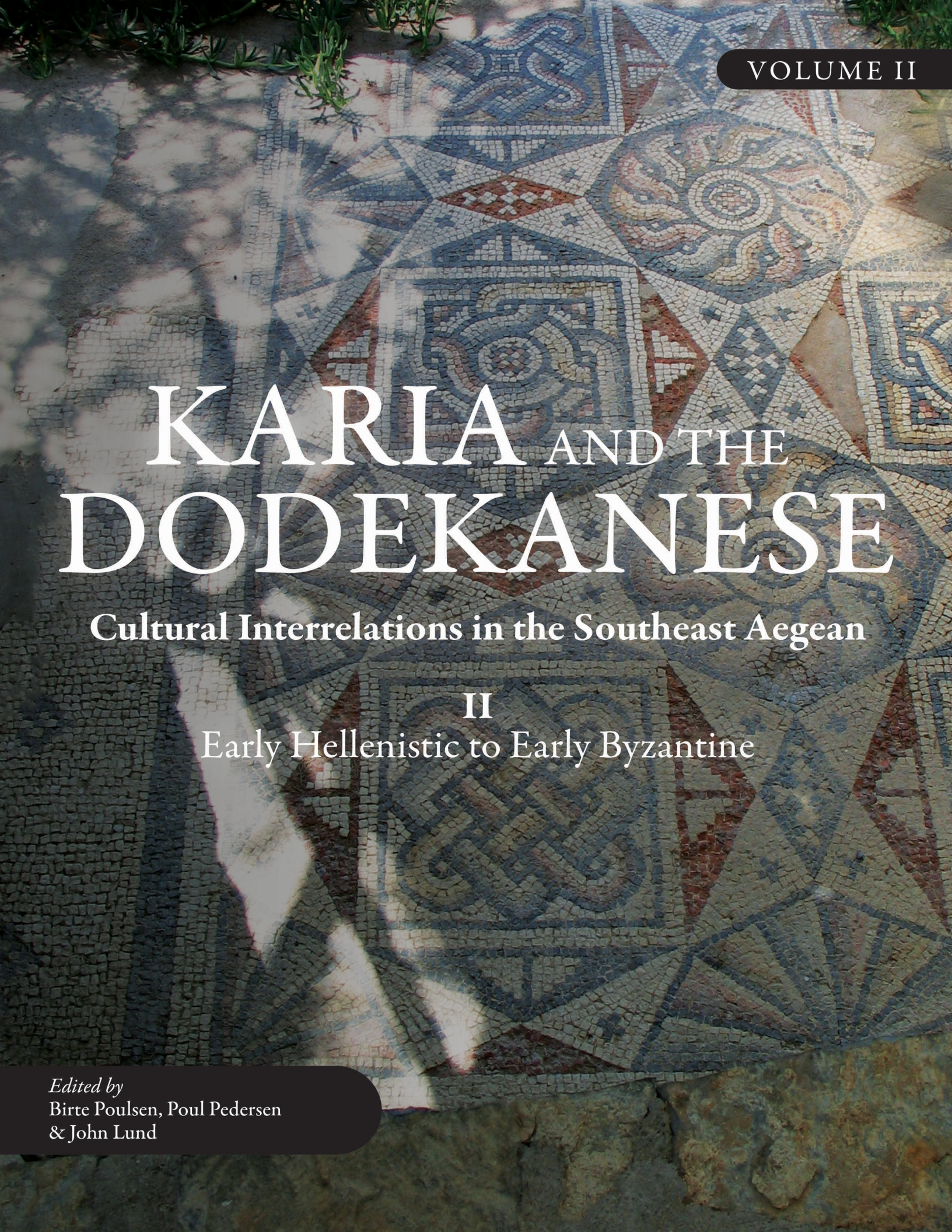

VOLUME II

KARIA AND THE DODEKANESE

Cultural Interrelations in the Southeast Aegean

II
Early Hellenistic to Early Byzantine

Edited by
Birte Poulsen, Poul Pedersen
& John Lund

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Front cover: Late Antique mosaic in Halikarnassos (Birte Poulsen)

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Abbreviations

Periodicals

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA	*Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών*
AAust	*Archaeologia Austriaca*
AbhBerlin	*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
ABulg	*Archaeologia Bulgarica*
ActaALovMono	*Acta archaeologica Lovaniensia. Monographiae*
ActaArch	*Acta archaeologica. København*
ActaArchHung	*Acta archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*
ActaCl	*Acta classica. Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa*
ActaHyp	*Acta hyperborea. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology*
ADelt	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*
ADelt A	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον Μελέτες*
ADelt B	*Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον Χρονικά*
ADerg	*Arkeoloji dergisi. Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi*
AEphem	*Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*
AErt	*Archaeologiai értesitő*
AF	*Archäologische Forschungen*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AmJAncHist	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
AMS	*Asia Minor Studien*
Amyzon	*Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*, J. Robert, J. & L. Robert, 1983.
AnalBolland	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AncSoc	*Ancient Society*
AncWestEast	*Ancient West and East*
AnnPerugia	*Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università degli studi di Perugia, 1. Studi classici*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AntCl	*L'antiquité classique*
AntPl	*Antike Plastik*
AntTard	*Antiquité tardive. Revue internationale d'histoire et d'archéologie*
ArchCl	*Archeologia classica*
ArchPF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*
ARepLon	*Archaeological Reports*
ArtB	*The Art Bulletin*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*
AST	*Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*
AVes	*Arheološki vestnik (Ljubljana)*
BABesch	*Bulletin antieke beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology*
BA	*Bollettino di archeologia*
BaM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAmSocP	*The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BAngloIsrASoc	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports. British Series*
BARIntSer	*British Archaeological Reports. International Series*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BdA	*Bollettino d'arte*
BdE	*Bibliothèque d'études, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Kairo*
BÉ	*Bulletin épigraphique*

BEFAR	*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
BIasos	*Bollettino dell'Associazione Iasos di Caria*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BJb	*Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn*
BMC	Smith, A.H. 1900. *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*
Boreas	*Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie*
BSAA	*Boletín del Seminario de estudios de arte y arqueología, Universidad de Valladolid*
BSA	*The Annual of the British School at Athens*
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*
BSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
BudReg	*Budapest régiségei*
ByzZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CahASubaqu	*Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CahCerEg	*Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne*
CArch	*Cahiers archéologiques*
CarnuntumJb	*Carnuntum-Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Donauraumes*
CEFR	*Collection de l'École française de Rome*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
ClMediaev	*Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire*
ClQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
ClRh	*Clara Rhodos*
CorsiRav	*Università degli Studi di Bologna. Corsi di cultura sull'arte raven nate e bizantina*
CRAI	*Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie*
DeltChrA	*Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*
DialHistAnc	*Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*
DiskAB	*Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung*
DNO	*Der neue Overbeck: Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen 1–5*, S. Kansteiner *et al.* (eds), 2014.
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DossAParis	*Les dossiers d'archéologie*
EurAnt	*Eurasia antiqua*
FdX	*Fouilles de Xanthos*
FelRav	*Felix Ravenna*
FiA	*Forschungen in Augst*
FiE	*Forschungen in Ephesos*
FolA	*Folia archaeologica*
FuB	*Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*
GrRomByzSt	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HABES	*Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien*
HarvTheolR	*The Harvard Theological Review*
IJNA	*The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*
ILN	*The Illustrated London News*
IntJNautA	*International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*
IrAnt	*Iranica antiqua*
IstForsch	*Istanbuler Forschungen*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JbÖByz	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JbRGZM	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JGA	*Journal of Greek Archaeology*
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JMedA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRomPotSt	*Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*
KST	*Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*
KuBA	*Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica*
Labraunda	*Labraunda, Swedish Excavations and Researches 3.1–2*, J. Crampa, 1969.
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
MAInstUngAk	*Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
MdI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

MedAnt	*Mediterraneo antico. Economie, società, culture*
MedHistR	*Mediterranean Historical Review*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*
MemLinc	*Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie*
Milet	*Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*, T. Wiegand (ed.) 1966–.
MilForsch	*Milesische Forschungen*
MRG	*A Guide to the Mausoleum Room in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, C.T. Newton, 1886.
MusHelv	*Museum Helveticum*
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*
NSc	*Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
NumAntCl	*Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni ticinesi*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*
OpAth	*Opuscula Atheniensia*
OrChrPer	*Orientalia christiana periodica*
OxfJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
PF	*Pergamenische Forschungen*
PP	*La parola del passato*
ProcCambrPhilSoc	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
ProcDanInstAth	*Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
RdA	*Rivista di archeologia*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A. Pauly, G. Wissowa & W. Kroll (1893–).
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
ReiCretActa	*Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum acta*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
RNum	*Revue numismatique*
RPhil	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
RStBiz	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
SBBerlin	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst*
ScAnc	*Scienze dell'antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia*
SMEA	*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*
SoSchrÖAI	*Sonderschriften/Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut in Wien*
SpNov	*Specimina nova dissertationum ex Instituto historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae*
StClOr	*Studi classici e orientali*
TAD	*Türk arkeoloji dergisi*
TransactAmPhilosSoc	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TravMem	*Travaux et mémoires. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantine, Paris*
UPA	*Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie*
ZfNum	*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*

Inscriptions

ADelt A 21	G. Konstantinopoulos 1966: Ροδιακά I, *ADelt* A 21, 56–61.
AEphem 1967	G. Konstantinopoulos 1967: Ροδιακά II. Πύργοι της ροδιακής ελληνιστικής οχυρώσεως, *AEphem*, 115–128.
ClRh II	G. Jacopi 1932: C*lara Rhodos II. Nuove Epigrafi dalle Sporadi Meridionali*, Rodi.
ClRh VI–VII	G. Jacopi 1932: C*lara Rhodos VI–VII. Esplorazione Archeologica di Camiro II*, Rodi.
EpigrAnat	*Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens*
FGrH	F. Jacoby (1923–), *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*,
GIBM	*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Oxford 1874–1916.*
Hirschfeld, G. 1916	*The collection of ancient Greek inscriptions in the British Museum 4: Knidos, Halikarnassos and Branchidae by Gustav Hirschfeld. Supplementary and miscellaneous inscriptions*, Oxford.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*

I.Délos	P. Roussel & M. Launey 1937: *Inscriptions de Délos nos. 1495–2219*, vol. 4, Paris.
I.Halikarnassos	J.-M. Carbon, S. Isager & P. Pedersen, forthcoming. *The Inscriptions of Halikarnassos*, Odense.
I.Iasos	W. Blümel 1985: *Die Inschriften von Iasos I–II*, IK 28.1–2, Bonn.
IK	*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*
I.Knidos	W. Blümel 1992–2019: *Die Inschriften von Knidos I–II*, IK 41–42, 1992–2019.
I.Labraunda	J. Crampa 1972: *Labraunda: The Greek inscriptions*, Swedish Excavations and researches 3.2, Stockholm
I.Mylasa	W. Blümel 1987–1988: *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, IK 34–35, Bonn.
I.Oropos	V.C. Petrakos 1997: *Οι Επιγραφές του Ωροπού*, BAAE 170, Athens.
Ins.Aph.	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché & G. Bodard 2007: *The Inscriptions of Aphrodisias.* Online: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007
I.Rhod.Per.	W. Blümel 1991: *Die Inschriften der rhodischen Peraia*, IK 38, Bonn.
I.Stratonikeia	M.Ç. Şahin 1982–2010: *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia I–IV*, IK 21–22.1–2, Bonn.
Lindos II	C. Blinkenberg, 1941: *Lindos, fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902–1914. II, Inscriptions publiées en grande partie d'après les copies de K.F. Kinch, avec un appendice contenant diverses autres inscriptions rhodiennes*, Berlin.
Périée	A. Bresson 1991: *Recueil des Inscription de la Périée rhodienne (Périée intégrée)*, Paris.
Pros. Ptol.	W. Peremans, E. van't Dack *et al.* 1950–2002: *Prosopographia Ptolemaica I–X*, Leuven.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SGO	R. Merkelbach & J. Stauber 1998–2004: *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten 1–5*, Stuttgart.
SER	G. Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954: Supplemento epigrafico rodio, *ASAtene* 30–32 (N.S. 14–16), 247–316.
TC	M. Segre & G. Pugliese Carratelli 1949–1951: Tituli Camirenses, *ASAtene* 27–29 (N.S. 13–15), 141–318.
TC Suppl.	G. Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954: Tituli Camirenses Supplementum, *ASAtene* 30–32 (N.S. 14–16), 210–246.
TRI	N. Badoud 2015: *Le temps de Rhodes. Une chronologie des inscriptions de la cité fondée sur l'étude de ses institutions*, Vestigia 63, München.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Preface

Birte Poulsen, Poul Pedersen, and John Lund

Western Asia Minor and the adjoining islands were a dynamic meeting place for eastern and western civilizations throughout Antiquity. The region was the scene of cultural achievements of everlasting importance, and some of the most significant creations of ancient Greek literature, philosophy, art, and architecture came into being in the coastal cities of the Southeast Aegean.

This publication comprises the proceedings of the International Conference "Karia and the Dodekanese: Cultural interrelations in the Southeast Aegean ca. 500 BC–AD 500" held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 24–25th of January 2018. Its main purpose was to highlight common cultural traits and cultural interrelations in the southern part of the eastern Aegean and the cities on the adjoining Anatolian coast, and to bring together the valuable but at times scattered research carried out on many individual sites in order to paint a broader canvas of the culture of this region.

The sea did not constitute an obstacle to interaction between ancient societies and cultures. It was rather an effective means of communication for the exchange of goods, sculptural styles, architectural techniques, ideas, and people among the cities and settlements of this part of the ancient world, which has been the focus of Danish archaeological research for more than a century.

The Expedition to Rhodes was launched in 1902 thanks to financial support by the Carlsberg Foundation. The project directors, Karl Frederik Kinch and Christian Sørensen Blinkenberg,[1] focused their efforts on Lindos, but also investigated Vroulia and other sites on the island, until the outbreak of the First World War made archaeological fieldwork impossible. The resulting publications remain, however, valuable resources for the archaeology of Rhodes (*Fouilles de Vroulia; Lindos I–IV*). Additionally, Greek and Danish archaeologists carried out a survey of the Katavia area of Southern Rhodes in 1994, funded by the Gösta Enbom Foundation,[2] and Vincent Gabrielsen has since 2016 directed the "Rhodes Centennial Project", financed by the Carlsberg Foundation, to study and publish the archaeological remains of six previously undocumented building complexes in the city of Rhodes.[3] The Danish National Museum has hosted two scientific gatherings resulting from this research: a symposium on "Archaeology in the Dodecanese", 7th–9th of April 1986,[4] and the international colloquium "Documenting Ancient Rhodes: Archaeological Expeditions and Rhodian Antiquities".[5]

The first association between Karia and Danish archaeologists dates from 1938, when Mogens Gjødesen, later director of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, was assistant to Alex W. Persson during his excavations at Gencik Tepe, southeast of Mylasa.[6] More consequential by far, however, was Kristian Jeppesen's participation in the Swedish excavations at Labraunda from 1950 to 1951 – likewise directed by Persson,[7] because Jeppesen went on to launch the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum, supported by the Carlsberg Foundation. Starting in 1966, Jeppesen and his collaborators explored the site of the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos, and the results were published in a suite of monumental volumes (*The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos I–VII*). The Danish tradition for archaeological field work in Bodrum was later continued by two of the organizers of this conference (Poul Pedersen and Birte Poulsen), who involved nearly 100 Danish archaeologists, historians, conservators, architects, and students in their investigations, the results of which have been published in several articles and in the series *Halicarnassian Studies*, of which six volumes have been published so far.

The editors of these conference proceedings are happy to acknowledge that we owe a huge debt of gratitude to all institutions and individuals who have been involved in this venture. In particular, we wish to thank the participants for contributing to the success of the conference, and we are no less grateful to the Danish Institute at Athens, which gave us their full support from the start: the director Kristina

Winther-Jacobsen, the vice director Birgit Olsen, the bookkeeper Lone Gad, the secretary Niki Bouras, and Charlotte Helene Kjær Christensen, who provided much practical assistance during the event. As for the publication, we are most grateful to Taylor Grace Fitzgerald for correcting and standardizing the manuscripts, Olivier Henry for the excellent map of Karia and the Dodekanese, the numerous peer-reviewers – and indeed also Oxbow Books for accepting these conference proceedings for publication. A vote of gratitude is also extended to our individual institutions for constant support: the University of Southern Denmark, the University of Aarhus, and the Danish National Museum. Last but by no means least, we are extremely thankful to the Carlsberg Foundation, whose generous support to both the conference and to the printing costs made it all possible.

Notes

1 Schierup 2019.
2 For a brief account, see *Archaeological Reports* 41 1994–1995, 60.
3 https://saxo.ku.dk/forskning/projekter/ancientrhodes/ (accessed: 10 August 2020).
4 Dietz & Papachristodoulou 1988.
5 Schierup 2018.
6 Söderberg & Helleström 1997.
7 Jeppesen 2011.

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Map of the Southeast Aegean (O. Henry)

Introduction

Birte Poulsen, Poul Pedersen, and John Lund

The second volume of *Karia and the Dodekanese – Early Hellenistic to Early Byzantine* comprises the post-Classical period, where the first volume ends. It contains 20 contributions that extend chronologically from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, a period of about eight centuries, during which the Mediterranean world underwent profound social and political changes.

It may be argued that the contributions relating to the Hellenistic period are in many ways better related to the Classical period than to what comes after, but the chronological scheme was primarily chosen for practical reasons: namely, to distribute a total of 34 contributions into two volumes. The 20 contributions in this second volume have been placed in three groups according to chronology: The Hellenistic period (1–13), the Imperial period (14–15), and Late Antiquity (16–20). Within each period, the authors have simply been listed alphabetically.

The contributions reflect the overall topics treated at the conference in Athens in January 2018, as set out in the Preface to these two volumes. As archaeologists, we use material remains as important evidence for cultural interrelations and commercial, political and cultural networks. The intended focus was on a limited geographical region, but it is obvious that the cultural change over time was highly influenced by a far more complex and extensive cosmopolitan network, partly instigated by the various political power structures and relations, partly influenced by the ever existing trade routes. The aim of the conference was to investigate Karia and the Dodekanese using a diachronic regional approach rather than imposing a previously defined theoretical framework on the participants, although several contributors, such as N. Sauer and G. Mazzilli, relate their individual investigations to network theories.

The 13 contributions related to the Hellenistic period cover various aspects of the material remains of ancient societies, including architecture, sculpture, pottery, and inscriptions, but investigated from different perspectives. The Hellenistic period was a time of considerable movement and cross-cultural relations, and exchange of goods and ideas were definitely not limited to the region in question but inspired by the large cosmopolitan cultural power centres such as Alexandria and Antioch on the Orontes.

Rhodos and Kos, in particular, played important political roles in the Hellenistic world. Friendly relations existed between Rhodos and Alexandria from 312 BC onwards, and the island was the main point of transit for grain and other goods from Egypt. It is also obvious that, in the Hellenistic period, cross-cultural relations were facilitated by the inclusion of large areas of the Karian mainland into the Rhodian polis: the Rhodian Peraia. This political unified area crossed geographical boundaries and at some point included Karia up to the Maeander River, thus overcoming the area's fragmented and diversified geographical conditions. Of no less importance is the Ptolemaic political interest in Kos and Karia. The political ties between Kos, Karia and Egypt were close from the reign of Ptolemy I onwards, and in 280 BC Karia was annexed by the Ptolemaic empire, to which it belonged until the early 2nd century BC. Besides the strong political bonds, there were cultural relations and exchange on many levels between the Dodekanese, Karia, and Alexandria during the entire Hellenistic period.

Hellenistic architecture takes many forms after the flourishing 4th century BC, often characterized as the "Ionian Renaissance" (see Vol. I). Two contributions focus on Hellenistic architecture as evidence for intercultural contacts in the southeast Aegean. One, W. Held (7), takes as its point of departure the sanctuaries of Apollo in Loryma and Amos (Apollo Samnaios) in Chersonesos, as well as the Corinthian temple in Kaunos. During the 4th century, Karia showed little influence from the Dodekanese – rather it was the other way around, or so it appears from the building

materials, building techniques, and inspirations derived from the Hekatomnnid terrace sanctuaries. This changed with the Rhodian Peraia in the 3rd century, as seen in the architecture of Karian Chersonesos, where even Rhodian cults were introduced. In particular, the two temples for Apollo in Loryma and Amos reflect Rhodian influence, both being in the Doric order and using characteristic materials (*Muschelkalk*) and techniques like the double-stepped recesses at the krepis. The temple in Kaunos, constructed in the new Corinthian order, also follows Rhodian construction techniques (see also the contribution from Wilkening-Aumann in Vol. I).

The architecture of Kos is treated by *G. Rocco* (11), who investigates the development of the Doric and Ionic architectural elements in the Hellenistic period. He departs from the architecture and buildings of the city of Kos, where architectural remains are abundant from the 3rd and 2nd century BC. Ionic hybridization of the Doric forms first makes its appearance from the mid-3rd century with further acceleration of the Ionicization during the 2nd century BC, coinciding with the first exploitation of the marble from Mount Dikaios. Interestingly, this is in accordance with the development in the cities of Karia and western Asia Minor during the same period, perhaps indicating the existence of an Ionic-Karian *koiné*. It is apparent, however, that the architecture of Kos shows typological and technical peculiarities that are unique to Kos, such as in the design of the *stoai* and the bichrome stone materials that were already practiced in the early Hellenistic period – all indicating a local "school" of architecture with its own traditions.

Four contributions are centred on primarily ceramics as evidence for contacts between the Dodekanese and Karia. To be able to use ceramics for evidence of trade and interregional connections and networks, it is first and foremost necessary to be able to identify the place of manufacture. For instance, this has now been done with the pottery production in Knidos, where the local fabric has been identified. Other good indicators of trade are the stamps found on amphorae and lamps.

Based on the ceramic evidence excavated in a non-stratified context in the Papachristodoulou-Karika plot in Rhodos Town, the contribution from *L. Betina* (2) examines the interrelations between Knidos and Rhodos. A total of 90,000 examples were found, and while 85% of the ceramics were made by local or regional workshops, 11% came from Knidos (not including transport amphorae). The case study comprises three well-defined groups of Knidian Fine Ware: carinated cups, lamps, and hemispherical bowls. In particular, the Knidian carinated cup was a very popular export to many sites in the eastern Mediterranean. Most important – and making the investigation difficult – is that local Rhodian imitations could be identified in the material. The context of the finds remains unclear, but the ceramic material points to banquets in a domestic context. The analysed material confirms the well-known fact that Knidian Fine Ware was especially widely distributed when Delos became a free port in 166 BC. Judging from the distribution of Knidian Fine Ware, Knidos maintained an important commercial position up to the Augustan-Tiberian period, and Betina convincingly argues that the prevalence of Knidian ceramic wares on the eastern Aegean islands may reflect the major maritime trade routes during the Late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods.

The Knidian production is also the main focus in the contribution from *D. Grigoropoulos & E. Marzec* (6), which is based on excavated material in the Sanctuary of Apollo in Halasarna on Kos. The article assesses the diachronic pattern of Knidian imports at this site and a pottery group called "Imported Black or Red Slipped Fabric" from the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD. The exact geographical source of the latter group remains uncertain, but the fabric indicates that it was possibly produced either in Kos or on the coast of nearby Karia. It appears that Knidian Fine Wares were the dominant imported fine wares throughout this long period, and comparisons with tableware produced locally show that Knidian products were instrumental in shaping the local production, especially during the later Roman Imperial period from the 2nd century onwards, when the import of Knidian Fine Ware decreased in Halasarna.

A broader view, including various aspects of material culture, is taken by *N. Dimakis & G. Doulfis* (4). Their study is also centred around the Sanctuary of Apollo in Halasarna, but the authors scrutinize the various kinds of evidence for relations to Karia over several centuries, from the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods. Archaeological, historical, epigraphic, and mythological evidence is analysed, and aspects such as the Onomastikon of Halasarna, grave stones, local cults, and Knidian lamps are included in the study. In doing so, the contribution supplements the one by Grigoropoulos and Marzec in an excellent way. The authors also draw attention to an important matter concerning the god Apollo, whose famous sanctuary and cult in Triopion in Knidos formed the core of the Dorian Hexapolis that originally included members in both Karia (Knidos, Halikarnassos) and the Dodekanese (Kos, Lindos, Ialyssos, and Kameiros). The study opens for wider perspectives in investigating potential networks between Halasarna and the neighbouring region of Karia.

N. Sauer (10) studies the networks of the Hellenistic markets in the Mediterranean and Black Sea areas. The investigation is based on a huge collection of material, ca. 200,000 transport amphorae, probably mostly for wine, which were produced in Kos, Knidos, and the majority (151,998) in Rhodos. Sauer treats the amphorae as evidence for human interaction, and the relations between Rhodos and Ptolemaic Egypt indicate that it was often a two-way exchange. The study shows that a considerable number of amphorae were earmarked for local exchange and domestic markets in and around the places of production. The amphora material from

the eighteen shipwrecks shows that the three top-producing sites formed a local network community that rarely imported wine from other places. Furthermore, the study reveals that Rhodos, Knidos, and Kos had separate shares of the market in different periods – some were exported as far as present-day Saudi Arabia and southern India (Arikamedou), the latter of which seems to have favoured wine from Kos. Sauer also sheds light on the underlying mechanisms of the networks, such as political, economic, religious, social, and biological factors.

Four contributions focus on sculptural interrelations in Karia and the Dodekanese. Whereas production of pottery was mostly stationary, being dependent on occurrence of clay and water, sculpture was different, since ancient sculptors often travelled far for commissions. It is well-known that it is difficult to connect names with specific pieces of sculpture. Even though we know the names of many sculptors and their origins from inscriptions, the statues belonging to the statue bases are rarely preserved. Epigraphical evidence and literary sources make clear that sculptors and workshops travelled far to work at certain building projects, such as the large sculptural programme of the Maussolleion in Halikarnassos.

K. Bairami (1) takes as her point of departure Hellenistic Rhodos, a cosmopolitan centre where sculptors and workshops from Athens, Asia Minor, and the islands came together. The Rhodian Peraia created a foundation for strong connections between Rhodos and many Karian towns as far as the Maeander River. Rhodos became an artistic melting pot, and Rhodian sculptors and workshops were also active further afield, in the Aegean islands and Alexandria. Starting with the famous statue of Aphrodite in Knidos by Praxiteles, common statuary types for Aphrodite became popular through the Hellenistic period. Statues of the goddess were made in large- and small-scale sculpture, and they share stylistic traits, such as the transparency of their garments. Bairami illustrates this with a number of small-scale statues of draped and semi-draped statues from Rhodos and various towns such as Knidos in Karia, and it becomes evident that even though the models may be Attic, the types were adapted and diversified in the innovative workshops in the Aegean islands and coastal cities of Asia Minor. It seems that the production of semi-draped Aphrodite statues was a Rhodian specialization.

Statues of Aphrodite are also the focus of the study by *C. Bruns-Özgan* (2), who, however, widens the perspective to Magna Graecia by comparing a group of eight small statuettes from Santa Venera, Paestum, with fifteen similar statuettes found near Knidos. Both groups of statuettes seem to have been associated with extra-mural sanctuaries of Aphrodite, and they present different types of draped statuettes of Aphrodite made of different types of marble (Pentelic and Parian). Both groups also include a few male figures. The statuettes from Knidos presumably date from the Late Classical period to the 1st century BC, and the statuettes from Paestum belong more or less to the same period. Bruns-Özgan suggests that the statuettes from both places were perhaps made in the Dodekanese (Rhodos?).

Broader interregional relations are also the subject of the article by *E. Ghisellini* (5), who studies the sculpture related to exchange between the Dodekanese, Karia, and Alexandria. Literary sources and preserved signatures of sculptors document the activity of itinerant artists, who were decisive in the formation of a common sculptural language in the Hellenistic period. One such individual is Theon from Antioch, who made statues and sculpture in several centres in Karia, Rhodos, and Alexandria. He was possibly based in Rhodos, where his epitaph has been discovered. By contrast, signatures of Alexandrian sculptors are rare in Karia and the Dodekanese. Portraits and statues of the Ptolemaic dynasty are frequently attested in Kos and elsewhere in the region. Ghisellini also points to the interesting fact that the sculptural products of Alexandria, Rhodos, Kos, and Karia share several common techniques. The strong bonds between Karia, the Dodekanese, and Alexandria are also emphasized by a wide diffusion of female statuettes like Aphrodite, the Muses, and nymphs – all reflecting the same iconographic types – that were circulated during the second half of the 2nd century and the 1st century BC.

C. Tsouli (13) investigates the typology and iconography of funerary markers (*semata*) as evidence for cultural interrelations between Kos and Karia. From the Hellenistic period there are 607 grave markers preserved in Kos alone, the majority of which were made of marble from the local quarry at Mount Dikaios. The Karian material from the same period is estimated at ca. 400 pieces. The tomb markers consist of steles (aniconic, with pedimental crowning, naiskos-shaped), some with relief. Interestingly, Tsouli observes quite a number of differences between the two regions, for instance that the steles with palmette are completely absent from Kos, and the banquet motif, so popular in Kos and Rhodos, only appears sporadically in Karia. Altars constitute the largest body of Hellenistic grave markers in both Kos and Karia, with the cylindrical altars by far outnumbering the other types. The place of production of these altars and the workshops is still a matter of discussion, but according to the study of Tsouli, Karian workshops started imitating the Koan and Rhodian prototypes sometime in the 2nd century BC. In both Kos and Karia, the cylindrical altars were not only tomb markers, but also played an active role in commemorative activities and rituals in relation to the tomb.

Epigraphical material keeps increasing and constitutes an extremely important source for monuments and architecture (patrons and donors) as well as for religious behaviour and the movements of people in the ancient world.

The contribution from *K Höghammar* (8) investigates an important epigraphical assemblage: ca. 800 funerary

inscriptions from the Hellenistic period found in Kos. Among these are 190 epitaphs mentioning 204 foreigners, and most interestingly, about one third of the preserved epitaphs belong to women. It is unknown whether these foreigners were temporary visitors or permanent residents. With the exception of Syracuse, the individuals stem from 84 different cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea region. It is perhaps not surprising that the nearby Karian and Ionian *poleis* are well reflected by the material, Halikarnassos being best represented with 21 epitaphs, but it is noticeable that far-distant Antioch on the Orontes is represented with as many as 22. This geographical distribution accords well with the cosmopolitan role of Kos during the Hellenistic period as an emporium with goods coming mainly from the east. More importantly, the epigraphical material also demonstrates the considerable mobility within the Hellenistic world.

Based on the epigraphical material, *J.-M. Carbon & S. Isager* (9) investigate the networks and political position of Halikarnassos in the Early Ptolemaic period, primarily between ca. 280 and 260 BC, during which period the authors believe that Halikarnassos played a part in the development of the strategic framework of the Ptolemies in the Aegean. Through three case-studies – in part on material published here for the first time – they discuss the radical change of Halikarnassos and its political interactions following the death of Alexander. The discussion of the Nesiotic League (case-study 1) illustrates that Halikarnassos was clearly involved in Ptolemaic affairs in the Aegean during the period in question. Two honorific decrees stem from Halikarnassos itself. The first (case-study 2) is for Sostratos, son of Dexiphanes, who is probably the famous architect from Knidos said to have designed the lighthouse of Alexandria. The other (case-study 3) honours a certain Zenodotos son of Baukideus and illustrates the relationship to Troizen. Surely, the history of ancient Halikarnassos and its political relations and positions can be much better understood once the publication of the epigraphical corpus of inscriptions is finished.

The contribution from *S. Skaltsa* (12) presents sixteen documents (subscriptions and honorific decrees) from the "Rhodian state" covering the period between the end of the 3rd to the first decades of the 2nd century BC. The epigraphical material, partly from Rhodos itself and partly from the Rhodian Peraia, is related to a number of building projects, including repairs and restorations. The epigraphical evidence shows that the various projects were financially supported by different segments of people from the Rhodian state, demes, associations, and individual benefactors. Within the institutional framework of the Rhodian state, the decrees and subscriptions are primarily concerned with two specific types of environments: sacred architecture/sanctuaries and military architecture/fortifications. As for the associations, funerary architecture and space for convivial activities seem to have been of prime importance.

With the beginning of Roman political interest in Asia Minor and the Dodekanese in the Late Hellenistic period, the region was unified in a common administrative system that also facilitated cross-cultural relations as well as the exchange of material goods. Several contributions grouped with those dealing with the Hellenistic period also offer perspectives on the Roman Imperial period, but two contributions concentrate on this period – but from very different perspectives, indeed.

As for the reorganization of public spaces and edifices, *M. Livadiotti* (14) draws attention to a number of monumental complexes like marble *propylaia*, *nymphaea*, *odeia*, colonnaded streets, and the main novelty being the baths with a so-called *Marmorsaal* – all part of the imperial cityscape of the city of Kos. It is remarkable how the architecture of this city became influenced by a universal Roman official architectural language with parallels in western Asia Minor, Alexandria, and Antioch on the Orontes. Kos was certainly part of the architectural *koiné* of *Provincia Asia,* but from the Severan period, architectural elements from both Syria and North-Africa began to make their appearance. These impressive monumental complexes were both instigated by the Roman emperors as an expression of their power and the local elite as a manifestation of their social status.

The contribution from *A.A. Nagy, P. Magyar-Hárshegyi & Gy. Szakmány* (15) interrogates the connections between the southeast Aegean and the Roman province of Pannonia on the basis of amphorae belonging to the Imperial period. The trade in amphorae containing predominantly wine and olive oil to the region began with the arrival of the Roman military units during the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. Out of about 3000 amphorae fragments found in 26 Pannonian sites, 379 pieces originate from the southeast Aegean. The study of these fragments includes petrographic analysis. The majority (294 fragments) are Rhodian wine amphorae, primarily found in the military camps, but fragments of Dressel 4, Dressel 5, Knossos 22, Knidian, and LR2 amphorae were also among the analysed types. Most of these arrived in Pannonia during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD and were shipped to Aquileia, from where they were distributed to the north via the main trading routes and on the rivers.

Five contributions concentrate on the transition from the Roman Imperial period to Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period: two examine Byzantine architecture (16 and 19), two saint cults and early Christian painting (17–18), and one a Late Antique mosaic (20). By now, new Christian centres and churches were built into – and upon – former pagan sanctuaries and other buildings. With the first monumentalization of multifunctional Christian buildings came a new group of patrons of prestigious and monumental churches lavishly

decorated with expensive floors of mosaics/*opus sectile* and imported marbles for the embellishment. As a parallel to this new universe, the rich upper class continued to build large and luxurious mansions in the cities. The Dodekanese always had a strong relationship with Constantinopolis, connecting the capital with key Mediterranean ports. As an important centre for commercial sea routes, the island of Kos continued to play a large role during Late Antiquity.

I. Baldini & C. Lamanna (16) scrutinize the evidence of the ambos of the early Christian basilicas in Kos, in particular from the 6th century AD. The ambos were an important liturgical element, and many were of impressive dimensions and made of marble. The case study analyses ten ambos of various types and highlights the relations to both Constantinopolis and other metropoles of western Asia Minor, such as Ephesos and Miletos. The ambos indicate a close connection with Karia and other regions of western Asia Minor, much like the mosaics, for example. More studies are needed, but the so-called Karian type of ambo is also found in Kos, and the authors suggest that Koan workshops played an important role in the production and development of new typologies.

A similar conclusion is reached by the study of *G. Mazzilli* (19) on the basis of an analysis of architectural elements and mosaics from 28 basilicas in Kos, an impressive number that testifies to rich financial resources. An earthquake around the mid-5th century appears to have established the basis for a new Christian 'basilica-scape' with innovative architectural features. Using an interpretation model derived from network analysis, Mazzili interprets the archaeological remains, which leads him to identify at least two levels of exchange and overriding networks. One of these operated at a superior level, with influences from the large Early Christian centres like Constantinopolis; the other was centred on the south-eastern Aegean, where a considerable degree of regionalism can be observed. Mazzili argues that travelling *technitai* from Kos played a decisive role in establishing this regional architectural *koiné* during Late Antiquity.

The case study of a Late Antique mosaic in ancient Halikarnassos by *B. Poulsen* (20) offers a view from Karia. This mosaic floor is remarkable in having an almost exact parallel in Kapama in Kos, and the composition was clearly based on the same model. However, at the present state of research it cannot be determined if the mosaics were made by the same atelier or if different ateliers made use of the same models. This is only one of a now large corpus of mosaic floors discovered in Bodrum in recent years, and the number will certainly change our perception of ancient Halikarnassos during Late Antiquity and perhaps modify our ideas of travelling *technitai* during this period.

M. Kappas & K. Kefala (18) present important evidence from the island of Kalymnos, which may also support the impression of close regional connections between Karia and the Dodekanese: frescoes of exceptional quality are preserved in the Church of Saint Kerykos, situated in a flourishing Late Antique settlement in the Vathy valley. The authors convincingly argue for a date around the mid-6th century and relate them to the frescoes preserved in the small church on Küçük Tavşan Adasi close to the coast of the Halikarnassos peninsula, thereby highlighting the artistic activity in the wider area of the Dodekanese and Karia during the 6th–7th centuries.

Close interregional relations within the former Rhodian Peraia may also be deduced from *A. Katsioti & N. Mastrochristos's* study of the cult of this very same Saint Kerykos (17). A recently discovered drawing of an inscription in the Chaviaras archives on Symi turns out to be of an inscription in Bozburun in the Karian peninsula that was copied at the end of the 20th century. The inscription recalls a gift to the Church of Saint Kerykos, and shows that the cult, which was extremely popular in the Aegean islands, also reached the south-western region of Asia Minor.

To sum up: the contributions of both conference volumes cover a period from the Classical period to Late Antiquity, more than thirteen centuries of shifting political systems and rules, but they begin to reveal patterns of interregional relationships in such diverse media as pottery, sculpture, and architecture, as well as early Christian frescoes and church-building. Karia and the Dodekanese have often been studied separately, partly, perhaps, due to the divide imposed by national borders, but we hope that our initiative may contribute to bringing scholars together across modern boundaries in the future.

Hellenistic period

1

Hellenistic sculpture as artistic expression of a wide geographical and political unity: the case of Rhodos and its relations to Karia*

Kalliope Bairami

Hellenistic Rhodos, judging by the great number of artistic signatures on bronze portrait statues, emerged as a lively cosmopolitan centre, where bronze sculptors from Athens, Asia Minor and the islands collaborated, establishing family workshops active for three centuries in certain cases. Their activity is situated in a wide artistic region, related to the area of political influence of Rhodos and the Rhodian Peraia. Large sculptural programmes of the Hellenistic period, such as the altars of Magnesia, Priene, Knidos, and Pergamon and the frieze of Hekateion of Lagina made possible the cooperation of various artistic workshops.

Karia, from the Maeander river down to Lykia, was the main field of political and cultural interrelations. Common statuary types for Aphrodite, the popular goddess of the Hellenistic period, in large- and small-scale sculpture, and specific stylistic traits shared by female draped statues, such as the transparency of their garments, are characteristic features of their artistic unity, forged by the heritage of the famous artists of the 4th century BC and their activity at the Maussolleion of Halikarnassos, the Artemision of Ephesos, and the Asklepieion of Kos.

The mainland of Asia Minor and its littoral regions opposite Rhodos were considered by the Rhodians as vital territory for the financial, political, and cultural outward-oriented growth of the island.[1] In the Archaic period, the Dorian Hexapolis, an amphictyonic confederation between the three Rhodian *poleis* (the city-states Lindos, Kameiros, and Ialysos), Kos, Knidos, and Halikarnassos, based on their common Dorian origin, had as its religious centre the Sanctuary of Apollo Triopios in Knidos.[2] In the aftermath of the synoikism – and possibly even before that historical event – the Loryma Peninsula opposite Rhodos was part of the Rhodian Peraia, and its communities were integrated within the political system of the Rhodian *demes*.[3] A wider geographical area north of the Keramic Gulf, constituted the so-called "subject" Peraia, encompassing the cities Keramos and Idyma to the north and the cities Stratonikeia, Hyllarima, and Mougla to the northeast. The existence of the "subject" Peraia, according to researchers, is dated at least half a century before the Treaty of Apameia (188 BC), so around 260–250 BC,[4] while Stratonikeia was donated to the Rhodians by the Seleukids, perhaps ca. 240 BC.[5] After the Treaty of Apameia, Rhodian domination on Karia expanded up to the Maeander River.[6]

In the 4th century BC, famous sculptors from Athens worked in the above geographical region, either collaborating on the funerary monument for Maussollos, the local Karian satrap, or creating works of art ordered by the Greek cities, like Rhodos, Kos, and Knidos.[7] At the same time, the humbler Attic marble workshops supplied the cities of the eastern Mediterranean with famous funerary steles, thus significantly influencing the development of local sculptural production. In the following years, Rhodos became an artistic melting pot, where workshops from Athens, Rhodos, and Asia Minor were active for at least three centuries, casting mainly bronze portraits. Besides the bronze colossus, Pliny also refers to significant works of Rhodian marble sculpture, such as Apollo and the nine Muses by Philiskos, Pan and Olympos wrestling by Heliodoros, the punishment of Dirke by Apollonios, and Tauriskos and Laokoon of Athanodoros, Agesander, and Polydoros.[8] The artistic signatures of the Rhodian workshops are evidence of their activity in Asia Minor, Alexandria, and the islands of the Aegean.[9]

Knidos presents an example of mutual artistic exchange. In the city's sanctuaries were exhibited significant sculptures of the 4th century, most famous among them being the statue of the Knidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles.[10] The city's location was at the border of the Rhodian Peraia and for some time after the Treaty of Apameia (188 BC), Knidos was possibly under Rhodian domination, although this is much debated.[11]

Occasionally, the same artistic workshop was active in both Knidos and on the island of Rhodos. Athenian artists are attested in both cities in the 3rd century. From the 2nd century onwards the workshops of Knidos were closely related to those of Rhodos and Kos.[12] In the 3rd century BC, the prolific workshop of *Ζηνόδοτου καὶ Μενίππου*, originally from Chios, and the Athenians *Πείθανδρος* and *Καλλιάδης Σθέννιδος* worked both in Knidos and Lindos.[13] In Lindos, the Knidian *Τιμοκλῆς* cooperated with *Πρωτόμαχος* from Halikarnassos. *Τιμόχαρις* from Eleutherna, the father of Pythokritos, and *Θεύδωρος* from Parion – known by artistic signatures in Rhodos – cooperated for the creation of a family votive group in Knidos.[14] In the 1st century BC, the Knidian *Ἄνθος* signed as *metoikos* in Kameiros and Rhodos.[15] The artistic signature of *Θέων* (Theon) from Antioch has been engraved on the Knidian altar of the Nymphs. The artist, known from six artistic signatures in Rhodos and Lindos, collaborated twice with a Rhodian sculptor, *Δημήτριος*, in Lindos and Alexandria (180–148 BC).[16] Theon was one of the artists who received the privilege of *ἐπιδαμία* from the Rhodian state, possibly a kind of political rights, enabling them to establish their workshop for a long period on the island.[17] According to N. Stampolidis, Theon's collaboration in the carving of the relief frieze of the Knidian altar (ca. 160 BC), was dated after his establishment in Rhodos, so his signature is an important testimony for the presence in Knidos of a Rhodian workshop, the activity of which is further attested as far as Alexandria, and not of a single itinerant artist of Asia Minor origin.[18] According to E. Poupaki, the Knidian altar has been carved in Koan marble, which confirms the connection between these three artistic centres.[19]

The wider geographical region on both sides of the Maeander River should be considered as a common artistic milieu whose echo lingered in the works of the Late Hellenistic period, when political connections had been ruptured for long.[20] J.C. Carter, in his study on the sculpture of the Altar of Priene, where Apollo Kitharoidos and the Muses are depicted – a popular subject in Asia Minor, also represented in the Archelaos relief[21] – pointed out the Rhodian influence on the littoral of Asia Minor.[22] C. Schneider, on the other hand, argued for the adoption of various statuary types of the 3rd and 2nd century BC for the rendering of the Muses, types not related to the Rhodian sculptor Philiskos but to Alexandria.[23]

The Rhodian female statue Γ1240 (Figs 1.1–2) is an example of these artistic relations.[24] The female figure (preserved h. 0.70 m), wears a high-belted chiton and the

Figs 1.1–2: Γ1240, Museum of Rhodes (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, G. Kassiotis).

band tied in a bow-knot is visible under the finely textured, transparent cloak that covers the upper part of the torso and the arms and reaches down to the knees. The right leg of the figure is relaxed and extended forward, with the weight on the left one. Her left arm is bent at the elbow, holding the folds of the cloak, and also possibly a rosette-shaped bunch of garment, as the broken piece of marble between the hip and the elbow suggests.[25] The right arm is not preserved, but judging from the motion of the folds of the cloak, it must have been bent upwards under the himation.

The Rhodian statue belongs to a group of figures with the himation wrapped around the upper part of the body and the arms.[26] Together with the standing "Muse" of the Priene altar,[27] the Muse of the Magnesia theatre,[28] and the "Muse" of Kos,[29] these figures constitute a typologically and stylistically coherent group of statues wearing transparent garments. They are also similar in pose and body torsion. The particularly fine folds of the transparent drapery, as well as the decorative bow-knot of the belt of the chiton,[30] allow the dating of the Rhodian piece in the beginning of the 2nd century BC.[31] The two statues in Kos and Magnesia have also in common the rendering of the silk garment at the legs, a feature which cannot be confirmed for the Rhodian figure, due to its fragmentary condition, but the possibility is strong. The life-size statue from the city of Rhodos should be interpreted either as a goddess or as an honorific portrait statue depicting an educated Rhodian woman with artistic and literary interests.[32]

The transparency of the drapery and the twisting pose of the torso are features found in the Muses of Philiskos, for example the Muse with the papyrus scroll or the Muse with the small kithara.[33] The transparency of the female drapery, an artistic trend of the Greek eastern Mediterranean, is also found on a Knidian female figure, smaller than life-size, from the Roman stoa of Knidos. The statue is compared to a similar one from Kos, and C. Bruns-Özgan relates it to the workshop of Philiskos and the Muses, considering the transparency of the garment: a common trend of the Philiskos workshop active in Rhodos, Kos, Ionia, and Karia.[34]

The artistic relations of Karia and Rhodos have been pointed out by A. Linfert in his study for the Hellenistic centres of sculpture, based on Aphrodite statuettes – variations and adaptations of Classical or Late Classical Athenian models – considered as the main example of Rhodian production and influence on the artistic production of other cities.[35] Linfert includes Knidos and Stratonikeia in the chapter of Rhodian sculpture and attributes to Rhodian art the female statuettes from the Knidian Sanctuary of the Nymphs, kept today in the British Museum, based on type and style.[36] Two female statuettes from the south coast of the Knidian peninsula, published by C. Bruns-Özgan,[37] belong to the type of the semi-draped Aphrodite leaning to the left and its variation Pontia-Euploia,[38] like the fragmentary statues from the Knidian Sanctuary of the Nymphs mentioned above.

In the conventionally called Aphrodite Pontia-Euploia type, known from numerous Hellenistic and Roman copies all over the Mediterranean,[39] belongs the lower part of a life-size statue from the city of Rhodos (Figs 1.3–4, inv. Γ2045, max. preserved h. 0.70/0.83 m).[40] The naked torso was carved in a separate block of marble and was dowelled in a rectangular joint to the preserved lower part. The mantle covers the lower part of the body, wrapped propably in a loose roll around the waist and falling in a cascade of folds at the side. A pier-shaped support carved from the same block of marble stands next to the right leg. The figure stands with her weight on her right leg, while the left one is relaxed, bent forward and touching the plinth with the tips of the toes. The lower part of the legs to the ankles are broken and have not been joined. Nevertheless, the naked feet with the plinth are preserved in fragmentary condition. The left heel was raised on a rectangular support, carved from the same block of marble.

According to the type,[41] the goddess is depicted with the upper torso naked and with a mantle that covers the back and sometimes even the head and that is fastened under the left armpit. In a second variety, that of Ourania Kyrene,[42] the mantle does not cover the back or the head, but is instead wrapped horizontally around the left hand. Due to the fragmentary state of the Rhodian statue, the style of drapery and therefore the identification of the variation is rather doubtful. The right hand probably rested at the hip, while the left one would hold the himation at the side. Judging from the position of the cascade of folds at the left, on the front, and the back side, it is assumed that the mantle was wrapped around the arm and did not cover the back.[43] The left foot of the Rhodian statue was not raised, since traces of the toes of the left relaxed foot are preserved on the plinth. The almost-vertical posture of the Rhodian figure indicates the lack of a pier support on the left. The horizontal mantle roll, on the other hand, makes J. Inan's interpretation of the original type as a dancer pulling aside her garment rather difficult.[44]

The Rhodian statue is constructed by diverged axes, with the upper torso turning to the right and the lower body to the left. It is characterized by slenderness, *contrapposto* movement, and austerity in the rendering of the folds: features of the middle of the 2nd century BC, where it should be dated. The stance of the figure is similar to the statues of Aphrodite (150 BC),[45] Poseidon (also 150 BC),[46] and Dionysos/Mithridates of Melos (end of the 2nd century BC).[47]

The head of the type is covered by the hem of the mantle. A small female head in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodos (Figs 1.5–6, inv. 5284, h. 0.25 m, h. of the face 0.13 m/0.155 m with the hair, w. 0.16 m, d. 0.19 m) with an

Figs 1.3–4: Γ2045, Museum of Rhodes (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, G. Kassiotis).

elaborate headcover,[48] is reminiscent of the Pontia-Euploia type.[49] The hair of the figure is fastened by a lunate stephane and covered by the folded tip of the mantle, evident at the nape. The long oval-shaped face with fleshy cheekbones, the narrow almond-shaped eyes, and the triangular forehead bordered by wavy strands of hair are features generally attributed to Praxitelean art, or considered as a common trend of the late 4th century BC.[50] Comparison with a similar head from Delos with an elaborate headgear reveals the tender carving of the Rhodian sculpture and the rendering of sweetness in the expression.[51] Contrary to most copies of the type, the head is not lowered to the relaxed left foot, but turns to the right side of the figure, although the leaning of the figure to the left does not also entail a left turn of the head, as is evident from the statuettes from Priene and Kos and the clay statuette of the leaning Aphrodite from Thessaloniki.[52]

The identity of the type has been variously interpreted as a Leukothea, Galateia, nymph, or a fountain sculpture; the presence of a dolphin, a diadem, and Eros in certain copies, however, led to its identification as Aphrodite Pontia.[53] The type is interpreted as a Late Classical or Hellenistic variety of Aphrodite Ourania, created in the 5th century by Phidias, with the left foot lightly raised and set on an animal or an elevation of the ground.[54] The original variety is considered either a Praxitelean creation of the 4th century or a Late Hellenistic imitation of forms of the 4th and 3rd centuries,[55] like Aphrodite of Melos. Aphrodite of Arles, considered the first dated example of a semi-draped statue of the goddess, Aphrodite of Melos, and Aphrodite of Capua belong to the group, featuring the same contrast between the draped and undraped torso.[56]

The popularity of the type in Rhodos is evident by the number of similar Rhodian statuettes, such as the Rhodian statuette in the Fogg Art Museum,[57] the statuette in the British Museum (inv. 2085),[58] and the fragmentary statuette (lower part, E608) of the Este type in the Museum of Rhodes.[59]

Three more Rhodian statuettes (Figs 1.7–8) were published by Gualandi (E606–E607) as Asklepios figures.[60] Only their lower part is preserved, so the type is not easily identified. In one of them, the left foot in an elegant sandal is raised on a low socle, and the cloak at the side falls in schematized curves covering some side support, pier, or stele. Although the statuary type is also used for male figures,[61] for example the Apollo Kitharoidos, a variety of a Praxitelean creation attributed to Timarchides from Athens,[62] the above statuettes should nevertheless be interpreted as Aphrodites, since the elegant sandals and the graceful pose favour their identification as female figures.[63] The number of the Rhodian statuettes possibly reveal a closer relation, that of the original creation (the life-size statue Γ2045) and its copies (the three statuettes E606–E607).

Fig. 1.7: Uninventoried, Museum of Rhodes (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, G. Kassiotis).

Figs 1.5–6: 5284, Museum of Rhodes (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, G. Kassiotis).

Fig. 1.8: E607, Museum of Rhodes (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, G. Kassiotis).

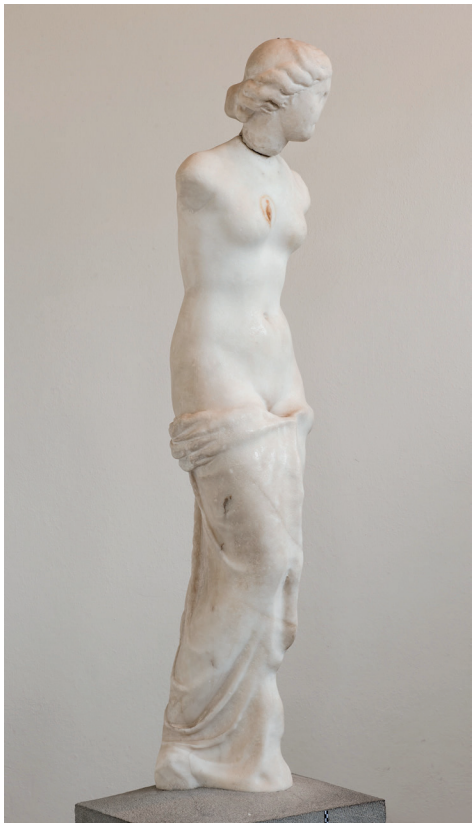
In the Late Hellenistic period, the Aphrodite Pontia-Euploia type is depicted in the Lagina frieze, perhaps as a personification of a city.[64] A life-size torso of the type from the Nymphaion of Miletos is dated to the Roman era.[65]

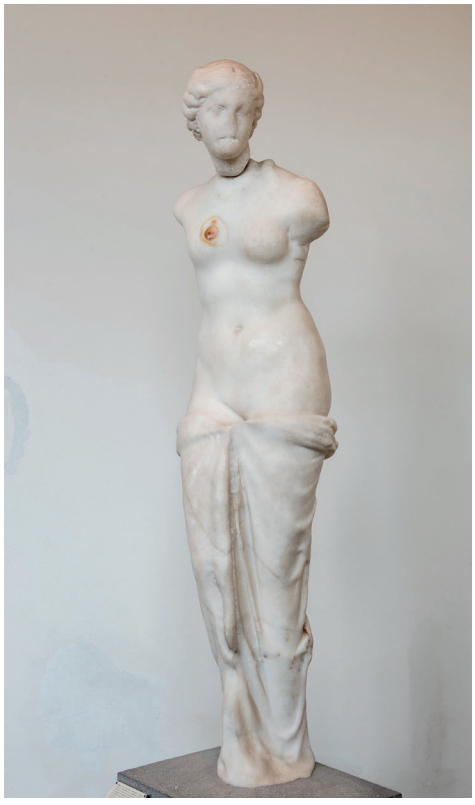
Related to the above type is that of the leaning Aphrodite, copied by a number of Rhodian variations in statuesque format.[66] The goddess is always depicted standing with the weight on the right leg, either half-naked or fully draped, and either alone with a support or with an Eros figure,[67] while the relaxed leg is either protruding, crossing over the right one, or protruding diagonally; consequently the upper torso leans towards the side in a more or less pronounced way.[68] The torsion of the upper torso and the lower body is milder, so that the frontal view of the work is the main one.

These variations belong to the dominating artistic trend of the eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd century BC. Mustafa Koçak, in his study entitled *Aphrodite am Pfeiler*, classifies all the subgroups from the islands, Asia Minor, Italy, and Alexandria in the L class, which means figures leaning to the left (*linksseitig aufgestützte Figuren*).[69] The lower part of a statuette of a similar leaning figure was found in Knidos.[70] The style of the drapery folds is compared to Koan male statues and to figures of the Knidian altar by C. Bruns-Ozgan, who even argues for its creation from the workshop of Theon from Antioch.

Two more types of semi-draped figures of Aphrodite, also variations and adaptations from Classical models, have been found in Rhodos. The larger than life-size statue of Aphrodite Aidoumene (Figs 1.9–10, inv. 13634) is interpreted as a cultic statue of the goddess.[71] The statue from the Aghia Anastasia area (Figs 1.11–12, inv. Γ2708) depicts the goddess wringing out her hair in a mixture of the Arles and Anadyomene types.[72] The statuette of the Museum of Izmir (inv. 3460) of the same type, dated to the 3rd century,[73] is perhaps the closest comparable work, though there are other comparisons in the similar statuettes from Priene and Egypt.[74]

The origin of these Late Classical variations is a significant chapter of Hellenistic sculpture. Both a Rhodian and an Alexandrian origin have been proposed.[75] Although the statues imitate Classical models of leaning figures, the differentiated structure of the pose and the relation of the figures to the support are considered by M. Koçak as important elements of distinction. For the scholar, the similar statues of the Muses from Kos and Samos, Apollo Cyrene, and Hermaphroditos from Pergamon, should be considered to be the models for the Late Hellenistic variations.[76] The presence in Rhodos of three types of Aphrodite so far, in life-size or over-life-size statues, adaptations of classical models (Anadyomene, Arles/Anadyomene, and Pontia-Euploia), indicates that the island was a significant workshop for production of similar variations.





Figs 1.9–10: 13634, Museum of Rhodes (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, G. Kassiotis).

Figs 1.11–12: Γ2708, Museum of Rhodes (Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, G. Kassiotis).

Recently, Andrew Stewart traced the sculptural activity of Athens in the Hellenistic period.[77] In the 3rd century, from 263 to 229 BC, Macedonian domination forced the sculptors to immigrate. In the beginning of the 2nd century, significant statuary types of Aphrodite were carved, adaptations of draped types from the 5th and 4th century, like Aphrodite *Hegemone*, which according to Stewart is perhaps attributable to the Polykles workshop (180–170 BC).[78] After the sack by Sulla (1st century BC), copies of Classical models appeared, like the Arles type, of semi-draped or naked figures agreeable to Roman taste, in contrast to the Athenians, who favoured draped figures. Similar statuary types are not preserved from Pergamon, the most influential workshop of Hellenistic sculpture.[79]

Therefore, it becomes evident that although the models which inspired the artists in the eastern Mediterranean were Attic, the most productive and most innovative workshops were established in the islands and the littoral of Asia Minor, where these types were adapted and diversified. The financial and political domination of Rhodos across the shore contributed to the propagation of the types. The dating of small-scale sculpture is an issue, since Bruns-Özgan dates the Knidian statuettes quite early (3rd century), while on the other hand Koçak and Linfert argue that "decorative" sculpture cannot be dated before 200 BC.[80]

Sanctuaries of Aphrodite, where the goddess was worshipped with the quality of Pontia-Euploia, a protector deity of the sailors and the seafaring, were found in Knidos and Kos.[81] In Rhodos, the temple of the goddess, located in the northern part of the city between the War Harbour and the Commercial Harbour, can probably be dated to the 3rd century BC.[82] Whether Aphrodite was worshipped in Rhodos as a marine deity with the name of Pontia-Euploia is still a hypothesis due to lack of epigraphical evidence, but it is quite possible considering the naval power of the island.[83] Although it has been proposed that the cultic statue of the temple was Aphrodite Tiepolo or Aidoumene,[84] there could have been more than one cultic statue. Therefore, the Rhodian statue is assumed to have stood in the temple of the goddess by the middle of the 2nd century BC.

Despite the legendary popularity of the famous naked statue of the goddess by Praxiteles in Knidos, the semi-draped figures are far more numerous, possibly because they acquired various identities as Nymphs or Muses, or due to contemporary trends. In the middle and second half of the 2nd century BC, the production of half-draped Aphrodite statues, variations of Classical models in both small- and large-scale sculpture, seems to have been a Rhodian specialization, judging from the variety of types carved in different sizes. Whether Rhodos was the centre of creation of similar eclectic types, combining motifs of various classical models in the same statue, is still an open question.