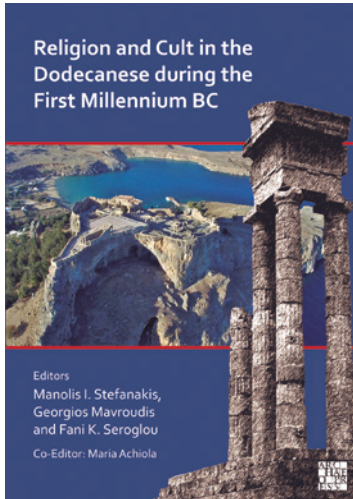


RELIGION AND CULT IN THE DODECANESE DURING THE FIRST MILLENNIUM BC



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THEODOROS MAVROGIANNIS

University of Cyprus

mavrogiannis.theodoros@ucy.ac.cy – <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6454-5566>

After the philological work of Donato Morelli (Morelli, 1959), the monography of Elizabeth M. Craik (Craik, 1980) gave sense to the inherent relationship among the members of the Dorian Hexapolis, but no synthetical overview has been dedicated to the Dodecanese as far as the cult and the religion is concerned. The latter shed light to history, myth, and cult, the volume at hand is focused on the epigraphical and archeological evidence, which sometimes – not always – the authors tend to link with the myth-historical events by including them in their material horizon. First, this attempt is a global reassessment of the archeological evidence based on

the works made on the field in the past thirty years. Second, the coordination of the research implied such a great effort, in contextualizing single cases, that the result for all the islands is as objective as admirable in their unity. This unity, Dorian in prevalence (Apollo, Artemis, Asclepios, Athena, Poseidon), is emphasized in the summary provided by Fani K. Seroglou, (“Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese during the 1st Millennium BC. A Summary”, pp. 1-9), in which she reviews the largest part of the islands: Kalymnos, with the sanctuary of Apollo *Dalios*; Tilos, with the remains of the temples of Zeus *Polieus* and Athena *Polias*, lying under the church of Ag. Taxiarches; Halki, where there was a temple in honour of Apollo;¹ Nisyros, where the sanctuary of Poseidon *Argeios* has been excavated; Astypalea, where Artemis *Lochia* and Eileithyia must have been honoured. As for Karpathos, the Pankarpathian sanctuary of Poseidon *Porthmios*, a temple of Athena *Lindia* on the acropolis of Pigadia, a sanctuary of Artemis at Vathypotamos and a sanctuary of Apollo at Aperi are noteworthy. Kasos offered a sanctuary to the Great Gods at Grammata and other sanctuaries are testified by inscriptions for Apollo *Temenites* and Asclepios. On Leros, the sanctuary of Artemis *Parthenos* should have been founded at Partheni. Artemis *Patmias* should have occupied the place of the monastery of Ag. Ioannis Theologos, while in the monastery of Archangel Michael at Panormitis on Symi, a temple of Poseidon must have been erected. On Agathonisi, the Milesian Apollo *Didymaios* might have been worshipped at Kastraki, at the place of ancient Tragaia. In all the cases above, it appears that the predominance of Rhodes and Kos, whose cults were reproduced in the minor islands, was expanded. Two things are hinted as questionnaire in the Introductory chapter of Georgios Mavroudis (“Ancient Greek Religion and Cult. A Theoretical Framework”, pp. 10-12): 1) The author is right to support that the cults change in their superstructure, although they remain attached to a primitive nucleus; 2) New cults are inserted into earlier contexts according to the historical circumstances on the area, for instance the expansion of the city of Rhodes after the siege of Demetrios Poliorketes in 305/304 BCE or the refurbishing after the earthquake of 227/226 BCE.

Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos (“Religion and Cult in the Archaeological Context”, pp. 13-17) underlines the necessity to encompass the local material culture in the category of “sacred places” before reaching general interpretative models. In my opinion, the archeological perception of religion and ritual has to blend to a great extent with historical topography. Richard Buxton (“From

1. Strab., X 5, 14-15.

Helios to Asclepios. Contrasting and Complementary Perceptions of Divinity”, pp. 18-25) tends, from the point of view of the historian of the religion, to explain why Kos and Rhodes made two different choices for their patron gods, but without taking into consideration the myth-historical past of the *Heliadae* in Rhodes and the Mycenaean-Thessalian-Aeolian version of Asclepios in Kos connected to Pheidippus, according to Strabo, who quotes Homer.² Nevertheless, he recognizes that there is no kind of “overarching duality” such as the opposition Apollo-Dionysus or Hermes-Hestia.

Dimitra-Maria Lala (“The Formation and Evolution of the ‘Pantheons’ of the Rhodian Cities after the Synoecism”, pp. 26-30), sketches the development of the “pantheons” after the synoecism of 408/407 BCE in the single cities. Lindus has provided 25 inscriptions from 296 to 38 BCE through which the archon eponymous of Lindus, that is the priest of Athena *Lindia*, changed after the early 3rd century BCE to “priest to Athena *Lindia* and *Polieus*”. The priest of Athena *Lindia* is followed by the priest of Apollo *Pythios* and the body of the *hierothytae*. In the 2nd century BCE, a group of priests of Artemis *Kekoia*, Dionysus and Sarapis appear, as well as a second group of priests of Poseidon *Hippios* and Apollo *Olios* and a third one including the priests of Apollo *Karneios*, Apollo in Kamyndos and Lindus. 48 inscriptions from Kamiros mention the archon eponymous, the *damiourgos*, the *hieropoioi* and the *archieristes* before registering the main cults. Remaining stable in the lists as the protectors of the city, Athena *Polias* and Zeus *Polieus*, the lists register an evolution in the main cases. Before 219 BCE, priests represent single deities (Apollo *Karneios*, Apollo *Mylandios*, Apollo *Pythios*, Dionysus *Muses*, Poseidon *Kyreteios*), whereas after 219 BCE they refer to combined deities. In the earliest dated inscription (shortly after 221 BCE) from the city of Rhodes, the first priest to be mentioned is the priest of Helios, who is also the archon eponymous of the city. Helios is called by Pindar as the god protector of all the island.³ In two inscriptions the further sequel of the priesthood renders the order of the cults: Aphrodite, Apollo *Pythios*, Asclepios, Athena *Polias* and Zeus *Polieus*, Dionysus, Muses, Poseidon *Hippios*. Apart from the dynastic cult for Alexander, Ptolemy I, Ptolemy III and Berenike, in later inscriptions establish new deities that have to do with Ptolemaic Egypt and general Hellenistic trends:

2. Strab., XIV 2, 6 quotes Hom., *Il.* II 656: “And of the Coans, also, Homer says, ‘these were led by Pheidippus and Antiphus, the two sons of lord Thessalus, son of Heracles’; and these names indicate the Aeolian stock of people rather than the Dorian”.

3. Pind., *Ol.* VII 54-60.

Aristomenes, Corybantes, Dioscuri, Heracles, Hyetos, Rome, Samothracian Gods, and Sarapis. Therefore, Lindus and Camirus were independent from the pantheon of the city of Rhodes, which depicts a religious autonomy.

The independence of Lindus is confirmed by Juliane Zachhuber (“Sacrifice, Synoikism and Local Epigraphic Habits. A Reconsideration of Rhodian Sacrificial Inscriptions”, pp. 31-36), who deals with 17 texts as excerpts from sacrificial calendars from Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus, which seem to be the codification and dissemination of sacrifices on the island of Rhodes at various local sanctuaries after the *synoikismos*, bringing about cultic changes, as seen on the sacrificial calendar from Mykonos of the late 3rd century BCE, after the *synoikismos* of its *poleis*, which proves additions and corrections to older sacrifices. Another example is provided from Kos after the *metoikismos* of 366 BCE. Accordingly, the author stresses that the new civic organization played a determinant role in defining cultic communities, in the sense that each group acquired identity through cult that reveals a centralized cultic activity, with emphasis on communal shared time. The figure of Helios is characteristic of a calendar reform of the synoecism of 408 BCE for Rhodes. This reform did not touch upon Lindus at the moment of the incorporation of the Peraia into the new citizenship body, as is evident by the comparison of two inscribed documents dated to 304 BCE. A list of men is honoured because “they safeguarded for the Lindians that the elections of the priests (...) take place in Lindus and are done from the Lindians themselves” who preserved therefore their traditional religious offices, forbidding the participation in the cults in Lindus of those who did not participate before. This stance is different from the document of the same year from Camirus. The Camirans try to incorporate the new regions in their religious administration. Then, Zachhuber examines 17-18 stelai – sacrificial calendar texts (from 400 BCE to the 1st century BCE), found outside the *asty* and within the territory of Lindus and Camirus, which stipulate sacrifices on certain dates to specific deities, showing dissemination of new sacrificial regulations. Seven texts from Camirus belonging to the 3rd century BCE list sacrifices to Apollo *Pedageitnyos*, Athena *Polias*, Helios, the Muses and Mnemosyne, Phama, and Poseidon. This policy is consistent with the inscribed annual dedications by the *damiourgos* and the *hieropoioi* in Camirus itself. And the engagement with the state religion of Rhodes is confirmed by the sacrifice of the *damiourgos* to Helios on the first day of Dalios, which signifies the start of the new civic calendar. This is not the case at Lindus where there is not any reproduction or imitation of the centralized calendar for Helios.

Vincent Gabrielsen (“The Cult of Enyalios. Epigraphic Evidence on Military organization and Taxation in Lindos”, pp. 37-46) researches the consequences of a

decree of the *polis* of Lindus, dated to 440-420 BCE, which is the earliest surviving public document from a Rhodian *polis*, thus before the synoecism. The decree passed by Lindian people and the Council, brings forward the military organization of the 5th century BCE Lindus, the introduction by the city of a tax to sponsor the cult of the god Enyalios and the institutions of Lindus before 408 BCE. The decree establishes the payment of a tax to tax-collectors, the offering of the money to the priest of cult of Enyalios, the restitution of the yearly taxes to the successor of each priest and the supervision of the Council and the *epistatai* to fulfil the task of recording the income. Enyalios was the god of war, synonym with Ares, but also appears as an independent deity. In Sparta the god instilled courage and rage into the soldiers. The cult tax had to be paid by those who could participate in military operations. For Gabrielsen, the tax had to be paid by Lindians and non-Lindians alike, as long as they started war within the Lindian borders. The division between those who participated publicly (*δαμοσία*) and others who took part privately (*ἰδία*) seems to contrast state-organized campaigns with privately conducted ones, so by denying Pritchett's argument that both parts had to pay 1/60th of their *misthos*, he excludes the mercenaries since they could not cover their own expenses plus the tax. As far as the historical significance is concerned, Gabrielsen acknowledges three sectors: 1) Enyalios and cult finance; 2) Military organization and statehood; 3) Political institutions. The cult is enhanced through the erection of a sanctuary or a shrine. By comparison with the Athenian tax to Apollo, which amounted to 16,200 dr. a year the Lindians had to pay 1/60th of their yearly *misthos*, thus ameliorating their position into the *damotele hiera*. The private military organization was accepted as equal to the public service. By the formular it is concluded that the Council of Lindus should have had decision-making and executorial powers which were approved by the demos. The decree allows for the interpretation of a democratic constitution between 440-420 BCE. The oligarchs probably assumed control of the city in 411 BCE, as stated by Thucydides.⁴

Sanne Hoffmann ("The Multifunctional Athana Lindia. Discussing the Aspects of a Goddess through Sanctuary Setting and Votive Offerings", pp. 47-62), discusses 2740 published figurines, *ca.* 1600 *fibulae*, and 700 Cypriot limestone figurines from the Archaic layers beneath the archaic stairs, the so-called "Large" and "Small Deposits", which contained votives dated between 525 and 400 BCE, before the fire of the temple in 392/391 BCE. Some types were published by Chris-

4. Thuc., VIII 35, 1; 43, 2; 44, 1-3.

tian S. Blickenberg in 1931. The purpose of this article is to research and explain how Athena *Lindia* was accepted and worshipped in the concrete setting of the sanctuary. Of particular interest are the Cypriot limestone figurines found along with Egyptian faience objects, and for the Greek terracotta the *protomai* wearing a veil, which can be found in a wide range of sanctuaries (Aegina, Brauron, Chios, Corinth, Gela, Knossos, Paestum, Priene, Thasos, and Tiryns), which denote matriarchal power and protection. Some are represented as *kourotrophoi*, others hold fruits, pomegranates, or lotus flowers, which symbolize fertility. 24 examples carry torches, as they are often found in Demeter sanctuaries, whereas others carry torches with a basket for fruits, for the so-called “First-Fruit” offerings. 38 *hydrophoroi*, figurines carrying *hydriai* might hint a wedding. 22 figurines hold a *tympanon* and 12 hold a phiale, signifying a ritual use with instruments. 28 figurines portray females who carry on piglets. Small goats are held by 23 seated female figurines. About 30 others hold doves, 23 tortoises, 10 rams, 9 bulls, 9 lions, and 5 dogs, as a testimony of Athena *Lindia* as *Potnia Theron*. In sum, there are only a few specific qualities typical of Athena. The setting of the sanctuary encompasses three aspects of nature: the mountain, the cave, and the sea. Hoffmann argues that Athena *Lindia* was perceived to share cultic qualities with Kybele, which is in my opinion unhistorical, since there are not attested any political contacts with Phrygia.

Kerstin Höghammar (“Public Servants and Cult Officials. The Socio-economic Standing and Activities of the Priests of Apollo and the *Hieropoioi* at Halasarna, Kos, c. 220-180 B.C.”, pp. 63-72) deals initially with *IG XII 4, 2, 458*, which contained a list of votives to Apollo that presented the name of the donors, covering a period from 220 to 205 BCE. Nine other inscriptions (*IG XII 4, 2, 624-632*), which represent dedications to Hekate preserve 59 out of 62 original names. In total we dispose the names of 76 individuals with eleven priests and 66 *hieropoioi*. The purpose of this work is to research the socio-economic background of their families through their contributions to the sanctuary of Apollo and Heracles at Halasarna (Kos). To this aim, Höghammar discusses eight of the dedications dating to ca. 200 BCE. The first one is *IG XII 4, 2, 75-77* (known in three copies), dated to 201 BCE. It registers private donations to the *polis* “for the saving of the fatherland and the allies”, during the war with Philip V of Macedon. The contributions in these inscriptions vary from 30 to 8000 drachms, thus revealing the wealth of the family donors. The sums have been divided into seven different wealth classes. 24 families donated 30 to 60 drachms, 83 families gave 100 drachms, and the latter represent the “lower middle class”. 80 families offered 150-300 drachms, 49 families awarded 500-600 drachms, and 37 families provided 1000-1400 drachms. 7 families afforded

3000-3500 drachms and three families dispensed the enormous sum of 7000-8000 drachms. In sum, only 19 cult officials can assume the title of donors or relatives of donors. However, they do not form part of the richest families. The economic status of one family was not an obstacle for its members to access the position of the prestigious priesthood of Apollo, which could be called “democratic”.

The paper of Vassiliki Stefanaki and Angeliki Giannikouri is an important one (“Politics and Religion on Koan types [end of 3rd– first half of 2nd century B.C.]”, pp. 73-81), since it tends to valorize the very ancient cult of Kos into the new horizon of the city after the *synoikismos* of 366 BCE, by examining the types of Koan coins minted between the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BCE. The purpose is to contextualize the minted coins in the period between the first Cretan War 205/204 BCE up to the second Cretan War 155-153 BCE. The monetary type of Heracles and his attribute, with the crab on the obverse was typical from the beginning of the 4th until the end of the 3rd century BCE. It indicated the attachment of the Koans to their genealogical descendance from the Dorian hero. The origins of the cult of Asclepios give rise to a series of great problems, since even the most open-minded scholars attributed an introduction of his cult just before the 4th century BCE. The family of the *Asclepiadai* appear in fact soon after the death of Ippokrates at *ca.* 375 BCE. An official reintroduction of the cult from Epidaurus to Kos, as is the case in Pergamon, may have indeed occurred.⁵ The tradition known by Pausanias which poses the problem of the introduction of the cult of Asclepios in Pergamon during the 4th century BCE (see also *IvP* 613, even in the first half of the 4th century through a *pyrtanis*) does not exclude an earlier Mycenaean-Thessalian god of healing on Kos, whose expression may in fact have been Apollo *Kyparissios*. According to Strabo,⁶ Trikke in Thessaly was the birthplace of the god and there was his oldest and most famous shrine. The first monumental reorganization of the cult in the extra-urban *Asclepieion* of Kos is given firstly by the erection of the altar of Asclepios at the end of the 4th century BCE, when the children of Praxiteles carved the relief of the family of Asclepios, and secondly by the construction, soon afterwards, of the Ionic temple (B) *in antis* of Asclepios, where the painting of Aphrodite *Anadyomene* of Apelles was exposed, in the years 320-270 BCE, followed by the celebration of the *Asclepieia* in 242 BCE. The middle terrace, which was the nucleus of

5. Paus., II 26, 1 (trans. Jones): “When Archias, son of Aristaichmos, was healed in Epidauria after spraining himself after hunting about Pindasos, he brought the cult to Pergamon. From the one at Pergamon has been built in our own day the sanctuary of Asklepios by the sea at Smyrna”.

6. Strab., VIII 4, 4; IX 5, 17; XIV 1, 39.

the cult, underwent a scenographic reconstruction which yielded the four terraces and the great temple of Asclepios (A) at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE. Two Koan coin series represent the head of Asclepios with a laurel or cypress wreath, on the obverse and on the reverse his attributes, the snakes. They start to be minted by the mid-3rd century BCE. They might reproduce the head of the cult statue of temple B at *Asclepieion*. The authors tend to identify hemidrachms from Kalymnos of the 3rd century BCE representing a head with a wreath on it with the tetradrachms carrying a wreathed female head on the obverse and a standing Asclepios holding a staff with snake on the reverse from Kos, minted between 170 and 162 BCE. Hence, hinting a symbol of the political treaty of *homopoliteia*, which sanctioned the integration of Kalymnos into the demes of Kos from the last decade of the 3rd century BCE (*IG XII 4*, 152). This is not the case, since they later realized that the wreathed female head from Kos represents Aphrodite *Pandemos*, on a date, according to the reconstruction of the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Pandemos* and *Pontia* in the harbour of Kos, after the earthquake of 198 BCE. Giorgio Rocco is right to date the twin temples,⁷ lying in a four-sided portico, before the earthquake, built probably under the influence of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 BCE), on the grounds of 1) *ED* 178a(A), 31-35⁸ and 2) *ED* 178b(A) 10-11,⁹ which speaks about the restoration of the existing temples. This *Pandemos*, the deity of the “entire civic body”, concerns the cohesion of the *sympas demos*, including Kalymnos. The Koan tetradrachms with both Aphrodite *Pandemos*, wearing the necklace, which reminds of Astarte, as in the bilingual inscription of the king of Sidon Abdalonymos,¹⁰ and Asclepios standing, which probably reproduces the cult statue of Bryaxis from the *Asclepieion*, have been associated by Håkon Ingvaldsen with the great building program of the *Asclepieion* on Kos at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE. The building program is instead owed presumably to king Eumenes’ II of Pergamon who sponsored it, at a time when in Pergamon the extra-urban *Asclepieion* with the cult statue of an Asclepios standing,

7. Rocco, 2009.

8. *ED* 178a(A), 31-35: [- - - - -] Καὶ ἐπειδὴ δι[ὰ τὸν γεγόνό] / [τ]α σεισμὸν τὰ μὲν προπέπτωκε τῶν [- - - - - τῶν] / τε ἰστιάτοριώ[ν ᾤ - - - - - καὶ τῶν ἄλλω] / χρηστηρίω[ν, τὰ δὲ [- - - - - - - / κινδυνε[εύεται - - -].

9. *ED* 178b(A) 10-11: ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τ[ὸν] | μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ἐπιμελίας τυγχάνῃ τό τε ἰ<ε>ρόν τās Ἀφροδίτας <τās> Πανδάμου καὶ τās Ποντίας, ἄποτα | χθέντος διαφόρου εἰς τὰν ἐπισκευὰν αὐτῶν.

10. Kantzia, 1980.

a work of Phyromachos, was under construction.¹¹ It is to be excluded that it was a program carried out by Ptolemy V Epiphanes of Egypt (204-180 BCE), who was a young boy then and also threatened by Macedon and Syria, in so far that he was constrained to abandon the Ptolemaic possessions in the Aegean Sea in 197 BCE. A strong indication for the Attalid commitment in Kos is that the hero founder of Pergamon, the Arcadian Telephos, was worshipped in the *Asclepieion* in Pergamon with song and sacrifice for his healing (Paus., III 26, 10). The authors conclude that Aphrodite, Asclepios, and Apollo became more representative in the beginning of the 2nd century BCE on Kos, thus revealing civic identity. However, as far as the minting of the coin is concerned, it should be taken into consideration that on the southern slopes of the Acropolis at Athens the sanctuary of Asclepios stood near the temple of Themis, not far from the *naiskos* of Aphrodite *Pandemos* (Paus., I 22, 1-3),¹² and that the connection between Asclepios and Aphrodite (*IG IV*², 280, 282; *IG IV*² 107), the latter being certainly the *Pandemos* at Epidauros – since her sculptural type of Aphrodite of Frejus was transferred to Aphrodite *Pandemos* at Athens – along with Themis, originated at Epidauros (Paus., II 27, 5).

Nicholas Salmon (“Technically Gifted. Votive Deposits from Kamiros Acropolis”, pp. 82-92) deals with two votive deposits excavated at the acropolis of Kamiros by Alfred Biliotti and Auguste Salzmänn, the “Kamiros Well” and the “Deposit between walls D and E”. A pair of late Geometric Rhodian *aryballoi* and a Middle Corinthian plate ensure a time span between 720 and 580 BCE for the total of 444 objects found in the well. “Deposit D and E” including 100 objects has a range within 650-550 BCE. Of exceptional interest is the high concentration of faience objects of local production, and the items made of ivory and bone. Terracotta figures started being produced from the first half of the 7th century BCE. The demand in the sanctuary of Athena *Kamiras* was covered by votives arriving from Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East. The geographical position of the island, a remarkable number of sanctuaries all over the island and the skillful artisans employed by them are indicative of the dynamics developed by maritime connectivity, which benefited a rich votive production.

The author of the next chapter is Kalliope Bairami (“Sculpture from ‘Pantheon’. An Open-air Sanctuary at the Foothills of the Rhodian Acropolis”, pp. 93-104). The open-air sanctuary excavated in private plots in the Diagoridon

11. Coarelli, 2016.

12. Beschi, 1967-1968.

and Pavlou Mela streets in the city of Rhodes, situated at the eastern slopes of the acropolis and limited north and south by the roads P14 and P15, includes a monumental altar, surrounded by votive stone bases for bronze statues, porticos, a holy grove and three subterranean rock-cut spaces, which yielded two groups of statuettes of Hellenistic and Roman period. It was probably founded after the siege of Demetrios Poliorketes (305/304 BCE), confirmed by a Ptolemaic diobol (305-261 BCE), since the Rhodians dedicated stone ammunitions as war trophies for their victory. The identification is based on inscribed statue-bases carrying the formula ΘΕΟΙΣ. This does not provide sufficient evidence to draw the conclusion that it was dedicated to “All Gods” (Θεοῖς πᾶσι). A Pantheon is normally a *Dodekatheon*, in the form of a circular temple dedicated to the dynastic cult of Hellenistic rulers, like the *Tychaion* in Alexandria for Ptolemy I Soter, or for Roman Emperors, like the Pantheon in Rome and the Castel Sant’Angelo for Hadrian. The altar of the temenos was of a similar form to the altar of Dionysus in Kos. The three underground spaces (A, B, C), in the plot of *Geniki Techniki*, are interpreted as places of worship for deities such as Demeter. The architectural remains in this plot are bases of statues and exedrae. An inscription of religious officials honours the priest of Helios. The finds in sculpture are three statuettes of Aphrodite. A head of Aphrodite from the Mylona plot is an adaptation of a praxitelian Aphrodite (end of 3rd – beginning of 2nd century BCE) and should be compared to the “Leconfield head”. A second head reproduces the praxitelian type of Knidia Aphrodite, whereas a headless statuette represents Aphrodite *Aidoumene* (3rd century BCE). Besides, another noteworthy statuette is that of Tyche which carries a cornucopia (early 3rd century BCE). In the sector C of the *Geniki Techniki* plot were found fragments belonging to 21 sculptures. Six statuettes belong to two groups. The first group (second half of the 2nd century BCE) includes an Apollo *Citharoedus*, a Nymph or Muse and a Hermaphroditus. The second group includes three statues of Nemesis (end of 1st century CE), which have nothing to do with the imperial cult, since there is no temple in the excavated part to support this theory.

Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras and Georgios Doulfis (“Dedications, Dedicators and Cults at Ancient Halasarna of Cos”, pp. 105-114) present the finds from the sanctuary of Apollo *Pythaios/Pythaeus* in ancient Halasarna, modern Kardamaina, on Kos. The sanctuary consists of two temples, the building C of the first half of the 3rd century BCE, and the building D of Roman times, and a monumental enclosure wall with its porch (building E), a portico (building Z), and a public building A-B of the late Hellenistic period. The identification of the sanctuary is ensured by an inscribed sherd of Classical Times, with the name of Apollo (Α]πόλλωνι), by the

fragment of a Rhodian Panathenaic amphora bearing the name *Philinos Dardanou*, who had been an *hieropoios* and a priest, evidently of Apollo, and by two inscriptions *IG XII 4*, 503 and *IG XII 4*, 525: a base with dedication both to Apollo and to the deme and a second base dedicated by Dardanos, the priest of Apollo. According to a catalogue of the end of the 3rd century BCE, former priests used to offer vessels made of precious metals to Apollo, thus indicating their weight as sign of value, which was worth 100 or 150 Alexander drachms. The sacral law *IG XII 4*, 1, 91 from Halasarna forbid their use as bond under the penalty of 5000 drachms. On the other hand, the antiquity of the sanctuary is attested by the fragment of a kouros statuette of Parian marble dating to the 6th century BCE. However, the figure of Aphrodite is preponderant among the finds, nearly 25 fragments of statuettes not in relief but in rounded form. They belonged to widespread sculptural types of Aphrodite (*Aidoumene*, *Anadyomene*, *Aposandalizomene*). She was also involved in military campaigns: That is why Nikagoras Koprionos, along with his “companion custodians”, dedicated a statue to Aphrodite Ὑπακούσα – “lending an ear” a regiment commander in the first Cretan War (205-201 BCE). Nine inscriptions attest that the priest of Apollo and the *hieropoioi* dedicated each year, after having served, dedications to Hekate *Stratia* (“belligerent”), most probably in the type of the late Hellenistic *Hekataion*. Hekate *Soteira* of the *lochagos* Damokritos Damokleous underlines the same military aspect of the goddess at that time. A female hand with torch could presumably belong to cult statue of Hekate, because of its size. According to *IG XII 4*, 605, Theuphanes Moschionos, a priest of Asclepios, dedicated a temple to both Asclepios and the deme, dating to 2nd-1st century BCE. An *agoranomos*, otherwise attested in Kos (*IG XII 4*, 581), made a dedication to Hermes (*IG XII 4*, 527). An enormous head of Heracles, dating to around 120-100 BCE, which could be the head of his cult statue, does not come from the sanctuary itself, but by Halasarna. Clay figurines from the sanctuary represent: 1) Isis with Harpokrates, 2) a dancer, 3) the Tyche of the city, 4) an altar with fruits, 5) a Doric column, 6) an eagle, and 7) a temple boy. All the afore-mentioned deities were worshipped in the sanctuary of Apollo, in dedications which almost always mention the deme of Halasarna. The military deities must have had to do with the *peripolion* – fortress of Halasarna. The sanctuary thrived in the 2nd and 1st century BCE. The dedicators were local individuals, who held the task of priest or *hieropoios*.

Dimitrios Bosnakis (“Sculpture in Religious Context. Reconstructing the Cult of Asklepios on Kalymnos”, pp. 115-125) knows that there are neither any written sources nor any architectural remains for the cult of Asclepios on Kalymnos. Nevertheless, he reconstructs the introduction of the cult of Asclepios

in the late 4th century BCE and the thriving of the cult after the *homopoliteia* of the deme of Kalymnos with Kos accomplished between 215 and 205 BCE, which signified the reintegration of Kalymnos – ἀποκατάστασις (*IG* XII 4, 152) in the state. He relies on the grounds of the finds from a sculpture deposit excavated in 2001, 250 m west of the village of Chora, near the Christ of Jerusalem Basilica. Those statues belong to a period from the third quarter of the 6th century BCE through the late 4th/early 3rd century BCE. The cult is attested by four statues from this deposit: 1) A headless statuette, carrying the features of the so-called “Epidaurus type”, a variant of the Asclepios “Este type”, attributed by Renate Kabus Preisshofen to the first cult statue of Asclepios in Kos, made by Skopas, and is to be dated after the examples of the type from Potidaea and Olynthos in 348 BCE. 2) An impressive image of Asclepios, of colossal dimensions, which follows the Epidaurus variant. The astonishing profound carvings of the hair of the head are subdivided in curled locks by using the twist drill. The head carried a wreath as indicated by the holes. This piece of evidence brings the head in comparison with the head of Asclepios *Blacas*, which, according to Martin Flashar,¹³ is to be dated around 80-70 BCE. But as Bosnakis did not fail to observe, the best parallels are with Asclepios of Mounychia and Poseidon of Melos. It is possible that the original type was reworked in the Hellenistic period. Renate Kabus Preisshofen attributed the statue to a Koan workshop by proposing a date around 230 BCE.¹⁴ Giorgio Gualandi has dated it to the Hellenistic period.¹⁵ Bosnakis is right to propose a dating to the second quarter, “or around the mid-2nd century BC”. The twist drill creating shading for the heads was used predominantly starting with the classicistic sculpture of Damophon of Messene, whose date between 214 and 180 BCE is ensured by Petros Themelis.¹⁶ The statue of Kalymnos is of a later period, closer to the dating of Poseidon of Melos, around 130-120 BCE. The torso was not found together with the rest of the fragments, since it was built into the wall of Hagia Sofia or Evangelistria, another Basilica in the vicinity. This is indicative of the site of the temple of Asclepios, as the fragments of male figures of Apollo from the Church of Christ of Jerusalem show the site of the temple of Apollo *Dalios* on Kalymnos. 3) The remaining lower part of another colossal Asclepios

13. Flashar, 2007, pp. 366, fig. 361 a-e.

14. Preisshofen, 1989, p. 45, n^o. 134.

15. Gualandi, 1976, p. 90, n. 1.

16. Themelis, 2019.

statue. The god was standing leaning on his staff. The first colossal statue might be the cult image of Asclepios. The second could be an earlier cult statue, since the first is better preserved. But Bosnakis does not exclude that the first one was the cult statue and the second one simply a contemporary dedication. 4) A naked little boy holding a ball reminds of votives dedicated to deities who protect children. Such statues appear as thank offerings in several sanctuaries of Asclepios as in the sanctuary of Eshmun at Sidon. Bosnakis notes the similarity with a statue of a boy with a duck from a sanctuary of Kephissos at Lilaia in Phokis, dated to the 3rd century BCE. He wonders whether the cult of Asclepios expanded on Kalymnos from Kos and concludes that this is the case. He agrees with Stefanaki on the political significance of Asclepios for the Koans at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE. The standing Asclepios on the coins of Kos is very close to the type of the colossal Asclepios statue on Kalymnos. They might be a sign of reconciliation and of the cohesion policy between Koans and Kalymnians. Or a sign of the foreign policy exercised by Koans towards their weaker neighbours. Thus, the expansion of the cult of Asclepios from Kos to Kalymnos is explained. However, he did not limit his interpretation to the policy of the Koans, by attributing to the Kalymnians their own aspirations. By concluding, Bosnakis stresses that the Kalymnian images of Asclepios denote the “existence of a homogeneous and standardized iconography for the cult of this deity” and that the choice of the Epidauros variant was in line with the will of the Koans and the Kalymnians to cover their need to accomplish *homopoliteia*.

Maria Chiara Monaco (“Synecism as a Divide? Cults of the Rhodian Cities. Ancient Hypotheses, New Perspectives”, pp. 126-134) defines the phenomenon of synoecism and what it entails: 1) A political act; 2) A movement of people which brings a complete reorganization of politics, administration, justice and religious life. She argues what Diodorus (XIII 75, 1) says in 408/407 BCE about the inhabitants of Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus, moving to one city which is now called Rhodes, abandoning the three settlements altogether. But as Vincent Gabrielsen points out, the three cities continued to have their own political and religious institutions. Another problem is the chronology of the architect of Rhodes, Hippodamus of Miletus, who was involved in the rebuilding of Miletus in the early 5th century BCE. Rhodes was not designed gradually. It was a result of all at once. The problem posed has to do with the specification of the religious spaces devoted to cult since the establishment of the *polis* and the urban plan. For example, Athena *Polias* and Zeus *Polieus* occupied the most prominent space on the acropolis. It might be erroneous to assume that the temple of Apollo *Pythios* also on the acrop-

olis was dedicated to Helios.¹⁷ After that, Monaco discusses the role played by the oligarchs and the family of the Diagoreans, originating from Ialysus, as regards the synoecism. She presents the famous members of that family who won victories in athletics in the Olympic Games. For example, Diagoras, son of Damagetos, who was honoured by Pindar in *Ode 7* for having won in boxing games at Olympia in 464 BCE. One of the five sons of Diagoras, Dorieus, after his exile in Thurii, because of a death sentence from Athens (424 BCE), continued plotting against the Athenians. In 411 BCE, the philo-Laconian Diagoreans requested for the Spartan intervention on Rhodes. Dorieus embarked on Thurii with ten Spartan ships and united with the Spartan fleet in Cnidus.¹⁸ From Cnidus he reached Camirus and eventually he succeeded in overturning the Athenian Confederation on the island. Before that, the Spartans had convened with Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus in a common assembly. It is certain that the synoecism of Rhodes falls into the years 411-395 BCE, as Rhodes was ruled by the oligarchy of the Diagoreans. Nevertheless, there are controversies about the position of the Diagoreans and the Spartans in the synoecism because later the Athenians captured Dorieus and then pardoned him.¹⁹ In fact, in 396 BCE the Diagoreans changed the foreign policy of Rhodes, by abandoning the Spartans and turning to the Athenians of Conon in the battle of Cnidus. The *Hellenica of Oxyrhynchus* describe the democratic revolution of 395 BCE against the oligarch Diagoreans (15, 2-3).²⁰ Since the new city emerged in the territory of Ialysus, Monaco wonders whether the Ialysian family of the Diagoreans contributed to the disposition of the cult spaces. The choice for example of Helios as a new Pan-Rhodian deity overshadowed the Athena *Lindia* at Lindus, Athena *Polias* and Zeus *Polieus* at Ialysus and Camirus. Luigi Morricone published in 1951

17. For the locations of the sanctuaries in the lower city see my remarks further below, in the article of Michalaki-Kollia.

18. Thuc., VIII 35.

19. Xen., *Ell.* I 5, 19.

20. "Those of the Rhodians who were in the know, when they realised it was time to undertake the deed, gathered with daggers in the market-place, and one of them, got up on the stone where the herald made announcements, and, shouting out as loud as he could, said 'Citizens, let's go for the tyrants as quick as we can!'. As he was shouting for support, the rest rushed with daggers to the meeting of the magistrates and killed the Diagorean family and eleven of the other citizens, and having done this they gathered the mass of the Rhodians into an assembly, and, as soon as they were assembled, Conon came back from Caunus with the triremes. Those who had perpetrated the massacre overthrew the existing constitution and set up a democracy, and made a few of the citizens exiles. So this was the outcome of the revolution in Rhodes".

a list of Helios' priests according to which Ialysus, Camirus and Lindus followed a three-year rotation schedule, with Ialysus being first in line. It should be noted that in the cults of Athena *Polias* and Zeus *Polieus* on the Rhodian acropolis Lindus does not participate, so that the thesis of co-participation of all three cities loses in weight. The author concludes: 1) The synoecism was planned and in fact was directed by the family of the Diagoreans who ruled over Ialysus; 2) The Ialysians might have contributed more than the inhabitants of the other two cities; 3) The Diagoreans must have exercised some control in the matter of cults, as the most ancient *olpai* with dedication to Kekraphos attest; 4) The Lindians continued to control exclusively their ancestral priesthood of Athena *Lindia*. Transferring these conclusions to the topography of the acropolis by changing the identification of the temple of Apollo *Pythios* with Helios remains controversial.

Vassiliki Patsiada ("An Open-air Sanctuary of Kybele? In the City of Rhodes", pp. 135-159) presents an open-air sanctuary in the city of Rhodes, on the rocky hill where today the Airforce Officer's Club and the Venetokleion High school lie. The sanctuary was left unbuilt during the antiquity. It occupies six *insulae* of the Hippodameian plan of Rhodes creating a rectangle measuring 200 X 160 m. These *insulae* and the whole rectangle interrupt the street grid of the ancient urban plan. They were in close contact to the *Asclepieion* to the northwest and the *Gymnasion-Ptolemaion* to the southeast. The rocky hill was delimited from the north by street P 17 and from the east by Avenue 30. To the south the street P19 constituted its southern boundary, since the *insulae* between P19 and P20 were occupied by private houses. The west boundary of the hill remains uncertain, although it could be P39a. Two fragments of terracotta figurines of Kybele, found in the Venetokleion High School excavation of 1971 constitute the sole evidence for a cult of Meter Theon in this area. The one represents the deity with polos on the head, and the other depicts a lion beneath the feet of a deity in a throne. This area comprised a series of rectangular spaces, defined by built and rock walls and of an underground system of water-supply tunnels. A built staircase, roofed by a well vaulted ceiling, led down to 4 m with 17 steps. On the wall of the staircase carved niches and small altars indicate where the figurines of Kybele stood. In 2000, another excavation near *odos Megalou Konstantinou* corresponding to P30 revealed a rock face which was 9 m long and 2.30 m high. Thus, this rock face too was decorated with niches along the northeast and east slope of the hill (Figs. 10, 11, 12). In 2017, another excavation brought to light, on the east slope, a system of rock-cut terraces reaching up to the top of the hill. Rock terrace wall was also revealed on the southeast slope of the hill (Fig. 13), on the northeast part (Fig. 14), whereas a natural rock emerged on the north foot of

the hill east of the KYP plot. There, the intersection of street P17 with street 39b was unearthed, a smaller street which started with a staircase of 9 steps leading to the upper terrace. A torso of Apollo *Sauroktionos* of Iastian *lithos* dated to the mid-2nd century CE and a miniature bronze herm derive from this excavation. The identification of the open-air sanctuary with Meter Theon-Kybele remains uncertain, although in *IG XII 1162* the cult of Meter Theon is included among the religious *thiasoi* of Rhodes. A tenuous clue is offered by the discovery of a head of Kybele (Fig. 32) in the Kypriotis plot where there are traces of the street 40. A second clue is the head (Fig. 33) found at Diakosavvas plot in Garibaldi street representing an Attis figurine, the paredros of the *oreia* Meter. It is true, however, that the sites of the sanctuaries of Kybele were adapted to certain natural landscapes, with rocky slopes and ravines, natural cavities, and water sources. But this is not sufficient to conclude for a sanctuary of Kybele which should have had a temple. Furthermore, there is not any presence of the Rhodian Korybantes and the comparison with the *Paneion* at Alexandria is far-fetched.

For the urbanism of Rhodes, the progress made is outstanding. The Hippodamian lay-out of the town founded through the Dorian *synoikismos* in 408/407 BCE, attributed by Strabo (Strab., XIV 2, 9) to Hippodamos himself when commenting about Peiraeus (ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλιν), first established by Joannis Kontis,²¹ who identified rectangles measuring 201 X 201 m, including εὐρυχωρίαί (free spaces) διηνεκεῖς and στενωπούς (wide and narrow streets), πλατεῖαι (width between 8 and 12 m, 10 *plateiai* running north-south and another 10 running east-south), and two wider avenues 16.10 and 16.50 m, as it has been confirmed by Grigorios Konstantinopoulos and recently updated Melina Tsopotou-Philimonos,²² created *insulae* facing east.

According to Maria Michalaki-Kollia ("Temples, Sacred Places, and Cult in the City of Rhodes. Revisiting the Evidence", pp. 160-188), the public buildings and sanctuaries do not seem to have been in the agora but to be laid out in a diagonal arrangement giving the impression of a theatre, as they are produced by the slanting terrain descending from the acropolis down to the four harbours.²³ The apex of the forming triangle should be located on the sanctuary of Nymph Rhodos in the acropolis, around the *Nymphaea* (No 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d), while the diver-

21. Kontis, 1958.

22. Tsopotou-Philimonos, 1996.

23. Diod., XIX 45, 3-4: θεατροειδοὺς δ'οὔσης τῆς Ρόδου.

gent axes testifying the arrangement from south-east to north-west were “selected in order to underline the leading role of the two new gods of the city”, Halios and the Nymph. The north-west axis touched upon the so-called “*Pantheon*” (no. 7), the sanctuary of Asclepios laid on two terraces (no. 8), the open-air sanctuary of the Mother of Gods Kybele (no. 9) and the great Lower *tetragonon* Gymnasion (no. 10) dedicated to honour Ptolemy I Soter, each side of which was one stadion long (184-201 m).²⁴ The discussion about the sanctuary of Halios by Michalaki-Kollia is revolutionary but convincing (pp. 179-184). It seems that the *temenos* of Halios was in the centre of the city, probably on a “lower acropolis”, according to the use made by Christos Carouzos, protruding above the military and the commercial harbour, in direct communication with other major public buildings in the Agorai. The *koilon* of the natural theatre towering the harbours suggested by Carouzos seems to have been designed properly in connection to the *temenos* of Halios. Joannis Kontis thought that it was not due to an amphitheatrical image but instead to the increasing terraces. Closer to Carouzos’ approach,²⁵ which was otherwise implicit also in the *enkomion* of Aelius Aristides,²⁶ Michalaki-Kollia concluded that the *temenos* of Halios would constitute the elevated orchestra of this theatre and in her concluding remarks (p. 184) she put forward the comparison with the description of Halikarnassos by Vitruvius.²⁷ She apparently envisaged the city in the shape of an ancient theatre, as if Rhodes were the model for Halikarnassos built after 374 BCE, with the *Mausoleum* in an analogous place to the sanctuary of Halios in Rhodes in the centre of the city. Unfortunately, there is not any evidence about the *emporion*, the harbour and the other *kataskeuai* promoted by Evagoras I at Salamis in Cyprus, whose reconstruction might be contemporary to Rhodes (soon after 412 BCE). It seems therefore that the place of the Pan-Rhodian cult of Halios was imposed from the beginning in a rectangle measuring 200 X 200 m (between P30 and P39 to the east and west, and

24. Diod., XX 100.

25. Carouzos, 1973.

26. Ael., *Rhod.* 7: τὸ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον, οὐκ ἀπηρτημένον τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον [τῶν τειχῶν], τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως οὐδὲ κενὸν οὐδὲν ἐν μέσῳ ποιοῦντα, ἀλλὰ προσεχὴ τῇ πόλει ὡς τε στέφανον κεφαλῇ περιθέοντα.

27. Vitr., II 8, 10-11, 11: *Is autem locus est theatri curvaturae similis. Itaque in imo secundum forum est constitutum; per mediam autem altitudinis curvaturam praecinctionemque platea ampla latitudine facta, in qua media Mausoleum ita egregiis operibus est factum.*

between P6 and P5, to the north and south),²⁸ though the exact position is yet to be discovered. This indicates the wider area that encloses the ruins of the church of St. John and the area of the Palace of the Grand Master. A decree of 53 CE ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀλίου found built into the floor of St. John, indicated by Grigorios Konstantinopoulos,²⁹ strengthens this view, as well as a pedestal dedicated to Halios from Kollakion, the head of Halios found built in a wall of the Inn of the Tongue of Provence in the Street of the Knights and other minor architectural members. It would communicate with the sanctuary of Dionysos to the east located between the Roman *Tetrapylon* to the north, giving access to the military harbour (Mandraki) and the Deigma-Mylonaki plot,³⁰ which might indicate the place from where the commercial agora-*emporion* starts. Thus, the Colossus may have had access to both the military harbour through the *Dionysion*, and the commercial agora. According to a new proposal, the iconography of Colossus may be represented in the statue from the Villa di Ulpiano, Santa Marinella, in the Museo di Civitavecchia: it would depict Helios leaning backwards with a raised hand bearing the torch and the corresponded flexed leg.³¹ If we accept the identification of the Hippodameian agora and the disposal of the *deigma* – commercial Agora in Peiraeus, as it has been reconstructed through five *stoai* by Georgios Steinhauer,³² the *deigma* of Rhodes, which was το τραπεζιτικόν δεῖγμα – the Bank of exchange, and the *Dionysion* would define the great harbour-*emporion* from the east. *Deigma* and *stoai*, just like in the *emporion* of Peiraeus, should run ideally along the *odos Eleutherias*, from the *Platia Symes* where the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Limenia* (no. 12) is placed next to the *Dionysion* (no. 20) at least as far as *Plateia Ippokratous*, or probably *Plateia Martyron*. The civic agora – hippodameian agora, instead of the area of the acropolis, as Michalaki-Kollia proposes, should have occupied the area of the rectangles to the west of *deigma-temenos* of Halios.

Pindar narrates in the *Olympian* VII dedicated to Diagoras how Helios fathered seven sons with the Nymph Rhodos and one of them, Kekraphos, had

28. Strab., XIV 2, 5: καὶ πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκοσμήθη ἃ κεῖται τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ καὶ τῷ γυμνασίῳ, ἄλλα δ' ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις, ἄριστα δὲ ὁ τε τοῦ Ἥλιου κολοσσός, ὃν φησὶν ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἱαμβεῖον, ὅτι ἐπτάκις δέκα Χάρης ἐποίει πηχέων ὁ Λίνδιος.

29. Konstantinopoulos, 1997, pp. 72-73, nos. 241-243; *IG* XII 1, 2.

30. Pol., V 88: ἔστησαν ἀνδριάντας ἐν τῷ τῶν Ῥοδίων δείγματι, στεφανούμενον τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Συρακούσιων.

31. Coarelli & Lo Sardo, 2023, pp. 240-241; Anniboletti, 2024.

32. Steinhauer, 2007.

three, Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos. *Heliadaí*, Danaos and Kadmos represent the mythological past of Rhodes. After the arrival of the Mycenaeans of Tlepolemos,³³ followed the colonial expedition of the Dorians with the Argive Althaimenes, son of Katreus, who must have founded on the summit of Mount Atavyros his palace and a temple in honour of Zeus *Atavyrios*, thus connotating the Dorian character of the three Rhodian cities in the Archaic Age: Ialysos, Kamiros, Lindos. Kamiros was the second among the three cities. It lay on the northwest coast of the island. The *necropoleis* were excavated by Billiotti and Salzmänn (1859-1864). The acropolis was located on the north area, along with the temenos of Athena *Kamiras* and many tombs all around the slopes excavated by Giulio Jacopi between 1928 and 1930.

Isabella Bossolino (“Early Iron Age Kamiros and Its Sanctuaries. Some Observations”, pp. 189-200) reviewed the Proto-Geometric and Geometric context of the still unpublished pottery of the excavation. She concluded that the idea that the first sanctuary of Athena went back to the 10th century BCE might have been a wrong interpretation of the material of the votive deposit made by Jacopi, whose analysis led Nicholas Coldstream to believe that the temple of Athena was one of the earliest sanctuaries in the Greek world. Bossolino demonstrates that the first votive objects to be dedicated to Athena belong to no earlier than the period after 750 BCE. Thus, she argues for a foundation of the sanctuary during the second half of the 8th century BCE, contemporary to the rise of the *polis* of Kamiros. The so-called “Temple A” on the terrace north will produce in fact the first votive artifacts in the middle of the 7th century BCE. Regarding the terrace, which was not empty earlier but occupied by a small necropolis until the very end of the 8th century BCE, having the character of a simple *genos*, the new social corpus is imposed, by obliterating the power of the aristocratic *genos* through the new foundation of the sanctuary-temple of the accomplished new *polis*. Vroulia in the south coast of Rhodes is an important settlement dating from the 7th century BCE.

Jérémy Lamaze (“Revisiting the Archaic Shrine, ‘La Chapelle’ of Vroulia (Rhodes)”, pp. 201-219) takes into consideration a *naiskos in antis* outside the settlement. Correctly, he replaces the *naiskos* into the typology of temples from Emporio-Chios and Zagora-Andros. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to assume that the shrine of Vroulia would be the expression of a Cypriot cult-building, even though the observation of Nota Kourou, who explained Vroulia “as a port of call for

33. Hom., *Il.* II 653-670; Strab., XIV 2; *FGrHist* 240; *The Chronicle of Lindos*: the donors of the Telchines, Kadmos, Minos, Herakles, [VI] Τλαπόλεμος φιάλαν, ἐφ’ ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο Ἀθήνα Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ εὐχάν.

Cypriot trade network directed mainly to Aegean”, is based on a limestone sphinx of Cypriot type bearing a Phoenician inscription. The Phoenician presence at Vroulia is testified but the comparison proposed by J  r  my Lamaze with Kition-Kathari Temple 4, floor 2A. is far from being convincing, since this “Pre-Phoenician” temple at Kition-Kathari is to be dated much earlier, in the phase of 1230-1190 BCE, before the Temple of Astarte (850 BCE), and seems to belong more probably to the typology of the Cananaean Temples found in Israel (Tell Lachish, Tell El Farah, Tell Mevorakh). In general, the Phoenicians and the Rhodians must have had trade exchanges or parallel commercial aims since the Rhodians, according to Strabo,³⁴ sailed up to the Iberian Peninsula. But their aims must have been rather antagonistic, as Strabo later underlines that after the fall of Troy the Rhodians founded the Balearic Islands calling them Γυμνήσιοι ν  σοι, which were named by the Phoenicians Βαλεαρίδας (δι  τι τ  ς Γυμνησίας Βαλεαρίδας λεχθ  ναι). At any rate, the Cypro-Phoenicians of Kition are testified through their king Poumai-Pygmalion (831-785 BCE), who dedicated a temple at the Cape Nogar according to an inscription from Nora in Sardinia.

The paper of Giorgio Rocco and Monica Livadiotti (“The Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt Atavyros, Rhodes. Some preliminary notes on its architecture”, pp. 220-231) is the next chapter. In the VII *Olympian*, Pindar pleads with Zeus *Atavyrios* to honour Diagoras.³⁵ The authors have reconstructed through spared fragments a “court altar” of Ionic type which had no decoration, with outward *toichobates* and *podium*, and *trapeza* in the internal, approachable through a ramp, dating to the 3rd century BCE, very similar to the Altar of Dionysus from Kos and the court altar of the sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace, going back to the last quarter of the 4th century BCE. Another structure is the so-called “Northern Building”, built with well-cut bossed blocks that seem to denote the presence of an *hestiatorion* rather than a thesaurus or a *lesche*.

Romina Carboni and Emiliano Cruccas have written the next chapter (“Forms of Private and Public Devotion in the Dodecanese in the Hellenistic Age. The Cases of the Great Gods and Hecate”, pp. 232-242). It is difficult to discern between private and public devotion in the epigraphical texts regarding the list of

34. Strab., XIV 2, 10:   φ’   τ   και μ  χρι   βηρίας   πλευσαν,   κε   μ  ν τ  ν   ρδον   κτισαν,   ν   στερον Μασσαλι  ται κατ  σχον. See also Strab., III 4, 8, concerning the modern city of Rosas to the north of Ampurias:   νατ  θα δ’   στι και      ρδη, πολ  χνιο,   μποριτ  ων. Τιν  ς δ   κτ  σμα   ροδ  ων φασ  .

35. Pind., *Ol.* VII 87-88:   λλ’    Ζε   Π  τερ, ν  τοισιν   ταβυρίου / μεδ  ων, τ  μα μ  ν   μνου τεθμ  ν   λογμπιον  καν.

the so-called “*Samothrakiastai*”. There are lists of Rhodian citizens sent to Samothrace as *ἱεροποιοὶ μύσται εὐσεβεῖς* for the periodic ceremonies in honour of the Great Gods (*IG XII* 8, 186). But the most intriguing is *IG XII* 1, 43 by which an unknown personality is honoured by a corps of soldiers because he took part “in the war” (*στρατευσάμενον κατὰ πόλ[εμον] / ἔν τε ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ / καὶ ἐντριημιολίαις*), along with other *συστρατευσάμενοι* of the religious congregation of the *koinon* of the *Samothrakiastai* and *Lemniastai*, in fact the worshippers of the Great Gods of Samothrace and the *Kabeiroi* of Lemnos. They may have apparently protected sailors of private enterprises as *koina* – congregations of the military fleet of Rhodes. This is a very important point, because it seems that the military fleet of Rhodes, as suggested by Michael Rostovtzeff, protected both the civic and the commercial fleets, and was organized under the worship of the *Kabeiroi* of Samothrace and Lemnos. Moreover, we perceive the dedication of an exceptional military *ex voto* like the Nike of Samothrace, standing on the bow of a Rhodian *triemiolia*, which was made by *Iartios lithos* of Rhodes, as celebrating the victory of the Rhodians against the Seleucid king Antiochus III in the naval battle of Myonnesus (191 BCE). The area of the Northern Aegean must have been of crucial importance for the Rhodian commerce, as one can conclude by the war conducted by the Rhodians against the policy of taxes imposed by Byzantium on entering the Euxine Sea from the Propontis, where Rhodes had a privileged relation to Sinope, after they had provided help in 220 BCE in her defense against Mithridates II. Timber instead of wine and probably the commerce of slaves from Dioskurias at Colchis must have been the economic background for the presence of the military fleet of Rhodes in the waters of Samothrace. This does not signify that there were no religious congregations with civic purposes (*IG XII* 1, 163), including the various professions as regards shipbuilding, seafaring, and bank loans. There do not appear any congregations for the military Gods of the *Korybantes* associated by the authors with the *Kouretes* of Crete, young men in armour engaging in the military *pyrriche* dance, and with the mythical *Telchines*, who instead took up home in Rhodes and are linked by Diodorus with “the first to cast sculptures”.³⁶ The Cretan *Korybantes* were associated by the authors with Mount Ida in Crete and with Caria. But they do not seem to overwhelm the Rhodian *Telchines*. In Rhodes and Kos, Hekate belongs more to the private sphere rather than the public. There is not any special attestation in the

36. Diod., V 55, 2: ἀγάλματά τε θεῶν πρότεροι κατασκευάσαι λέγονται (...) παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Λινδίοις Ἀπόλλωνα Τελχίνιον προσαγορευθῆναι, παρὰ δὲ Ἰαλυσίοις Ἥραν καὶ Νύμφας Τελχινίας, παρὰ δὲ Καμπεῦσιν Ἥραν Τελχινίαν.

Dodecanese of a massive influence from Caria, where the cult of Hecate was central in the public life of the area, as shown in the *Hekataion* of Lagina. Hecate is connotated, as expected, as *Propylaia* and *Soteira* in Camirus, and it is to be connected more with the trivia of the streets, like the *Hekataion* published by Amedeo Maiuri from Rhodes, rather than with the State.

Charikleia Fantaoutsaki (“Divine Travellers from Egypt Settling on Rhodes. Some Issues for Discussion”, pp. 243-250) points out that Rhodes received early the cult of Isis as attested by the sanctuary of Isis recently excavated in ancient Rhodes (no. 16), already at the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (281-246 BCE). The cult is certain, since it is attested by the finds in the “Nile water crypt” imitating the Nilometer: Isis, Sarapis, Horus and, possibly Apis, and by a votive plaque dedicated to Osiris. Unfortunately, the absence of inscriptions does not facilitate the comprehension of the origins of the *Iseion*. The Egyptians formed a major group of the foreign population of Rhodes. Morelli mentions 24 individuals from Alexandria, but the number is not consistent in comparison to the relations between Rhodes and Alexandria (there is no dedication to Isis *Euploia* or Isis *Pelagia* as in Delos) and the position of the sanctuary at the margin of the city does not hint any process of Egyptianizing Rhodes, which remains attached to its Dorian identity. The *pharaonica* finds from the sanctuary, in their authentic Egyptian form, remain limited in the precinct itself, they are not diffused in the city. In fact, the epitaph with the name of Chaeremon of Memphis Ἰερεὺς Ἰσιος, in an inscription of ca. 100 BCE from the Korakonero necropolis, testified the hellenized form of the cult.

Panayotis Pachis (“Ἰσ[ε] Σωτεῖρα. The Cult of Isis on the Island of Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age”, pp. 251-263) starts by commenting a *charisterion* to Isis *Soteira*, dating to the 1st century BCE to a certain Ippon of Cnidos, a metec, and expands in depth the discussion into two very interesting arguments: 1) Rhodes as a commercial centre of the Ptolemaic grain trade from Alexandria; and 2) The dissemination of Egyptian cults on Rhodes in the context of the wider framework of circulating ideas in the ecumenical spirit of the Hellenistic Age. It should be remembered, in addition to the “golden sea route” of Rhodes-Alexandria emphasized by Pachis that the link of Alexandria with Rhodes was established at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy I Soter, when the cult Sarapis was also introduced in Rhodes. Nevertheless, it was only after the earthquake in Rhodes of 227/226 BCE that the dependency of the distribution and sale of the Egyptian grain on the Rhodian commercial fleet increased. In the first phase (306-227 BCE) it was Rhodes which

was fed by Egypt. Diodorus is explicit about that.³⁷ Following this framework, the aristocratic system of government of Rhodes applied the institution of charity, by providing grain to the poor for free.³⁸ In the second phase, Alexandria could not but leave the protection of her commerce to the military fleet of Rhodes which from 197 to 168 BCE was dominant in the Aegean Sea. The more Athens was gaining commercial independence under the protection of Rome, the more Rhodes and Alexandria were being connected to each other after 220 BCE. Virginia Grace noticed that the Rhodian stamped handles began to disappear from the excavations of the agora in Athens after 200 BCE, whereas they appear in great numbers in Alexandria (80,000 Rhodian handles registered by Peter Frazer in 1965).

Paolo D. Scirpo ("Rhodian Cults in the Greek Colonies of Sicily. A Research Prologue", pp. 264-272) considers the mixed foundation of Gela by Rhodes and Crete (688 BCE), along with their expansion up to the foundation of the subcolony of Akragas (580 BCE).³⁹ Scirpo examines the role of the original Rhodian-Cretan pantheon in the development of Gela and Akragas which contributed to the amalgamation of the two different political entities. He explains the *staseis* of these colonies from 650 to 550 BCE as an indicator of a balance which collapsed with the advent of Tyranny of the Deinomeinids in Gela. The eldest of the four brothers, Gelon, who was ruler in Gela from 491 BC to 485 BCE, denotes the aftermath of the Rhodian component and consequently, there prevailed the Rhodian element of the cult in a manner of "Rhodianizing" the state, with the construction of "Temple C" at Gela, in honour of the Rhodian *potnia* Athena *Lindia*, for the victory against

37. Diod., XX 81: "At any rate, the Rhodians, having established pacts of friendship with all the rulers, carefully avoided giving legitimate grounds for complaint; but in displaying goodwill they inclined chiefly toward Ptolemy, for it happened that most of their revenues were due to the merchants who sailed to Egypt, and that in general the city drew its food supply from that kingdom".

38. Strab., XIV 2, 5 (trans. Jones): δημοκηδεῖς δ' εἶσιν οἱ Ῥόδιοι, καίπερ οὐ δημοκρατούμενοι: "The Rhodians are concerned for the people in general, although their rule is not democratic; still, they wish to take care of their multitude of poor people. Accordingly, the people are supplied with provisions and the needy are supported by the well-to-do, by a certain ancestral custom; and there are certain liturgies that supply provisions, so that at the same time the poor man receives his sustenance, and the city does not run short of useful men, and for the manning of the fleets".

39. Thuc., VI 4, 3 asserts: "Gela was founded in common by Antiphemus, who led colonists from Rhodes, and Entimus, who led others from Crete, in the 45th year after the foundation of Syracuse (...) the place where now stands the acropolis (...) is called Lindioi. To the inhabitants were given Dorian institutions".

the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 BCE,⁴⁰ and “Temple E”, the *Athenaion* at Akragas.⁴¹ The Rhodian family of Deinomenids who would later be established in Syracuse through Gelon I (485-478 BCE) and Ieron I (478-466 BCE), seems to have originated in Sicily by Deinomenes who also founded the cult of Demeter and Persephone at Gela, due to the fact that they were among the original settlers in the 8th century BCE.⁴² An important role is attributed by Scirpo to the Paredros, at Gela in the sanctuary of Molino di Pietro and Pythian, or better *Dalios* Apollo, in the Archaic *emporion* of Bosco Littorio. 800 attic vases from the late 7th century BCE down to the end of the 4th century BCE found on Rhodes are connected to the cult of Dionysus. 150 of them portray Dionysiac images. The majority (119) date from 550 to 475 BCE, while there seems to be a drop after the late 5th century BCE.

This is the statistic conclusion reached by Dimitris Paleothodoros and Goergios Mavroudis (“Visual and Written Testimonies on the Cult of Dionysus in the Dodecanese”, pp. 273-292). They demonstrate the predilection for models created by the Athenian vase-painters, while Rhodian vase-painters never depict Dionysiac subjects. The written evidence for Dionysus during the archaic and classical period is lacking. But from the end of the 4th century BCE starts, also in Karpathos, Nisyros and Symi, the production of Rhodian wine, as attested by the stamps of inscribed handles on the amphorae, bearing the name of the producer and the year of the eponymous priest of Helios.⁴³ The Rhodian wine was in great demand all over the Mediterranean world. It was massively produced because it was cheap and of poor quality. That might be the explanation for the dropping of the Athenian wine out of commerce and its substitution by the Rhodian wine. A sanctuary of Dionysus (no. 20), praised by Lucianus (*Amores* 8), was founded in the city of Rhodes and another one in Lindus. Accordingly, the connection of the wine of Dionysus with the military life is attested in the theatre of Dionysus in Rhodes during public ceremonies for honouring young soldiers, according to Diodorus (XX 84, 3).

Alan W. Johnston (“De Natura δεκάτης (-or ας)”, pp. 293-295) deals with an epigraphic formula *μναμόσυνον δεκάτης* which appears in four graffiti on two cups,

40. See the *pithos* with dedication to Athena, Fig. 2; *Chronicle of Lindos* C 11-14: Athena *Patroia*, though it is difficult to discern the ἄντρα ἱερὰ attested for Athena *Lindia* in Lindos.

41. For instance, also Pol., IX 27, 7 testifies for the acropolis of Akragas “(...) on the summit there is the temple of Athena and Zeus Atavyrios, just as the Rhodians (...)” (probably the Doric temple of the middle of the 5th century BCE under the Norman church of Santa Maria dei Greci).

42. Hdt., VII 153, 1; *Lindian Chronicle* F 3, 28. Cf. Mitchell, 2022.

43. Finkielsztejn, 2001.

an amphora, and a krater, of Attic provenance, of the late 6th or 5th centuries BCE, a bronze instrument, and a marble *louterion*, from Ialysus. This might be not an *aparche* or the object itself but a form of aide-memoire, not the whole of the dedication but a token. *Dekata* would be accompanied by the motivation of the memory.

Aynur-Michèle-Sara Karatas ("The Sanctuaries and Cults of Demeter on Rhodes", pp. 296-322) discusses the cult of Demeter, whose importance is testified by the fact that the first month of the Rhodian calendar was named *Thesmophoria*. Only two sanctuaries of Demeter have been excavated on far on Rhodes. Karatas is right to stress that the sanctuaries of Demeter were often extra-urban. In the Archaic time a sanctuary of Demeter is attested in Lindos, whereas a clay figurine of two women (625-600 BCE) found in the tomb of a woman in Papatislure provides evidence for the cult of Demeter in Rhodes itself. Another clay figurine of two seated women, found at the necropolis of Makri Langoni, is dated to 450-420 BCE. The two sanctuaries were not accompanied by monumental buildings. The votives from the "small votive deposit" at Lindos represent Demeter a) *hydrophoros*, b) *cistaphoros*, c) piglet bearer, and d) *liknon*-bearer, whereas a Demeter *Kourotrophos* derives from the "big votive deposit pit". In Lindos clay figurines indicate that Zeus was worshipped as Zeus *Damatrios*. In Kamiros, Demeter and Kore, are not among the general lists of deities mentioned in the inscriptions. Exception is *I. Kamiros* 84 (line 16) which mentions the Kore devotees Κουραιστᾶν who crowned among other religious *thiasoi* a certain Aristombrotidas in 167 BCE. *Tit. Cam.* 156a (1st century BCE) regards the regulation of the cult association of Demeter named *Damateres*. The epigraphic sources on Demeter, Kore and Pluton from all the Dodecanese is presented by Karatas in Table 1b, while the corresponding cult in Caria (Aphrodisias, Bargylia, Cnidus, Didyma, Halicarnassus, Lagina, Lepsia, Mylasa, Nysa, Panamara, Stratonikeia, Tralleis) are enlisted in Table 1a. The two tables testify a shared diffusion of the cult of Demeter and Kore in the Dorian Aegean.

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