position of subservience to them and preserved her autonomy proudly. Others, such as the lack of information about ritual practice or hero-cult, for instance, may be the result of the nature of our evidence. On the other hand, several characteristics – the extraordinary religious vitality of the old poleis post-synoikism, the religious and civic functions of associations, the peculiar state-cult of Helios, the tension between inclusion and exclusivity, and the absence of women from most of religious organisation – should be seen as distinctively Rhodian. This serves as a reminder of the dangers of the broad-brush approach to Greek polis religion and society.

[989] E.g. Potter (2005), 416-9.

Figures:



Fig.1: Island of Rhodes (pre-synoikism); created using Ancient World Mapping Centre.

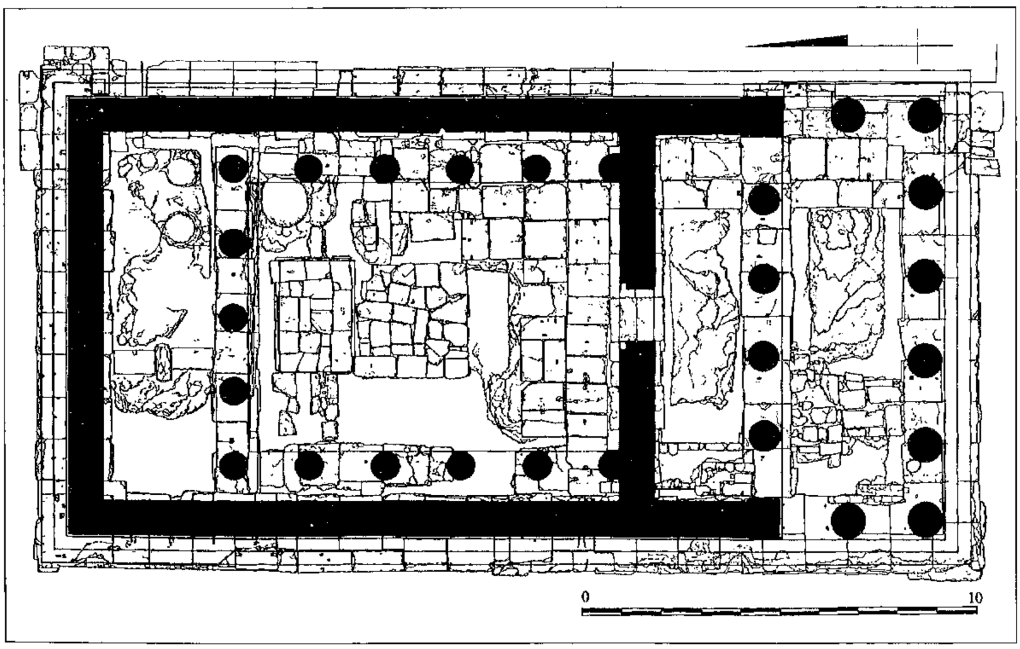

Fig. 2: Reconstruction of the temple of Athena at Ialysos: Livadiotti and Rocco (1999).



Fig.3: Lindian acropolis (temple of Athena), view to the northeast. Photograph taken by the author.

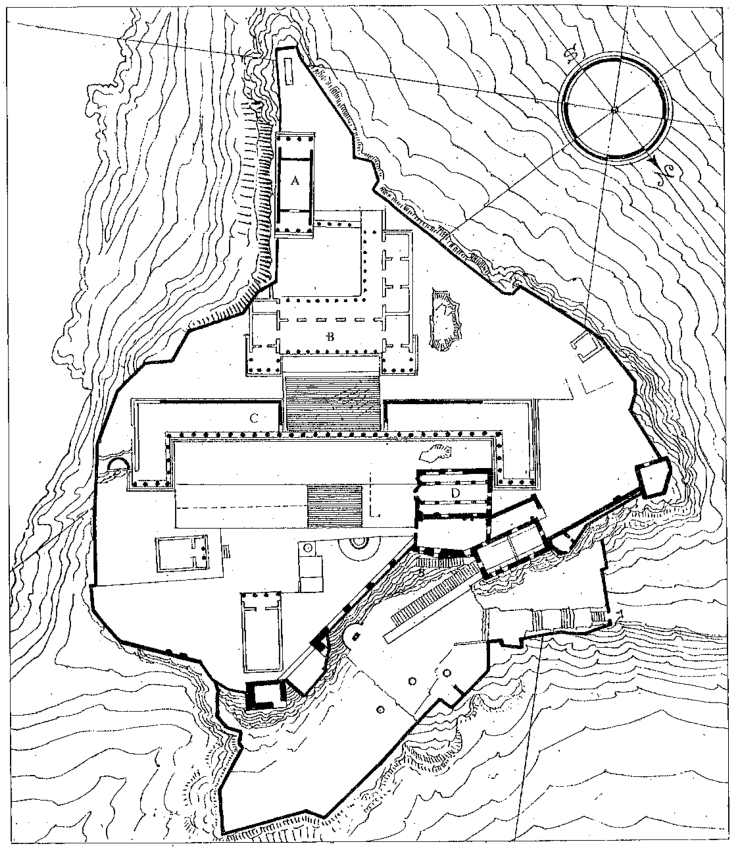

Fig.4: Acropolis of Lindos; Livadiotti et al. (1996), p. 53.

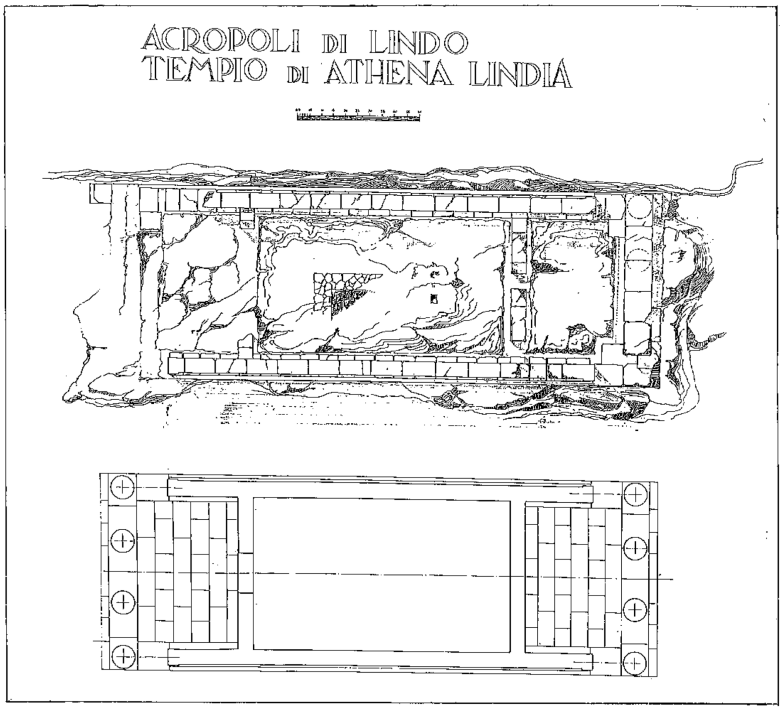

Fig.5: Plan of the temple of Athena Lindia; Livadiotti (1996), p.56.

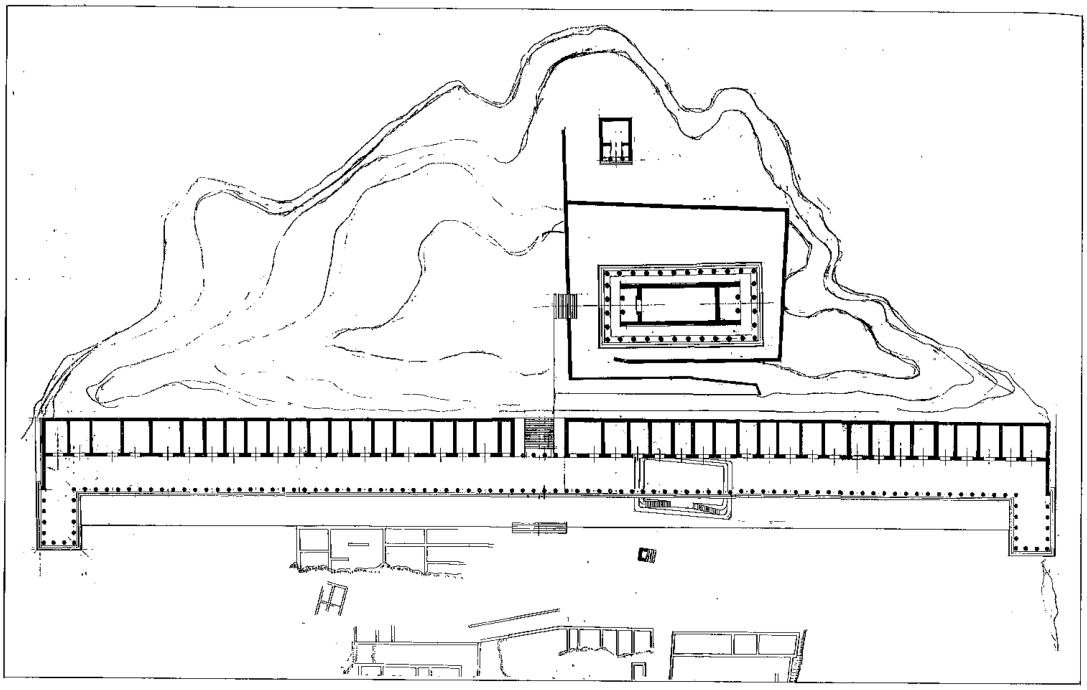

Fig. 6: Acropolis of Kameiros; Livadiotti et al. (1996), p.62.



Fig.7: Altar of Poseidon Phytalmios (*Tit.Cam.* 137); photograph taken by the author.



Fig.8: Dedication by Damiourgos and hieropoioi, Kameiros: *Tit.Cam.* 15; photograph taken by the author.



Fig. 9: Dedication by Damiourgos and hieropoioi, Kameiros: *Tit.Cam.* 16; photograph taken by the author.



Fig.10: Dedication by Lindian *syniereis; I.Lind.167;* photograph taken by the author.



Fig.11: Family monument, honouring priests of Athena Lindia: *I.Lind.*293; photograph taken by the author.

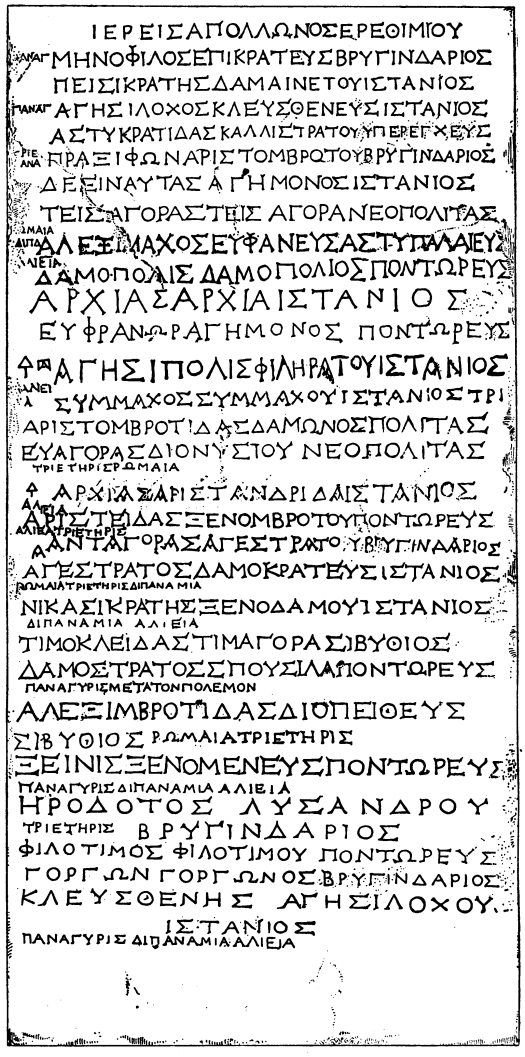

Fig.12: facsimile of *IG* XII 1, 730, list of priests of Apollo Erethimios; Hiller v. Gaertringen (1894), p.18.

Date (BC)	Reference	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
242	I.Lind. 102	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Archiero thytas	Hierothy tai								
240	I.Lind. 103	Apollo Pythaeus	archiero-thytas	Hierothy tai									
184	I.Lind. 166	Apollo Pythaeus	[Diony]so s	[Sarapis?]	Artamis Kekoia								
182	I.Lind. 167	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Poseidon	Agono thetas	Archiero thytas	hierothytai					
148	I.Lind. 224	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Dionysos	Archiero thytas	hierothy tai							
138	I.Lind. 228	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Apollo Olios	Poseidon Hippios	archiero thytas	hierothytai	agonothetas					
137	I.Lind. 229	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Dionysos	Archiero thytas	hierothy tai							
121	I.Lind. 247	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	archierot hytas	Hiero thytai	agonothetas							
100	I.Lind. 270	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Dionysos	Archiero thytas	hierothytai	agonothetas						
98	I.Lind. 282	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	Apollo Olios	Poseidon Hippios	Apollo Karneios	Apollo es Kamyndon	Lindos and other heroes	archiero-thytas	Hiero thytai	
86	I.Lind. 293c	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	archierothytas	hierothytai						
85	I.Lind. 294	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	Poseidon Hippios	Apollo Olios	Apollo Karneios	Apollo es Kamyndon	Lindos and other heroes	archiero-thytas	Hiero thytai	ago no-thet as
74	I.Lind. 299c	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	Poseidon Hippios	Apollo es Kamyndon	Lindos and other heroes	Apollo Karneios	archierothytas	hierothytai		
65	I.Lind. 308b	Apollo Pythaeus	Artamis Kekoia	Sarapis	Apollo Olios	Dionysos	Archierothy tas	hierothytai					

63	I.Lind. 317	archiero-thytas	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	Apollo Olios	Lindos and other heroes	hierothytai				
55	I.Lind. 324	Apollo Pythaeus	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	archieroth ytas	hierothytai							
49	I.Lind. 343	Apollo Pythaeus	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	Sarapis	archierothytas	hierothytai						
47	I.Lind. 344	Apollo Pythaeus	Artamis Kekoia	archierot hytas	hierothyta i								
42	I.Lind. 347	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	archierot hytas	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	Apollo Olios	Poseidon Hippios	Apollo es Kamyndon	Apollo Karneios	Lindos and other heroes	Hiero thytai	
39	I.Lind. 131e	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Apollo Olios	Poseidon Hippios	archierothyta s						
38	I.Lind. 349	Apollo Pythaeus	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Dionysos	Apollo Olios	Poseidon Hippios	Apollo es Kamyndon	Apollo Karneios	Lindos and other heroes	archierothytas	Hiero thytai	
27	I.Lind. 378b	Apollo Pythaeus	Dionysos	Sarapis	Artamis Kekoia	Apollo Olios	Poseidon Hippios	Apollo Karneios	Apollo es Kamyndon	Lindos and other heroes			

Fig.13: table showing the order of priests in lists of *syniereis* at Lindos; the first position is always occupied by the priest of Athena Lindia.



Fig.14: Honorary statue base for Mikythos, son of Mikythos; *I.Lind.*251; photograph taken by the author.



Fig.15: Cultic diffusion in the Rhodian peraia; created using Ancient World Mapping Centre.



Fig.16: Rectangular funerary altar of Ophelion from Syria and his wife (possibly from Phrygia), *IG* XII 1, 549; photograph taken by the author.



Fig.17: Statue base (of Nike?); *I.Lind.* 88; photograph taken by the author.

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