

THE PERILS OF RHODIAN CHRONOLOGY: THE CAREER OF A NOTABLE RHODIAN FROM KAMIROS

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Summary: As a tribute to the long and prolific career of Vincent Gabrielsen, this paper makes a small contribution to the intricacies of Rhodian chronology. By taking into consideration recent developments and advances in the field of Rhodian chronology, it proposes to further refine the chronological and historical context of the long career of Philokrates son of Philostephanos, a notable Rhodian from the Kamirian deme of Plarioi. On account of the decree passed in his honour by Kamiros sometime in the first quarter of the 2nd c. BC, Philokrates is one of the best documented Rhodians.¹

Among the slim corpus of honorific decrees issued by the Kamirians,² the stele bearing Philokrates' decree (*TRI 21*) stands out in many respects (**Fig. 1**). The nearly intact stele, running 70 lines, outlines Philokrates' career and the exceptional services he rendered to Kamiros over his long political career. Before ascending to the top ranking office in Kamiros,

I am deeply indebted to Vincent Gabrielsen for his support, encouragement and the enthusiasm he instilled in me to work with Rhodian material. My thanks also extend to the editors for the invitation to participate in the volume. As always I benefitted from discussions with Mat Carbon on Rhodian chronology.

- 1 For the decree see now *TRI 21* (= *TC 110* + *TC Suppl.* p. 27). For a discussion of the decree and its date, see Badoud 2015: 104-5, 369-72, with further references; see also Meier 2012: 269-73 no. 25; Thomsen 2020: 31, 75-76. Thély includes the decree of Philokrates (*TRI 21*) among the evidence for earthquakes in ancient Greece (Thély 2016: 156, Table 6, 173, Appendix no. 5).
- 2 There are six extant honorific decrees from Kamiros. The earliest is for two proxenoi from Cyrene (*TC 105*, early 4th c. BC). Two decrees are explicitly for Kamirians (*TC 106* and *TRI 21*), while in three instances the identity of the honorand is unknown due to the poor preservation of the stele (*TC 107*; 108; 111).

that of *damiourgos*,³ Philokrates had already held four offices, that of *hieropoios*, *agonothetes*, secretary of the *mastroi* and *epistates*.⁴ It was during his tenure as a secretary of the *mastroi* and as *epistates* that he excelled in dealing with regional affairs and internal Kamirian issues.⁵ In particular, his decisive role in settling disputes over communal land contested between Kamiros and Lindos was masterfully analysed by Vincent Gabrielsen in his book *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*.⁶

The objective of this paper is not to recapitulate Philokrates' career and his deeds, but rather to elucidate the date of one inscription in particular, which pertains to Philokrates' career and more specifically to his tenure as *epistates* (i.e. *TRI* 41=TC 45) (**Fig. 2**). By anchoring Philokrates' office as an *epistates* to a fixed chronological framework, we can then gain a better understanding of some of the inner workings of Kamirian administration in the aftermath of the earthquake of 198 BC that afflicted Rhodes and Karia.⁷ My proposal is to take a close look at internal evidence from the epigraphic corpus of Kamiros in order to better define the chronological framework of Philokrates' office. Needless to say, Rhodian chronology is a thorny and delicate subject on its own, since the evidence for secure and fixed chronological points is slim, and a wide and diverse array of evidence – archaeology, epigraphy, amphora stamps,

3 Philokrates is recorded as the 98th *damiourgos* in the list of *damiourgoi*, *TRI* 8.1 B l. 15.

4 The order of Philokrates' offices depends on *TRI* 21, ll. 6-7.

5 Badoud 2015: 104, rightly explains that Philokrates' services to Kamiros outlined from lines 9 to 40 in *TRI* 21 are not related to his office as *damiourgos* but rather to his tenure of the office of secretary of the *mastroi* and that of *epistates*. Philokrates reorganised the civic archives which had fallen into neglect for 77 years and helped solve problems in the territorial dispute with Lindos. The inscribing of the list of *damiourgoi* (*TRI* 8.1-2) and the publication of records in Kamiros might be connected with Philokrates' tenure as a secretary of the *mastroi* (see Badoud 2015: 105-6).

6 Gabrielsen 1997: 134-36; Gabrielsen 2000: 195.

7 On the earthquake of 198 BC that hit Karia and Rhodes, see Habicht 2003: 556-57, with references to Justin 30.4 and *I.Stratonikeia* 4. These sources help date the earthquake to January/February 198 BC; for further discussion of earthquakes and their importance for Rhodian chronology, see Skaltsa *forthcoming*. The Rhodian inscriptions that mention this earthquake are the following: *TRI* 21 (TC 110 + TC Suppl. p. 27); *IG* XII 1, 9 (*Syll.*³ 1116). Both inscriptions confirm that the earthquake took place under the priest of Halios Theuphanes, who must therefore fall in 199/8 BC.

etc. – ought to be brought into the discussion in an attempt to shed light into these complex issues.

Evidence reveals that Philokrates served the Kamirians for over twenty years. His career is fairly well defined: he first appears in the epigraphic record as an hieropoios in the year of the 77th damiourgos of Kamiros (*TRI* 40 = *TC* 44). Twenty one years later, Philokrates himself held the office of damiourgos (98th damiourgos in *TRI* 8.1 B l. 15; cf. *TRI* 21 ll. 40-41); this is the last recorded office in connection with this individual. In the years between the 77th and 98th damiourgoi (as defined by *TRI* 8.1-2), Philokrates held three more offices, that of agonotheses (*TRI* 21 l. 6), secretary of the *mastroi* (*TRI* 21 ll. 6-7) and epistates (*TRI* 21 l. 7; *TRI* 41 l. 35).⁸ The date of these three offices is not fixed. Yet the earthquake of 198 BC is of crucial importance as it provides a *terminus post quem* for Philokrates' appointment as epistates (for all of the dates and varying chronologies presented here, please see the outline provided in **Table 1**).

In light of the fixed date of the earthquake of 198 BC and the more or less fixed chronological framework of the list of damiourgoi (years between the 77th and 98th damiourgoi), Philokrates' dossier could be considered as one of the best dated dossiers of Rhodian epigraphy of the late 3rd and the first decades of the 2nd c. BC. That being said, the absolute chronology of Philokrates' career is far from settled. The date of the dossier is closely tied to the list of the damiourgoi in Kamiros, which in turn is inextricably connected to the chronology of the priests of Halios.

Scholarly debate continues surrounding the details of this chronology. In recent years, Philokrates' dossier has been adduced twice with respect to the revision of Rhodian dates; more specifically, two different chronologies for the list of damiourgoi have been put forth.⁹ Nathan Badoud advocates for a high chronology, moving Benediktsson's dating of the list of damiourgoi four years backwards – to a starting point in 283/2 BC – albeit still within the five year margin of error allowed by Benediktsson himself.¹⁰ Thibault Castelli, on the other hand, has recently

8 In the paper Philokrates' offices are listed in the order in which they are enumerated in his honorific decree. See also note 4 above.

9 Within a period of a couple of years, the chronology of the list of damiourgoi has been revised twice, first by Badoud 2015: 92-96, 105-7 and then by Castelli 2017.

10 Badoud 2015: 102-7.

lowered Badoud's chronology of the list of *damiourgoi* by nine years – i.e. to 274/3 BC – and as a result, has reshuffled the chronology of the Rhodian eponyms (priests of Halios) for the amphora-stamp Periods IIB–III.¹¹

A key figure for establishing the chronology of the list of *damiourgoi* appears to be the priest of Halios, Xenophanes, who seems to provide a fixed chronological reference.¹² An honorific decree from Kamiros presents a double dating system, where the priest of Halios, Xenophanes son of Hieron, appears together with his son, the Kamirian *damiourgos*, Melanopos son of Xenophanes.¹³ Unfortunately this document was unknown to Benediktsson in 1940, who proposed to date the starting point of the list of *damiourgoi* in 279/8 BC, allowing for a five year margin of error.¹⁴ Melanopos appears as the 91st *damiourgos* in the list and his magistracy was traditionally dated in 189/8 BC. Accordingly, Xenophanes' priesthood was thought to date to the same year.¹⁵

The date of Xenophanes' priesthood has recently become an issue of controversy, as it is closely intertwined to the complex nexus of Rhodian chronology: both a high (Badoud) and a low (Castelli) chronology of the list of *damiourgoi* have been put forth. Advances in amphoric studies have shown that Xenophanes' priesthood is closely linked to the priesthood of Pratophanes, a Lindian himself. The priesthoods of Pratophanes and Xenophanes have been placed in close proximity to each other (in absolute as well as in relative chronology) on account of archaeological and amphoric evidence. More specifically, stamps of these two eponyms bear close stylistic resemblance.¹⁶ Moreover, stamped amphoras of these

11 Castelli 2017: 11.

12 Badoud 2015: 177 A 50, 256.

13 *TRI* 20 (= *TC* 111). Sherk noticed that Melanopos is the son of Xenophanes, the priest of Halios, and this document presents one of the few occasions where father and son appear as eponyms of the text though in different capacities (Sherk 1990, 280).

14 Benediktsson 1940: 13: 'la limite d'erreur ne dépassera guère 5 ans'.

15 Finkielsztejn placed Xenophanes' priesthood around 189 BC (Finkielsztejn 2001: 186, 192), but Badoud has tried to show that this year was reserved for a Lindian priest (Badoud 2015: Table on p. 256).

16 Finkielsztejn 2001: 109, further illustrated the close chronological connection between these two eponyms by highlighting stylistic similarities in their stamps: head

two eponyms were found together in the Villanova deposit near Ialysos in Rhodes. On account of the amphora stamps the date of the deposit corresponds to Period IIIb of the amphoric chronology.¹⁷ Yet, as both Badoud and Castelli have argued the absolute dates for individual eponyms can easily be shifted up or down the chronological ladder, once the date of an eponym in the complex nexus of Rhodian chronology has been revised.¹⁸

Pratophanes is also the priest that dates the Rhodian arbitration between Samos and Priene over disputed lands.¹⁹ The date of this inscription has been a matter of contest for decades; in this case too, a high (ca. 196-191 BC)²⁰ and low (ca. 186-181 BC)²¹ chronology have been advocated by different scholars. In the high chronology, advocated by Badoud, Pratophanes' priesthood is placed in 195/4 BC, an embolic year and one reserved for the Lindian tribe in the triennial cycle of the priests of Halios,²²

of Halios as well as 'gothic' letterforms. It should be noted that in the sequence of eponyms proposed by John Lund on the basis of a statistical method, Xenophanes and Pratophanes appear as two successive eponyms (Lund 2011: 278 Fig. 4).

17 The Villanova deposit contains more than 500 amphoras found near Ialysos in Rhodes; it consists of an assemblage of intact amphoras, placed upside down at a length of ca. 180m, and a group of amphora fragments (Maiuri 1921-1922). The assemblage of intact amphoras is homogeneous for it consists of stamps of eight eponyms and two fabricants respectively (Finkielsztejn 2001: 120-21, 176). According to Finkielsztejn (2001: 124 Table 6) the date of the stamps corresponds to Period IIIb of amphora stamps (189-182 BC).

18 The chronology of individual eponyms has been recently revised by Badoud 2015: 169 A25a, 177 A50, A53, 178-179 A60, 193 D19 and Castelli 2017: 5-12, respectively.

19 For the standard edition of the text of the Rhodian arbitration see now *IK Priene* 132.

20 Magnetto 2008: 75-80, revised the date of this event, maintaining an earlier suggestion that the arbitration took place between 196 and 191 BC; Blümel and Merkelbach, the editors of *IK Priene*, also accept a high date for the arbitration (2014: 321-23), against earlier view which placed the event sometime in the mid- or late 180s BC (see note 21 below).

21 A date in the mid- or late 180s BC was supported by Habicht 2003: 547-49; 2005, 137-46, cf. *SEG* 55, 902); this has been vindicated more recently by Castelli 2017: 8-11.

22 Badoud 2015: 177 A 53, 256. Stamps bearing the intercalary month Panamos *deuteros* are attested for Pratophanes, see Badoud 2015: 151 no. 38.

while Xenophanes' priesthood is dated to 193/2 BC.²³ Castelli has recently criticised the high date of the Rhodian arbitration between Samos and Priene, arguing in favour of a date in the 180s BC, as advocated in earlier scholarship.²⁴ In doing so, he re-dates Pratophanes' priesthood to 183/2 BC.²⁵ By retaining the close chronological proximity between Pratophanes and Xenophanes' priesthoods – a point of unanimous consensus among scholars – Castelli dates Xenophanes' priesthood in 184/3 BC, that is in a non-embolic year and a year reserved for the Kamirian tribe in Badoud's reconstructed Rhodian calendar.²⁶ In doing so, once again, he places the starting date of the list of the damiourgoi in 274/3 BC (contra Badoud, who places it in 283/2 BC).²⁷

A crucial point in Castelli's argumentation is the absence of stamped handles of these two eponyms, Pratophanes and Xenophanes, from the Gordion assemblage. According to Livy's account, Gordion was abandoned in 189 BC as the troops of Cn. Manlius Vulso were advancing against the Galatians.²⁸ Lawall, who studied the amphoric material from Gordion, acutely remarked that the amphora handles from Gordion constitute a homogeneous and discrete group, having reached Gordion for

23 Badoud 2015: 177 A 50, 256. The year of 193/2 BC year was reserved for a Kamirian priest, and Xenophanes has been identified as belonging to the political community of Kamiros. Furthermore, this was not an intercalary year, since no stamps with the intercalary month (Panamos *deuteros*) are attested for Xenophanes.

24 Castelli 2017: 9-10. One of the Rhodian arbitrators, Hagesandros son of Eudamos, was appointed general in the war against Antiochos in the late 190s BC (for the sources on Hagesandros, see Castelli 2017: 10 n. 43).

25 Castelli 2017: 8, 10-11. It should be noted that Castelli follows the triennial tribal cycle of Badoud. He further argues that Pratophanes could not have been priest in 188/7 BC as originally suggested by Finkielsztejn 2001: 192) as this year was reserved for Ialysos in the triennial cycle, and Pratophanes was a Lindian.

26 Castelli 2017: 11, 24.

27 Melanopos, the 91st damiourgos, held his office the same year as Xenophanes. If 183/2 BC was the year that Xenophanes was priest of Halios and Melanopos the 91st damiourgos in Kamiros, then the list should start in 274/3 BC.

28 Cf. Lawall 2008: 113-14. In light of the short chronological horizon in which the eponymic stamps are dated (190s BC), Lawall suggested that the Rhodian amphora stamped handles unearthed in Gordion provided wine to the Roman troops that stationed at the site in the winter of 189 BC, thus dismissing the idea that they should be considered as evidence for trade between Rhodes and Gordion.

the provision of the Roman army. In particular, stamps of a limited number of eponyms (6 names) and fabricants (11 names) are attested, who are traditionally dated to the 190s BC, thus neatly fitting in the period prior to the year of the abandonment of Gordion in 189 BC.²⁹ As the stamps of Pratophanes and Xenophanes are absent from the Gordion assemblage, though present in the Villanova deposit (Period IIIb in Finkelstejn's chronology), Castelli maintains the view that these eponyms should date after 189 BC.

Paul Iversen has also recently exposed some serious flaws in the reconstitution of the Rhodian calendar. Iversen has argued against the obsolete nine-year cycle of intercalation maintained by previous scholars, and convincingly demonstrated that Rhodes, like most of the Greek cities, should have followed a nineteen-year Metonic cycle in order to regulate its lunisolar calendar.³⁰ This finding bears serious consequences for the order of embolic years within a period of nineteen years.³¹ Iversen's profound insights into the Rhodian calendar call for a revision of the sequence and chronology of the priests of Halios who are attested as having served in an embolic year (notably Pratophanes), as presented by Badoud and revised by Castelli (for Periods IIb-III). In other words, serious doubts can be raised about the sequence of the embolic years and consequently the order in which priests of Halios held office. This should be a reminder that Rhodian chronology is far from a settled affair and will continue to benefit from a systematic revision of all the evidence at hand and available in the future.

Regardless of the rather gloomy picture for absolute chronology in what I have just sketched, there is still room for refinement with regard to relative chronology. The crux of the problem with respect to Philokrates' dossier is the date of *TRI* 41. It is the inscription that has been used both by Badoud and Castelli to further substantiate their revised chronologies of the list of *damiourgoi* (high and low, respectively). In this inscription, Philokrates is recorded as one of the three *epistatai* together

29 See Lawall 2008: table on p. 113.

30 Iversen 2018-2019, 42-50, 94-96 *contra* the *oktaeteris* cycle supported by Hiller von Gaertringen 1929 and Badoud 2015: 138-140.

31 For the frequency of the embolic years in the Metonic Cycle, see Iversen 2018-2019: 45.

with other Kamirian officials (cf. **Table 1**).³² But the name of the damiourgos in the dedication, *TRI 41*, is unfortunately missing, which would have otherwise solved the issue of the date for Philokrates' office.³³

Segre and Pugliese Carratelli were the first to place *TRI 41* in a better defined chronological horizon, though with some hesitation.³⁴ They followed Jacopi, who proposed that *TRI 41* was generally contemporaneous with *TC 46* (**Fig. 3**) – also a dedication headed by the 87th damiourgos – since two officials appeared in both lists: the hypogrammateus or under-secretary (Xenokritos) and the hierokeryx or sacred herald (Eurydikos) (**Table 1**).³⁵ Accordingly, the Italian scholars put forth the idea that these two inscriptions were issued in two successive years, with *TRI 41* preceding *TC 46*.³⁶ In other words, they attributed *TRI 41* to the year of the 86th damiourgos and restored the missing name of the damiourgos accordingly: Theodoros son of Onasandros. The sequence of these two inscriptions (*TRI 41* and *TC 46*) and the restoration of the damiourgos' name were retained by Badoud but have been questioned by Castelli.

In terms of absolute chronology, Badoud dates Philokrates' tenure as epistates in 198/7 BC (**Table 2**), the Rhodian year following the earthquake of January/February 198 BC and the year of the 86th damiourgos in Kamiros (i.e. starting date of the list of damiourgoi in 283/2 BC).³⁷ Castelli, on the other hand, proposes to date Philokrates' tenure of the office in 195/4 BC (i.e. starting date of the list of damiourgoi in 274/3 BC) (**Table 2**).³⁸ By lowering the date of the list of damiourgoi, Castelli dates Philokrates' first recorded public office that of hieropoios in 198/7 BC (year of the 77th damiourgos). He then assumes that Philokrates held the offices of agonothetes, secretary of the *mastroi* and epistates in three consecutive years, immediately after he was appointed hieropoios. Thus, he

32 *TRI 41* l. 35.

33 The damiourgoi usually set up a dedication that contained the names of other religious and civic magistrates at the end of their term in office, cf. Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 133.

34 Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951: 199; 'dubitanter supplevi'.

35 *ClRh* VI-VII, 1932: 416, 418.

36 Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951: 199, followed by Badoud 2015: 106.

37 Badoud 2015: 107.

38 Castelli 2017: 12.

reaches the date of 195/4 (i.e. 80th damiourgos) as the year in which Philokrates would have held the office of epistates.

As Castelli has rightly pointed out, in Badoud's chronology, the period that elapsed between the earthquake (January/February 198 BC) and the restoration of the *peripolion* (198/7 BC) is too short to explain the conditions described in the inscription.³⁹ In Philokrates' decree (*TRI* 21) it is explicitly stated that over the course of a number of years (ll. 25-26, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔνιαυτόν, i.e. at least 2-3 years), the Kamirians collected sufficient amounts of money for the restoration of the towers and the walls which had collapsed due to the earthquake. Despite all these resources and efforts, the restoration of the *peripolion* was apparently delayed.⁴⁰ The project seems to have suffered from mismanagement and poor scheduling (ll. 32-33, διὰ τὸ μὴ ποτιγράφε[σθαι] χρόνον τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν ᾧ συντελεσοῦντι), although those responsible were in charge of an ample workforce, *polycheiria* (ll. 31 and 34-35).⁴¹ In other words, the project lacked coordination and effective supervision, despite the available resources both in terms of funding and labour. Philokrates' role was essential in the way in which he handled the management of the restoration works: the works were farmed out to contractors (τοῖς αἰρουμένοις ἐπὶ τᾶς πολυχειρί[ας]) who had to deliver them within strict deadlines (ll. 34-36).

Although Castelli's new date works much better with regard to the sequence of events outlined in Philokrates' decree (*TRI* 21), the absolute date for Philokrates' office as an epistates lies on shaky grounds. No-

39 See note 37 above.

40 The term *peripolion* is often attested in Rhodian epigraphy, not only in inscriptions from Rhodes but also within the broader Rhodian State (i.e. Karpathos). The *peripolion* features in inscriptions in connection to the restorations of walls (e.g. Kamiros: *TRI* 21 ll. 21-24) or in response to imminent danger of attack (Karpathos: *IG* XII.1, 1032-1033, *Lindos* II, p. 1007). Epigraphic evidence from the island of Kos (*IG* XII.41.1, 98-99) corroborates the picture illustrated by Rhodian epigraphy. The term *peripolion* seems to have encompassed a range of physical entities, from fortified settlements to forts; for all the different interpretations, see Baker 2001: 193 n. 38 and Meier 2012: 272 n. 404. Furthermore, a military official (ἐπιστάτης τοῦ περιπολίου) seems to have been responsible for ensuring the security of the *peripolion*.

41 Cf. Meier 2012: 272-73 n. 409.

where in *TRI* 21 is there any mention that Philokrates held all four preliminary offices in four consecutive years (from the year of the 77th damiourgos to the year of the 80th damiourgos), before being appointed damiourgos himself (98th damiourgos). While Castelli is right that some time ought to have passed between the earthquake of 198 BC and the restoration of the *peripolion*, the attribution of Philokrates' offices to four consecutive years, starting from the year he became hieropoios (in the year of the 77th damiourgos), can be questioned (**Table 2**). Castelli's arrangement would create an odd situation, whereby Philokrates would have been unprecedentedly active at the start of his political career and completely inactive before being appointed damiourgos 18 years later. Furthermore, by placing Philokrates' tenure as epistates in the year of the 80th damiourgos (*TRI* 41), there is the risk of overlooking internal evidence from Kamiros, namely the close affinity between *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 (87th damiourgos).⁴²

Both lists (*TRI* 41 and *TC* 46) are unusual in recording officials who are usually not attested in the dedications made by hieropoioi and headed by damiourgoi. In particular, these two inscriptions record not only the office of the secretary of the *mastroi* but also of an under-secretary, which is otherwise highly unusual. In addition, both inscriptions explicitly mention the names of three epistatai (cf. **Table 1**), instead of one, as is usual in other texts.⁴³ The presence of a board of secretaries – responsible for logistics and administration – and a board of epistatai – responsible for overseeing works – in two inscriptions which on the basis of internal evidence date in a close chronological horizon, cannot be accidental. Rather, as I will seek to demonstrate, it can be inferred that these two inscriptions demonstrate the intensification of efforts on behalf of Kamirian officials to bring the post-earthquake building works to an end, in this case, the restoration works in the *peripolion*, for which Philokrates was later praised.

Besides the presence of two boards of secretaries and epistatai, these two inscriptions share further similarities, on account of the officials

42 Castelli does not take into account the close chronological sequence between *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 (87th damiourgos).

43 Veligianni-Terzi 1977: Table 1 c. nos. 35 and 36. See also note 48 below.

mentioned in them: the chronological proximity of these two inscriptions has been primarily inferred from prosopographic evidence. While *TRI* 41 has been thought to precede *TC* 46, I will argue that the reverse order is probably correct. A key figure in determining the chronological order of these two inscriptions is Eurydikos, who appears as sacred herald in both of them. Eurydikos is also attested as a sacred herald in another dedication (i.e. *TC* 44), which is dated in the year of the 77th damiourgos, Onymarchidas son of Euaratos, that is ten years earlier than *TC* 46 (86th damiourgos) (cf. **Table 1**).⁴⁴ Segre and Pugliese Carratelli proposed that *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 are contemporary because Eurydikos, by the time these two dedications were set up, had been adopted, while in *TC* 44 Eurydikos is only recorded with the name of his natural father. However, it seems to have escaped attention that the way in which Eurydikos' name is recorded in *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 is not identical. *TRI* 41 (year of an unknown damiourgos) presents an abridged version of Eurydikos' name: there, he is called Eurydikos son of Kallistratos (l. 43). Kallistratos was Eurydikos' adopted father, as is made explicit in *TC* 46 (II ll. 26-27, year of 87th damiourgos) (**Table 1**). Eurydikos' natural father was Timon (*TRI* 40 l. 26, year of 77th damiourgos). In fact, *TC* 46 (year of 87th damiourgos) is the only of the three inscriptions that attests to Eurydikos' full name, in that both the name of his natural father (Timon) and the name of his adopted father (Kallistratos) are fully recorded. Despite the *communis opinio*, it is hard to accept that *TRI* 41 (year of an unknown damiourgos), in which the familial situation of Eurydikos is not fully and clearly exposed, since we find the name of adopted father only, was set up for public display before *TC* 46 (year of 87th damiourgos). I would therefore be inclined to infer that an abridged version of Eurydikos' filiation seems more likely (name of the adopted father only in *TRI* 41), after a public inscription (*TC* 46) had already exposed his familial situation in detail (name of natural father and name of adopted father). For this reason, it is reasonable to suggest that *TC* 46 (year of 87th damiourgos) should precede *TRI* 41 (year of an unknown damiourgos) (**Table 1**). In other words, *TRI* 41 should post-date the year of the 87th damiourgos. It follows that

44 The name of the 77th damiourgos is inscribed as Onomastidas in *TRI* 8.1 Ac l. 30, but see now Badoud 2015: 93, for the correction from Onomastidas to Onymarchidas in light of *TRI* 40 l. 1.

the restored name of the damiourgos in *TRI* 41 can no longer be conjectured to be the 86th damiourgos (Theodoros son of Onasandros in Badoud's high chronology)⁴⁵ or the 80th damiourgos (Menekrates son of Nauphilos in Castelli's low chronology). *TRI* 41 should instead be dated in the year of the 88th damiourgos (Alexis son of Thrasymedes) or slightly later (**Table 1**).

There is another feature that underlines the very close chronological proximity of *TC* 46 and *TRI* 41, with the latter slightly post-dating the former. There are seven damiourgoi inscriptions dated in a timespan of twenty years, between the years of 77th and 97th damiourgoi: three out of these seven inscriptions are firmly dated by the damiourgos' year (the 77th, 87th, and 97th), while four others are missing this dating element (**Table 1**).⁴⁶ In these documents, there is a remarkable consistency observable in the tenure or re-appointment of the sacred heralds. On account of *TRI* 40 and *TC* 46 which are dated after the years of the 77th and 87th damiourgoi respectively, it becomes evident that the same individual could serve as a sacred herald even ten years after his first appointment. In other words, appointment to this office does not seem to have been regulated by an annual or successive order; instead, appointment seems to have been on a more occasional and random basis.⁴⁷

45 This restoration was suggested in light of *TC* 46, which, again, is dated after the 87th damiourgos (Chalkon son of Chalkon).

46 These inscriptions, however, can be placed anytime after the 87th damiourgos, Chalkon son of Chalkon (*TC* 46), and before the 97th damiourgos, Agetor son of Damostratos (*TC* 50) (**Table 1**).

47 For example, the hierokeryx Ariston son of Epikrates held this appointment in the year of the 87th damiourgos (*TRI* 41). Before the year of the 97th damiourgos, he held this office three more times (*TC* 47, 48 and 49). Apparently, he could have held this office anytime in a ten-year period, not necessarily in three consecutive years after his first appointment. Likewise, it is attested that the hierokeryx Erasilas son of Sosikrates held this office four times, once in the year of the 97th damiourgos (*TC* 50) and three more times jointly with Ariston. As Ariston's appointments as hierokeryx probably predate the year of the 97th damiourgos, Erasilas' three undated appointments should date prior to the year of the 97th damiourgos.

The above analysis has shown that *TRI* 41 (unknown *damiourgos*) should slightly postdate *TC* 46 (87th *damiourgos*). Thus, Philokrates' tenure of the office of *epistates*, which features in *TRI* 41, should date shortly thereafter, probably in the year of the 88th *damiourgos* or slightly later, not in the year of 80th *damiourgos*, as Castelli reasoned (**Tables 1 and 2**). That being said, Castelli's low chronology in general has a much better potential for illuminating the prevailing historical conditions. If we accept that *TRI* 41 dates after *TC* 46 (87th *damiourgos*) and if we follow Castelli's revised lower chronology for the list of *damiourgoi* (in absolute chronological terms), for the reasons explained above, then Philokrates' decree (*TRI* 21) allow us to get some unique glimpses into the internal affairs of Kamiros. More than a decade after the collapse of the *peripolion* in the earthquake of 198 BC (76th *damiourgos* in Castelli's lower chronology), the Kamirians, under the 87th *damiourgos* (*TC* 46), appointed a board of two secretaries and a board of three *epistatai* to deal with delays and mismanagement of building works. *TC* 46 and *TRI* 41 thus demonstrate the mobilization of the Kamirian community to put an end to the delays in the progress of the works by appointing for at least two years boards of officials responsible for these works, instead of single individuals.

In a corpus of 44 hieropoioi inscriptions from Kamiros, there are only three instances where a board of three *epistatai* is recorded.⁴⁸ *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 have already been discussed. The other text is the earliest attestation: it dates in the year of the 57th *damiourgos*, and if we follow the low chronology suggested by Castelli; the 57th *damiourgos* was in office in 218 BC.⁴⁹ A few years earlier (223/2 BC) a devastating earthquake had hit Rhodes, including Kamiros.⁵⁰ In response to the damage caused by this earlier earthquake, the Kamirians opened subscriptions and embarked

48 Besides the hieropoioi dedications, the board of *epistatai* appear once in a dedication of the 3rd c. BC (*TC* 54) and then twice in the 1st c. BC (honorific decree: *TC* 90 II ll. 24-27; dedication: *TRI* 42). Blinkenberg (1941: 24-30) has collected all the evidence of *epistatai* attested in Rhodian inscriptions. He illustrates how the same term (*epistates*) can refer to different offices, ranging considerably in duties. For the *epistatai* in inscriptions from Kamiros, see Badoud 2015: 106 n. 112.

49 *TC* 38 ll. 20-23 dates in the year of the 57th *damiourgos*, Oulias son of Mnasitimos.

50 For a revised date of this earthquake – usually situated in ca. 227 BC – see Skaltsa *forthcoming*.

on an ambitious building project that would transform the local urban landscape.⁵¹ In other words, at Kamiros, a board of epistatai, whose role was manifestly to oversee public projects, is explicitly recorded when major building works were under way.

Thanks to Philokrates' coordinated efforts and admirable determination in his capacity as one of three epistatai, the *peripolion* was finally fully restored, more than ten years after the earthquake of 198 BC.⁵² The revised chronology proposed here for Philokrates' office as epistates, in the year of the 88th damiourgos or shortly after, certainly allows for his more than twenty-year political career to have developed more organically. Recall that Philokrates embarked on this political career when he assumed the office of hieropoios in Kamiros in the year of the 77th damiourgos (*TRI* 40 l. 14, 198/7 BC); he was appointed damiourgos himself 21 years later (98th damiourgos, *TRI* 8.1 B l. 15, 177/6 BC). Around 10 years before becoming damiourgos and after being active for more than 10 years in Kamirian politics as agonothetes and secretary of the *mastroi*, Philokrates played a leading role in the completion of repair works on the *peripolion*, as one of the three epistatai (probably in the year of the 88th damiourgos) (**Table 2**).

Building projects are not only labour-intensive and financially taxing but also time-consuming. Rhodian epigraphy illustrates some of the problems to which building and repair projects were prone. Although appropriate action was taken to repair the *peripolion* in Kamiros, the logistics and management of this effort caused considerable delays in the completion of the works. The case of Rhodes also offers us unique glimpses into how Hellenistic communities responded to natural disasters,⁵³ especially when it came to issues of security. Although the *peripo-*

51 *TC* 158; cf. Skaltsa 2021: 159. For the transformation of urban landscape in Kamiros in the last decades of the 3rd c. BC, see Calì 2011.

52 Philokrates' name is recorded first among the three epistatai in *TRI* 41 ll. 35-37 and his role of leadership is meticulously illustrated in *TRI* 21, ll. 19-36.

53 Cf. Skaltsa 2021, where evidence pertaining to associations is also discussed. Appropriate actions could be taken immediately after a natural disaster. For example, action for the restoration of the funerary enclosure of an association in the necropolis

lion of Kamiros has not been archaeologically located, this local community needed to have its *peripolion* standing and in good condition. The issue of ἀσφάλεια preoccupied Kamirian society, a concern which can be traced already in the late 3rd c. BC when a public subscription was opened for the construction of the stoa in the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus in the Acropolis, just after the devastating earthquake of 223/2 BC.⁵⁴ As explicitly mentioned in the subscription, the stoa – a multipurpose building – would enhance not only the honours to the gods but also the security of the Kamirians. The community was clearly affected by the extensive damage the earthquake had caused in the capital of the island – especially the damage to the fortification and shipyards, both key elements for ensuring the safety of the population.⁵⁵ For the Kamirians, it was unacceptable that, a decade after the earthquake of 198 BC and despite ample financial and labour resources, the necessary works were still ongoing. It was not a matter of money or labour but of management and logistics, a persistent and enduring problem with building projects across space and time. It was thanks to the decisive role of a civic official, Philokrates, that this issue was overcome and that the works were brought to completion.

Concluding Remarks

The refinement of both the relative and absolute chronology has allowed us to better understand the timeframe of this project and to illuminate in a more balanced way the career of a notable Kamirian. At the same time, this short article has provided a small contribution to the ongoing

of the city of Rhodes was taken within a few months after the earthquake of 198 BC (Syll.³ 1116). The earthquake occurred in January/February 198 BC and the association convened in the month of Hyakinthios (May/June 198 BC). For the seasons of the Rhodian months, see Iversen 2018-2019: 79 Table V.

54 In the public subscription for the construction of the stoa in the Acropolis the concept of security (ἀσφάλεια) is explicitly mentioned (TC 158 ll. 5-8): [π]ροαιρούμενοι τὰς τε τι[μὰς] [[τ]ῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ποτ' ἀσφ[ά]λλ[λ]ειαν Καμιρεῦσι συγκατα[[σ]κευάζειν.

55 Plb. 5.88-90. See now Bresson 2021 with earlier bibliography. For the date, see note 50 above.

debate about the chronology of Rhodian inscriptions. This is a thorny issue as an abundance of evidence, often from different fields (amphora studies, epigraphy, archaeology, literature, etc.) and different areas (e.g. Rhodes, Gordion), should be taken into account in order to weave a balanced and complete picture. Indeed, Rhodian chronology is like an intricate tapestry whose threads overlap inextricably with one another. Moving the date of one inscription inevitably results in the displacement of others. All dates and types of evidence should be carefully examined together. With such a holistic approach, there is still the potential to further illuminate the date of inscriptions published long ago, both in terms of absolute and relative chronology, and to paint a more nuanced picture of the historical record.

ABBREVIATIONS

ClRh VI-VII = Jacopi, G. 1932. *Clara Rhodos VI-VII. Esplorazione Archeologica di Camiro II*. Rhodes.

IK Priene = Blümel, W. & R. Merkelbach (eds.) 2014. *Die Inschriften von Priene* (IGSK 69). Bonn.

Lindos II = Blinkenberg, C. 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.

TC = Segre, M. & G. Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951 'Tituli Camirenses' *ASAtene* 27-29 (n.s. 13-15) 141-318.

TC Suppl. = Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1952-1954. 'Tituli Camirenses Supplementum' *ASAtene* 30-32 (n.s. 14-16) 210-46.

TRI = Badoud, N. 2015. *Le temps de Rhodes. Une chronologie des inscriptions de la cité fondée sur l'étude de ses institutions* (Vestigia 63). Munich.

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TABLES

Table 1: Date of hieropoiet dedications headed by damiourgoi (discussed in the text)

Source	Damiourgos (cf. <i>TR</i> 81.2)	Date (Statues)	Date (Castell)	Date (Boudon)	Hierocracy	Under-secretary	Epistatai
<i>TR</i> 40 (TC 44)	77th damiourgos: Ομπουγγ/ὄβς Ετιοκόου	1987 BC		207 BC	(1) Ετιοκόους Τιμωυς		
TC 46	87th damiourgos: Χάδαου Χάδαουος	1887 BC	80th damiourgos: Μεραγοτήρ Νερούφιου (195/4 BC)	197 BC	(1) Αγούρου Εμαγοτέρις (2) Ετιοκόους Τιμωυς μαζί Ιωβότου δε Καλάστρατου	Επιφιλιπόρος Πόκκρου	(1) Εριόλης Ετιόστρου (2) Πρωτοφίλωνε Κανία (3) Θειάνας Αγοροβόλου
<i>TR</i> 41 (TC 45)	Name missing	88th damiourgos: Μάξιε Εγοουρήφες or one of his successors (187/6 BC or slightly later)		88th damiourgos: Οετιόκοος Οουατέβου (198 BC)	(1) Ετιοκόους Καλάστρατου (2) Βουδών Τιμύζου	Επιφιλιπόρος Πόκκρου	(1) Φιλαργέτης Φιλαργέτρου (2) Τιμωυτος Ουαυόστρου (3) Ζωροφάου Βουδάζατερις
TC 47	Name missing	between 89th and 94th damiourgoi (186/5-181/0 BC)		197-191 BC (between 87th and 95th damiourgoi)	(1) Αγούρου Εμαγοτέρις (2) Εγουλάε Ζωουστράτου		
TC 48	Name missing	between 89th and 94th damiourgoi (186/5-181/0 BC)			(1) Αγούρου Εμαγοτέρις (2) Εγουλάε Ζωουστράτου		
TC 49	Name missing	between 89th and 94th damiourgoi (186/5-179/8 BC)			(1) Αγούρου Εμαγοτέρις (2) Εγουλάε Ζωουστράτου	? (see Ioben)	
TC 50	97th damiourgos: Αγιφρού Αγοουράτου	178/7 BC		187 BC	(1) Τιμωυτέρις Αγουτέρετος (2) Εγουλάε Ζωουστράτου		

Table 2: Relative and absolute chronology of Philocrates' magistracies

Source	Magistrates	Statua		Castell		Boudon	
		Damiourgos' year	Absolute chronology	Damiourgos' year	Absolute chronology	Damiourgos' year	Absolute chronology
<i>TR</i> 40 I, 14; <i>TR</i> 21 II, 6, 7	Hieropoiet	77th damiourgos	1987 BC	77th damiourgos	198 BC	77th damiourgos	207 BC
<i>TR</i> 21 I, 6	Agonothetes	after 77th and before 87th damiourgos		78th damiourgos			
<i>TR</i> 21 II, 6-7	Secretary of the mastoi	after 77th and before 87th damiourgos		79th damiourgos			
<i>TR</i> 21 I, 7; <i>TR</i> 41 I, 35	Epistates	88th damiourgos or shortly thereafter	187/6 BC or shortly after	80th damiourgos	195 BC	86th damiourgos (after the earthquake of 198 BC and before 87th damiourgos)	198 BC
<i>TR</i> 21 II, 40-41; <i>TR</i> 81, I, 15	Damiourgos	98th damiourgos	177/6 BC	98th damiourgos	177 BC	98th damiourgos	186 BC

Figures

Fig. 1 Honoric decree for Philokrates (*TRI* 41) (after Segre & Pugliese Caratelli 1949-1951, 240 Fig. 84 / @ Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)

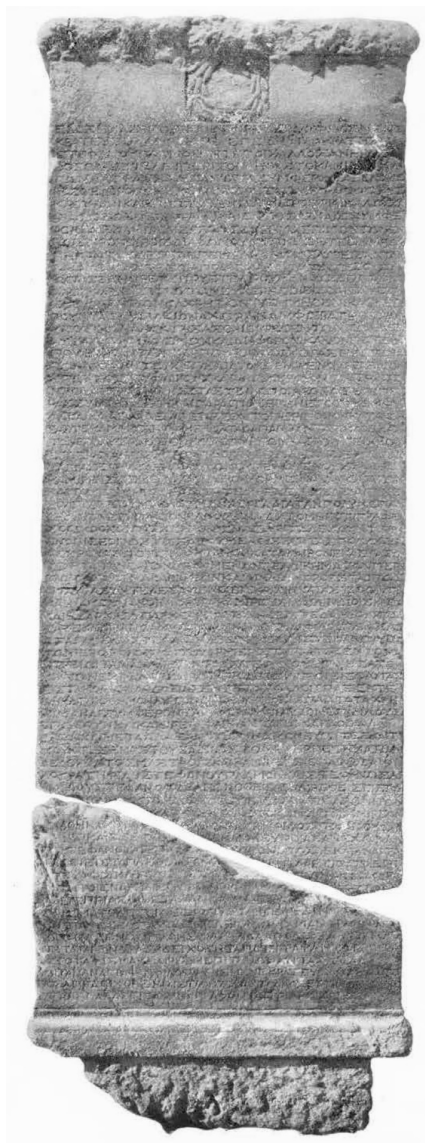


Fig. 2 Dedication of the hieropoioi (TRI 41 = TC 45) (after Pugliese Caratelli 1952-1954, 241 Fig. 59 / @ Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)



Fig. 3 Dedication of the hieropoioi (TC 46) (after Pugliese Carratelli 1952-1954, 241 Fig. 60 / @ Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)

