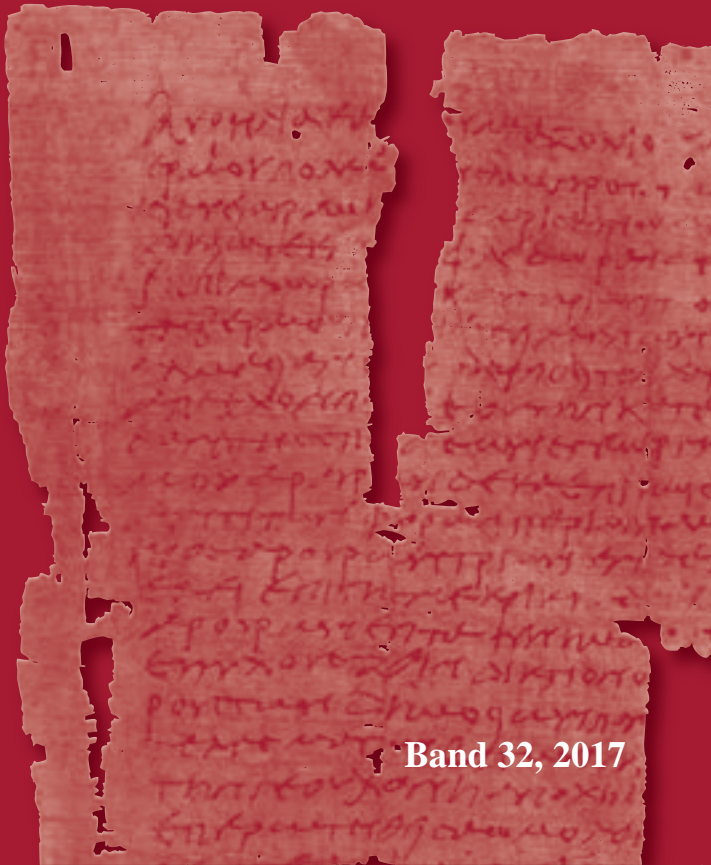


Herausgegeben von:

Thomas Corsten
Fritz Mitthof
Bernhard Palme
Hans Taeuber

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik



HOLZHAUSEN

Der Verlag

Band 32, 2017



**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

TYCHE

**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

Band 32

2017

HOLZHAUSEN
— Der Verlag —

Impressum

Gegründet von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert, Ekkehard Weber

Herausgegeben von

TYCHE – Verein zur Förderung der Alten Geschichte in Österreich

Vertreten durch

Thomas Corsten, Fritz Mitthof, Bernhard Palme, Hans Taeuber

Gemeinsam mit

Franziska Beutler und Wolfgang Hameter

Wissenschaftlicher Beirat

Angelos Chaniotis, Denis Feissel, Jörg Fündling, Nikolaos Gonis,
Klaus Hallof, Anne Kolb, Michael Peachin

Redaktion

Chiara Cenati, Tina Hobel, Sandra Hodeček, Theresia Pantzer,
Christoph Samitz, Patrick Sänger, Kerstin Sänger-Böhm

Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an

Redaktion TYCHE, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und
Epigraphik, Universität Wien, Universitätsring 1, 1010 Wien, Österreich.

E-Mail: franziska.beutler@univie.ac.at

Richtlinien unter <http://www.univie.ac.at/alte-geschichte>

Bei der Redaktion einlangende wissenschaftliche Werke werden angezeigt.

Auslieferung

Verlag Holzhausen GmbH, Leberstraße 122, A-1110 Wien

E-Mail: office@verlagholzhausen.at

Online Bestellungen Print & TYCHE–Open Access

<https://shop.verlagholzhausen.at/hhshop/buch.wissenschaft/Tyche/Jahresbaende.htm>

<http://tyche-journal.at>

Umschlag: Militärdiplom aus Carnuntum (ZPE 172, 2010, 271–276; Photo: P. Böttcher),
Inscription aus Ephesos (ÖJh 55, 1984, 130 [Inv. Nr. 4297]; Photo: P. Sänger), P.Vindob. G 2097
(= P.Charite 8).

Bibliografische Informationen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die ÖNB und die DNB verzeichnen diese Publikation in den Nationalbibliografien; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet abrufbar. Für die Österreichische Bibliothek: <http://onb.ac.at>, für die Deutsche Bibliothek: <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

Eigentümer und Verleger

Verlag Holzhausen GmbH, Leberstraße 122, A-1110 Wien

Herausgeber

TYCHE – Verein zur Förderung der Alten Geschichte in Österreich
c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik,
Universität Wien, Universitätsring 1, A-1010 Wien.

E-Mail: hans.taeuber@univie.ac.at oder bernhard.palme@univie.ac.at

Gedruckt auf holz- und säurefreiem Papier.

Verlagsort: Wien — Herstellungsort: Wien — Printed in Austria

ISBN: 978-3-903207-09-7 ISSN: 1010-9161 eISSN: 2409-5540

Copyright © 2018 Verlag Holzhausen GmbH — Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Stadt Wien
Wien ist anders.

Diese Publikation wurde durch die
freundliche Unterstützung der
Stadt Wien ermöglicht.

I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Lincoln H. B l u m e l l — Chiara A l i b e r t i: Two Greek Inscriptions from Karanis (Taf. 1–2)	1
Dan D e a c — Radu P e t c u: A Magical Amulet from <i>Durostorum</i> (Moesia Inferior) (Taf. 3–4)	7
Vincent G a b r i e l s e n: A New Inscription Attesting to Associations from the Necropolis of Rhodes With an Appendix by Nicos C h r i s t o d o u l i d e s (Taf. 5–10)	15
Klaus H a l l o f: Der Beginn der attischen Panathenaïdenära (Taf. 5)	41
Giulio I o v i n e: Three Latin Business Documents from the <i>Papyrus-sammlung</i> of the Austrian National Library at Vienna (<i>ChLA</i> XLIV 1296; 1310; 1303 + XLV 1348) (Taf. 11–12)	45
Giulio I o v i n e: A Latin Private Document on Papyrus (<i>ChLA</i> XLIV 1300 <i>recto</i>) (Taf. 13)	59
Aikaterini K o r o l i: Ein griechischer Lieferungskauf über Schilfrohr aus dem spätantiken Hermopolites (Taf. 15)	73
Sophie K o v a r i k: Der Notar Elias im Herakleopolites (Taf. 16–17)	81
Csaba L a ' d a — Amphilochos P a p a t h o m a s: Eine griechische Gestellungsbürgschaft aus dem spätantiken Herakleopolis (Taf. 18)	93
Ludwig M e i e r: Sprechende Steine, Gesang und ‚professionelles‘ Wissen: Kulturhistorische Überlegungen zur Grabsäule des Seikilos (I. Tralleis 219) (Taf. 14)	101
Federico M o r e l l i: Per o contro il nemico? Le ragioni di un carpentiere e la cronologia dell'invasione araba secondo P.Vindob. G 39718 = PERF 550 (Taf. 19–20)	119
Federico M o r e l l i: I vestiti nuovi del dandy Apollonios. Tessuti di lusso in P.Giss. I 21	131
Pantelis N i g d e l i s: A Honorific Inscription from Amphipolis for the Sappaeian King Sextus Iulius Cotys (Taf. 21–22)	139
Johannes P l a t s c h e k: Zur Lesung von Kap. 27 der <i>lex Troesmensium</i> ...	151
Marjeta Š a š e l K o s: The Death of Decimus Brutus. The Strange Case of his Artillery and the Iapodes (Taf. 23)	167
Manfred G. S c h m i d t: Inscriptiones Dresdenses Latinae. Inschriften aus dem Albertinum (Taf. 24–29)	181
Peter S i e w e r t: Hocharchaische Opfervorschrift für das Kronos-Fest in Olympia (BrU 7) (Taf. 30)	189
Sergey K. S i z o v: The συναρχίαι in the Achaian federation and its member cities	225
Alexander T h e i n: <i>Percussores</i> : a study in Sullan violence	235

Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXX (<Korr. Tyche> 832–854)	251
Adnotationes epigraphicae VIII (<Adn. Tyche> 61–73)	269
Buchbesprechungen	283
<p>Nathan B a d o u d, <i>Le Temps de Rhodes. Une chronologie des inscriptions de la cité fondée sur l'étude de ses institutions</i>, München 2015 (M. Debidour: 283) — Emma B r i d g e s, <i>Imagining Xerxes. Ancient Perspectives on a Persian King</i>, London 2015 (F. Alidoust: 285) — Boris C h r u b a s i k, <i>Kings and Usurpers in the Seleukid Empire. The Men who would be King</i>, Oxford, New York 2016 (Ph. Egetenmeier: 288) — Romano C o r d e l l a, Nicola C r i n i t i, <i>Parole su pietre. Epigrafia e storia nella Sabina settentrionale di età romana</i>, Perugia 2014 (C. Cenati: 291) — Magali d e H a r o S a n c h e z (Hrsg.), <i>Écrire la magie dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international (Liège, 13–15 octobre 2011)</i>, Liège 2015 (C. Campedelli: 293) — Christine D e l a p l a c e, <i>La fin de l'Empire romain d'Occident. Rome et les Wisigoths de 382 à 531</i>, Rennes 2015 (R. Selvaggi: 296) — Roland F ä r b e r, <i>Römische Gerichtsorte: Räumliche Dynamiken von Jurisdiktion im Imperium Romanum</i>, München 2014 (G. Kantor: 299) — Oliver G r o t e, <i>Die griechischen Phylen. Funktion – Entstehung – Leistungen</i>, Stuttgart 2016 (A. von der Decken: 301) — Wolfgang H a v e n e r, <i>Imperator Augustus. Die diskursive Konstituierung der militärischen persona des ersten römischen princeps</i>, Stuttgart 2016 (T. Klär: 304) — Andrea J ö r d e n s (Hrsg.), <i>Ägyptische Magie und ihre Umwelt</i>, Wiesbaden 2015 (T. Nowitzki: 306) — Noel L e n s k i, <i>Constantine and the Cities. Imperial Authority and Civic Politics</i>, Philadelphia 2016 (H. Brandt: 309) — Christoph L u n d g r e e n, <i>Regelkonflikte in der römischen Republik. Geltung und Gewichtung von Normen in politischen Entscheidungsprozessen</i>, Stuttgart 2011 (H. Heftner: 310) — Federicomaria M u c c i o l i, <i>Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici</i>, Stuttgart 2013 (G. Weber: 313) — Roland O e t j e n, <i>Athen im dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr. Politik und Gesellschaft in den Garnisonsdemen auf der Grundlage der inschriftlichen Überlieferung</i>, Düsseldorf 2014 (C. I. Chrysafis: 316) — Kalliopi K. P a p a k o n s t a n t i n o u, <i>Συμβολή στη μελέτη των λειτουργιών της δικαστικής απόφασης στην αρχαία Ελλάδα. Beitrag zum Studium der Funktionen des gerichtlichen Urteils im antiken Griechenland</i>, Thessaloniki 2015 (G. Thür: 318) — Michael R a t h m a n n, <i>Tabula Peutingeriana, eingeleitet und kommentiert</i>, Darmstadt 2016 (E. Weber: 319) — Klaus R o s e n, <i>Attila. Der Schrecken der Welt</i>, München 2016 (G. M. Berndt: 321) — Florian S t e g e r, <i>Asklepios. Medizin und Kult</i>, Stuttgart 2016 (F. Weise: 323) — Reinhard S t r a d n e r, <i>Noreia. Der militärwissenschaftliche Ansatz zur Lokalisierung des norischen Stammeszentrum</i>, Salzburg 2014 (St. Seitschek: 326) — Mariette d e V o s R a a i j m a k e r s, Redha A t t o u i, <i>Rus Africum, Tome III: La Via a Karthagine Thevestem, ses milliaires et le réseau routier rural de la région de Dougga et Tébourouk</i>, Bari 2015 (E. Weber: 329).</p>	
Indices	331
Eingelangte Bücher	339

Tafeln 1–30

Die *Annona Epigraphica Austriaca* erscheint auf der Homepage des Instituts für Alte Geschichte der Universität Wien (<http://altegeschichte.univie.ac.at/forschung/aea/>) und wie bisher auch in der Zeitschrift *Römisches Österreich*.

VINCENT GABRIELSEN

A New Inscription Attesting to Associations from the Necropolis of Rhodes

with an Appendix by NICOS CHRISTODOULIDES

Plates 5–10

One of the finds from the excavations at the Karimalis plot, eastern necropolis of Rhodes (see Appendix), is an inscribed, rectangular base of Lartian stone that originally supported a cylindrical funerary altar (E2106; pl. 6 fig. 1–2).¹ The base measures 0,63 m (length); 0,58 m (breadth); 0,19 m (height). Its upper surface consists of a slightly raised round platform (0,55 m in diameter) on which the round altar was fitted. The left lower corner of the inscribed front-face is chipped off. Also, part of its right side, particularly the lower end, is fairly worn, as a result of which some of the letters there are less well preserved or lost. The front-face of the base carries the following inscription (including the now lost altar):

[- - - - -]

Τιμαθεῖς καὶ στεφανωθεῖς χρυσέω[ι στεφ]ῶ[ν] ὑπὸ
Ποσειδανιαστῶν καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπ[ι]αστῶν τῶν ἐν Σαλάκῳ
καὶ ὑπὸ Σωτηριαστῶν Φειδιανακτεῖων τῶν ἐν Φάναις καὶ ὑπὸ
Ἀσκληπιαστῶν Βουκοπιδῶν τῶν ἐν Αἰγί[λ?]
5 λιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Φάναις καὶ κεχοραγηκῶς χρ[η]στ[ὸς] χαῖρε
Βερενίκη Φρυγία χρ[η]στ[ὸς] χαῖρε

“[personal name and ethnic?]”

Honoured and crowned with a gold crown
by the *Poseidaniastai*, and by the *Asklapiastai*, those based in Salakos,
and by the *Soteriastai Pheidianakteioi*, those based in Phanai, and by
the *Asklapiastai Boukopidai*, those based in Aigi[?]
5 liastai, those based in Phanai, and he has served as a *choregos*, farewell, good one,
Berenike from Phrygia, farewell, good one.”

¹ I would like to thank the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese for kind permission to publish the inscription. I also thank Anastasia Dreliosi-Irakleidou, Stella Skaltsa, Jan-Mathieu Carbon and the two anonymous reviewers for their most useful comments and suggestions.

Apparatus criticus

L. 3: ΦΕΙΔΙΑΝΑΚΤΕΙΩΝ. Enough is preserved from the last six letters to make the reading almost certain.

L. 4: ΑΙΪΙ.]ΕΙΑΙ. Enough traces of the first three letters survive to render the reading fairly certain. The only uncertainty is whether the fourth letter is an *iota* or an *eta* whose horizontal stroke and remaining (right-hand) part vertical stroke would have fallen within the lacuna; since the preserved vertical stroke is measured at full letter-height, we can exclude an *upsilon*. Epigraphically, *iota* or *eta* are equally likely candidates for the fourth letter (though see further below). For my proposal for the totally missing (5th) letter, *lambda*, see Commentary.

L. 5: χρ[η]στ[ός] χωίρε. Since the second lacuna in the first word has space for two letters, we can exclude χρ[η]στ[έ].

Lettering

Average height: 0,012–0,013 m; average width: 0,010 m. There are, however, differences between individual letters: e.g. height of first *tau* in l. 1: 0,016 m; height of first *sigma* in l. 1: 0,013 m, but height of last *sigma* in l. 2: 0,012 m; height of first *epsilon* in l. 2: 0,016 m. Finally, the last line is centered and inscribed in slightly larger letters that are separated by more space: height: 0,013–0,014 m; width: 0,09 m. This line appears to have been made by the same hand as the preceding ones (see also below). Average distance between letters: 0,015 m. Interlinear space: 0,025 m.

The letters are provided with rather elegant serifs (*akremones*), formed so as to give the text a certain artistic quality. For instance, the upper and lower strokes of *sigma* open slightly outwards and their serifs mostly point upwards. The upper and lower strokes of *epsilon* curve slightly inwards, an effect accentuated by the fact that their serifs point mostly upwards, too. The serifs on the two vertical bars of *nu* point outwards, each in the opposite direction. The circle of *phi* is elliptical (i.e. flat in the middle) and placed midways in the vertical stroke (height of circle: 00,13 m; width: 00,9 m). The diagonal strokes of *kappa* are slightly shorter. *Theta* has a dot in mid circle. The right stroke of *pi* is half the length of the left one. The *omikron* is not completely round and has approximately the same height as other letters (00,11 m). *Omega* is simply a wholly closed circle (smaller than the *omikron*) hanging above line (diameter: 00,9 m: compare with the 6th and 8th letters of l. 3). There is no trace of a horizontal stroke underneath the closed circle. Presumably, this latter characteristic was added with paint, or perhaps it was omitted altogether. *Alpha* and *delta* have rather narrow triangles (the bar of alpha being horizontal), but *chi* is so open as to have almost equidistant ends. On the basis of the letterforms, a date between the end of the second and beginning of the first century BC can be proposed.²

² Rhodian inscriptions dated to the last part of the second and the first part of the first century BC, and which exhibit many of the letter-form characteristics possessed by our inscription include: *I.Lindos* II, 230 (134 BC), 260 (104 BC), 270 (100 BC); *Tit.Cam.* 157 (2nd cent. BC); *CIRhod.* 2 (1932) 210, no. 48 (ca. 100–80 BC); *IG XII.1* 46 (ca. 68 BC); *I.Lindos* II, 292 (88 BC), 293 (86 BC).

Commentary

The funerary altar, with its inscribed base, belonged to an individual whose name is unknown. Almost certainly, his name was inscribed on the now lost altar itself. For parallels (especially of the name in the nominative), see the inscribed altars found in situ (e.g. E1984 Κότυς | Σεργεύς, with Appendix) and also *IG XII.1* 160. The inscription on the base of the altar mainly records the honours awarded to the individual by five private associations. Even though the award of a gold crown by each association is specifically mentioned (see also below),³ the initial phrase *τιμαθεις καὶ στεφανωθεις* may indicate that the person concerned had received more honours than the five gold crowns. The word *koinon*, which often is a part of the name of Rhodian associations (see e.g. *IG XII.1* 162), is absent here, but its absence may have been dictated simply by considerations of space. Therefore one may justifiably place the five associations of our inscription within the larger group of Rhodian *koina*.⁴ In the following, each of these five *koina* will be commented on separately.

L. 2: Ποσειδανιαστᾶν. The membership of the *Poseidaniastai* was evidently devoted to the worship of the god Poseidon, a major deity in Rhodes.⁵ Until now the name *Poseidaniastai* on Rhodes was attested only in composite names of associations.⁶ Thus our inscription provides the first evidence of a Rhodian *koinon* calling itself simply *Poseidaniastai*. In contrast to the other four associations, the *Poseidaniastai* are not explicitly connected to a specific locality. This might imply that the seat of the association was in the general area where the base was found: the city of Rhodos and capital of the state. Additionally, the *Poseidaniastai* might have been an older organisation than its counterparts with composite names.

L. 2: Ἀσκληαπ[ι]αστᾶν τῶν ἐν Σαλάκωι. The first element of this name is theophoric and attests to the membership's devotion to Asklepios. The god's cult and *temenos* are

³ On Rhodian gold crowns: E. Kaninia, *Χρυσά στεφάνια ἀπὸ τῆ νεκρόπολη τῆς ἀρχαίας Ρόδου*, AD 49–50 A (1994–1995) 97–132; M. Filimonos, A. Giannikouri, *Grave Offerings of Rhodes. Pottery and Jewellery*, in: V. Gabrielsen (ed.), *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture and Society* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 9), Aarhus 1999, 205–226.

⁴ G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Per la storia delle associazioni in Rodi antica*, ASAA 22, n.s. 1–2 (1939–1940) 147–200; V. Gabrielsen, *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 6), Aarhus 1997, 123–129; S. Maillot, *Foreigners' Associations and the Rhodian State*, in: V. Gabrielsen, Chr. A. Thomsen (eds.), *Private Associations and the Public Sphere. Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010* (Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistica, 8 vol. 9), Copenhagen 2015, 136–182.

⁵ For the various cults of Ποσειδᾶν or Ποσειδᾶν, see D. Morelli, *I culti in Rodi* (Studi Classici e Orientali 8), Pisa 1959, 63–66, 167–169.

⁶ Ποσειδανιαστᾶν καὶ Ἀσκληπιαστᾶν (κοινόν): *IG XII.1* 164, undated; Ἡρακλειστᾶν Ποσειδανιαστᾶν (κοινόν): ASAA 8–9 (1925–1926) 322, no. 6, Roman period; Σωτηριαστᾶν Ἀσκληπιαστᾶν Ποσειδανιαστᾶν Ἡρακλειστᾶν Ἀθηναιστᾶν Ἀφροδισιαστᾶν Ἑρμιαστᾶν Ματρὸς θεῶν κοινόν: *IG XII.1* 162, 2nd cent. BC.

well attested in Rhodes.⁷ *Asklapiastai* was a quite popular name element among Rhodian *koina*. In several instances it occurs in composite names.⁸ The second element in the name of our association (τῶν ἐν Σαλάκῳ) resembles the associational names mentioned in, for instance, *Tit.Cam.* 84 (Rhodos, after 167 BC): Ἀσκληπιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Καμίρῳ, Ἑρμιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Καμίρῳ, Σαραπιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Καμίρῳ, Κουρλιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Κυτήλῳ, Τρικτοίνων τῶν ἐν Λέλωι.⁹ Such a qualification (i.e. ‘those based’ at a certain place) indicates an association’s affiliation to a particular locality. But at the same time it may have served the additional purpose of distinguishing an association from one or more homonyms.

Salakos, the name of the place at which the *Asklapiastai* of our inscription were based, was until now unattested in ancient Rhodes. Yet it is well known today as the name of a village (η Σάλακος) just a few kilometres SE of ancient Kameiros and thus within the territory of the ancient *polis* of Kameiros (pl. 5 fig. 3). As a place-name Salakos can in fact be traced back to the ordinance of 1475 AD, issued by Orsini, the Great Magister of the Knights of Saint John, concerning the forts and fortified settlements on the island. Considering the attested preservation of many ancient toponyms on the island, it is therefore almost certain that modern Salakos is approximately or completely identical with both the Salakos of 1475 AD and the Salakos of our inscription.¹⁰

L. 3: Σωτηριαστῶν Φειδιανακτεῖον τῶν ἐν Φάναις. The first element in the name of this *koinon*, *Soteriastai*, is cultic and derives from *Soter*, an *epiklesis* used of several gods, but most frequently of Zeus.¹¹ *Soteriastai* appears to have been a popular name

⁷ Morelli, *I culti* (op.cit. n. 5) 31–33, 115–117. Temenos: *Suppl.Epigr.Rod.* 248, no. 1. See I. Chr. Papachristodoulou, A. Dreliosi-Irakleidou, *Τμήμα ψηφισματικής στήλης*, in: N. Ch. Stambolidis, G. Tsoulas (eds.), *Ίασις. Υγεία, νόσος, θεραπεία, από τον Όμηρο στον Γαληνό*, Athens 2014, 251–254. Cf. I. Chr. Papachristodoulou, *Νέα στοιχεία για το Ασκληπιείο της πόλης της Ρόδου*, in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια. Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους, 1523, Πρακτικά*, vol. I, Athens 1999, 59–62, pl. 15–16; Ch. Fantaoutsaki, *Η ανασκαφή στο Ασκληπιείο της Ρόδου: οι πρώτες εκτιμήσεις*, in: A. Giannikouri, E. Zervoudaki, E. Kollias, I. Chr. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Χάρης χάρη, Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρης Κάντζια*, vol. II, Athens 2014, 31–46.

⁸ *IG XII.1* 162 (ll. 4–5), 164 (ll. 3–4), 701 (ll. 9–10); *Tit.Cam.* 78 (ll. 9–11), 87 (ll. 8–9); *MDAI(A)* 25 (1900) 109, no. 108 (l. 4), but in *Tit.Cam.* 84 (l. 10): Ἀσκληπιαστῶν τῶν ἐν Καμίρῳ. Pace Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (op.cit. n. 4) 178, the *koinon* listed in *I.Lindos II*, 391 (ll. 36–37), 392b, l. 19, must also have had a composite name (Ἀσκληπιαστῶν [- - -]), or a name followed by a place name (Ἀσκληπιαστῶν [τῶν ἐν - -]).

⁹ See also *Tit.Cam.* 159a, l. 5: Ἑρμιαστῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει κοιν[όν], i.e. based in the city of Rhodes.

¹⁰ See Chr. I. Papachristodoulou, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου, από τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους έως την ενσωμάτωση της Δωδεκανήσου (1948)*, Athens ²1994, 286–287; I. Chr. Papachristodoulou, *Νέα στοιχεία ως συμβολή στην τοπογραφία της αρχαίας Καμυρίδος. Το χωριό Φάνες της Ρόδου*, in: *ΦΑΝΕΣ. Επιγραφές και Αρχαιολογικά Ευρήματα*, Weilheim 2009, 11–24, esp. 14–15.

¹¹ See, e.g., *I.Lindos II*, 683: Διοσσωτηριαστῶν κοινόν, with F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Preisschriften gekrönt u. hrsg. von der fürstlich Jablonowskischen

amongst the Rhodian associations, from the third century BC through to imperial times.¹² The second element, *Pheidianakteioi*, derives from the personal name Pheidianax. This Pheidianax was in all probability the founder of the association.¹³ Usually the implication intended by making a personal name (here Pheidianax) the root of a collective name ending in *-eioi* (*Pheidianakteioi*) seems to be that the members perceived themselves as the followers of the one carrying the personal name, or even as related to him (and to each other) as if they were of common lineage, i.e. a kind of (fictional) kinship that is quite close to that expressed by the word *syngeneia*.¹⁴

With regard to an identification of Pheidianax, our existing evidence affords three possibilities.

(1) Pheidianax might be the father, a son or some other descendant of a known Rhodian: Anaxibios son of Pheidianax, who in the period 200–175 BC was awarded honours in two Delian decrees, both proposed by a politically prominent Delian, Telemnestos son of Aristeides.¹⁵ In one of these decrees, Anaxibios is described as the one who had been sent by the Rhodian People as *archon* over the islands and the island fleet, i.e. supreme commander and admiral of the Nesiotic League fleet in the early second century BC. In the other decree, he is awarded the titles of *proxenos* and *euergetes* of the sanctuary of Apollo and the Delians.¹⁶ One might initially be reluctant to identify our Pheidianax with the admiral's father, because the latter was active in a much earlier period than the date we propose for our inscription; identification of him with Anaxibios' son, or with

Gesellschaft zu Leipzig. Nr. 23 der historisch-nationalökonomischen Sektion), Leipzig 1909, 178–189, 238. For attestations of the cult of Zeus *Soter* in Kameiros, Lindos and the city of Rhodes, see Morelli, *I culti* (op.cit. n. 5) 51–52. I find less likely the possibility that *Soter*, in *Soteriastai*, alludes to a Hellenistic king carrying that epithet and with a special connection to Rhodes, above all Ptolemy I: see R. A. Hazzard, *Did Ptolemy I get his surname from the Rhodians?*, ZPE 93 (1992) 52–56.

¹² Twelve attestations are known (those of *Diossoteriastai* are excluded here): IG XII.1 35 (ll. 3–4); ibid. 162 (ll. 2–3); ibid. 163 (ll. 3–4); ibid. 938 (col. I–II, l. 4); *I.Lindos* II, 252 (ll. 258–259), 630 (ll. 2–3); *NSER* 44; AD 23 B2 (1968) 445 (ll. 4–5); Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (op.cit. n. 4) 151, no. 6 (ll. 10–11), 151, no. 7 (ll. 1, 6), 165, no. 19 (l. 2).

¹³ For the general practice: Poland, *Geschichte* (op.cit. n. 11) 74. Less well documented is Poland's inference that a personal name in the name of an association could also be that of its president. The names of possible reformers, moreover, occur in a different kind of name-formula: e.g. Διονυσιαστῶν Ἀθαναϊστῶν Διὸς Ἀταβυριαστῶν Εὐφρανορ[ίω]ν τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίῳ Κνιδίῳ (κοινόν) (IG XII.1 937, ll. 3–4), where Euphranor would be the founder and Athenaios the reformer.

¹⁴ J. B. Ustinova, *Les Agetorii de l'île de Rhodes*, VDI 2 (1988) 157–160 (in Russian with French abstract). The same implication is made by collective names formed from personal names and ending in *-idai* (Herakleidai), *-iatai*, etc.

¹⁵ On Telemnestos, see Cl. Vial, *Délos indépendante (314–167 avant J.-C.). Études d'une communauté civique et de ses institutions* (BCH Supplément 10), Athens, Paris 1984, 99 (stemma XIV), 261–262, 279, 288; Gabrielsen, *Aristocracy* (op.cit. n. 4) 62–63.

¹⁶ IG XI.4 752, esp. ll. 3–5: ἀποσταλεί[ς ὑπὸ] | τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων ἄρχων ἐπὶ τε [τῶν νή]σων καὶ τῶν πλοίων τῶν νησιωτικ[ῶν]. IG XI.4 753, ll. 2–4. See also the heavily restored JÖAI 4 (1901) 164, no. III. For this and the following identifications, see *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. (2)–(4).

some other descendant, would therefore seem more plausible. However, this reasoning is not cogent, since our inscription may well be of a later date than the formation of the association. One possibility is, therefore, that the association was founded by Pheidianax, Anaxibios' father, in the late third/early second century. If so, our inscription attests to its continuing existence in the late second/early first century.

(2) Pheidianax might be Pheidianax son of Dosianax from Kameiros, one of the *hieropoioi* of ca. 285 BC.¹⁷ Some support for this might be provided by the fact that Phanai, the place at which the association was based, was situated in the territory of Kameiros (see below). If proven to be correct, the identification of Pheidianax with the *hieropoios* of ca. 285 would additionally indicate that an association formed in the early third century was still active in the late second/early-first century.

(3) Pheidianax might be the father (or a son) of Spartion, one of the five Rhodians who on behalf of their *polis* swore the oath validating the treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna in ca. 200 BC.¹⁸

In probably all three of these cases we are dealing with members of distinguished families, the one mentioned first here apparently surpassing all the others. This is generally in agreement with the evidence showing that several *koina* were named after a prominent Rhodian, especially one with a distinguished naval career.¹⁹ Of course, any specific identification must at present remain conjectural, and one cannot exclude the possibility that the Pheidianax of our inscription is a completely different, so far unattested, individual. However, the rare attestation of the name Pheidianax (in *LGPN* vol. I, four persons from the Aegean islands, of whom three are Rhodians), in combination with the documented habit of influential Rhodians to be the founders of associations, tips the balance slightly towards the likelihood that the *koinon* in question was founded by a member of one of the three families mentioned above.

The third element in the name of the association, τῶν ἐν Φάναις, adds to the existing instances of associational names that include a reference to the locality in which the association was based. This hitherto unattested place-name, Φάναι (Phanai), bears a distinct similarity to the name of the modern village of Phanes (οἱ Φάνες) that is located

¹⁷ *Tit. Cam.* 13, l. 3.

¹⁸ *IC* III.iii 3 (= *SIG*³ 581), of ca. 200 BC.

¹⁹ Here I only offer a few examples. Pausistratos, the admiral in the 190s: see *Pausistrateioi* (Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* [*op.cit.* n. 4] 165, no. 19, l. 4) and possibly also *Leitodoreioi* [*Pausistrateioi*] (*I.Lindos* II, 264, ll. 10, 13, cf. *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. [1] and [3]). Theaidetos and his son Astymedes: see *Apolloniastai Theaideteioi Astymedioi* (*IG* XII.1 163, cf. *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. Theaidetos [6] and Astymedes [20]). Polykles son of Sosos: *Aphrodisiastai Halikiotai Polykleioi* and *Polykleioi Boarsai* (*NSER* 18) and *Polykleioi* [- - -] (Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* [*op.cit.* n. 4] 155, no. 17, l. 5; cf. *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. [56]). The *strategos* Alkimedon (*IG* XII.1 50, l. 13): see *Hermaistai Alkimedonteioi* (*I.Lindos* II, 251, cf. *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. [7]). The *archon* Antiochos (*IG* XII.1 43, l. 8): see *Apolloniastai Antiocheioi Synstrateusamenoi* (*NSER* 18, ll. 26–27; cf. *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. [94]). For these and further identifications, see Gabrielsen, *Aristocracy* (*op.cit.* n. 4) 126–127, with notes. On the general practice: Ustinova, *Agetorii* (*op.cit.* n. 14).

just a few kilometres NE of the ancient city of Kameiros (pl. 5 fig. 3), and whose existence, like that of near-by Salakos, can be traced back to 1475 AD. Ioannis Papachristodoulou adduces convincing evidence to identify ancient Phanai with modern Phanés.²⁰

L. 4: Ἀσκλαπιαστᾶν Βουκοπιδᾶν τῶν ἐν Αἰγί[λ?]εῖαι or Αἰγή[λ?]εῖαι. The element *Asklapiastai* has been commented on above. Here it is combined with the element Βουκοπιδᾶν to describe this group also as *Boukopidai* (literally, those engaged in cattle/oxen-cleaving). This description hints at a possible connection between the association and the activities recorded by a series of rock-cut inscriptions from Lindos, the so-called Boukopia-inscriptions, found at a location beneath the Lindian acropolis formerly known as Vigli.²¹ These inscriptions mention sacrifices, particularly a *proscharaios thysia*.²² Archaeological remains indicate that the performance of rituals there originated from an early date: parts of the texts are carved near a *naiskos* which, on ceramic evidence, is dated to the 7th century BC.²³ However, the cultic activity occurring in this place is still poorly understood, and modern opinions remain controversial. Blinkenberg surmised (i) that the name of the place in which these texts were carved was called Boukopion; (ii) that the word Βουκόπιον/Βουκόπια in the inscriptions refers to sacrifices of oxen, though the word Θεοδαΐσια (*Theodaisia*)/Θευδαΐσια (*Theudaisia*) is sometimes used instead; (iii) that contrary to earlier proposals (Herakles, Dionysos), it was Athana Lindia that was worshipped there; and (iv) that *proscharaios thysia* was a sacrifice performed in front of an *eschara*, i.e. an altar.²⁴ Several of these hypotheses have been challenged by Kostomitsopoulos, who, among other things, argues that *proscharaios* here has a temporal meaning, referring to a day towards the end of the winter, the time of the Attic *Proschaireteria* or *Proscharisteria*, when the crops were beginning to grow and sacrifices were performed to Athena and

²⁰ Papachristodoulou, *Νέα στοιχεία* (op.cit. n. 10) 14–15.

²¹ F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Βουκόπια Θεοδαΐσια*, RE 3, 1 (1899) 1018; Chr. Blinkenberg, 'Boukopion', in *I.Lindos II*, cols. 897–946; Morelli, *I culti* (op.cit. n. 5) 96–98; E. Dyggve, *Trois sanctuaires au pied de l'acropole – B. La place des Boukopia*, in: E. Dyggve, *Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902–1914 et 1952*, vol. III 2: *Le Sanctuaire d'Athana Lindia et l'architecture lindienne*, Berlin 1960, 457–471; G. Konstantinopoulos, *Αρχαία Ρόδος*, Athens 1986, 191–192; Ph. Kostomitsopoulos, *Lindian Sacrifice. An Evaluation of the Evidence Based on New Inscriptions*, in: S. Dietz, I. Chr. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen 1988, 121–128; L.W. Sørensen, *Surveys in Southern Rhodes. The Post-Mycenaean Periods until Roman Times*, in: id., P. Pentz, *Excavations and Surveys in Southern Rhodes. The Post-Mycenaean Periods until Roman Times and the Medieval Period. Lindos*, vol. IV 2, Copenhagen 1992, 13–155, esp. 23–57. See the brief overview by U. Sinn, *Altar*, ThesCRA 4 (2005) 14–21, esp. 20–21, no. 14.

²² *I.Lindos II*, 580–619, 5th–3rd cent. BC. Some of the texts were also published as *IG XII.1* 791–804. Newer text: Kostomitsopoulos, *Lindian Sacrifice* (op.cit. n. 21); *SEG* 38.788. For *proscharaios thysia*, see, e.g., *I.Lindos II*, 581, 582, 584–586.

²³ *I.Lindos II*, cols. 902–906; Sørensen, *Surveys* (op.cit. n. 21) 57.

²⁴ *I.Lindos II*, cols. 897–908, esp. 904 n. 1, 908.

Kore. As to the ritual itself, it was limited to the killing of the animal, a form of sacrifice in accord with the Rhodian tradition of ἄπυρα ἱερά, ‘un-burned sacrifice’.²⁵ Yet this interpretation has also been questioned,²⁶ and the consensus seems now to be that the place and the rites performed in it did not belong exclusively to a particular god.²⁷

A satisfactory interpretation of this material is urgently needed. Here I confine my remarks to two salient features of these inscriptions that might help us pose a likely hypothesis about their possible relation to our association.

First, the character of the cult activity at the site: it can be observed that *Boukopian/Boukopia* and *Theodaisia/Theudaisia* never occur together. Combined with ‘the Theudaisian year’, mentioned in one of the inscriptions, this may indicate that these names belonged to religious events that alternated annually, so that a Theudaisian year was followed by a Boukopian year.²⁸ The *Theodaisia/Theudaisia* is known as a festival in Haliartos (Boiotia),²⁹ Mytilene (Lesbos),³⁰ and in several Cretan cities (Hierapytna, Lato, Olous).³¹ Rhodes shared with these and other cities (Dorian as well as Aeolian) the winter month *Theodaisios/Theudaisios*.³² Thus, it is quite probable that also Lindos had a festival called *Theodaisia*, which was a biennial one,³³ and that this was also the case with the *Boukopia*. A less likely alternative is that in Lindos, the *Theodaisia* and *Boukopia* were simply rituals, rather than festivals.³⁴ Yet even this interpretation is reconcilable with the evidence indicating annual alternation.

²⁵ Kostomitsopoulos, *Lindian Sacrifice* (op.cit. n. 21) 125–126. On ἄπυρα ἱερά, see Pind. *Ol.* 7.40–50; Philostratos, *Eikones* B.27.23; Diod.Sic. 5.56.5.

²⁶ G. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to Early Hellenistic Period* (Kernos Supplément 12), Liège 2002, 20.

²⁷ N. Robertson, *Religion and Reconciliation in Greek Cities. The Sacred Laws of Selinus and Cyrene* (American Classical Studies 54), Oxford 2010, 311.

²⁸ *I.Lindos* II, 607 (IG XII.1 804), 350–300 BC: Ἀγησάρχου θυσία τὸ Θεουδαίσιον ἔτος — to be compared with e.g. *I.Lindos* II, 589 (IG XII.1 801) early 4th cent. BC: Βουκοπίοις θυσία.

²⁹ Callimachus, *Aitia* fr. 43 Pfeiffer vv. 84–133. See E. Kasczyńska, *Kretenske Swieto Theodaisia w Ajtiach Kallimacha Cyreny*, *Collectanea Philologica* 5 (2003) 65–73 (in Polish with English summary).

³⁰ *IG* XII.2 68 and 81.

³¹ A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit* (HABES 24), Stuttgart 1996, nos. 14, 50, 60, 61, with pp. 126–127 (appearing also in the form Θεουδαίσια).

³² P. A. Iversen, *The Calendar on the Antikythera Mechanism and the Corinthian Family of Calendars*, *Hesperia* 86 (2017) 129–203, esp. 192–197. Cf. N. Robertson, *Orphic Mysteries and Dionysiac Ritual*, in: M. B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, London, New York 2003, 218–237, esp. 229–230; J. Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults. A Guide*, New York, London 2007, 139.

³³ Larson, *Greek Cults* (op.cit. n. 32) 139–140; Robertson, *Orphic Mysteries* (op.cit. n. 32) 237 n. 56, for a refusal of the intimate connection usually assumed to have existed between the festival of *Theodaisia* and the rite of *theoxenia*.

³⁴ Robertson, *Religion* (op.cit. n. 27) 310 n. 34, holds that in our inscriptions ‘*theodaisia* is used descriptively, like *boukopia*’. Therefore the term, according to Robertson, refers to a rite,

Second, the participants in these events: Among those performing sacrifices, we find not only individuals and family groups, but also some groups of a more formal kind. One of them is the *Grennadai*, who record their sacrifice to Athana Phratría in the third century BC or later. In all likelihood this body was a civic subdivision, a *patra*.³⁵ Of special interest is, however, the group mentioned in a sixth-century BC inscription: τῷ Κόχλιος | θιάσο.³⁶ This formula, paralleled by occurrences from Attica, e.g. Ἄγνοθέο θιάσος,³⁷ means the ‘*thiasos* of Cochlis’, that is, a privately organised group of worshippers founded by and under the leadership of one Cochlis. Whether Cochlis was the name of a man or a woman remains undecided.³⁸ Anyhow, what we can say with some certainty from the use of this specific name formula is that this *thiasos* wished to be perceived as having a corporate identity (one distinguishing it from other such groups), and that it aspired to have a durable (as opposed to an ephemeral) existence. Blinkenberg’s hypothesis, that the ‘*thiasos* of Cochlis’ (unlike the *Grennadai*) was a *private* association, has therefore something to recommend it.³⁹

To sum up, the presence of the element *Boukupidai* in the name of the association of our inscription may indicate the fact that their group customarily participated in, or was especially related to, the *Boukopia* festival. Thus, our inscription provides evidence, external to the Boukopian-inscriptions, about the continuing existence of the *Boukopia* in the late second/early first century BC. Furthermore, it attests to the probable attendance of one more privately-organised group in the cultic events taking place at the so-called Boukopian. Finally, the name *Asklapiastai* adds Asklepios to the gods who may possibly have received sacrifices at the site. All this, finally, links our association to *Lindian* religious customs. However, this link might have been only of a religious character, since it is possible that the association (and thus the place mentioned in its name, on which see below) belonged to Kameiros, rather than to Lindos. The *Erytheviazonton* [or *Erethimiazonton*] *Homon[o]eion koinon*, for instance, seems to

rather than to a festival. While this possibility cannot be excluded, the evidence from other places (nn. 29–31) and *I.Lindos* II, 607 (... Ἀγησάρχου θυσία τὸ Θεωδαίστιον ἔτος) is more in favour of the festival hypothesis.

³⁵ E.g. *I.Lindos* II, 617: Γρενναδῶν | Ἀθάνας Φρατρίας (3rd cent. BC or later). The current view is that *Grennadai* was the name of a *patra*, a civic subdivision in Rhodes, whose members were called *patriotai* — Γρεννάδαι πατριῶται, as the name of a group, is attested in Lindos in Roman times: *I.Lindos* II, 391, l. 27; 292a, l. 10, 392b, l. 13; 394, l. 7 (all of the year 10 AD); and 420a, ll. 20–21 (23 AD). See Gabrielsen, *Aristocracy* (*op.cit.* n. 4) 141–149, with further bibliography.

³⁶ *I.Lindos* II, 580.

³⁷ *IG II² 2345* (Attica, 365–330 BC), col. I, l. 18. See V. Gabrielsen, *Associations, Modernization and the Return of the Private Network in Athens*, in: C. Tiersch (ed.), *Die Athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert. Zwischen Modernisierung und Tradition*, Stuttgart 2016, 121–162, esp. 130, *contra* S. D. Lambert, *The Phratrías of Attica*, Ann Arbor 1993, 89, n. 138; id., *IG II² 2345, Thiasoi of Herakles and the Salaminioi Again*, *ZPE* 125 (1999) 93–136, esp. 125, n. 42.

³⁸ Female name: F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *SIG³ 1035* n. 1. Male name: Blinkenberg in *I.Lindos* II, 580, commentary ad loc. The name is not registered in *LGPN* vol. I.

³⁹ *I.Lindos* II, cols. 910–911.

have been based in Kameiros, while the sanctuary and cult of Apollo Erythivios/Erethimios were based in Ialysos;⁴⁰ the *Ialysioi* and *Lindioi Erythimi* are independently attested.⁴¹

Extensive discussion is required by the last name element: τῶν ἐν Αἰγί[λ?]εῖαι or Αἰγῆ[λ?]εῖαι. It certainly refers to a locality, whose name (Aigileia/Aigeleia) is here reconstructed with the support of several other inscriptions. These seem also to provide indications about the specific character of the locality concerned. Particularly useful is an inscription from Lindos.

The sacred law *I.Lindos* II, 26, from ca. 400 BC, specifies, among other things, what is to be sacrificed, and when, to Zeus Amalos.⁴² It furthermore ordains that the sacrifice is to be performed by an individual who, besides being a *hiarothytas*, must fit a particular description: θύει ἱεροθύτας | Αἰγήλιος (ll. 4–5), that is, this *hiarothytas* must belong to the Αἰγήλιοι, a group that might have taken its name from the name of a locality to which it was closely affiliated. In that case, *Aigelioi* would resemble a demotic, an ethnic, or a similar designation. Indeed, Blinkenberg (*I.Lindos* II, ad loc.) took Αἰγήλιος to be an ethnic of some kind, citing in support of his view parallels from outside Rhodes: ὁ δᾶμος Αἰγηλίων, i.e. a deme of Cos;⁴³ and Αἶγυλα (appearing also as Αἶγυλα), i.e. the ancient name of modern Antikythera.⁴⁴ However, contrary to what Blinkenberg apparently believed, the significance of the designation *Aigelios/Aigelioi* in *I.Lindos* II, 26 must be sought for *inside* rather than outside Rhodes. Indeed, Αἰγῆ[λ?]εῖαι, one of the two possible readings of our inscription, in conjunction with Αἰγήλιος, makes this procedure mandatory.

First of all, *I.Lindos* II, 26 was discovered on the Acropolis of Lindos, which was probably its original location; its short text resembles other Lindian texts with sacred regulations.⁴⁵ Secondly, the provisions of this sacred law concern a Lindian cult, that of Zeus Amalos.⁴⁶ Therefore, Segre is correct to object that the *hiarothytas* who was to perform the sacrifice cannot have carried a foreign ethnic, because he most probably was a citizen of Lindos.⁴⁷ Segre's own suggestion is that *Aigelios* (Αἰγήλιος) designated

⁴⁰ *Tit.Cam.* 87, ll. 6–7 (association); *IG XII.* 1 730; I. Chr. Papachristodoulou, *Οι αρχαίοι Ροδιακοί δήμοι. Ιστορική επισκόπηση – Ίαλυσία*, Athens 1989, 107–116 (cult and sanctuary).

⁴¹ Papachristodoulou, *Ροδιακοί δήμοι* (*op.cit.* n. 40) 171, no 7; *AD 18 A* (1963) 1, no. 1, ll. 11–12.

⁴² *Ed. pr.:* Chr. Blinkenberg, *Règlements de sacrifice rhodiens*, in: *Δράγμα Martino P. Nilsson A.D. IV ID. IUL. ANNO MCMXXXIX DEDICATUM*, Lund 1939, 96–113, esp. 96–99, no. 89 (*LSCG Suppl.* no. 89). See M. Segre, *Rituali rodii de sacrifici*, *PP* 6 (1951) 139–153, esp. 153.

⁴³ *IG XII.4* 101, 1172, 1174, 1184, ranging in date from the 3rd cent. BC to the imperial period.

⁴⁴ *RFIC* 60 (1932) 452, no. II, 3rd cent. BC.

⁴⁵ In addition to *SEG* 38.786 (n. 49 below), see, e.g., *I.Lindos* II, 181 and 182; *NuovoSuppl.Epigr.Rodio* 169, nos. 20a–20b. Cf. Blinkenberg, *Règlements* (*op.cit.* n. 42), and *I.Lindos* II, col. 220.

⁴⁶ Morelli, *I culti* (*op.cit.* n. 5) 137; *LSCG Suppl.* pp. 88–89; *ThesCRA* 1 (2004) 90, no. 236.

⁴⁷ Segre, *Rituali* (*op.cit.* n. 42) 153, cf. Morelli, *I culti* (*op.cit.* n. 5) 137.

membership of a Lindian *ktoina*, or *patra* or some other civic subdivision of the *polis* of Lindos. According to the sacred law, these *Aigelioi*, whatever the civic subdivisions they represented, held a privileged position with regard to the cult of Zeus Amalos. The known civic subdivisions of Lindos are the following five: *phyla*, *demos*, *ktoina*, *synnoma* and *patra*.⁴⁸ Is it possible to identify the *Aigelioi* with one of these?

Specification of the individual who must recurrently perform a sacrifice is a feature of other documents from Lindos: e.g., in the regulations of ca. 250 BC concerning the cult of Apollo, it is 'the eldest member of the tribe' who must sacrifice: (Θυέτ[ω] | τῶν φυλετᾶ[ν] | ὁ γεραίτα[ος]).⁴⁹ However, while this may be informative of Lindian practices in general, it is hardly enough to establish the identity of *Aigelioi* as a *phyla*. Furthermore, none of the twelve Lindian demes on the island of Rhodes is called *Aigelioi*, and it seems less likely that sacrifices related to a cult based in Lindos — and plausibly taking place on the acropolis itself — would have been the responsibility of *demotai* from the Peraia or the islands.⁵⁰ As regards the *patrai* and the *synnomai*, our current evidence provides no clues at all: *Aigelioi* is not among the attested names of *patrai*, and very little is known about the organization of both the *patrai* and the *synnomai* to encourage a connection.⁵¹

The situation is quite different, however, with the *ktoina*, a civic subdivision that both had a territorial base and whose members carried an ethnic-like, collective name. An example is offered by a probably Lindian *ktoina* on the island of Karpathos, whose members are described with the collective name *hoi Potidaieis* (or the *ktoina* of the *Potidaieis*: ἡ κτοίνα ἡ Ποτιδαίεων), a name that derived from the locality where the *ktoina* was centred, the Potidaion.⁵² Two further features make the *ktoina* an even more

⁴⁸ Papachristodoulou, *Ροδιακοί δήμοι* (*op.cit.* n. 40) 55–56. *synnoma*: (i) Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (*op.cit.* n. 4) 156, no. 18 B.10–12; (ii) *Tit.Cam.* 224, no. 88 (mentioned together with *patrai*); (iii) *I.Lindos* II, 454 (ca. 80–100 AD), ll. 5–9 (mentioned together with *diagoniai*). See Gabrielsen, *Aristocracy* (*op.cit.* n. 4) 147, 149. That the *synnoma* was the second of three tiers of organizations (so in *Tit.Cam.* nos. 1–2, and W. Peek, *Inschriften von den dorisches Inseln*, Berlin 1969, no. 10) rests on speculation, see Gabrielsen, *Aristocracy* (*op.cit.* n. 4) 146–167.

⁴⁹ Kostomitsopoulos, *Lindian Sacrifice* (*op. cit.* n. 21) 121 (*SEG* 38.786; E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (NGSL)* [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 152], Leiden, Boston 2005, no. 16), ca. 250 BC, ll. 4–5. The tribe here cannot be one of the three tribes of the Rhodian federal state (*Ialysia*, *Kamiris* and *Lindia*), nor one of those into which the membership of some private association was distributed (*IG* XI.1 127), but one of the tribes of Lindos; the only known so far is the *phyla Argeia*: *I.Lindos* II, 199, l. 6.

⁵⁰ See Papachristodoulou, *Ροδιακοί δήμοι* (*op.cit.* n. 40) table on pp. 68–69.

⁵¹ The fragmentary catalogue *Tit.Cam.* nos. 1–2 gives the names of Kameiran *patrai*. For the view that *koina* of *patriotai* ought to be seen as organizations formally different from the *patrai* (the civic subdivisions) see Gabrielsen, *Aristocracy* (*op. cit.* n. 4) 141–142, 149.

⁵² *I.Lindos* II, col. 1009 (*IG* XII.1 1033; *SEG* 19.543, 155–153 BC), esp. ll. 31–32 ('the *ktoina* of the *Potidaieis*') and 45 ('at the *Potidaion*'). For the special relationship of the demes of Karpathos to Lindos: Papachristodoulou, *Ροδιακοί δήμοι* (*op. cit.* n. 40) 45–46. On the *ktoinai* in general: *ibid.* 55–56, with n. 197, and Gabrielsen, *Aristocracy* (*op. cit.* n. 4) 151–54.

attractive candidate for the character of the *Aigeliōi*. Firstly, as is most clearly documented by the third-century BC Kameiran decree *Tit.Cam.* 109 (*IG XII.1* 694), the *ktoinai* of each of the three old *poleis* (Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos) occupied a rather special position in these *poleis*' cults and the attending sacrifices:⁵³ the Kameiran decree mentions, among other things, the specification of a federal Rhodian law that the appointment of *mastros* by the *ktoinatai* must take place 'in the most holy sanctuary of the *ktoina*' (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἐν τῇ κτοίνα, *ibid.* ll. 13–15); indeed, in the same document the *ktoinai* seem to be assigned a key role in the inspection of all the publicly financed sanctuaries of Kameiros (καὶ ἀθρεόντω τὰ ἱερά τὰ Καμυρέων [τὰ δα]μο]τελῆ πάντα, *ibid.* ll. 18–19).

Secondly, our evidence suggests a strong link between the *ktoinai* and the board of *hierothytai/hiarothytai*, an office which most likely was peculiar to Lindos.⁵⁴ For example, the decree of the *ktoina* of the *Potidaieis* on Karpathos was proposed by the board of *hierothytai* (ἱεροθυτῶν γνώμ[α]).⁵⁵ On the basis of the evidence adduced above

⁵³ Even though no direct evidence for Lindian (or Ialysian) *ktoinai* survives, we have indirect evidence to suggest strongly that also Lindos (and Ialysos) possessed that institution: *Tit.Cam.* 109, ll. 1–2: τὰς κτοίνας τὰς Καμυρέων | τὰς ἐν τῇ νάσῳ (which seems to distinguish the Kameiran *ktoinai* from those of Ialysos and Lindos), and *ibid.* ll. 13–15 ἀποδεικνύειν τοὺς | κτοινάτας μαστρὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ | ἐν τῇ κτοίνα κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῶν Ῥοδίων (apparently, part of a Rhodian federal law concerning the *ktoinai*).

⁵⁴ H. van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, The Hague 1900, 271–272, for the observation (271) that the board of *hierothytai* (headed by an *archierothytas*) is a feature of Lindos, and for the view that those mentioned in the few documents that are found in the city of Rhodos may well be Lindian: see, for instance, *BSA* 34 (1940) 29, no. VII, l. 20 (from shortly after 221 BC), V. Kontorini, *Inscriptions inédites relatives à l'histoire et aux cultes de Rhodes au I^{er} et au I^{er} s. av. J.-C.* (Rhodiaka 1, *Archaeologia Transatlantica* 6, Publications d'histoire de l'art et l'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain 42), Louvain 1983, 67, no. 7 (*SEG* 33.643) (*archierothytas* heading a list of *hieropoioi*), *PP* 4 (1949) 73 (after 65 BC), *IG XII.1* 131. For the number of annually serving *hierothytai* and the attested fluctuations of their numbers, see *I.Lindos* II, no. 102 (commentary on l. 12). Blinkenberg (*I.Lindos* II, col. 330, commentary on no. 102, l. 12): 'À Kamiros, le collège des ἱεροποιοί (...) correspondaient aux hiérothytes lindiens (...)'. Cf. J. Winand, *Les hiérothytes: Recherche institutionnelle* (Académie Royale de Belgique. Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres. Coll. in 8^o, 2^e série, T. LXVIII, Fasc. 4), Brussels 1990, 88–89. But *IG XII.1* 761, l. 40, attests to the simultaneous existence of *hierothytai* and *hieropoioi* in 3rd cent. BC Lindos.

⁵⁵ *I.Lindos* II, col. 1009, l. 2. The following documents possibly emanate from places under Lindian authority. (i) Bresson, *Recueil* no. 102 (= *IK Rhod. Peraia* 201: Rhodian Peraia, 2nd–1st cent. BC), esp. l. 6 (τὰν κτοίναν) and l. 8 ([ὁ] ἱεροθύτας), with Bresson's pertinent suggestion (Bresson, *Recueil*, p. 110) that the decree was issued by the *ktoina Tymnioi*, which like the deme *Tymnioi* was centred in Tymnos; ll. 4–6 of the same document read: ὅπως δὲ [καὶ] | [τοῖ] προθύοντες περὶ τὰ τὰν κτοίναν καὶ περὶ τὸν [δᾶ]μο]ν τῷ [Δ]ι καὶ τῷ Ἥρῳ. (ii) *IK Rhod. Peraia* 303 (Syrna, 2nd cent. BC?), decree of the *Syrnioi* referring (l. 29) to *hierothytai*. (iii) *Historia* 7 (1933) 577, no. 1 (Arkaseia, Karpathos, 2nd cent. BC), decree of the *koinon to Arkaseion* mentioning the *hierothytai* (l. 8) and their *hierothyteion* (l. 13). However, (iv) *IG XII.1* 1270 (Syme, 2nd cent. BC, decree proposed by the *hierothytai* and referring (l. 13) to an assembly of the *ktoinetai*: ἐκκλησία

it can therefore be concluded that the sacred law *I.Lindos* II, 26 probably attests to a Lindian *ktoina* called *Aigelioi*, whose *hiarothytas*, fully in accord with our documents attesting to the *ktoinai*, is assigned a major cultic task; here that of sacrificing to Zeus Amalos.

Given the certainty that this *ktoina*, too, would have been centred in a specific locality, could the name of that locality be the Aigileia/Aigeleia of our inscription? Certainly, especially the reading Αἰγη[λ?]εῖαι would encourage a positive answer. Still, caution is advisable, since the alternative Αἰγ[λ?]εῖαι remains a possibility, even though now a less compelling one in view of the independent attestation of the collective name *Aigelioi*. Further help to answer our question seems to be provided by an inscription from the *polis* of Kameiros.

The current text of this inscription (which is now lost) is based on the transcript published by Jules Martha in 1880 from autopsy of the stone in the village of Empona (within the territory of ancient Kameiros). Martha dated the letter-forms to the third century BC, and noted that the stone could easily have been transported there from some other place in the vicinity.⁵⁶ The document records a series of donations of land made by an individual to an association of *eranistai*, whose full name does not survive. One of these donations concerns land in Rhogkyon or Rhogkchon (approximately, modern Empona), the centre of a Kamiran deme.⁵⁷ The land-plot in Rhogkchon/area of Empona is said (ll. 5–6) to have bordered 'the road which leads from Ἀ[.]γυλεία to Ἴπποτεία'.⁵⁸ In his transcript, Martha indicated that the first of these two place names started with an *alpha* (of which only the left-hand stroke is preserved), followed by another letter; he therefore printed [Αγ]γυλείας, a reading followed by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, who in *IG* XII.1 736 correctly printed Ἀ[γ]γυλείας, and by S. Selivanov, *Topographie de l'ancienne Rhodos*, Kazan 1892 (in Russian), 25, 71, 72 and van Gelder (*Rhodier* [*op.cit.* n. 54], 12, see also van Gelder in *SGDI* 4139). G. Pugliese Carratelli, however, seems to follow W. Dittenberger (in *SIG*³ 1118), who, without any argument or reference, considers the *alpha* to be the very last letter of line 5, thus reading Ἀγυλείας. Only a new autopsy might have helped us to solve the issue, but unfortunately

τῶν κτεινῶν) is believed to belong to Kameiros: Papachristodoulou, *Ροδιακοὶ δῆμοι* (*op. cit.* n. 40) 44 with n. 101.

⁵⁶ J. Martha, *Inscription de Rhodes*, BCH 4 (1880) 138–145, esp. 138–139. Current text: *IG* XII.1 736 (*SIG*³ 1118; *SGDI* 4139), with *Tit.Cam.Suppl.* 240, no. 22a. Cf. Poland, *Geschichte* (*op.cit.* n. 11) 566, B 283. Martha's surmise (143) that the name of this *koinon* of *eranistai* was *Asklapiou kai Apollonos kai Aphroditas koinon* is still followed: Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (*op. cit.* n. 4) 178. According to van Gelder, *Rhodier* (*op.cit.* n. 54) 309, the name was *Asklapiastai, Apolloniastai, Aphrodisiastai*. However, all this is conjectural.

⁵⁷ The *ed. pr.* transcribes ΠΟΓΚ Ὡ Ω [.] and prints Ῥογκ[ύ]ω[ι] — *IG* XII.1 736 has Ῥογκ[ύ?]ω[ι] — but *Tit.Cam.Suppl.* 240, no. 22a: Ῥόγκω[ι], which on the strength of *IG* XII.1 177 (cf. *ibid.* 178) is identified with the place name Rhogkchon and with the deme *Rhogkidai, Rogchidai* or *Rhygchidai*: Papachristodoulou, *Ροδιακοὶ δῆμοι* (*op. cit.* n. 40) 73 (with fig. 2), 74, 200.

⁵⁸ Ἴππότεια or Ἴπποτεία is associated with the Ἴπποτάδα, one of the Kameiran *patrai*: *Tit.Cam.* no. 1, col. I, l. 21, cf. *Syll.*³ 1118 (n. 3); *Tit.Cam.Suppl.* no. 22a (note).

the stone has perished and no squeeze seems to be available today. However, it is prudent to follow the original editor's (Martha's) report that another letter did follow the *alpha* towards the end of line 5. The question is, though, how justified Martha and his followers are in believing that this last letter in line 5 was a *gamma*. For while their proposal remains epigraphically unparalleled, there are indeed several examples to suggest that the missing letter probably was not a *gamma*, but an *iota*: in addition to the examples cited above (ὁ δᾶμος Αἰγυλίων: Cos; Αἰγύλιος: Lindos; Αἴγυλα/Αἴγυλα: modern Antikythera), one can cite Αἰγυλαεῖς (the citizens of Aigiale, Amorgos: *IG* XII.7 388 [200–150 BC] l. 33) and Αἰγυλιεῖς, Αἰγυλία, respectively the demotic and toponym of one of the Attic demes (*IG* II² 1926, VI, l. 166; 1951 II, l. 201).⁵⁹ To sum up, ll. 5–6 of *IG* XII.1 736 more likely read Α[ι]γυλειας. Now, is it possible that, notwithstanding differences in spelling, this toponym is identical both with that implied by the Αἰγύλιος of *I.Lindos* II, 26, and with the Αἰγυ[λ?]εῖαι/Αἴγυ[λ?]εῖαι of our inscription? It can be argued that it is.

To begin with, the interchangeability between ι and ει occurs in, e.g., Αἰγυράτης (*SEG* 25.501 [ca. 85 BC], l. 3)/Αἰγυράτης (*SIG*³ 675; *I.Oropos* 307 [154–150 BC], l. 2), and is exemplified in Rhodian epigraphy by, for instance, τιμαθεῖσα (*Tit.Cam.* 282, 26[2], 1st cent. BC)/τιμαθεῖσα (*I.Lindos* II 392a [10 AD], ll. 4–5), Ἐρεθίμιος/Ἐρεθείμιος (*Suppl.Epigr.Rhodio* 5b [1st cent. BC], l. 1 and *I.Lindos* II, 441 [ca. 50–70 AD], l. 8).⁶⁰ Secondly, the interchangeability between η and ι has already been seen exemplified in the ancient name of modern Antikythera (Αἴγυλα/Αἴγυλα), which, moreover, appears also as Αἰγυλεία, Αἰγυλία and Αἴγυλα.⁶¹ This latter set of examples, thirdly, illustrates the interchangeability of ι and υ, which is attested at Delphi in the personal name Αἰγύλιος/Αἰγύλιος (*FD* III 5:19 and III 5:66) and in a Rhodian context (but non-epigraphically) in Ἐριθίμιος/Ἐρυθίμιος (Strabo 13.1.64 [C 613])/Ἐρεθύμιος (Hesych. s.v. *Eridimios*); quite similar is the blending of υ and ο, attested in the Rhodian demotic ῥυγχίδας/ῥογκίδας (*IG* XII.1 178, 177).⁶² Thus, it is theoretically possible that, even though different in spelling, all three attestations (i.e. in our new inscription, in *I.Lindos* II, 26 and in *IG* XII.1 736) refer to one and the same locality, Aigileia, and to the civic subdivision it probably constituted, the *ktoina* of *Aigileioi*.

Given that Rhogchion (with the plot of land mentioned in *IG* XII.1 736) was situated in the vicinity of the modern village of Empona, 'the road leading from *A[i]gyleia* to *Hippoteia*' may tentatively be said to have followed approximately the same course as

⁵⁹ D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica 508/7 – ca. 250 B.C. A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986, 474 (Index of Demes).

⁶⁰ See C. Dobias-Lalou, *Le dialecte des inscriptions de Cyrène* (Karthago, Revue d'Archéologie Méditerranée 25), Paris 2000, 20. On this and the following, see also L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, vol. I: *Phonology*, vol. II: *Morphology*, Berlin 1980, 1996 (indices).

⁶¹ M. Segre, *Due nuovi testi storici*, *RFIC* 60 (1932) 458; K. Baika, *Aigilia (Antikythera, Palaiokastros)*, in: D. Blackman et al., *Shipsheeds of the Ancient Mediterranean*, Cambridge 2013, 272–276, esp. 272 with n. 2.

⁶² Dobias-Lalou, *Le dialecte* (op.cit. n. 60) 24.

the modern south-north bound road leading from Sianna via Empona to Salakos. If so, of particular interest is the modern toponym (*to*) *Gialliskari* (το Γιαλλισκάρι), the local dialectal version of Aigialiskarion (Αἰγιαλισκάριον: a diminutive form of Αἰγιαλός),⁶³ which is situated between Sianna (ancient Mnasyrion: Strabo 14.2.12), Glyphada by the coast and the archaeological site of Vasilika (pl. 5 fig. 3).⁶⁴ Considering the rather high rate of survival of ancient place names in modern toponyms, exemplified by Phanai and Salakos in our inscription, one may therefore consider it as a plausible hypothesis that it was roughly the area around Gialliskari/Aigialiskarion which constituted the territory of ancient Aigileia/Aigelia/Aigyaleia, the centre of the *ktoina Aigelioi*.⁶⁵ This place, then, might have been one of the two points of reference in the description ‘the road which leads from *A[i]gyaleia* to *Hippoteia*’ (in *IG* XII.1 736). Modern Gialliskari is very close to the sea (a characteristic also indicated by the etymology of ancient Aigileia/Aigelia/Aigyaleia) and, according to the Kameiros-Lindos border drawn by modern scholarship, in the territory of Kameiros. However, it might also be that the ancient settlement — its name notwithstanding — was located within this general area, but at some distance from the sea,⁶⁶ and perhaps even within the territory of Lindos. If within Kameiran territory, the citizens of Aigileia/Aigelia/Aigyaleia would have belonged to the deme Kymisaleis; if within Lindian territory, to the deme Brasioi. In the event that Aigileia/Aigelia/Aigyaleia proves to have been within the area that we have tentatively located it, and also part of the Lindian territory, then the boundary between Kameiros and Lindos has to be redrawn.

Ll. 4–5: ὑπὸ [. . .]δαλιαστᾶν τῶν ἐν Φάναις. This is the second *koinon* in our inscription that was based in Phanai (territory of Kameiros). As regards the three missing letters, the most attractive supplement is παν, prefixing δαλιαστᾶν, i.e. [παν]δαλιαστᾶν.⁶⁷ The main element, δαλιασταί, may be taken to refer to an *external* connection, i.e. the cult of Apollo on Delos and especially the *Delia/Dalia* festival, celebrated in the month of

⁶³ Chr. I. Papachristodoulou, *Τοπωνυμικό της Ρόδου*, Athens ²1996, 47.

⁶⁴ See R. U. Iglieri, *Carta archeologica dell'isola di Rodi*, Florence 1936, Foglio Sud, east of the positions nos. 156–157.

⁶⁵ The possible connection between ancient Aigileia and modern Gialliskari/Aigialiskarion was suggested to me by Nikos Mastrochristos, archaeologist of Byzantine antiquities, the Ephorate of Rhodes. I extend to him my warmest thanks.

⁶⁶ For example, the Attic deme *Aigilia*, even though it belonged to a coastal trittys, is believed to have been situated at some distance from the coast, approximately at modern Feriza, to the north of which runs the modern road *Odos Aigialeias*: J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica. A Study of the Demes, Trittyes, and Phylai, and their Representation in the Athenian Council* (Hesperia Supplement 14), Princeton, NJ 1975, 53.

⁶⁷ Closest parallel: παναθηναῖσταί, e.g. *IG* XII.1 35, l. 4. I consider as much less likely the possibility of συν (*[συν]δαλιασταί), see, e.g., συνθύται Ῥοδιασταί ἐπιδαμιασταί (*IG* XII.1 157), Σαμοθρακιασταί [Νικος]τράτειοι συνμύσται [συνστρα]τευσάμενοι (Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* [*op. cit.* n. 4] 153, no. 13).

Hieros (the Athenian Anthesterion).⁶⁸ Or it can be understood as having an *internal* connection: i.e. to Dalios, the 11th month of the Rhodian calendar,⁶⁹ and at the same time also to the (public) cult of Apollo Dalios, which so far is attested only in Kameiros, i.e. the Rhodian *polis* within whose territory Phanai, the base of our association, was situated.⁷⁰ I consider these two possibilities separately.

Deliastai, the Ionian/Attic form of Doric *Daliastai*, was the name of the Athenian sacred envoys (*theoroi/theoriai*) sent to Delos for the celebration of one of the festivals in honour of Apollo, probably the *Delia/Dalia*.⁷¹ They were reportedly mentioned in the Tablets (*kyrbeis*) of Solon,⁷² and later on by the orator Lysurgus.⁷³ Even though the *Delia/Dalia* festival probably stopped in 314 BC, Athens (and others) continued to send *theoriai* to Delos: in 120–110 BC one Meidios (son of Meidios from Piraeus) was honoured as a *Delia* of Apollon, Artemis and Leto.⁷⁴ According to tradition, moreover, it was an oracular response of the Delian Apollo that had helped the Rhodians free themselves of the huge serpents that were terrifying their island,⁷⁵ and this tradition may have incurred on the Rhodians a special obligation to show their gratitude to the god. Indeed, inscriptions attest to Rhodian dedications at the temples at Delos made both by private individuals and by *theoriai* each headed by an *architheoros*.⁷⁶ These

⁶⁸ Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (BEFAR, Série Athènes 217), Paris 1970, 76–77.

⁶⁹ Chr. Börker, *Der rhodische Kalender*, ZPE 31 (1978) 193–218, esp. 283; Iversen, *Calendar* (*op.cit.* n. 32) 194, table 9. In the period in which we have dated our inscription, Dalios was the 11th month of the Rhodian calendar; in the preceding period, it was the 2nd month.

⁷⁰ Priesthood (and cult) of Apollon Dalios: *Tit. Cam.* 50, l. 25 = CIRhodos 6–7 (1932) 420, no. 42 (ca. 183 BC), and *Tit. Cam.* 90, col. I, l. 28 (ca. 172–164 BC). For the *polis* status of Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos also after the synoicism, see V. Gabrielsen, *The Synoicized Polis of Rhodes*, in: P. Flensted-Jensen *et al.* (eds.), *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his 60th Birthday*, Copenhagen 2000, 177–205.

⁷¹ I. Rutherford, *Χορός εἰς ἕκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως* (*Xen. Mem.* 3.3.12): *Song-dance and State Pilgrimage at Athens*, in: P. Murray, P. Wilson (eds.), *Music and the Muses. The Culture of the Mousikē in the Classical Athenian City*, Oxford 2004, 67–90, esp. 82–83. Rutherford (p. 83) finds Hieron (Athenian Anthesterion), the month of the *Dalia* festival, to be rather too early in the year for a sea-voyage. See also *id.*, *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece. A Study of Theōriā and Theōroi*, Cambridge 2013, 305.

⁷² Polemo Periegetes, Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπιδημίας fr. 78 (Preller) = Athen. 234c, mentioning the *kyrbeis* of Solon: R. Stroud, *The Axones and Kyrbeis of Drakon and Solon* (University of California Publications Classical Studies 19), Berkeley 1979, 4–5.

⁷³ Lycourg. fr. 89 (Blass) = Harpokration s.v. Δηλιασταί.

⁷⁴ ID 1869 b, l. 4. Cf. Rutherford, *State Pilgrims* (*op.cit.* n. 71) 310 n. 46; J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*, Berkeley 1998, 216.

⁷⁵ Diod. Sic. 5.58.4–5.

⁷⁶ E.g. IG XI.2 161 (279 BC), B l. 13: φιάλη, Δηλιάδων ἀνάθημα, χορεία ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Ῥοδίων Θρασσυμάχου, B ll. 15–16: φιάλη, Ῥοδίων [ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ ἀρχεθεώρου Ἀγησιάνδρου, B ll. 72–73: χορεία Ῥοδίων θεωρῶν ἐπιδόντων [ἐπὶ ἀρχ]εθεώρου Ἀγησιδάμου. See the analysis of Th. Homolle, *Comptes et inventaires des temples Déliens en l'année 279*, BCH 15 (1891) 113–168, esp. 121–126, where the dedications made by private individuals and by *theoriai* are listed.

seaborne sacred embassies, like those of other cities, seem to have made two stops, first at Delos and then at Delphi.⁷⁷ On the basis of all this, then, one may conclude that one possibility is to identify the *[Pan]daliastai* of our inscription with the participants in Rhodian *theoriai* to Delos; their choice of a collective name would, in that case, have been modelled on the Athenian *theoroi*, the *Deliastai*. Accordingly, *[Pan]daliastai hoi en Phanais* would be an association exclusively composed of *theoroi* to Delian Apollo who were based at Phanai. However, attractive though as it might seem, this identification leaves a crucial issue unexplained: this is the rather high concentration it implies of *theoroi* sent to Delos by the entire *polis* of Rhodes in just one locality in the Rhodian countryside, Phanai.

The second possibility is to connect the *[Pan]daliastai* to local religious institutions. In addition to Delos, the *Delia/Dalia* festival seems to have been independently celebrated in a number of other cities. This was certainly the case at Delion (in Boiotian Tanagra), where it was held as a pan-Boiotian festival;⁷⁸ and it was probably the case also in all or most other places at which the cult and/or a shrine dedicated to Apollo Delios/Dalios are attested: Cos, Calymnos, Naxos, Paros, Amorgos, Chios, Nisyros, Syme, Chalcis, etc. Of particular interest are the nearby Coans, who both celebrated the *Dalia* locally, even at deme level, and also participated in the Delian *theoria*.⁷⁹ The cult is so far attested in Rhodes only through two references to its priesthood as part of the civic religion of Kameiros (see n. 70), with no any indication of a shrine or a festival. However, the cases of Boiotian Delion and Cos renders it at least a likely hypothesis that Kameiros, too, hosted a *Dalia* festival in honour of Apollo, which almost certainly took place in the month of *Dalios* (in the summer: July–September), and which might have been a pan-Rhodian cultic event. If this hypothesis proves to be correct, then our association *[Pan]daliastai hoi en Phanais* through their choice of name would not only have made known their special attachment to the cult of Apollo Dalios; they would also have publicized the representation of their group *and* its territorial base, Phanai, in an important Kameiran — and perhaps pan-Rhodian — festival. Of the two possibilities just considered, this second one seems to fit better the nature of the group carrying the name *[Pan]daliastai* and the context of the inscription in which it is mentioned.

⁷⁷ IG XI.2 289 (250 BC) B, ll. 38–39: φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου Κράντορος· Χαμίδου φιάλαι δύο ἔκτυποι· φιάλη Ῥοδίων ἐπ’ ἀρκιθεώρου εἰς Δελφοὺς Λυσιστράτου. Cf. Rutherford, *State Pilgrims* (op.cit. n. 71) 180.

⁷⁸ C. Brélaz, A. K. Andreiomenou, P. Ducrey, *Les premiers comptes du sanctuaire d’Apollon à Délion et le concours pan-béotien des Delia*, BCH 131 (2007) 235–308, esp. 280–283. See generally A. Manieri (ed.), *Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica*, vol. I: *Beozia* (Testi e commenti 25. Certamina musica graeca 1), Pisa, Rome 2009.

⁷⁹ Cult of Apollo Dalios on Cos: IG XII 4.1 332 (HGK 5: LSCG 156); IG XII 4.2 838, cf. D. Bosnakis, K. Hallof, *Alte und neue Inschriften aus Kos III*, Chiron 38 (2008) 205–242, esp. 230–233, no. 32, l. 7. See S. Paul, *Cultes et sanctuaires de l’île de Cos* (Kernos, Supplément 28), Liège 2013, 63–67. At other places: Chr. Constantakopoulou, *The Dans of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire and the Aegean World*, Oxford 2007, 54.

L. 5: κεχοραγηκώς. This is the first time in which the word is attested in this form in Rhodian epigraphy (*IG XII.1 157*, l. 13, has κεχοραγηκότες τρίς). The details about the institution of the Rhodian *choregia* and those discharging it elude us, so what is said here, besides being provisional, is limited to a few remarks.⁸⁰ In several inscriptions, performance of the *choregia* by a person is, like in our inscription, unspecified.⁸¹ In other instances, however, we are informed that a *choregia* was connected to a tragedy, a comedy, pyrrhic dances or some other agonistic event;⁸² or that it was performed at a particular festival: the *Alexandria* and *Dionysia*, *Sminthia*, *Dioskouria* and *Epitaphia*, *Great Haleia*, *Poseidania*, etc.;⁸³ or that the incumbent had been victorious in the competition among *choregoi*,⁸⁴ or, finally, that a person had been *choregos* more than once.⁸⁵ Moreover, sometimes we are able to infer whether a *choregia* was a local liturgy (i.e. attached to a festival of Lindos, Kameiros or Ialysos)⁸⁶ or one performed at a pan-Rhodian festival.⁸⁷ There is good evidence to show that on Rhodes the *choregia* was open also to foreign residents.⁸⁸ In this area, however, the Lindians represented an exception, for until 23 AD the *choregoi* they appointed for the *Sminthia* festival came exclusively from the group of Lindian citizens.⁸⁹

These brief remarks may illustrate the range of possible interpretations that can be offered for our instance; to these we may add a recent proposition that a *choregia* such the one mentioned in our inscriptions could have been a private one, held in the context

⁸⁰ See further van Gelder, *Rhodier* (*op.cit.* n. 54) 276–277. A study on the topic, as well as on the broader issue of the liturgies on Rhodes, is urgently needed.

⁸¹ E.g. *I.Lindos* II, 245; 264, l. 18.

⁸² E.g. *I.Lindos* II, 131 d, l. 2; *ibid.* 199, ll. 5–6; *ibid.* 300 d, l. 8; *CIRhod.* 2 (1932) 155, no. 16 and 188, no. 18, l. 21; *Hermes* 36 (1901) 440, I, ll. 4–5.

⁸³ *Alexandria* and *Dionysia*: *I.Lindos* II, 233, ll. 8–9; *IG XII.1 71*; *SEG* 39.759. *Sminthia*: *IG XII.1 762*, ll.6–10; *Philomnestos*, *Ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Συμβῳθίων* (= *Athen.* 3.74f–75a), see J. P. Stonk, *Philomnestos* (527), Brill's New Jacoby. *Dioskouria* and *Epitaphia*: *CIRhod.* 2 (1932) 193, no. 21. *Great Haleia*: *ibid.* 210, no. 48. *Poseidania*: *Tit.Cam.* 209, no. 63, l. 23. See generally Morelli, *I culti* (*op.cit.* n. 5).

⁸⁴ Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (*op. cit.* n. 4) 155, no. 16 (Rhodos, 1st cent. BC): χοραγήσαντα τραγωιδῶν | νικάσαντα Ἀλεξ[άνδρεια].

⁸⁵ *IG XII.1 157*, l. 13 (three times); *CIRhod.* 2 (1932) 193, no. 2, l. 6 (four times).

⁸⁶ The attestation (in *I.Lindos* II, 199, ll. 5–6) of a victorious *choregos* as representing the Lindian *phyla Argeia* (see Papachristodoulou, *Ποδιακοὶ δήμοι* [*op. cit.* n. 40] 57 n. 338) indicates that this was a *choregia* of the *polis* of Lindos: see also *Suppl.Epigr.Rhod.* no. 7 (a catalogue of Lindian victors).

⁸⁷ E.g. the *Alexandria* and *Dionysia* or the *Great Haleia* held ἐν τῷ ἄσπε: *CIRhod.* 2 (1932) 210, no. 48, l. 4. In such cases, the *choregoi* represented their respective *poleis* (Ialysos, Kameiros or Lindos) as *phylai* of the unified Rhodian *polis*: e.g. *Tit.Cam.* 209, no. 63, ll. 24–27: [καὶ] χοραγήσας | τραγωιδῶν φυλᾶ[ι] | Ἰαλυσία. The *choregia* praised in *I.Lindos* II, 197, ll. 5–10, seems to have been performed at a pan-Rhodian festival (see Blinkenberg's comments ad loc.)

⁸⁸ *IG XII.1 383* (Epigonos from Rhodopolis); *ibid.* 157 (Philokrates from Ilion, who possessed *epidamia*); *ibid.* 385 (Aristoboulos from Termessos); AD 25 B2 (1970) 524, no. 1 (one Dorion in possession of *epidamia* and *enktesis*); Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (*op. cit.* n. 40) 151, no. 6 (a Herakleotas); *NSER* 148 (an Antiocheus).

⁸⁹ *IG XII.1 762*, esp. ll. 6–10.

of a private association.⁹⁰ A matter to receive special mention here is that the unknown owner of the altar may well have been a foreign resident. Indeed, this might be further supported by the next element to be commented on.

L. 5: χρ[η]στ[ὸς] χαῖρε. With regard to this particular (greeting) formula, a consensus seems to be formed around two points. Firstly, besides being the dominant laudatory epithet in the Greek world, χρῆστός/χρηστή carries the meaning of ‘goodness in action’; that is, the quality emphasized is the deceased’s demonstrable achievement of having being serviceable to others, or to the whole community, *during his/her lifetime*.⁹¹ Our inscription singles out two areas within which the owner of the altar would have been χρῆστός: (a) performance of the *choregia* — a publicly oriented act of generosity; and (b) the deeds for which five associations separately recompensed him with honours — serviceability towards private communities.

Secondly, it seems that in Rhodes (as elsewhere) this laudatory epithet is predominantly used of foreign residents, freedmen or slaves. This observation was originally made by Louis Robert from Attic inscriptions.⁹² From statistics based on the Rhodian material available in 1977, Peter Fraser noticed the relative paucity of funerary inscriptions with χρῆστός/χρηστή that belong to persons named with the formula *personal name+patronymic+demotic* (i.e. citizens) and the relatively high number of such inscriptions that belong to persons named with the formulas *personal name+(city or regional) ethnic* and *personal name only*.⁹³ More recent studies, independently undertaken by Dietrich Berges and Johanna Fabricius, point at the relative preponderance of non-Rhodians in the preserved inscribed altars, of the round as well as of the rectangular type.⁹⁴ Therefore, there is a considerable likelihood that our round altar belonged to a foreign resident. This may be further supported by the preponderance of foreign ethnics

⁹⁰ S. Skaltsa, *Rhodes: A Melting Pot? Associations and Religious Interactions*, in: S. Kravaritou, M. Stamatopoulou (eds.), *Religious Interactions in the Hellenistic World*, forthcoming.

⁹¹ M. N. Tod, *Epithets in Greek Epitaphs*, BSA 46 (1951) 182–190, esp. 185–186; L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII, 152, followed by M.-Th. Le Dinahet-Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée* (Exploration Archéologique de Délos 30), Paris 1974, 255, who dates the use of the greeting formula in the Delian material from the second half of the 3rd cent. BC onwards, becoming the usual one after the end of the 2nd century. For Rhodes, where a similar chronology is said to apply: P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, Oxford 1977, 71–72.

⁹² L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes. Recherches sur des inscriptions de l’Asie Mineure*, Paris 1937, 369–370. Tod, *Epithets* (op.cit. n. 91) 186 n. 17, observed that the serviceability expressed by χρῆστός/χρηστή would be prominent in the case of slaves and freedmen.

⁹³ Fraser, *Funerary Monuments* (op.cit. n. 91) 71, with n. 403. Regarding the *personal name only* formula, the assumption is that it signifies low status, but this is a precarious assumption.

⁹⁴ D. Berges (mit Beiträgen von Vassilike Patsiada und Johannes Nollé), *Rundaltäre aus Kos und Rhodos*, Berlin 1996: 49 out of about 100 Rhodian round altars are attributable to foreigners; J. Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahreliefs. Grabrepräsentation und Wertvorstellungen in ostgriechischen Städten* (Studien zur antiken Stadt 34), Munich 1999, 180–181: also a preponderance of Rhodian rectangular altars are attributable to non-Rhodians.

on the inscribed objects found in the Karimali plot as well as in the plots excavated in the vicinity (see Appendix).

L. 6: Βερενίκη Φρυγία χρηστῆ χαίρει. As mentioned above, this line is in slightly larger letters, but the letter-forms are the same as in the other lines, which makes it less likely that it is a later addition made by another cutter. One possible explanation of the difference in letter size could be the wish to create a sense of visual symmetry between what was originally the first line of the text (i.e. the one on the round altar carrying the name of our principal person) and the last line of the text naming the second person of the inscription. However, only the discovery of the lost altar would enable us to confirm this hypothesis. Berenike is a rare name in Rhodian epigraphy,⁹⁵ but Phrygians are one of the largest group of foreigners on Rhodes, and probably the largest one among those attested with a regional ethnic (as opposed to a city ethnic).⁹⁶ Berenike's relationship to the principal personality in this inscription is indeterminable, though one may point at the likelihood of her being one of his closest kin or perhaps even his wife.⁹⁷

Concluding remarks

1. Our inscription adds five new Rhodian associations to those already known. The names of these new *koina* attest also to the existence in antiquity of two place names, which are also mentioned in an official document of 1475 AD, and which are still in use today: Phanai (mod. Phanes) and Salakos. These instances enlarge the evidence meticulously collected by Chr. I. Papachristodoulou,⁹⁸ showing the survival of many ancient Rhodian toponyms. It seems certain that ancient Phanai and Salakos were each situated, approximately or exactly, at the site occupied by their modern namesakes, within the territory of the *polis* of Kameiros. A third place name attested to by our inscription is Aigileia. As argued above, this was probably the centre of a *koina* called *Aigileioi* (or *Aigelioi*). We have tentatively located Aigileia in the area north-west of modern Sianna, either within the territory of Lindos or within that of Kameiros. If the former becomes definitely confirmed, then the borderline between Kameiros and Lindos in this areas will have to be redrawn.

The fact that these places hosted four of our associations (two in Phanai, one in each Salakos and Aigileia) indicates their vitality — not least, cultural and religious — as

⁹⁵ *IG* XII.1 175 (after 1st cent. BC), AD 20 B3 (1965) 597 (9) and *LGPN* vol. I, s.v. (12) and (13).

⁹⁶ See the list of ethnics in S. Maillot, *The Cult Associations of Foreigners in the Region of Rhodes at the Hellenistic Age*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Clermont-Ferrand 2000. Older lists in: D. Morelli, *Gli Stranieri in Rodi*, *SCO* 5 (1955) 126–190; C. P. Jones, *Foreigners in a Hellenistic Inscription of Rhodes*, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 123–132. On foreigners in Rhodes: K. M. Kolobova, *Les mètèques dans la Rhodes hellénistique*, *VDI* 92 (1966) 65–72; L. Criscuolo, *Nuove considerazioni sugli stranieri a Rodi: gli ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΞΕΝΩΝ*, *Epigraphica* 44 (1982) 135–147.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., *IG* XII.1 157 (1st cent. BC), esp. ll. 13–16, a text and a monument quite similar to our own.

⁹⁸ Papachristodoulou, *Τοπωνυμικό* (*op.cit.* n. 63).

settlements in the Rhodian countryside. Though lesser in size than both the magnificent city of Rhodos and the old urban centres of Lindos and Kameiros, Phanai, Salakos and Aigileia seem to have enjoyed a relatively high level of cultural life. Almost certainly, the *koina* based there made a distinct contribution to this through their associational amenities (e.g. places of assembly and worship, burial grounds etc.) and multifarious activities: for example, each of the honorary awards mentioned by our inscription, especially the gold crown, must have been authorized by a resolution voted by the members at a formal assembly. No less significant is the enrichment brought by these four *ländliche* associations to local cultic life.⁹⁹ the cult of Asklepios in Salakos and Aigileia and that of Zeus *Soter* in Phanai, among others.

But at the same time our *ländliche koina* seem separately to have had links extending beyond their individual locales on the island. For one, the ‘*Asklepiastai Boukupidai*, those based in Aigileia’ probably held a special position during the celebration of a (presumed) biennial Lindian festival, the *Boukopia*. For another, the ‘*[Pan]daliastai*, those based in Phanai’ were in all likelihood connected to the cult of Apollo Dalios in Kameiros and to a (presumed) local festival of perhaps a pan-Rhodian significance, the *Dalia*. Finally, links to persons of high social standing known to represent important Rhodian institutions can be inferred in the case of the ‘*Soteriastai Pheidianakteioi*, those based in Phanai’. If the element *Pheidianakteioi* did refer to Pheidianax, the father of the admiral Anaxibios, then this association would have linked itself *and* Phanai (in Kameiros) not only to the highest echelons of Rhodian society and military establishment, but possibly also to several important places and institutions outside Rhodes, Delos and its sanctuary of Apollo included.

This remarkable network of connections — some documentable, others hypothesized — was made available to the unknown owner of the altar via his membership of the *koina* mentioned in our inscription; the view that simultaneous membership of more *koina* was not possible (and lacks documentation) has been shown to be wrong.¹⁰⁰ In addition, through that membership, and his honour-deserving services, our person had created for himself a more personal, cross-island network. For given the likelihood that the *Poseidaniastai* were based in the capital city of Rhodos (see below), the five private organisations honouring him can be seen as dots along a line transversing the island of Rhodes, from nearly its southernmost to its northernmost end. Thus, our altar owner, if indeed a foreigner, seems to have achieved a substantial degree of socio-cultural integration by means of his institutional affiliations. But at the same time his serviceability — the quality that earned him the laudatory epithet *chrestos* — turned him himself into a facilitator of integration. For it was thanks to his initiatives that (a) public and private institutions (liturgical performance – services to *koina*), (b) discrete territorial entities (e.g. capital city – countryside settlements) and (c) local religious traditions (cults, rites

⁹⁹ My characterization ‘*ländliche* associations’ aims, not at pointing to a distinct kind of association, but at underlining the importance of associations outside urban centres.

¹⁰⁰ Fraser, *Funerary Monuments* (*op.cit.* n. 91) 62, 64, 67 and n. 363, denied multiple membership, but see V. Gabrielsen, *The Rhodian Associations Honouring Dionysodoros from Alexandria*, C&M 45 (1994) 137–160, esp. 151–152.

and festivals) interacted as parts of a unified cultural sphere. He was the creator of the dots and of the line connecting them.

2. Did this round altar originally stand within a family tomb complex or within the burial grounds of one of the five associations? Our evidence (archaeological or inscriptional) does not provide a clear answer. Nevertheless, some tentative considerations may be offered. Since the site had been disturbed already before the modern excavations, we cannot be absolutely certain whether the altar stood in this or in another plot. If the latter was the case, however, it seems unlikely that it would have come to its finding spot from far away. Anyhow, on the archaeological data available it is a plausible hypothesis at least that the altar (as also its counterparts discovered in the site) originally was placed either above the tomb (i.e. on the top of the rocky outcrop in the southern part of the Karimali plot), or at the foot of the tomb.¹⁰¹

The epigraphic data, on the other hand, are perhaps slightly in favour of the hypothesis that altar and tomb were within the burial grounds owned by a *koinon*, which, if so, is to be identified with the *Poseidaniastai*. Firstly, the associational affiliations of the deceased clearly constitute the dominant element of the inscription¹⁰² — the only other activity to be mentioned outside this sphere possibly being his service as *choregos*. Secondly, since the *Poseidaniastai* is the first *koinon* to be mentioned, and the only one among the five *koina* without a geographical description in its name, it is a plausible inference that the altar stood in a burial plot which this association owned in the eastern part of the Rhodian necropolis.¹⁰³ Thirdly, if a link did exist between the dominant theme of our inscription — *viz.* the associational honour of *stephanosis* (crowning) — and the use of the altar,¹⁰⁴ then the probability is that we are dealing with the property of a *koinon*.

¹⁰¹ I am greatly indebted to Photeini Zervaki, archaeologist of Prehistoric and Classical antiquities, the Ephorate of Rhodes, for discussing this issue with me.

¹⁰² The possibility that the person honoured was not a member of these associations but only a benefactor (*euergetas*), though it cannot be excluded, seems unlikely. The following should be briefly noted. In Rhodian epigraphy, many of the attested *euergetai* have received the title from an association, and most of these latter are also members of it. This is shown e.g. (i) by named [εὐερ]γέται καὶ [εὐεργ]έτιδες τοῦ [κοινοῦ] who also hold associational functions (*IG* XII.1 127, esp. B.c. 56a–57, cf. *IG* XII.1 155 a II.40 *et passim*: [ἀ]ρχεραμιστὰς Ἀλιαστᾶν καὶ Ἀλιαδᾶν | [Δ]ιονυσόδωρος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, εὐεργέ | τας, and Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* [*op. cit.* n. 4] 156, no. 18A, l. 1: ψάφισμα Ζήνωνος Σελγέως εὐεργέτα, where *euergetas* is unfailingly mentioned as part of the title-holder's name); and (ii) by the description εὐεργέτας τοῦ κοινοῦ (*vel sim.*) on a funerary monument (*mnameion*), whose original location, the precinct of the *koinon*, was ordinarily reserved for members only: e.g. *NSER* 42 and 46A–B; *IG* XII.1 940. The relationship between *euergetai* and membership is an issue in need of thorough treatment. For now, see Maillot, *Foreigners' Associations* (*op. cit.* n. 4) 150–152.

¹⁰³ See the interpretation of *NSER* 46, offered by Fraser, *Funerary Monuments* (*op. cit.* n. 91) 67 and n. 382, and by Gabrielsen, *Rhodian Associations* (*op. cit.* n. 100) 150–151.

¹⁰⁴ See generally R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, Ithaca, NY 2001, 104–118 (use in a private context); V. Brouma, *Cylindrical Altars and Post-Funerary Ritual in the South-Eastern Aegean during the Hellenistic Period: 3rd to 2nd centuries BC*, in: Z. Theodoropoulou Polychroniadis, D. Evelyn (eds.), *Aegis, Essays in Mediterranean Archaeology Presented to Matti Egon by the*

Particularly illuminating in this connection is a second-century BC decree of the association *Haliadai kai Haliastai* concerning the honours bestowed on a prominent member, Dionysodoros from Alexandria.¹⁰⁵ Among other things the decree ordains that certain of the honours that Dionysodoros is to enjoy during his lifetime — *viz.* proclamation of the (honour of the) crown followed by the act of actual crowning — will continue to be bestowed on him annually after his death, though this will now take place at the tombs: τὰν ἀναγόρευσιν καὶ στεφάνωσιν | καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων (d II, ll. 67–68).¹⁰⁶ Then the document goes on to specify that this be done by crowning the deceased's *mnameion*: καὶ στεφανοῦντω αὐτοῦ τὸ μναμεῖον (d III, ll. 89). Here *mnameion* is clearly distinguished from the tombs, which are called *taphoi*, and means memorial monument.¹⁰⁷ The rectangular altar *NSER* 46 is very probably Dionysodoros' *mnameion*, though it must be distinguished from that mentioned in the decree of the *Haliadai kai Haliastai*, since it stood in the burial grounds of a different association of which Dionysodoros also was a member, perhaps the *Paniastai*.¹⁰⁸ It seems certain that after his death Dionysodoros had a least two *mnameia*, each posted in the precinct of two separate associations. Accordingly, it is theoretically possible that our altar is one of five *mnameia* (i.e. the one standing in the burial plot of the *Poseidaniastai* in the Rhodian necropolis) belonging to the same person. Of the remaining four, one was presumably to be found in Salakos (burial plot of the '*Asklapiastai*, those based in Salakos'), two in Phanai (burial plots of the '*Soteriastai Pheidianakteioi*, those based in Phanai' and the '*[Pan]daliastai*, those based in Phanai', respectively) and one in Aigileia (burial plot of the '*Asklapiastai Boukopidai*, those based in Aigileia'). In short, the hypothesis offered here is that the principal personality of our inscription was being posthumously honoured by having his altar, or *mnameion*, recurrently crowned at ceremonies held in the burial grounds of five different associations.

Some associations must have possessed physically coherent and even spacious and monumental burial grounds (*topoi* or *taphiai*),¹⁰⁹ often enclosed by a wall (*peribolos*),¹¹⁰ within the necropolis of Rhodes or elsewhere on the island. Others, however, possessed several burial plots, which may have been dispersed over a wider area, and which may have varied in size, indeed sometimes significantly. One case in point is the Ἀφροδισιαστῶν Ἐρμογενείων κοινόν (based in the city of Rhodos), which at some date

Scholars of the Greek Archaeological Committee UK, Oxford 2015, 155–164, esp. 160–161 (use also in an associational context).

¹⁰⁵ *IG* XII.1 155; cf. Gabrielsen, *Rhodian Associations* (*op.cit.* n. 100). The references to follow in the main text are to this inscription.

¹⁰⁶ See also d III, ll. 87–88: τὸν στέφανον τὸν ἀναγορευόμενον ἐπὶ τάφοις.

¹⁰⁷ Probably in the same sense *ta mnameia* in *IG* XII.1 9 (undated).

¹⁰⁸ M. Guarducci, *Le iscrizioni di Venezia*, *RIA* 9 (1942) 7–53, esp. 23–24; Fraser, *Funerary Monuments* (*op.cit.* n. 91) 67 and n. 382; Gabrielsen, *Rhodian Associations* (*op. cit.* n. 100) 153.

¹⁰⁹ *topoi*: *IG* XII.1 155 b III.83, e IV.121; *ibid.* 937; *NSER* 46, ll. 7–8; *AD* 21 A (1966) 56. *taphiai*: *IG* XII.1 736, l.3; Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (*op. cit.* n. 4) 148, no. 2, and 156, no. 18.

¹¹⁰ *IG* XII.1 9 mentions a τοῖχος (wall), which might be such a *peribolos*.

in the second century BC decided to register on one *stele* all the title deeds (*amphouriasmoi*) over its property, which is divided into pieces of realty (*eggaia*) and discrete burial plots (*taphiai*).¹¹¹ Such a pattern of ‘fragmented’ property-ownership was no doubt the result of (a) piecemeal, haphazard acquisition (primarily dictated by the finances of a *koinon* and its expanding membership); or (b) private donations of land to be used as *taphiai*,¹¹² or (c) both of these. Provided they are accepted as correct, these observations might therefore increase our awareness towards the possibility that even associations known epigraphically for their wealth and high status could very well have been the owners of also modest or small-size burial plots within the Rhodian necropolis, counting only a few tombs/burials that were crammed between other types of funerary property, such as family tombs. In that case, and if no firm epigraphical indications are at hand, the true character of these tombs might be easily passed undetected. However, whether anything like this applied to the Karimali plot is impossible to say.

Appendix: The Excavated Site

NICOS CHRISTODOULIDES

The area of Korakonero in the city of Rhodes is well known because of the co-existence of four distinct cemeteries, closely related to the history of the island. Apart from the modern Christian Orthodox and Muslim cemeteries, the area hosts a smaller World War II British cemetery and an extensive one forming the southeast part of the vast necropolis of the ancient town. From the latter, several large burial monuments are still visible along the contemporary road leading from Rhodes to Kallithea, which coincides with the ancient main road leading from the town of Rhodes to the eastern part of the island. Among the predominant rock-cut burial monuments, the one bearing a relief representing a Dionysian procession stands out.¹¹³

The Karimalis plot, situated on Dodonis street, a mere 40 meters away from the impressive burial monuments of Korakonero, is part of the southeast necropolis of ancient Rhodes (pl. 7 fig. 4). The largest part of the plot was excavated in 1997, while

¹¹¹ Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (op. cit. n. 4) 156, no. 18A, l. 4: τῶν ἐγγαίων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ κοινῷ καὶ τῶν ταφιῶν. The term *amphouriasmoi* (in the plural) applies equally to the *eggaia* and the *taphiai*. See also face B of the inscription. The interpretation offered here is reconcilable with the instruction given to the person elected to carry out the *anagraphe* of the *amphouriasmoi*, viz. ‘to post the stele in the tombs of the *koinon*, at a place which he deems to be most conspicuous and safe’ (καὶ ἀναθέτω τὴν στάλαν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τάρους εἰς τόπον ὅς κα αὐτῷ δοκῆ εὐσαμύτατος καὶ ἀσφαλῆς εἶμειν, *ibid.* A, ll. 12–13)

¹¹² *JG* XII.1 736, and possibly Pugliese Carratelli, *Associazioni* (op. cit. n. 4) 148, no. 2 (city of Rhodes, 2nd cent. BC).

¹¹³ Konstantinopoulos, *Αρχαία Ρόδος* (op. cit. n. 21) 227–228; P. Guldager-Bilde, *Dionysos among the Tombs. Aspects of Rhodian tomb culture in the Hellenistic period*, in: V. Gabrielsen (ed.), *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture and Society* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 9), Aarhus 1999, 227–246.

seven years later complementary excavation took place in its northern extremity (pl. 8 fig. 5). During the main research season,¹¹⁴ a number of pit graves, chamber and rock-cut tombs were uncovered, all of which contained inhumations as well as cremations, the latter in ossuaries or clay urns. The two southern burial chambers, apart from adult inhumation and cremations, contained three child inhumations as well as three jar-burials of infants. Despite the extent of destruction and grave looting that took place in the past, a considerable number of finds was uncovered during excavation, indicating that the graves were first used during the third century BC and reused from the first century BC until the first century AD. The majority of the inscriptions found bear names with ethnics from a number of cities on the coast of Asia Minor.

Additional excavation in the Karimalis plot carried out in 2004 confirmed the extensive looting and destruction of the ancient cemetery.¹¹⁵ From the two rectangular built chambers uncovered only traces of their foundations survived, as well as part of their plaster-layered floors. Ossuaries, grave stelai, cylindrical altars and their rectangular bases, all in disarray, were retrieved from the excavated site. Of those, five altars, two grave stelai and two rectangular bases bear inscriptions. The inscription discussed in the present paper was found on one of the two inscribed rectangular bases (pl. 9 fig. 6). None of the altars found in Karimalis or the neighbouring plots fits the specific rectangular base. Similar to the finds retrieved in the 1997 season, all inscriptions with names of the dead found in the 2004 excavation of the plot also feature ethnics referring to cities outside Rhodes, mainly to those on the coast of Asia Minor. Specifically, from the 2004 excavation, a total of nine inscriptions were discovered (pl. 10 fig. 7). Three of the five cylindrical altars indicate the origin of the dead: on the altar E1983 (AE409), the inscription, in two lines, refers to Διονύσιος | Φασηλί[της]; on the altar E1984 (AE405), again in two lines, Κότυς | Σελγεύς is legible; on the altar E2105 (AE411), an inscription in three lines mentions Ἀγάθων | Βαβυλώνιος | χαίρει. In addition, a fourth inscription on the base E1986 (AE410) reveals not only the origin but the name of the husband as well, as we can read, in three lines, Φιλώτης Λωκρίς | γυνὰ δε Μηνοδώρου | χρηστὰ χαίρει. On the altar E2101 (AE414) we only get the name of the dead (Κτήσων χρηστὸς χαίρει). All the remaining inscriptions are badly damaged, perhaps with the exception of the stele E1994 (AE412). The preserved text reads as follows: [- -]ΜΗΝΟΔ[- -]ΟΥ | [- -]ΤΟΣΧΡΗΣΤΑΧΑΙΡΕ | ΚΑΙΣΥΓΓΕΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΕ. This may indicate a relationship with the deceased mentioned on the base E1986 (AE410).

¹¹⁴ AD 52 B2 (1997) 1098–1099.

¹¹⁵ AD 56–59 B6 (2001–2004) 227–228. AE numbers are provisional numbers of the objects found during the excavation, noted in the excavation diaries. E is the official corresponding number, used in the official Inscriptions Catalogue of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.

Excavations in neighbouring plots confirm the identification of foreigners in the cemeteries of the area.¹¹⁶ Such is the case in the nearby plots Hadjisava,¹¹⁷ Katsara¹¹⁸ and Karamanoli-Pogia,¹¹⁹ in all of which burial enclosures were revealed with built or rock-cut chambers, cist graves and remains of above-ground constructions. From the latter comes an interesting inscription mentioning Χαρήμων, probably a priest of Isis from Memphis, Egypt.¹²⁰ Three of the unpublished funerary inscriptions from Hadjisavas plot refer to people originating from cities outside the island of Rhodes. Specifically, on inscription E4522 (AE33) the deceased is mentioned as Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, while on stelai E4657 (AE231) and E4658 (AE256) we can read the toponym Αἴγιναν and the ethnic Αἰγινήτης, respectively. A person originating from Halicarnassus (Διοκλῆς Ἀλικαρνασσεύς) is mentioned on a funerary stele found in Nikolidakis plot,¹²¹ on Filerimou street, in the neighbouring area. A second inscription from the same excavation refers to Ματρόδωρος Ἐφέσιος, thus confirming that the cemeteries of this particular area host a considerable number of dead whose ethnics reveal them to be foreigners.

Apart from the high number of foreigners identified in the cemeteries of the area, we may discern certain differences with reference to funerary architecture and burial practices. In 1989, during excavations for the installation of sewage pipes in the road immediately to the west of the Korakonero cemetery,¹²² a number of distinct burial chambers were revealed, with twin chambers — antechambers, unique in Rhodes. Similar structures were revealed, two years earlier, in the nearby Stamatakis plot,¹²³ while in Karimalis plot, a burial chamber was investigated, accessed by a double *dromos*. In the same plot, in two cases, stone busts were placed inside the tomb chamber, a burial practice quite rare in Rhodes.

Vincent Gabrielsen
SAXO-Institute
University of Copenhagen
Karen Blixensvej 4
2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark
gabriels@hum.ku.dk

Nicos Christodoulides
Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese
Ippoton Street
85131 Rhodes, Greece
nico.christo@gmail.com

¹¹⁶ I. Chr. Papachristodoulou, *Noms géographiques et noms de personnes d'Asie mineure dans les inscriptions rhodiennes de l'époque hellénistique avancée*, in: A. Bresson, R. Descat (eds.), *Les cités d'Asie Mineure occidentale au II^e siècle av. J.C.* (Ausonius, Publications Études 8), Bordeaux 2001, 178–179.

¹¹⁷ AD 51 B2 (1996) 680–683.

¹¹⁸ AD 44 B2 (1989) 497–498.

¹¹⁹ AD 46 B2 (1991) 477–479.

¹²⁰ Papachristodoulou, *Noms* (*op.cit.* n. 116) 79; *SEG* 51.1015.

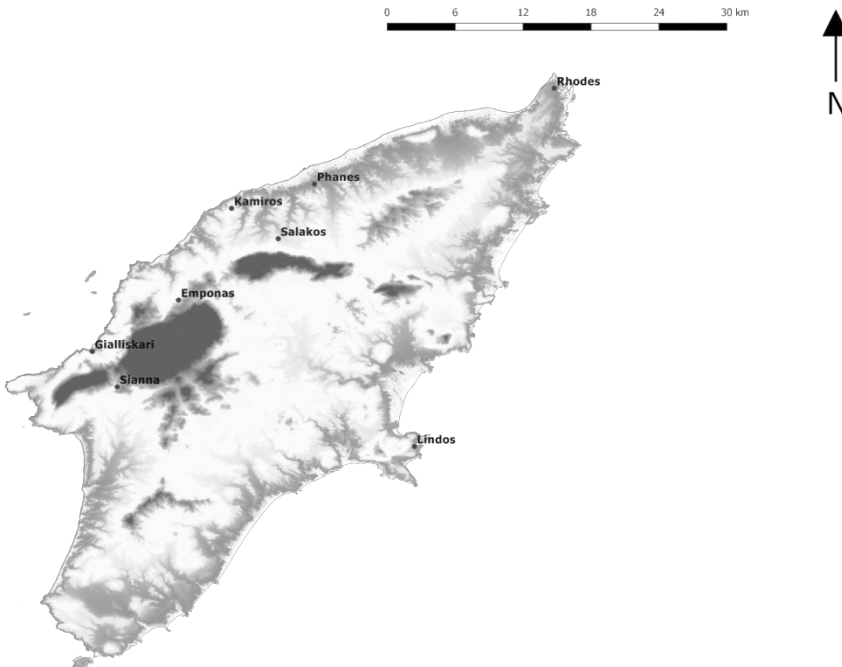
¹²¹ AD 53 B3 (1998) 948.

¹²² AD 44 B2 (1988) 498.

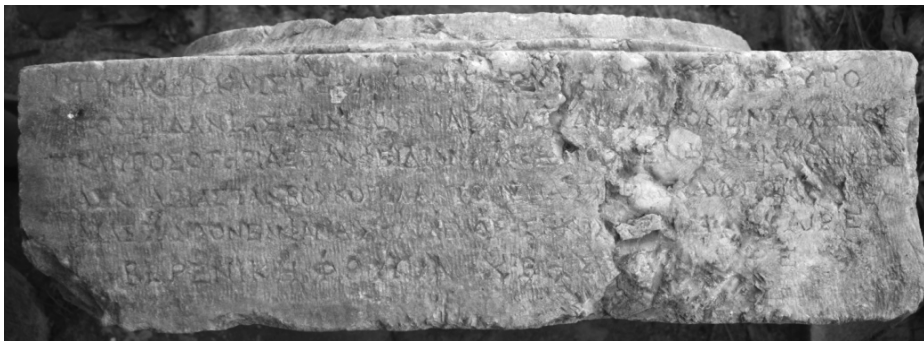
¹²³ AD 42 B2 (1986) 613.



zu K. Hallof, S. 42
IG II/III³ 4, 1397 Fr. g.

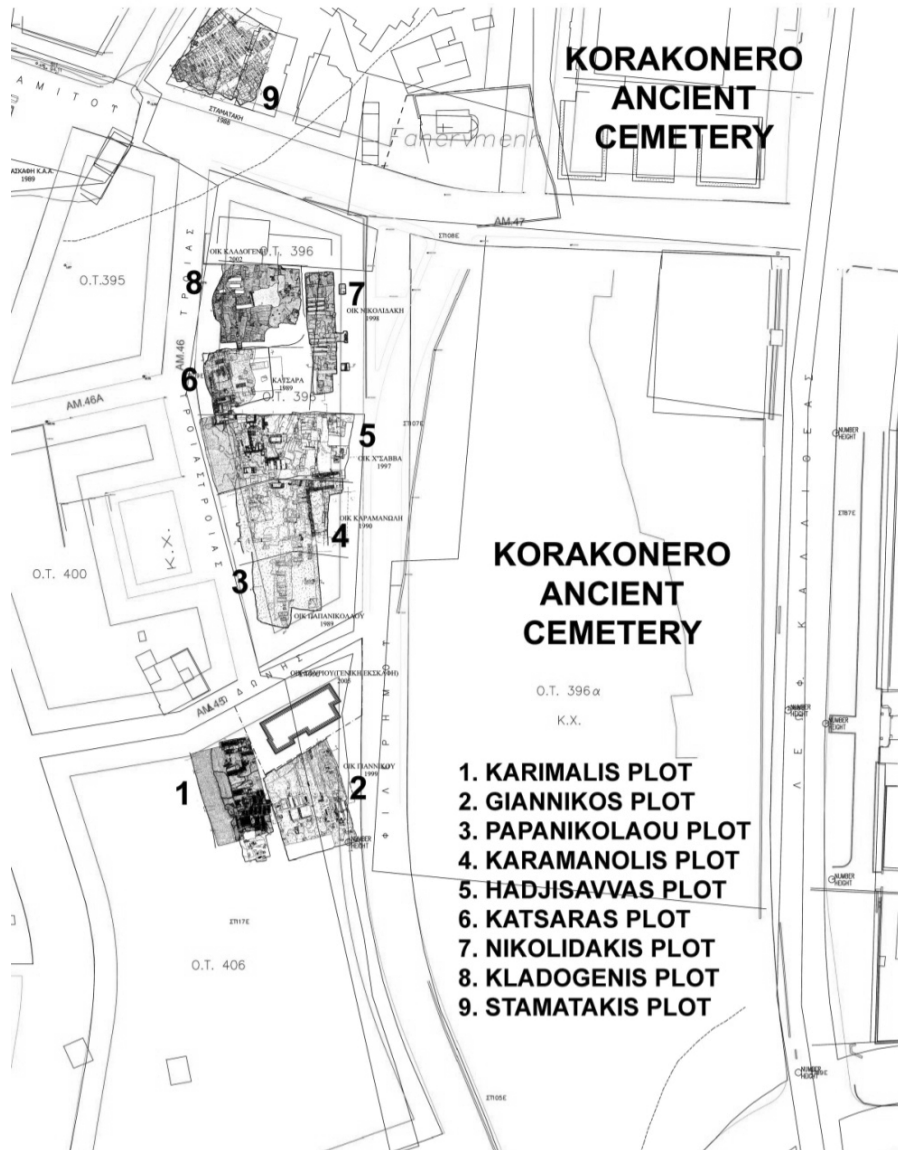


zu V. Gabrielsen, S. 18; 21; 29
Fig. 3: Map of Rhodes



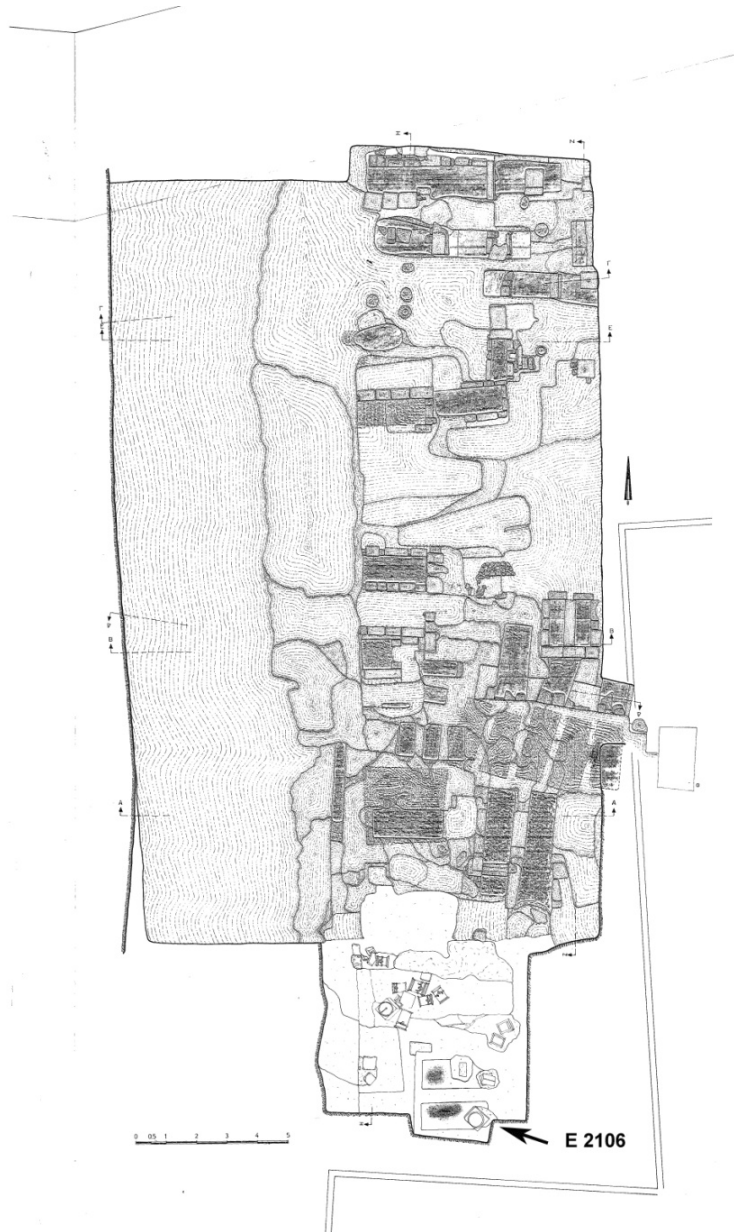
zu V. Gabrielsen, S. 15

Fig. 1-2: Front face and upper surface of the altar base
(Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)



zu N. Christodoulides bei Gabrielsen, S. 38

Fig. 4: Site plan of the part of the ancient Rhodian necropolis in the Korakonero area. The Karimalis plot is marked as No 1.
(Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)



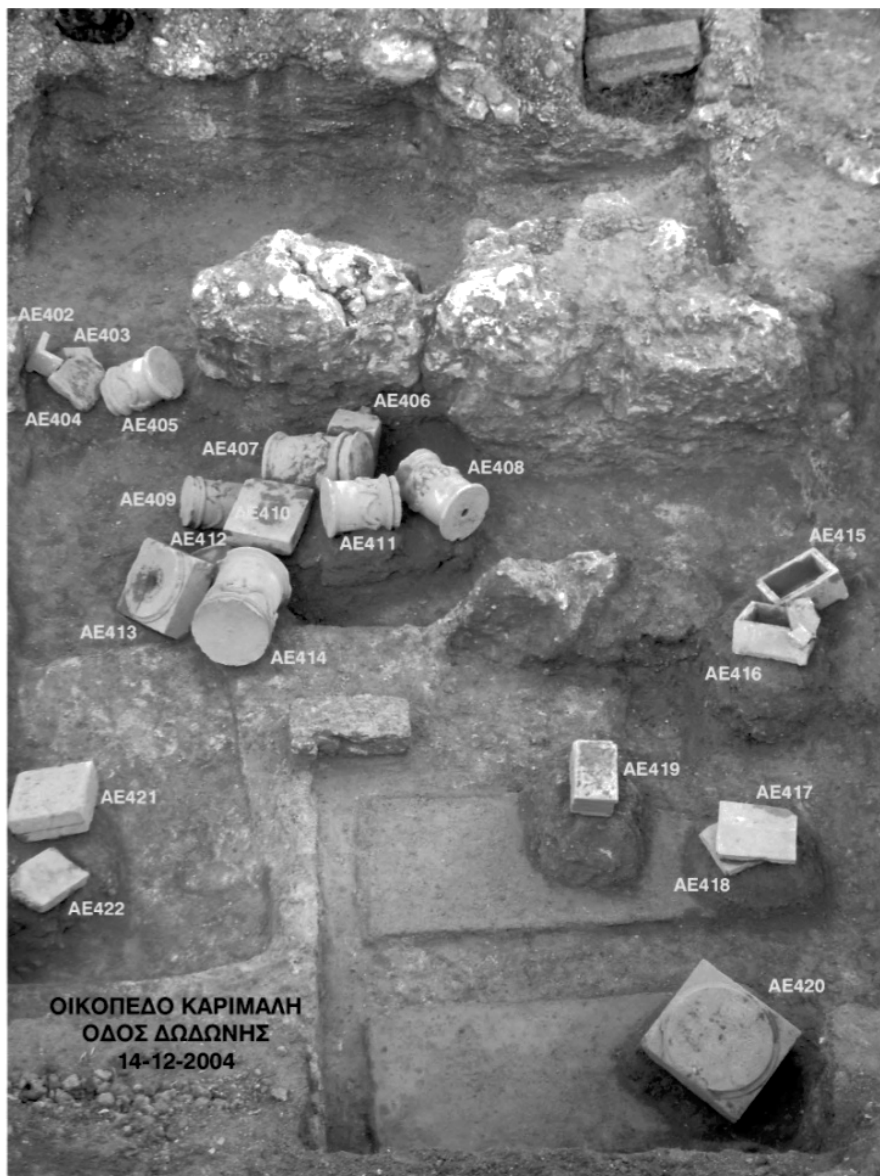
zu N. Christodoulides bei Gabrielsen, S. 39

Fig. 5: The Karimalis plot site plan. The northern (dark) part was excavated in 1997, while the southern (light) part was excavated in 2004. The base bearing the inscription E2106 was found at the south-east extremity. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)



zu N. Christodoulides bei Gabrielsen, S. 39

Fig. 6: Karimalis plot, from south to north. On the front level, we can see, in situ, the inscription E2106. (Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)



zu N. Christodoulides bei Gabrielsen, S. 39
Fig. 7: Karimalis plot, general view of the findings of the 2004 excavations. The inscription E2106 is marked as AE420.
(Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)