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The Gymnasiarchia from the Hellenistic Age to the Roman Empire: the Example of Rhodes

Summary

Several *gymnasiarchiai* are testified for Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Rhodes: a *gymnasiarchos* of the *presbyteroi*, another of the *neoteroi*, and a tribal office connected to torch races. Within the predominantly epigraphic sources, the most revealing are Hellenistic CV inscriptions, a unique feature of Rhodian epigraphic habit. They enable us to place offices chronologically within the sequel of individuals' public functions, showing that each *gymnasiarchia* was held at a certain age. Comparing Hellenistic and Roman Imperial inscriptions reveals a remarkable continuity in the representation of the Rhodian *gymnasiarchiai*, the single major divergence being a pronounced emphasis on the distribution of oil in the Imperial age.

Keywords: *Gymnasiarchia*, Rhodes, Hellenistic Age, Roman Imperial Age; Greek inscriptions/Greek epigraphy; CV inscriptions

Für das hellenistische und kaiserzeitliche Rhodos sind verschiedene Gymnasiarchien bezeugt: ein *gymnasiarchos* der *presbyteroi*, einer der *neoteroi* und ein Phylenam, das mit Fackelläuf-

fen verbunden war. Innerhalb der vorwiegend epigraphischen Quellen sind hellenistische Lebenslaufinschriften, eine Besonderheit des rhodischen *epigraphic habit*, am aufschlussreichsten. Denn sie erlauben es, Ämter innerhalb der Abfolge öffentlicher Funktionen einzelner Individuen zeitlich zu verorten, und zeigen dabei, dass jede der Gymnasiarchien in einem bestimmten Alter ausgeübt wurde. Ein Vergleich hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Inschriften zeigt eine bemerkenswerte Kontinuität in der Darstellung der rhodischen Gymnasiarchien, wobei die einzige bedeutende Abweichung darin besteht, dass in der Kaiserzeit Ölspenden stärker betont wurden.

Keywords: Gymnasiarchie; Rhodos; Hellenismus; Kaiserzeit; griechische Inschriften/griechische Epigraphik; Lebenslaufinschriften

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From the Hellenistic age onwards, the *gymnasion* was not only one of the buildings a proper Greek *polis* could not do without, developing into an important public space called a “second agora” by Louis Robert. It was also one of the major institutions of a *polis*, organizing the military and intellectual education of the young citizens as well as the athletic activities of various age classes.¹ Given this status, control of the *gymnasion*, usually exercised by an official named *gymnasiarchos*, should have ranked among the top priorities of *polis* governments. Despite this, the *gymnasiarchia* has received comparatively little systematic attention: Following Jean Delorme’s seminal investigation into the *gymnasion*, which is focused on archaeological questions, the office is illuminated by some recent articles as well as Olivier Curty’s very useful collection of Hellenistic decrees honouring *gymnasiarchoi*.²

Due to the fact that especially in the epigraphic sources, *gymnasiarchoi* usually figure not so much as magistrates active in an administrative context but as public benefactors, spending parts of their private wealth to support the costly institution, the main focus of recent research into the office has been embedded in the discussion of how euergetism defined the interaction between the population of the *polis* and its elites. This article is a minor contribution towards a more balanced view of the relationship between magistracy and liturgy, based on a cluster of local evidence not analyzed in detail so far.

1 Magistracy and liturgy

Before looking into the Rhodian evidence, it is necessary to address the basic question of whether the *gymnasiarchia* is to be understood primarily as a magistracy

(*arche*) or as a liturgy (*leitourgia*). In his article on the Hellenistic *gymnasiarchia*, Christof Schuler has proposed that the *gymnasiarchia* was established as a proper magistracy in the second half of the fourth century, but that an earlier ‘liturgical model’ remained active throughout the Hellenistic period. On the relationship between *arche* and *leitourgia*, he cites Friedemann Quaß’ definition of the *gymnasiarchia* as a ‘liturgical magistracy’, meaning that while the *gymnasiarchia* was a public office of the *polis*, it also involved financial burdens imposed upon the magistrate.³ In contrast to Schuler, Olivier Curty sees the main distinction between types of the *gymnasiarchia* not in its liturgical aspects, but in the question of whether it was a magistracy of the *polis* or an internal function of the *gymnasion*.⁴ Focussing on the Hellenistic period, both Schuler and Curty adopt the widely accepted position that in the Roman Empire, the *gymnasiarchia* developed into a pure form of liturgy. As Louis Robert pointed out, parallel to the meaning of *gymnasia* in the Latin West, *γυμνασιαρχεῖν* could adopt the meaning of “to provide oil” in the Greek East also, and in some places the *gymnasiarchia* was one of the burdens that could be avoided by paying a *summa honoraria*.⁵

There is, however, one well-known problem with the evidence for financial expenses associated with office-holding in the Hellenistic and Imperial *poleis*: We usually cannot tell whether these expenses were demanded by law (which they should have been in the case of a proper liturgy) or were a result of voluntary munificence, in which case they should correctly be called *euergesia*. In everyday life, the difference between these two options was probably of no great import, since members of the elites may have been more swayed by the expectations of the citizenry and their peer group than by legal

1 For recent overviews on the *gymnasion*, see Kah and Scholz 2004 and Scholz and Wiegandt 2015. ‘Seconde agora’: Robert 1960, 298 n. 3 (Robert 1969, 814 n. 3); cf. Robert 1966b, 422 (Robert 1989, 46; Robert 2007, 638: “une autre agora”); Gauthier 1995, 10 (Gauthier 2010, 549; Gauthier 2011, 101); recent critical reappraisals of Robert’s term: Sielhorst 2015, 178; Scholz 2017, 21–22.

2 Delorme 1960 (with numerous mentions of *gymnasiarchoi* [see the index p. 530] but no systematic study of the *gymnasiarchia*; cf. the discussion in Curty 2015, 338–342). On the Hellenistic *gymnasiarchia*, see Quaß 1993, 286–291, Schuler 2004, the articles in Curty, Piccand, and Codouey 2009 and of course the commentary on the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia (Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993; SEG 43, 381; EKM I 1); cf. Wörrle 2007 on Pergamon and van Nijf 2013, 317–319. See also Cordiano 1997 on the *gymnasiarchia* in the Greek West; Vitale 2014 on *gymnasiarchoi* with multiple *gymnasia*; Quaß 1993, 317–323 and Scholz 2015 on the *gymnasiarchia* in the Imperial age. Collection of decrees: Curty 2015.

3 Schuler 2004, 171–172 and 189; Quaß 1993, 298–299 (“leiturgisch belastete ‘Ämter’”).

4 Curty 2015, 282–291 and 344. Because the Rhodian evidence does not contribute to the discussion of this undoubtedly pertinent question, I will not address it in any detail. Cf. my criticism of Curty’s assumption that a decree for a *gymnasiarchos* enacted by an association of *gymnasion* users (e.g. *neoi*) indicates that the honorand was a functionary of this group and not of the *polis* (Kah 2017).

5 Robert 1939, 736 n. 2 (Robert 1969, 608 n. 2); Robert 1943, 192–194; BE 1953, 194; BE 1983, 84; cf. Delorme 1960, 301 (arguing that spontaneous acts of generosity developed into obligations over the long term); Schuler 2004, 189–191; Quaß 1993, 320; van Bremen 1996, 68–73; Curty 2009, 3; Curty 2015, 293–294; Scholz 2015, 83–86. For the meaning of Latin *gymnasia* cf. Fagan 1999 and Lafer 2013 (arguing that in the North African provinces, the term was used to designate athletic contest).

prescriptions. Then again, public functions in Hellenistic *poleis* could also be understood as *archai* and *leitourgiai* at the same time. A well-documented example for the *gymnasiarchia* is Priene: In a document announcing the sale of a priesthood (*diagraphe*) dated to the middle of the second century BC, the *gymnasiarchia* is named as one of the liturgies that the buyer could avoid by meeting a certain minimum offer in the auction. However, only several decades later the *gymnasiarchoi* appear among the officials the honorand of a decree had invited to an official banquet, and this same group is referred to as “the *synarchiai*” in two later decrees.⁶

As such, when looking at Greek magistrates one should keep in mind that many of them had to make expenses that would not be reimbursed by the *polis*. At the very least they were usually expected to work for free. And it is important to recall that with each *polis* making its own regulations there was no such thing as ‘Greek law’. Therefore, not only the designations and jurisdictions of specific institutions varied from city to city, but general concepts such as *leitourgia* and *arche* could also differ at least slightly. For fourth century Athens, a complex definition of a proper *arche* can be deduced from various sources, first among them the Aischines’ speech *Against Ctesiphon*, having among other provisions a minimum age of 30 for the office holder, a minimum term of office of three months and the accountability of the magistrate. But for most Hellenistic magistracies, there is no information as to whether these criteria were met. And there also is only scant evidence of how a Hellenistic *polis* defined a *leitourgia*. The exemptions offered in the aforementioned *diagraphe* from Priene and in numerous other examples, especially from Kos, clearly indicate that

the appointment to a *leitourgia* was compulsory. But in a Prienian decree from the first century BC, the honorand is praised for accepting the office of *grammateus*, undoubtedly a magistracy, after others had refused it “due to the burden of the *leitourgia*”. So in this case the *polis* could not appoint a citizen to the magistracy against his will, but once someone had accepted it voluntarily, he was expected to exhibit a considerable financial commitment.⁷

2 The Rhodian *gymnasiarchiai*

Rhodes may be regarded as a problematic example for an investigation of the social evolution of the Greek *polis* from Hellenism to the Roman Empire, since, in a number of aspects, it was hardly typical: It was unusually big, prosperous and powerful and, most importantly, it managed to combine a democratic constitution with a strong aristocratic elite throughout the Hellenistic age. So, while there are indications of an evolution towards a smaller, more concentrated aristocracy in the Early Empire, it is difficult to detect the process of aristocratisation proposed by Philippe Gauthier and his pupils for the Hellenistic *poleis* in general.⁸

What makes Rhodes interesting in the context of the *gymnasiarchia* is a unique epigraphic habit that allows the hierarchy of public offices to be much better reconstructed than in other *poleis*. Usually, the fact that a citizen had held a magistracy is documented by statue bases naming the honorand as an office holder, offerings with the dedicant bearing the respective title, or honorific decrees that praise a citizen for having performed excel-

6 Generally on the relationship between magistracies and liturgies: Quaß 1993, 298–303 and 343–346. The ambiguity is reflected by the fact that in the Imperial age, the *gymnasiarchia* is regarded as a *munus* in Latin legal sources but as an *arche* in inscriptions (van Bremen 1996, 68–70). For the evidence from Priene: I. Priene² 145 (I. Priene 174), l. 24–27: ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιας δραχμῶν | εὐρηῖ ἡ ἱερωσύνη, καὶ ἀτελῆς ἔσται ὁ πριάμενος | λαμπραδάρχιας ἀγνοουθεσίας ἱπποτροφίας | ἀρχθεωρίας γυμνασιαρχίας. I. Priene² 67 (I. Priene 111; cf. Kah 2014, 167), l. 190–193: τοῦς δὲ ±7]ους ἀ[ρχοντας] εἰς τὴν α[ὐτοῦ] οἰκίαν ἐκάλεσε πάντας· | τοὺς ἐπιμη[νίους τῶν [στ]ρατη[γ]ῶν καὶ τὸν γυμ[ν]ασί[α]ρχον τῶν νέων [κ]αὶ τὸν [ν]εωποιῖον (οἱ οἰκονόμον) καὶ τὸν γραμμ[α]τέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ [δ]ή[μ]ου καὶ τὸν ἀντιγραφέα καὶ τὸν γυμνασίου[ρχο]ν τῶν [ν]εωπόντων (?) καὶ τοὺς παι[δ]ονόμους καὶ τὸν ἀναγνώστην καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς πόλεως. Cf. I. Priene² 69 (I. Priene 113), l. 83–84: τοὺς δε β[ο]υλευτάς καὶ τὰς συναρχίας καὶ ἐδειπνισεν ἐν τῷ [τ]οῦ θεοῦ τόπωι and I. Priene² 70 (I. Priene 114), l. 26–27: τὴν δε β[ο]υ[λ]ῆν καὶ τὰς [συνα]ρχίας δις κατακλείνας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων.

7 Athens: Hansen 1980, 152–154 (discussing Aeschin. 3.14–16 and 29) and 167–169 (for the age limit). A minimum age of 30 for a Hellenistic *gymnasiarchos* can be found in a law of Koresia on Keos from the early third century BC, regulating a festival (IG XII, 5, 647; LGS 94; SIG³ III, 958; LSCG 98, l. 21–22). For exemptions from liturgies in Priene see above, for Kos (where, curiously, the *gymnasiarchia* is never mentioned among the liturgies listed specifically) cf. Wiemer 2003, 289–290. The magistracy left vacant διὰ τὸ τῆς λειτουργίας βάρους is attested in I. Priene² 68 (I. Priene 112), l. 20–22.

8 I will use ‘Rhodes’ to refer to the island and the *polis* in general, and ‘Rhodos’ for the city situated on the northern tip of the island. For the Rhodian constitution, see O’Neill 1981; Gabrielsen 1997; Grieb 2008, 263–354 (who, using a rather restrictive definition of the term, denies the existence of a Rhodian aristocracy: 316–320). For the thesis of an aristocratisation, see Gauthier 1985, 73–75; Fröhlich 2004, 532–537; Hamon 2005; Hamon 2007.

lently in a specific magistracy.⁹ From Rhodes, there is only a very small number of extant decrees, and of these hardly any are honorific.¹⁰ What we have instead is a considerable number of inscriptions, mostly on statue bases, recording the public *curriculum vitae* of the honorand. These inscriptions, which are typologically similar to the Roman Imperial *cursus* inscriptions, are first attested in the second century BC and continue into the Roman Empire. They list civic offices, military activities, priesthoods and other religious functions a citizen had performed, and they also name honours he (or occasionally she) had received from various corporate entities such as associations and foreign polities. These lists can be quite short or rather long, and they apply to adults of all ages. In the late first century BC, honours gain predominance over offices, the latter being sometimes completely omitted from the Early Empire onwards. Most of these CVs seem to be ordered chronologically, and only some thematically.¹¹

In these CVs and other epigraphic evidence from Rhodes, three kinds of *gymnasiarchoi* are mentioned: a *gymnasiarchos* of the older men (*presbyteroi*), one of the younger men (*neoteroi*), and a tribal *gymnasiarchos* (γυμνασίαρχος φυλάξ).¹² I will examine the status of these offices and how they were connected to partitions of the *polis*, starting with the two *gymnasiarchoi* distinguished as *presbyteros* and *neoteros* respectively. They can be identified with the *gymnasiarchoi* named in the plural in some other Rhodian inscriptions: two in a dedication (13),¹³

and an unspecified number in a catalogue of the board of leading magistrates (*synarchontes*) (9) and in the still largely unpublished collection of decrees concerning the Rhodian library (5). When named separately, both offices are usually denominated either with an adjective (e.g. γυμνασίαρχος πρεσβύτερος) or with a noun in the genitive plural (e.g. γυμνασίαρχος πρεσβυτέρων), the two forms each office's designation being assumed to be synonymous.¹⁴

As is evident from their appearance among the *synarchontes* and the decrees regulating the library, these *gymnasiarchoi* were proper magistrates of the *polis*.¹⁵ As the title *gymnasiarchos* is occasionally qualified by the addition of the name of a festival (κατὰ μεγάλα Ἀλῖεια or κατὰ Ῥωμαῖα), the *gymnasiarchoi* are sometimes assumed to have been involved with the organisation of these festivals, adding a special liturgical aspect to the office. But this kind of connection is only attested twice for *gymnasiarchoi*, whereas the qualification κατὰ (μεγάλα) Ἀλῖεια is attested for a number of other offices, including military functionaries like *strategoï* and *hegemones* for whom it is difficult to see how they could have been directly involved with a festival, especially on a regular basis. So while holding an office in a year when the pentaeteric Halieia (for the Rhomaia cf. Appendix II) were celebrated obviously generally carried some kind of distinction, there is no special connection to the *gymnasiarchia*.¹⁶

- 9 There are some late Hellenistic decrees for lifetime achievements, but these usually emphasize the last offices held by the honorand, as these were normally the most prestigious. For instance, the extraordinary long decrees on the western wall of the *hiera stoa* in Priene mention surprisingly few offices held by their respective honorands (cf. Kah 2014, 158).
- 10 Cf. IG XII, 1, 890 (Lindos, ca. 161 AD; cf. Badoud 2015, 164–165 no. A 4); IG XII, 1, 2 (53 AD); 31 (second century AD).
- 11 For this type of document that still has to be researched in detail cf. Kah 2016, 254 with n. 6.
- 12 The Rhodian *gymnasiarchiai* have been investigated rather cursorily: van Gelder 1900, 259; Cordiano 1997, 137–138; Schuler 2004, 166; Chankowski 2010, 199–200; Badoud 2015, 120–121. For public education in Rhodes in general cf. Bringmann 2002 and Dreliosi-Iraklidou 2014. – A note on Greek terms: Rhodian inscriptions are usually written in the Dorian dialect used on the island. Since simply transcribing these dialect forms might lead to confusion (for example *phyla*, *boula*, *hagemon*), I either use the standard Greek equivalents in the transcriptions (*boule*, *hegemon*) or I cite the Greek form (for instance ἀγεμών). I also do not transcribe inflected Greek words or phrases (such as πρεσβυτέρων and κατὰ μεγάλα Ἀλῖεια). However, I retain the dialect forms in the transcriptions of names (e.g. Damagoras, Athana Lindia and Halieia).
- 13 Numbers in bold type refer to the catalogue of epigraphic testimonia in

Appendix I.

- 14 Hiller von Gaertringen 1894, 30; van Gelder 1900, 259; Maiuri 1925, 36; Chankowski 2010, 200. For the evidence see 11, l. 2, 10, l. 11 and 18, l. 8 (πρεσβύτερος); 10, l. 6, 19, l. 14 and 26 (νεώτερος); 8, l. 3 (πρεσβυτέρων); 12, l. 7, 17, l. 5, 20, l. 9 and 21, l. 6 (νεωτέρων).
- 15 Contra Chankowski 2010, 200 (“Le deux gymnasiarques semblent ne pas être les ‘chefs’ du gymnase ... mais assumer leur charge ... uniquement pour préparer un groupe des jeunes à la participation aux fêtes”), combining two erroneous interpretations: of the character of the age groups, and of the meaning of the addition of a festival to the title (cf. below).
- 16 *Gymnasiarchoi* of the *polis*: 11, l. 2: γυμνα[σίαρχο]ν πρεσβύτερον κατὰ Ῥωμαῖα and 13, l. 3–4: γυμνασιαρχήσαντες | κατὰ μεγάλα Ἀλῖεια. There is also one attestation for a tribal *gymnasiarchos* (7, l. 15: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα φυλάϊ κατὰ Ἀλῖεια μεγάλα). Cf. an inscription from the second century AD, where the honorand's activities are listed separately as *gymnasiarchos*, *agonothetes* of the Halieia, and priest of Halios: 24, l. 5–6. Rhodian *gymnasiarchoi* involved in the organisation of festivals: Maiuri 1925, 47; Cordiano 1997, 138; Chankowski 2010, 200; Dreliosi-Iraklidou 2014, 44 with n. 53. Other offices linked to the Halieia: *strategos*: Segre and Pugliese Carratell 1949–1951, 215 no. 75; *tamias*: Jacopi 1932b, 188–190, no 18, l. 16; SEG 39, 759 (Kontorini 1989a, 164–167, no. 73; Badoud

Apart from one fragment from Megiste (28) and one from Loryma (3), epigraphic evidence for Rhodian *gymnasiarchoi* is confined to the island itself.¹⁷ The earliest clear evidence for the two *gymnasiarchoi* of the *polis* is 5 from the second century BC. But the magistracies should predate this since the tribal *gymnasiarchoi* are documented in the early third century BC (1), and the two *gymnasiarchoi* of the *polis* can feasibly be restored in a fragmentary dedication dated to the first half of the third century (2).

The architecture of the Rhodian *gymnasion* is not documented very well. Archaeological research has identified a building on the eastern slope of the acropolis below the temple of Apollon as a large *gymnasion*, but – as far as I know – apart from the big stadium, not much of the complex has been excavated to date. Several dedications of ἐπιστάται τῶν παίδων from a large peristyle building in the south-eastern part of the lower city indicate that it served as a *palaistra* for boys. Since the literary sources persistently speak of only one *gymnasion* in Rhodes, it is likely that only the building on the acropolis slope was called by that name in antiquity.¹⁸

Leaving the exact definition of the age groups aside for later inspection, I will begin not with one of the CVs mentioned, but with an equally extraordinary mon-

ument that strikingly illuminates the status of a Rhodian *gymnasiarchos* under the Roman Empire (26): In the late second century AD, the town of Lindos, one of the island's three original cities that had formed the new *polis* of Rhodes in 408 BC, honored Publius Aelius Kallistratos, also called Plancianus – the “eternal, most ambitious eponymous *gymnasiarchos neoterus* in the great *polis* of Rhodos” – by erecting a group of no less than eight statues of him and some members of his family: his grandfathers, his wife, his mother, his father, his uncle and his fraternal grandmother. On the base of each statue, his *gymnasiarchia* is described as being perpetual (δι' αἰῶνος) as well as eponymous. But the *gymnasiarchos* himself is not the most prominent figure on the monument: That place is held jointly by his uncle (26 e) and grandmother (26 g), who had promised the foundation to the *polis* of Rhodes and other benefactions to the Lindians. So, at first glance, these inscriptions conform closely to what is expected of a ‘liturgical’ *gymnasiarchos* in the Imperial age, the emphasis being on the provision of funds for the *gymnasion*, for which the magistrate in this case – obviously being rather young, with three grandparents still alive – did not even provide the money himself.¹⁹

An ‘eternal’ *gymnasiarchia*, meaning that there was

2015, 405–406, no. 34), l. 5; 8, l. 1; *hegemon amisthos*: IG XII, 3, 7, l. 5–6 (cf. below, n.23); *epistates*: I. Lindos I, 264, l. 18–19 (uncertain restoration). In Jacopi 1932b, 210–211, no. 48, l. 4 ([– –]σας ἐν τῷ ἄστει κατὰ μέγαν Ἀλίειαν), the *gymnasiarchia* cannot be restored since the specification ἐν τῷ ἄστει is not attested in connection with this office, being obviously redundant. Cf. also a CV mentioning several priesthoods apparently held during years with festivals (Kontorini 1983, 43–53 no. 3; SEG 33, Badoud 2015, 407–409 no. 36), l. 1–5 (for the syntactic oddities of this inscription cf. Kontorini 1983, 47–48 and Ma 2013, 50–51).

17 Cf. Appendix IV for a local *gymnasiarchia* on Nisyros. Two dedications of *gymnasiarchoi* from Mobolla (Muğla), which was part of the Rhodian possessions in Caria, refer to local magistrates since they also mention an *ephebarchos*, an office not attested on Rhodes (cf. Chankowski 2010, 203–204): Bresson, Brun, and Varinlioglu 2001, 190–191 no. 64 (Blümel 1991, 175 no. 783): Νικόλαος Λέοντος | Ῥόδιος | ἐφηβαρχήσας καὶ | γυμνασιαρχήσας | Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ | καὶ Ταρμιανῶν | τῷ κοινῷ and Bresson, Brun, and Varinlioglu 2001, 191–192 no. 65 (Blümel 1991, 175–176 no. 784): [– –]λης Λέοντος [Κ]ενε[δω]λ[α]β[ε]ὺς γυμνασιαρχήσας | καὶ Ἀντίπατρος Ἐκαταίου | Κενενδωλαβ[ε]ὺς ἐφηβαρχήσας Ἡλίου καὶ Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρα[κλ]εῖ καὶ Ταρμιανῶν τῷ | κοινῷ (for the texts cf. Chankowski 2010, 445–446, no. 10–11). The restoration [– –]τις Δαμοφειδεὺς | [γυμνασιαρχ]ήσας Ἡρακλεῖ proposed by Robert 1937, 79 in a fragmentary dedication from Phoinix (Blümel 1991, 45–46 no. 141; Bresson 1991, 152 no. 158; cf. Chankowski 2010, 445 no. 8) is not sufficiently justified by the fact that the recipient is Herakles (cf. Bresson's commentary).

18 For the big complex below the acropolis see Laurenzi 1938, 25–26 and 146; pl. XVI and Kondis 1952, 563–571; cf. Delorme 1960, 121–122; Fil-

imonos 1989, 129–132; Hoepfner 2002, 68–72 (with a very hypothetical reconstruction, especially of the library); Chankowski 2010, 204–206. Filimonos 1989, 152–153, identifies the peristyle with the Ptolemaion mentioned in Diod. 20.100.4 (συγκατατιθεμένου δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου τέμενος ἀνήκαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τετράγωνον, οἰκοδομήσαντες παρ' ἐκάστην πλευρὰν στοὰν σταδίαίαν, ὃ προσηγόρευσαν Πτολεμαίων), a building she interprets as a *gymnasion*. For the offerings see Kontorini 1989b (SEG 39, 771–776), who is sceptical of the proposed identification (Kontorini 1989b, 169–177). Cf. Chankowski 2010, 204–205 and Dreliosi-Iraklidou 2014, 42–43. For the literary sources see Kontorini 1989b, 171–172 (cf. Chankowski 2010, 204). There is actually only one extant Rhodian inscription using the term γυμνάσιον (31); it is plausibly restored in 29, l. 2 (cf. also 30, where the restoration is unclear). Groups of users employing the word in their designation are not attested on Rhodes: A statue base erected by οἱ ἀπὸ γυ[μνασίου]υ that was found in Lindos (I. Lindos I, 139; still listed in the chronological catalogue of Rhodian inscriptions by Badoud 2015, 229 no. 597) is clearly a *pietre errante* from Cyprus (see K.-F. Kinch in the commentary to I. Lindos I, 139; BE 1942, 176 and the new edition by Mitford 1960).

19 Robert 1966a, 84 n. 1 argued that Kallistratos had received his *gymnasiarchia* posthumously, referring to the phrase ἰς αἰῶνον μνάμιον καὶ ἐπόνυμον τιμάν used in 26 e, l. 14–15 and g, l. 12–13. I am not convinced that this interpretation is compelling, since in this case, the fact that the honorand was deceased would have been made explicit on only two of the eight bases of the monument – and notably not on his own (26 f).

a foundation providing money for the funding of the *gymnasion* in the future, is attested for Rhodes only in this text, and an eponymous *gymnasiarchia* just in one other.²⁰ However, the accentuation of financial aspects, specifically the distribution of oil, is associated with both *gymnasiarchiai* of the *polis* in a number of other inscriptions since the middle of the first century AD. But in all instances, the office and the distribution, the θέσις τοῦ ἐλαίου, while being closely connected, remain two distinct entities. And there is no indication that the distribution was not a voluntary act of the *gymnasiarchos*. On the contrary: The frequent emphasis of the fact that the *gymnasiarch* had contributed oil for a whole year – in one instance (22) explicitly even for all 13th months of an intercalary year – suggests that at least the extent of the distribution was not taken for granted. And in a Rhodian decree of the first century AD regulating the distribution and the sale of oil, probably in the *gymnasion*, the *gymnasiarchoi* are not mentioned at all. Rather, the duty is assigned to unspecified men who were responsible for allotted days (29). If a *gymnasiarchos* defrayed the costs of the distribution, he was probably relieving these men voluntarily. So there is no indication that on Rhodes γυμνασιαρχεῖν ever came to mean ‘to distribute oil’ in itself. And supplying the *gymnasion* with oil had of course already been an issue in the Hellenistic age. For Rhodes, there is the well-known passage in Polybius documenting that Hieron and Gelon of Syracuse donated oil for the “*choregia* of providing oil to the users of the *gymnasion*” after the great earthquake of 227 BC, and evidence for the term θέσις τοῦ ἐλαίου dates back to the first century BC.²¹

Kallistratos’ young age at his *gymnasiarchia* has a parallel in another inscription from the Imperial age: In the

middle of the second century AD, a man called Damagoras was *gymnasiarchos neoterus* in the year his father held the eponymous priesthood of Halios (23, l. 3–6). Yet if we look at the Hellenistic evidence, the picture is rather similar. A number of CV inscriptions make it possible to reconstruct patterns in the chronological order in which Rhodians exercised public functions, and some of these texts are detailed enough to estimate the approximate age of the office holder at certain stages of his CV. The best example is a block of a statue base from the first half of the first century BC, featuring the longest known Rhodian CV from the Hellenistic age (10). This inscription probably includes the most detailed report on the offices a single person held in a *polis* of the Hellenistic age. Since it is nearly impossible to translate the catalogues of technical terms while retaining (or at least imitating) the syntactic structure and the layout of the original, I instead provide tabular overviews which separately list the honorand, the dedicants and – most importantly – the individual offices and additional information related to them, and also sum up longer entries of minor interest in the present context, such as decorations bestowed upon the honorand.

The honorand, whose name can be restored as Polykles based on the plausible assumption that he was the fraternal grandfather of the fourth dedicant, had held a number of military posts and high civic offices in Rhodes. During his career which reached its peak when he was chairman of the Rhodian council (*prytanis*) in the First Mithridatic War,²² he had held all three aforementioned *gymnasiarchiai*, having been, in this order, tribal *gymnasiarchos*, *gymnasiarchos neoterus* and *gymnasiarchos presbyterus*. Leaving the first function aside for later inspection, the other two are clearly placed in dis-

20 For the meaning of αἰώνιος (or δι’ αἰῶνος) γυμνασιαρχία see Robert 1960, 294–298 (Robert 1969, 810–814) and Robert 1966a, 83–85; cf. Scholz 2015, 87–88. The qualification of an office as ‘perpetual’ was not limited to the *gymnasiarchia*: Laum 1914, 46–50. While Blinkenberg was puzzled by the apparent contradiction between ἐπώνυμος and δι’ αἰῶνος in the denomination of the *gymnasiarchia* (I. Lindos II, 465, comm. to f), Louis Robert believed that the problem could be explained easily (Robert 1966a, 84 n. 1): Based on his assumption that Kallistratos was honoured posthumously (see above), he argued that ἐπώνυμος is used to demonstrate the link of the honorand’s name to the annual distributions made in his memory. But this interpretation is difficult to reconcile with the fact that a *gymnasiarchos* quite certainly appears in a dating formula alongside the priest of Athana Lindia on the Lindian statue base 25. Why and in which context this kind of eponymic dating was used remains unclear. It is improbable that the practice was confined to Lindos, since there is no discernible reason why the Lindians alone should have

distinguished a magistracy held in the city of Rhodes in this way.

21 Polyb. 5.88.5: Ἐρών γάρ καὶ Γέλων ... ἔδωκαν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντ’ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πρὸς τὴν εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τοῖς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ χορηγίαν. As the sum of 75 talents of silver is disproportionately high, a reference to the restoration of the city’s fortifications has probably been lost in the textual tradition: Walbank 1957, 617–618. For the provision of oil to the Hellenistic *gymnasion* in general and the growing requirements put on local elites by the end of royal euergetism see Fröhlich 2009. The first reference to the θέσις τοῦ ἐλαίου in Rhodes is 15; the testimonials from the Imperial age are 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22; cf. the ἐλαιοθέσια to the Lindians mentioned in 26 e, l. 13–14 and g, l. 10–12.

22 10, l. 13: ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. This war can be identified by the *nauarchos* Damagoras mentioned in l. 14, who is also known from narrative sources (cf. Kontorini 1993, 94–96). For the dating of his latest offices cf. Appendix II.

		line	date	age
honorand	[Polykles ---]			
	Sosos, Polykles and Kalliarista, Polykles, son of Polykles, grandson of Polykles (grandchildren)	1–2		
dedicants	military service on light and heavy warships (ἄφρακτα and κατάφρακτοι νᾶες) in wartime (κατὰ πόλεμον)	3–4		20–25
	unsalaried commander (ἀγεμῶν ἄμισθος) in the Lindian <i>chora</i>	4–5		
	<i>gymnasiarchos</i> of a <i>phyle</i> and victorious at the <i>Poseidania</i> , <i>Rhomaia</i> and <i>Halieia</i>	5–6		25–30
	<i>gymnasiarchos neoterōs</i>	6		
	presided over elections of jurors by lot	7		30–35
	commander of a squadron of light warships (ἀρχῶν ἀφράκτων)	7		
public offices and functions	commander of a squadron of ‘fives’ (ἀγεμῶν πεντηρέων) in wartime (κατὰ πόλεμον) appointed by the People	8	102 BC	35–40
	as commander of commanders (ἀγεμῶν τῶν ἀγεμόνων)	8–9		
	participant in a sea battle	9		
	<i>strategos</i> on the Mainland (Peraia) and re-elected twice	9–10		
	<i>gymnasiarchos presbyteros</i>	11		40–50
	secretary of the council (γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς) and crowned by his colleagues in office	12		
	<i>prytanis</i> ‘in the war’ and crowned by his colleagues in office	12–13	88–85 BC	50–55
	councillor of the <i>nauarchos</i> Damagoras	13		
	<i>phylarchos</i> and victorious at the <i>Epitaphia</i>	14–15		
	<i>trierarchos</i> of a ‘four’ (τετρήρης) and victorious at the examination of the ship	15–16		55–60
<i>choregos</i> of the <i>pyrrhiche</i>	16			
<i>trierarchos</i> of a ‘four’ (τετρήρης) in wartime (κατὰ πόλεμον)	17	78 BC (?)	60–65	
<i>choregos</i> at the tragedies and victorious at the <i>Alexandreia</i> and <i>Diomysia</i>	17–18			
honours	honoured by various associations and communities	18–36		

Tab. 1 CV in Maiuri 1925, 19–29 no. 18 (10).

tinct areas of his CV: He was *gymnasiarchos neoterios* in an early phase of his career after the general military service in the navy frequently recorded at the beginning of Rhodian CVs, a command in the territorial army (ἀγεμῶν ἄμισθος) that is also associated with young men in two other inscriptions, and being tribal *gymnasiarchos*.²³ When he was *gymnasiarchos presbyteros* he was evidently older, as he already had been *strategos* (στραταγός) three times and was on his way to becoming secretary of the council and *prytanis*. For this stage of his career, we have a close parallel in another, fragmentary statue base (8): Before the *gymnasiarchia*, the honorand whose name is lost had been treasurer, *strategos* and *prytanis*; afterwards, he had commanded a heavy warship, been victorious as a *choregos* (χωρογάγος) and held the eponymous priesthood of Kamiros (*damiourgos*).

Combining the positions of the *gymnasiarchiai* in the CV with the observation that the offices are sometimes qualified with adjectives leads to the conclusion that the *gymnasiarchoi* belonged to the respective age groups. However, the alternative use of the genitive plural implies that they were not simply a team of one younger and one older magistrate, but that each was responsible for his own age group. In recent literature, the Rhodian *neoterioi* and *presbyteroi* have been interpreted as age classes of the Rhodian youth (perhaps influenced by the subclassification of *epheboi* into *neoterioi*, *mesoi* and *presbyteroi* in Chios and some other *poleis*), or as minors and

adults.²⁴ But there is no compelling reason to assume that on Rhodes the terms were used any differently from what was customary in the Greek world, the *presbyteroi* being the older citizens, the *neoterioi* the younger, the dividing line usually set at the age of 30.²⁵ That the *neoterioi* were not called by the more frequent term *véoi* may be a simple linguistic variation reflecting the contrast to *presbyteroi* implied in the denomination of the two *gymnasiarchiai*. Or it may be connected to the fact that no *ephebeia* is attested on Rhodes, so that the *neoterioi* may have been comprised of the age classes called *neoi* and *epheboi* elsewhere.²⁶

If the *gymnasiarchoi* were members of the respective age groups using the *gymnasion*, this constituted a limiting factor in the control the *polis* exercised over the *gymnasiarchia*. In the case of the *gymnasiarchos* of the *neoterioi*, an obvious alternative would have been to select an older citizen to keep them in line.²⁷ And it is highly likely that the groups active in the *gymnasion* generally formed exclusive circles within their own age classes. For Rhodes, this assumption is supported by a statue base for a man holding this office dated to ca. 80–70 BC (11), listing about 450 names of Rhodians who participated in erecting the statue and who therefore are generally identified as *presbyteroi*. Even if the exact size of the Rhodian citizenry in the first century BC cannot be determined, it is obvious that 450 can only have been a small percentage of all male citizens aged over 30.²⁸

23 In Rhodian CVs, naval service is usually indicated by στρατευσάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀφράκτοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσί or a similar formula (cf. Gabrielsen 1997, 95 and, for the evidence, 7, l. 10–11 and 12, l. 5–6). The posting as an unsalaried *hegemon* is also part of the CVs documented in 7 (l. 14: γενόμενον ἀγεμόνα ἄμισθον ἐπὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς ἐν ταῖ νάσῳι, positioned likewise in between the naval service and the tribal *gymnasiarchia*) and on a stone shield dedicated by a Carian *koinon* listing naval service as the only other function of the honorand (Blümel 1991, 175–175 no. 782; Bresson, Brun, and Varinlioglu 2001, 188–189 no. 63, l. 4–7: γενομένου ἀγεμόνος ἄμισθου | ἐπὶ τε Ἀρτουβῶν καὶ Παραβλειαῖς | καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐν ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσί). It is also mentioned in the dedication IG XII, 3, 7: Γάιος Ῥωμαί[ος] | στρατευσάμενος | ὑπὲρ Ἀμύντα Ἀριστέως | ἡγεμόνος ἄμισθου | [κ]ατὰ Ἄλεια | εὐνοίας ἔνεκα | θεοῖς.

24 Chankowski 2010, 200 (age classes of the Rhodian youth); Badoud 2010, 133 no. D 8 (*presbyteros* meaning ‘adult’, i.e. aged over 18 years); Badoud 2015, 120: “En l’absence de classe d’âge intermédiaire, le premier [sc. of the *gymnasiarchoi*] était responsable des mineurs, le second de majeurs”. For ephebic age classes, see Hin 2007, 147 n. 21–22 and Fröhlich 2013, 81–82.

25 Cf. Dreyer 2004, 213; Fröhlich 2013, 82.

26 For the terms *neoi* and *neoterioi*, see Forbes 1933, 60–61 (referring to I. Sestos 1, l. 71, where νεώτεροι is employed instead of νέοι καὶ ἔφηβοι used otherwise in the decree); Knoepfler 1979, 176; Gauthier and Hatzopoulos

1993, 77; Dreyer 2004, 214; van Bremen 2013, 33–34 (with n. 9: “*Neoterioi* was used only in opposition to *presbyteroi*”); cf. Fröhlich 2013, 82–84; Kennell 2013; Curty 2015, 63 with n. 83. For the arguments against an *ephebeia* in Rhodes see Chankowski 2010, 198–206 with Kah 2016, 268. According to Chankowski’s convincing argumentation, the *epheboi* mentioned in 1 are a case in point, since in the early Hellenistic age the term usually denoted the members of an *ephebeia* and not an age group in athletic contests. Therefore, the divergent Rhodian usage indicates that the Rhodians did not have the institution at this time, and there are no later epigraphic attestations to an *ephebeia* apart from local institutions in the subject Peraia (cf. n. 17).

27 For the *neoi* as a “disruptive element” in the *polis* cf. van Bremen 2013, 33–44.

28 For 11 cf. Appendix II. According to various demographic models, individuals over 30 years of age made up between half and three-quarters of a pre-modern adult male population (cf. the literature cited in Kah 2014, 161 n. 90), and the Rhodian citizenry must have been substantially larger than 2000. A similar small sample is documented in a decree of the *presbyteroi* of Iasos, probably from the second half of the second century BC, indicating a total of 74 ballots cast in the voting (I. Iasos 93; Fröhlich 2013, 106–107 no. 2, l. 23). Parallel accounts in decrees of the *polis* of Iasos specify between ca. 800 and 1100 votes in the assembly (for the evidence see Fabiani 2012, 114–115, Fröhlich 2013, 80 n. 86 and Kah 2014,

		line
honorand	---	
dedicant(s)	---	
public offices and functions	treasurer (<i>tamias</i>)	1
	<i>strategos</i> in the <i>chora</i>	1–2
	<i>prytanis</i>	2
	<i>gymnasiarchos</i> of the <i>presbyteroi</i>	3
	[<i>agonothetes</i> (?)]	3–4
	<i>trierarchos</i> of a 'five' (πεντήρης)	4
	<i>choregos</i> at the comedies and victorious	5
	<i>damiourgos</i> in Kamiros	6
honours	honoured by various associations and communities	6–12

Tab. 2 CV in Maiuri 1925, 35–36 no. 21 (8)

		line	age
honorand	---		
dedicant(s)	---		
public offices and functions	victorious at the <i>Halieia</i> in boys' wrestling	2	<18
	<i>trierarchos</i> of a two-banked ship	2–3	?
	<i>phylarchos</i> of the <i>phyle Lindia</i> and victorious at the <i>Epitaphia</i>	3–4	?
	military service on light and heavy warships (ἄφρακτα and κατάφρακτοι νᾶες) and honoured by his comrades	4–6	20–30
	<i>trierarchos</i> of a light warship (ἄφρακτον)	6	30–35
	<i>gymnasiarchos</i> of the <i>neoteroi</i>	7	~ 30 ?
honours	crowned by boards (!) of magistrates (<i>synarchiai</i>)	7–8	

Tab. 3 CV in I. Lindos II 707 (12).

It is interesting to compare an instance where an honorand of an inscription is called γυμνασίαρχος νεωτέρων in his CV (12): The man in question, called Pausanias, son of Leon, was active in the first half of the first

century BC, and must have been rather young when his statue base was commissioned by the council of Rhodes, as most of the functions listed are typical of the early part of a public career: victory in a boys' wrestling contest,

168), so that the men voting for the decree can only represent a fraction of the citizens aged over 30 (cf. Fröhlich 2013, 80–81). Cf. also a statue base of a *gymnasiarchos* found in Notion, naming 153 *neoi* requesting the

honour from the *boule* (SEG 55, 1251; Curty 2015, 330–333), in contrast to voting results numbering between ca. 900 and 2000 documented for the assembly of the associated *polis* of Kolophon (Duplouy 2013).

service in the navy, command of a light warship (ἄφρακτον), and the *gymnasiarchia* of the *neoterói*. Assuming the CV is ordered chronologically, one could argue that it is unlikely that Pausanias was *trierarchos* of a regular warship while still being a *neoterós*. So it is possible that he became *gymnasiarchos* of the *neoterói* later, the designation γυμνασίαρχος νεωτέρων indicating that he did not belong to this age group himself anymore. Yet the positioning of the command of a small two-banked warship and the *phylarchia* before general military service in the navy is difficult to reconcile with a chronological order. In most other CVs, the military service is the first entry, only occasionally preceded by activities of boys (such as the wrestling victory here). One solution might be that the first three entries all cover activities of the honorand as a minor, since an explicit attestation of a *phylarchos* of men might indicate that there were *phylarchoi* of boys as well.²⁹ However, the CV's chronological order could simply be jumbled.³⁰

In any case, it does not seem possible to explain the variation γυμνασίαρχος πρεσβυτέρων in a similar way. Since the office holder can hardly have been too young to be a *presbyteros*, the only alternative explanation would be that he was too old. But even accepting the assumption that there was a maximum age for the *presbyterói* – which is, as far as I know, neither supported by the sources in general nor by the Rhodian evidence – this explanation would not conform to the only attestation of the term γυμνασίαρχος πρεσβυτέρων which appears in a seemingly chronologically ordered CV before the command of a heavy warship and several other public offices (8, l. 3), virtually excluding the possibility that the

honorand was already elderly at the time.

The third *gymnasiarchia* attested on Rhodes is the office of γυμνασίαρχος φυλαῖ or φυλαῶς.³¹ In 10 discussed above, it is attested for a young man at the start of his public career. This age is confirmed by two other inscriptions: In 7, the honorand Lysimachos was probably in his late twenties or early thirties, as he was already married and had two daughters, while his public career was still limited to his service in the navy, a posting as ἀγεμὼν ἄμισθος in the territorial army on the island and the tribal *gymnasiarchia*. In the second inscription (4), the tribal *gymnasiarchia* is named first in a compact selection of public functions cumulating in the offices of *tamias*, *strategos* and *prytanis*.

In the CV of Polykles (10, l. 7–8), the entry γυμνασίαρχησας φυλαῶς is combined with victories at agonistic festivals.³² Two fragmentary victory lists of the Great Erethimia from the early third century BC show that the tribal *gymnasiarchoi* were connected with the torch race teams (1). The official named first together with the victorious tribe is not the *gymnasiarchos* but the *phylarchos*, the latter function being attested more often in Rhodian CV inscriptions. It is usually listed with victories at agonistic festivals and seems to have been performed by older men, like the *gymnasiarchia* of the *presbyterói*. Since in other places, torch racing teams were organised by *lampadarchoi*, the Rhodian *phylarchia* and the tribal *gymnasiarchia* should be local variations of this liturgy. As there were two races, one of *andres* and one of *epheboi*, Vassa Kontorini has proposed that the *phylarchos* was responsible for the former group, the *gymnasiarchos* for the

29 Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954a, 262 no. 6: Πύθων Λύσιωνος | Ἰστάγιος | φυλαρχήσας ἀνδρῶν | καὶ νικάσας | Διὶ Ὀρλυγίωι. There were torch races of *epheboi* in Rhodes, but the official in charge of their teams was probably the tribal *gymnasiarchos* (cf. p. 282–283). If the honorand of 12 was *phylarchos* of boys as a minor, he must have been something like the team captain, and the *trierarchia* of the two-banked ship mentioned before (12, l. 2–3: τριηραρχήσαντα | [δι]κρότου, to be complemented by πλοίου or ναός) might have been a similar position in a boys' boat race. The term deviates from the usual, well-attested Rhodian naval nomenclature, with only a single parallel in IGR IV, 1116, l. 4 (τριηραρχήσαν(τα) ἐπικώπου πλοίου δικρότου) that is conspicuous by asserting that the *dikroton* was a ship (πλοῖον) as well as equipped with oars (ἐπικώπος), both characteristics being self-evident in a warship. I am not convinced by the interpretation offered by Gabrielsen 1997, 102–105, that these expressions designate privately owned warships, especially since the scant attestations do not correspond to the widespread use of these kinds of vessels assumed by Gabrielsen.

30 An inattentive redaction of the inscription might also explain the entry

stating that the honorand had been crowned by (several) *synarchiai* (12, l. 7–8: στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τᾶν | [σ]υναρχ[ιαῶν]) although the inscription mentions only one office (the *gymnasiarchia*) that could have been part of such a board of magistrates.

31 Cf. Pugliese Carratelli 1953, 76–77; Kontorini 1975, 111; Cordiano 1997, 137–138; Schuler 2004, 166; Chankowski 2010, 200; Badoud 2015, 120 with n. 88.

32 The festivals named are the Poseidania, the Rhomaia and the Halieia (l. 5–6), indicating that Polykles had either been tribal *gymnasiarchos* repeatedly or (since that should be indicated by the addition of a multiplicative adverb) that the festivals named had all been held in a single year. In this case, the Halieia mentioned should be the lesser annual version of the festival (cf. SIG³ III, 1067 comm. at l. 12; Arnold 1936, 435; Morelli 1959, 97), since the pentaeteric μεγάλη Ἀλιεῖα (cf. e.g. 7, l. 15) were celebrated within two years distance of the Rhomaia (cf. the reconstruction of the Rhodian festival cycle in the first century BC by Badoud 2015, 133–134).

		line	age
honorand	Lysimachos, son of Aristeidas	1	
dedicants	Aristeidas, son of Aristeidas (father) Gorgon, Aristeidas, Philinna, Timakrate (brothers and sisters) Boulakrate, daughter of Isidotos (wife) Boulakrate and Gorgo, daughters of Aristeidas (daughters) Isodotos, son of Aratogenes (father in law)	2–9	
	military service on <i>tribemioiiai</i> and heavy warships (κατάφρακτοι νᾶες) and honoured by an association of soldiers (Παναθηναϊστᾶν στρατευομένων κοινόν) and crowned with a golden crown	10–13	20–30
public offices and functions	unsalaried commander (ἀγεμὼν ἄμισθος) in the <i>chora</i> on the island (Rhodes)	14	
	<i>gymnasiarchos</i> of a <i>phyle</i> (in a year with the) <i>Halieia megala</i>	15	

Tab. 4 CV in Jacopi 1932b, 190–192 no. 19 (7).

		line
honorand	Eudamos, son of Dexicharis	1
dedicant	Gorgon, son of Timokles, adoptive son of Diokles (ward of Eudamos)	2–3 4–5
	<i>gymnasiarchos</i> of a <i>phyle</i> <i>trierarchos</i>	6 7
public offices and functions	commander over Karia (ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας)	8
	treasurer (<i>tamias</i>)	9
	<i>strategos</i> on the mainland (Peraia) <i>prytanis</i>	10 11

Tab. 5 CV in Jacopi 1932b, 192–193 no. 20 (4).

latter.³³ That seems plausible, but it is curious that the tribe's name is recorded only with the *phylarchos*, giving the impression that he and the *gymnasiarchos* belonged to the same *phyle*. Since the two victorious teams can hardly have been from the same tribe on a regular basis, it should also be considered that both officials belonged to the team of the *andres*, making the *gymnasiarchos* some kind of team captain.

Another unexplained point is why the tribal officials were called *gymnasiarchoi* in the first place. Their attested area of activity, their youthful age and their subordinate position to the *phylarchoi* virtually exclude the possibility that they were responsible for local *gymnasia*. Furthermore, there is no evidence for such institutions in the first place. The urbanised tribal centres of Lindos and Kamiros may have had some kind of facilities for physical training that remain unknown due to the limited archaeological exploration of these sites. The foundations promised by the family of Kallistratos in the late second century AD illustrate the situation in Lindos, distinguishing a 'perpetual' *gymnasiarchia* for the *polis* from equally 'eternal' annual distributions of oil (ἐλαιοθέσια) for the Lindians (26 e, l. 6–16 and g, l. 5–3). Thus, the latter apparently had need of oil without possessing an institutionalised *gymnasion*. And the Ialyseis did not have any reason to have a *gymnasion* of their own in the first place, as Ialysos had evolved into a village after the *synoikismos* in 408 BC, with the majority of the population migrating to the new city of Rhodos. Finally, the possibility that the tribal *gymnasiarchia* refers to a local institution antedating the *synoikismos* is rendered improbable by the evolution of the *gymnasiarchia* in general. So the reason for this denomination of the function remains enigmatic.

In any event, the tribal *gymnasiarchos* demonstrates that apart from the magistracies of the *polis*, one also has to take into account the possibility of offices of subdivisions such as tribes. In this context, it is interesting to observe that the tribal *gymnasiarchia* not only appears in the context of the *phylai* of the city of Rhodes, but also in a victory list of an association (6). In a close parallel

to the victory lists mentioned above, the catalogue has seven entries dated by an *agonothetes*, followed by the victorious *phyle*, the *phylarchos* and the *gymnasiarchos*. The association had obviously copied a part of Rhodian public organisation on a lesser scale: Like the *polis*, the *koinon* was divided into three *phylai*, named after its founder, his wife and his daughter-in-law, and held games with contesting tribal teams.

3 Conclusion

The Rhodian evidence shows that while the distribution of oil was an increasingly important aspect of the *gymnasiarchia* under the Roman Empire, there is no indication that it was ever seen as primarily liturgical. In the inscriptions, the distribution is added to the office and treated as a voluntary munificence. Other aspects of the office remained unchanged: Since the Hellenistic age, the Rhodians had two annual *gymnasiarchoi*, one for the younger men (*neoteroi*) and one for the older men (*presbyteroi*). While these officials were magistrates of the *polis*, their positions in Rhodian CV inscriptions show that they were recruited from the respective age groups, limiting the control the *polis* could exercise over the *gymnasion*. The third Rhodian *gymnasiarchia* was a tribal office exercised by young men in cooperation with an older official, the *phylarchos*, both offices being mentioned only in the context of organizing teams for torch races. Combined with the fact that these tribal offices were copied by a Rhodian *koinon*, this variation demonstrates that not every attestation of a *gymnasiarchos* has to be connected to a *gymnasion* or a public magistracy.

A further perspective for research offered by the Rhodian CVs would be a review of the status of the *gymnasiarchia* within the magistratures of a *polis*, the commonly held opinion being that the *gymnasiarchia* was one of the most important offices of the Hellenistic *polis* but lost some of its standing under the Roman Empire.³⁴

33 Kontorini 1975, 109–111; cf. Schuler 2004, 166 and Chankowski 2010, 200 discussing only the *gymnasiarchia*. For the *lampadarchia* in general see Oehler 1924 (cf. the evidence from Priene cited above). The *phylarchos* is also mentioned in 10, l. 14–15 and 12, l. 3. For further epigraphic evidence cf. I. Lindos I, 222, comm. to l. 4–5 and Kontorini 1975, 109.

34 Cf. Scholz 2015, 89–90. The surprisingly low number of texts in the new collection of Hellenistic decrees for *gymnasiarchoi* (Curty 2015) actually

encourages to question the importance of the *gymnasiarchia* in this age. Even allowing for the fact that Curty did not include decrees giving no information about the activities of a *gymnasiarchos* or fragmentary texts, the number of only 40 – including three excerpts from decrees for an honorand who had held a greater number of offices from Priene (no. 24–26), and to be enlarged by the addition of seven decrees from Pergamon only listed in a short appendix (Curty 2015, 335–336) – seems quite mod-

Contrasting with this, evidence for the *gymnasiarchia* in the Rhodian CVs seems to stay remarkably unchanged over time. While the few references to the tribal *gymnasiarchos* are all from Hellenistic inscriptions, both *gymnasiarchoi* of the *polis* feature in CVs from the second century BC to the second century AD. The rich Rhodian material would make it possible to contrast the nine CVs mentioning the *gymnasiarchia* to those which do not. The overall number of CVs in Rhodian inscriptions being at least several dozen, *gymnasiarchoi* are obviously mentioned in just a fraction of them. It would take a detailed investigation of this type of inscription to reveal the information necessary to put this observation into perspective, such as the chronological development of the CVs and the public functions listed in them, or the selective criteria discernible from their composition.

est, compared with, e.g., the ca. 180 known decrees for foreign judges (cf. Cassayre 2010, 131–154 with a preliminary catalogue). The geographical distribution of the decrees also needs to be investigated further, since

those cities represented in the collection mostly contribute just a single text, while a lot of *poleis* with an otherwise rich epigraphic documentation are conspicuously absent (cf. Kah 2017).

Appendix I: Epigraphic sources

(A) The Rhodian *gymnasiarchoi*

1 Victory lists of the *megala Erethimia*, Rhodos, ca. 280–270 BC: Kontorini 1975, 96–117: Cf. Chankowski 2010, 443 no. 2; Badoud 2015, 166–167 no. A 10 and 171 no. A 30.

face A: ἐπ' ἱερέως [Διο]πείθευς καὶ ἱεροποιῶν τῶν σὺν Ἀγησιπλόλ[ει] | καὶ ἀγων[οθέ]τρα Ἀγησιπλόλιος τοῦ Δάμωνος τ[ο]ἶδε ἐ[ν]ί[κ]ω[ν] | τὰ μεγάλα Ἐρεθίμι[α]· | ἐφήβων [λα]μπάδι ἀ[π]ὸ πράτας | Εὐδαμος Ἀ[γ]ασμιένευσ, | ἀνδρῶν | [Τ]μ[ό]θε[ο]ς Τιμα[- - -, | φ]ύλαρχος λα[μπάδι | Λ]ιν[δ]ί[α]ς | [Κ]λέαρχος Τ[- - -, | γυ]μνασίαρχ[ος | Εὐ]πραξί[α]ς Ἀ[- - -] | - - -.

face B, l. 1–3 and 21–27: [ἐ]π' ἱερέω[ς] - - - καὶ ἱεροποιῶν τῶν σὺν - - - | καὶ ἀγων[ο]νθέτα - - - τοἶδε ἐνίκων | τὰ μεγά[λα] Ἐρεθίμια· | ... | [λαμπ]άδι ἀπὸ πράτας ἐφήβων | ...]σίμαχο[ς] - - -, | ἀνδρῶν | [Βό]ηθος Πασ[ικ] - - -, | φύ]λαρχος λα[μπάδι | Ἰαλ]υσί[α]ς | [Κα]λλιφῶν Ἀ[- - -, | γυμ]νασίαρχ[ος | Φί]λων Φιλοκ[λέ] - - -.

2 Fragment of a dedication, Rhodos, first half of the third century BC: Kondis 1952, 562–563 no. BE 912; SEG 15, 499.

- - - | [- - - Ἀ]λέξων Α[- - - | - - - Ἀ]γλούμ-
βροτ[ος] - - - | - - - γυ]μνασίαρχ[ήσαντες] - - - | - -
-.

The restoration is suggested by the parallel in 13.

3 Fragment of a dedication, Loryma, third century BC (?): M. Chaviaras and N. D. Chaviaras 1907, 211 no. 3; Blümel 1991, 8–9 no. 10; Bresson 1991, 165 no. 181. Cf. Chankowski 2010, 444–445 no. 7.

- - - | [- - -]Ἰσας | [- - - γυμνασ]ιαρχήσας | [- -
-]ΩΝΙ.

Blümel's restoration ἐφηβ[αρχ]ήσας in l. 1 is not sufficiently justified, since the parallels are from Mobolla (cf. n. 17) and there is no indication that Loryma had magistracies of its own, much less a *gymnasion* or an *ephebeia*. The remains could also be restored as one of a number of other offices indicated by a participle (e.g. στραταγ[ή]σας); cf. Bresson who abstains from restoring l. 1 and Chankowski 2010, 445. The inscription could have named two magistrates making the offering or one dedicant with a short CV.

Based on the form of the Sigma reproduced by

Chaviaras, Bresson hesitantly dates the inscription to the fourth or third century BC (“les *eta* ouverts” must be a misprint since there is only one Eta in the preserved text and the letter form cannot be characterised as “open” anyway). The mention of the *gymnasiarchos* makes a fourth-century date improbable, and if the inscription comprised a CV, this should date it to even later than the third century.

In l. 3, Bresson retains the restoration [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι proposed in the *editio princeps*, but Blümel, arguing that a dedication to Apollon made by a *gymnasiarchos* is unlikely, considers reading - - -]ΩΝ Ι[- - -.

4 Statue base, Rhodos, first half of the second century BC (after 188 BC): Jacopi 1932b, 192–193 no. 20; DNO IV, 3286. Cf. Badoud 2015, 211 no. 148.

l. 6–11: καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντος φυλάς | καὶ τριη-
ραρχήσαντος | καὶ γενομένου ἀγεμόνος ἐπὶ Καρίας | καὶ
ταμειύσαντος | καὶ στραταγήσαντος ἐν τῷ πέραν | καὶ
πρυτανεύσαντος.

5 Collection of decrees concerning the library (βιβλιοθήκα), Rhodos, second century BC.

Two fragments of originally at least four slabs, arranged two-by-two (cf. Rosamilia 2014, 332–334 and 353). Frg. a, containing minor remains of two decrees is part of the slab on the upper left, frg. b (still unpublished) is the lower-right slab carrying the right half of the text of three decrees. On the inscription, see Rosamilia 2014.

The inscriptions have been palaeographically dated to the second century. There are some historical arguments for a date after 168 BC (Wiemer 2002, 334 with n. 38) that will have to be reappraised once frg. b. has been published in full. The narrowing of the date to 140–120 BC proposed by Rosamilia 2014, 354–355 is based on a weak prosopographical parallel only.

Frg. a: Maiuri 1925, 7 no. 4; Rosamilia 2014, 349–355.

Frg. b: Papachristodoulou 1986 (excerpts and photo); Papachristodoulou 1990 (description and photo); cf. SEG 37, 699; Bringmann 2002, 72–73; Hoepfner 2002, 68–72 (with a hypothetical identification and reconstruction of the building); Chankowski 2010, 199 n. 278; Coqueugniot 2013, 134–136; Dreliosi-Iraklidou 2014, 44; Rosamilia 2014, 332–349.

In the second and third decree of frg. b, the first two lines after the date contain the phrase εἰς τὰν

βυ[βλι]οθήκαν, ἄν ἔχοντι τοῖ | [γυμνασιάρχου ἐν παρα-
- - (probably παραθήκαι, παρακαταθήκαι or παραφυ-
λακῶι) and εἰς τὸν βυβλιοθήκαν, ἄν ἔχοντι τοῖ γυμνα-
σιάρχου ἐν παρα- - - respectively. On this basis, the
same phrase can be supplemented in the first (or second)
line of the second decree on Frg. a (l. 11): εἰς τὸν βυβλιο-
θήκαν, ἄν ἔχοντι τοῖ γυμνασιάρχου ἐν παρα- - -.

The *gymnasiarchoi* are mentioned several times in
other parts of the decrees: frg. a, l. 6 (εἰ δὲ τίς κα τῶν
γυμνασιάρχων μὴ ἀναγρ[άφηι) and more often in the
unpublished text (cf. Papachristodoulou 1986, 267; Rosa-
milia 2014, 335–336). The plural probably refers to the
gymnasiarchos presbyteros and the *gymnasiarchos neoteris*
concurrently in office (cf. Segre 1935, 219), rather than
to a series of individual *gymnasiarchoi* in the future.

6 Victory lists of a *koinon*, Rhodos, mid-second
century BC: IG XII, 1, 127 A. Cf. Maillot 2009 and
Badoud 2015, 207 no. 51.

The list has seven entries following the pattern ἐπὶ
ἀγωνοθέτα τοῦ δεῖνος ἐνίκει φυλᾶ . . . , φύλαρχος ὁ δενα,
γυμνασιάρχος ὁ δεῖνα. There are three *phylai* (Νικασιω-
νήϊς, Βασιληῖς, Ὀλυμπιῖς), named after the founder of
the *koinon*, Nikasion from Kyzikos, his wife Olympias
from Soloi and their daughter-in-law, a Rhodian called
Basilis, daughter of Demetrios (cf. face B, l. 58–64).

7 Statue base, Rhodos, late second century BC:
Jacopí 1932b, 190–192 no. 19; DNO V, 3986.

l. 10–15: στρατευσάμενον ἐν τριημιολίαι καὶ ἐν ταῖς
| καταφράκτοις ναυσι καὶ | τιμαθέντα ὑπὸ Παναθηναῖ-
στᾶν στρατευομένων τοῦ κοινοῦ | καὶ στεφανωθέντα
χρυσέωι στεφάνωι καὶ | γενόμενον ἀγεμόνα ἄμισθον ἐπὶ
τᾶς χώρας τᾶς ἐν ταῖ νάσωι | καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα
φυλᾶ κατὰ Ἀλίεια μεγάλα.

8 Fragment of a statue base, Rhodos, second or
first century BC: Maiuri 1925, 35–36 no. 21 with correc-
tions by Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954a, 311 n. 2.

l. 1–6: - - - | [τα]μιεύσαν[τ]α κατ[ὰ] Ἀλίεια
καὶ στραταγήσαντα ἐπὶ | τ]ᾶς χώρας καὶ πρυ-
τανεύσαν[τα] ±10 καὶ | γυ]μνασι[αρχ]ήσαντα πρεσ-
βυτέρων [καὶ ἀγωνοθε[τή]σαντ[α] (?) καὶ τρι-
ηρα[ρ]χήσαντα πεντή[ρ]ευς καὶ | χ]οραγήσαντα κω-
μωδῶν κ[αὶ ν]ικάσαντ[α] ± 5 (?) καὶ | δα]μιουργήσαντα
ἐν Καμίρωι.

Maiuri's restoration καὶ [στραταγήσαντα ἐπὶ | τ]ᾶς
χώρας in l. 1 is too short, and the spacing between KA
and the lower end of a vertical stroke indicated by his

drawing fits KAT better than KAI. In l. 4, Maiuri has
πεντή[ρ]εων (with ΠΕΝΤΕ in the drawing) but when a
type of ship is added to the title of a *trierarchos* in Rho-
dian inscriptions, it is always named in the singular.

9 Statue base, Rhodos, ca. 100–90 BC: Maiuri
1925, 32–35 no. 20; Badoud 2015, 398 no. 31.

--- | [ἀ βου]λᾶ [ἀ βο]υ[λευσασ]α τᾶ[ν] | ἑξάμηνον
| τὰν ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀγλωχάρτου | καὶ ἐπ' ἱερέως Φαινίλα
| καὶ τοῖ συνάξαντες | πρυτάνιες, γραμματεῦς βουλᾶς,
| στραταγοί, ταμίαι, ἀστυνόμοι, | ἀγωνοθέται, γυμνα-
σιάρχου, | ἐπίσκοποι, ἀγορανόμοι, ἐμπορίου | ἐπιμελη-
ταί, | ἐπιστάται τῶν παίδων, | σιτοφύλακες, | κάρυξ
βουλᾶ καὶ δάμοι. | θεοῖς.

10 Statue base with CV, Rhodos, ca. 70 BC:
Maiuri 1925, 19–29 no. 18. Cf. Kah 2016, 270–271; for
the date cf. Appendix II.

l. 3–18: [σ]τρατευσά[μ]ενον ἐν τε τοῖς ἀφράκτοις
καὶ ἐν ταῖς καταφράκτοις | [να]υσι κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ
γενόμενον ἀγεμόνα ἄμισθον ἐπὶ τᾶς | [χ]ώρας τᾶς
Λινδίας καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα φυλᾶ[ς] καὶ νικάσαν-
τα | [Π]οσειδάνια καὶ Ῥωμαῖα καὶ Ἀλίεια καὶ γυμνα-
σιαρχήσαντα νεώτερον | [καὶ κ]λαρωτᾶν δικαστᾶν γε-
νόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἀφράκτων καὶ | [ἀγ]ησάμενον
πεντηρέων κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ ἀποδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ |
δάμου ἀγεμόνα τῶν ἀγεμόνων καὶ ναυμαχίασαντα καὶ
στραταγή|σαντα ἐν τῶι πέραν καὶ ἐπιχειροτονηθέντα
τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἐπιχειρο|τονηθέντα τὸ τρίτον καὶ γυμ-
νασιαρχήσαντα πρεσβύτερον καὶ | γραμματῆ βουλᾶς
γενόμενον καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων
| καὶ πρυτανεύσαντα ἐν τῶι πολέμωι καὶ στεφανω-
θέντα ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων καὶ γενόμενον σύμβου-
λον ναυάρχωι Δαμαγόρωι καὶ φυλαρχήσαντα καὶ νι-
κάσαντα ἐπιτάφια καὶ τριηραρχήσαντα τετρήρευς | καὶ
νικάσαντα ταῖ ἀποδείξει τᾶς ναὸς καὶ χ[ορ]αγήσαντα
πυρρίχαι | καὶ τριηραρχήσαντα τετρήρευς κατὰ πόλε-
μον καὶ χοραγήσαντα | τραγωδοῖς καὶ νικάσαντα Ἀλε-
ξάνδρεια καὶ Διονύσια.

11 Statue base, Rhodos, ca. 80–70 BC (?): IG
XII, 1, 46; Badoud 2015, 399–404, no. 3. For the date and
further details see Appendix II.

l. 1–2 (part a Badoud): [Ἀσκληπι]ᾶδαν Ἄνδρονίκο[υ]
| γυμ]να[σι]αρχο]ν πρεσβύτερον κατὰ Ῥωμαῖα.

12 Statue base with CV, Lindos, ca. 85–40 BC:
I. Lindos II, 707 with a correction by Badoud 2015, 170
no. A 26.

l. 2–7: [νι]κάσαντα Ἀλίεια παῖδας πάλαν καὶ τριη-

ραρχήσαντα | [δι]κρότου καὶ φυλαρήσαντα φυλᾶς Λινδίας καὶ νικάσαντα | [Ε]πιτάφια καὶ στρατευσάμενον ἔν τε τοῖς ἀφράκτοις καὶ | [τ]αῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν | [σ]υστρατευσαμένων καὶ τριηραρχήσαντα ἀφράκτου καὶ | [γ]υμνασιαρχήσαντα νεωτέρων.

13 Dedication, Rhodos, ca. 60 BC: Maiuri 1925, 46–47 no. 36. On the date: Badoud 2015, 210 no. 127.

Θευφανίσκος Ἀρχοκράτης, | Κλεύθεμις Χαριδάμου, | γυμνασιαρχήσαντες | κατὰ μεγάλα Ἀλιεία.

14 Fragment of a statue base, Rhodos, first century BC: Konstantinopoulos 1964, 11, no. 14; pl. 4 β.

[τὸν δεῖνα γυμν]ασιαρχήσαν[τα – – –] | Ἀφροδείσιος ΑΘ[– – –] | Γυελῶν | Μόσχος | [Ρ]οδοκλῆς | [– – –]Α[– – –] | – – –.

15 Fragmentary dedication, Rhodos, first century BC: Kontorini 1989a, 56–59 no. 6; pl. VIII α; SEG 39, 738.

[ὁ δεῖνα γυμν]ασιαρχήσας [– – – | – – –]ΤΕΙ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ [– – – | – – – καὶ ποιησάμενο]ς τὰν θέσιν τοῦ ἔλ[αίου – – – | – – – Ἀλεξάνδ]ρεια (?), Ἀλιῶι καὶ τῶ[ι δάμωι – – –].

Dated to the first century BC, this inscription is considerably older than the next epigraphic testimony for the θέσις τοῦ ἐλαίου in 45 AD (18). But the use of Iota adscriptum after Omega does not encourage a much later dating of the dedication.

16 Fragment, Ialysos, Hellenistic: Jacopi 1932a, 107 no. 8; Papachristodoulou 1989, 175 no. 15.

– – – | [– – –]ερατ[– – – | – – – κ]αὶ γυμνασ[– – –] | – – –.

Likely a part of a CV, with *ι]ερατ[εῦσαντα* and *γυμνασ[ιαρχήσαντα* (or other forms of the participles).

17 Statue base with CV, Rhodos, ca. 15–50 AD: Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954b, 240 no. 29 a.

l. 5: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα νεωτ[έ]ρων καὶ [.]ρλ[– – –] | – – – (at the beginning of a CV).

The honorand is also known from a Lindian statue base dated to 10 AD (I. Lindos II, 392 b), where apart from a lot of honours he obviously received together with his father and mother (cf. I. Lindos II, 391 and 392 a), the only activities of his mentioned are his service in the fleet (documented only indirectly in an honour by a military association) and a victory in a chariot race (I. Lindos II, 392 b. l. 7–8). Thus he had probably not yet held public office at this time. The *gymnasiarchia*

mentioned on 17 must be at least some years later, but since the base is broken at the bottom it is also possible that a long CV followed, dating the base closer to the middle of the first century BC.

18 Statue base with CV, Rhodos, 45 AD: IG XII, 1, 829; I. Lindos II, 384 d; Badoud 2015, 439–441 no. 63. On the date see Habicht 1990 (SEG 40, 668).

l. 4–14: ταμειύσα[ντ]α καὶ γενόμενον γραμματῆ | βουλᾶς καὶ [π]ρυτανεύσαντα καὶ πάντα | πράξαντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δάμῳ ἐν τῷ | τᾶς ἀ[ρχᾶς χ]ρόνῳ καὶ προφατεύσαντα | καὶ [γυμνασια]ρχήσαντα πρεσβύτερον καὶ | [ποιησάμ]ε[ν]ον τὰν θέσιν τοῦ ἐλαίου | [δωρεάν καὶ ποι]ησάμενον καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τὰν | [θέσιν τοῦ ἐλ]αίου καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα | πλ[ε]ο[νάκις, γεν]όμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐπανγελίαις | καὶ προ[ῖσφορα]ῖς.

19 Statue base with CV, Lindos, ca. 70–120 AD: I. Lindos II, 454.

l. 13–16: γυμνασιαρχή[σ]αντα νεώτερο[ν καὶ ποιη]σάμενον | τὰν θέσιν τοῦ ἐλ[αίου καὶ ἄρξαντα] | ἀρχᾶς.

Blinkenberg's date of 80–100 AD (accepted by Badoud 2015, 239 no. 823 without discussion) is based on his supplement καὶ ἱερατε[ύσαντα – – – τοῦ] | Αὐτοκράτο[ρο]ς [Καίσαρος Δομεττία]νοῦ in l. 17–18. In the commentary, he admits that the restoration is uncertain and other emperors' names are also possible. He argues that Domitian fits the palaeography of the inscription best, but Οὐεσπασια[νοῦ] (which may be too long) or Τραῖα[νοῦ] (possibly preceded by Νέρουα instead of Καίσαρος) would be chronologically well within the margin of error of even a rather precise palaeographic dating.

20 Statue base with CV, Lindos, between 80 and 90 AD: Bresson 2004, 225–228 no. 1 (combining Maiuri 1916, 147–148 no. 20 and I. Lindos II, 384 b and f); see also Habicht 1990 and SEG 40, 668; cf. SEG 54, 721.

l. 8–16: γυμνα[σ]ιαρχήσαντα νεωτέρων καὶ ποιησάμενον [τὰν] | θέσιν τοῦ ἐλα[ί]ου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ ὄλον τὸν ἐν(αυτὸν [καὶ] | πρεσβεύσαντ[α ἰ]ς Ῥώμαν ποτὶ τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς δωρεάν καὶ | ποτὶ ἀνθυπάτουσ καὶ στραταγούσ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐπιτρόπουσ | τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἴσ τε Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ Λυκίαν πλεονάκις | καὶ καλλίστω[ν] ἀποκριμ[ά]των ἀξιοθέντα, γενόμενον δὲ καὶ | θεωρὸν ἰς τὸν ἀγόμενον ἀγῶνα ἐν Νεαπόλει καὶ ἐν ἐπανγελί[αι]σ καὶ προῖσφοραῖς.

21 Statue base with CV, Rhodos, between 80 and 90 AD: Pugliese Carratelli 1939–1940, 154–155 no. 14;

pl. XII; Bresson 2004, 228–230 no. 2; SEG 54, 723.

l. 5–14: γυμ[νασιαρχήσαντα | νεω]τέρων καὶ ποιη-
σάμενον τᾶ[ν θέσιν τοῦ ἐλαίου | ἐ]κ [τ]ῶ[ν ἰ]δ[ί]ων ἐπὶ
μῆνας δέκα δύο κ[αὶ ἱερατεύσαντα | Ἀθά]νας Λινδίας
καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως κ[αὶ Ἀρτάμιτος | Κεκ]ρίας καὶ πρε-
σβεύσαντα πλεονάκ[ις ἰς Ῥώμαν | πο]τρί [τ]ε τοὺς Σε-
βαστοὺς καὶ ποτὶ ἀνθ[υπάτους καὶ | ποτὶ ἐπι]τρόπους
καὶ τυχόντα τᾶ[ς] Ῥωμα[ίων πολι]τείας κ[αὶ] γενόμε-
νον ἀρχιθέρων ἰς Ὀ[λυμπίαν | καὶ τ]ραπεζιτεύσαντα
καὶ πο[ι]ησάμε[νον ἐπανγελί]ας κ[αὶ] προεἰσφορᾶς μει-
ζόνων κεφαλα[ίων].

The honorand whose name is lost is probably T. Flavius Aglochartos, honoured in 20 (as proposed by Bresson 2004, 230–232) since both CVs exhibit a number of similar entries: honours by the three tribal centres, the *gymnasiarchia* of the *neoterói* and the θέσις τοῦ ἐλαίου, the priesthood of Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus, the embassies, and participation in *epangeliai* and *proeisphorai*. However, both CVs also show some differences, which may be due to their respective redactions. But since neither the identical functions nor their sequence are uncommon, it is not impossible that the bases belonged to statues of two separate honorands with similar CVs.

22 Statue base with CV, Rhodos, ca. 100 AD: I. Lindos II, 449. Cf. Badoud 2015, 236 no. 821.

l. 5–8: τριηραρχήσαντα, ἱερατεύσα[ντα] | τῶν
Αὐτοκρατόρων, γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ποιη[σάμε]νον
τᾶν θέσιν τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπὶ μῆνας δεκατρεῖς,
ἀ[γω]νοθετήσαντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Ἀλείων ἀγῶνος,
ταμ[ι]εύσαντα, πρυτανεύσαντα καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα,
τειμα|θέντα τρεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων καὶ τοῦ
Λινδίων, | ἐν προεἰσφοραῖς καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν π(λ)εῖοσιν
γενόμενον, | χοραγήσαντα δῖς, ἱερωήσαντα.

For the intercalary 13th month in Rhodian chrono-
logy see Badoud 2015, 138–140.

23 Statue base with CV, Lindos, middle of the
second century AD: I. Lindos II, 482 (see Appendix III).

l. 2–5: ἱερατεύσαντα | τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀλίου κατὰ
τὸ ἄ[στυ, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Δαμα]γόραν δ' γυμνασίαρχον
νεώτερ[ον (or νεωτέρων)] γενόμενον κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυ[τ]ὸν
τᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἱερωσύν[ας].

l. 8–10: χρεοφυλακήσαντα, γυμ[νασιαρχή]σαντα
πρεσβύτερον (or πρεσβυτέρων), γραμμα[τεύσαντα] βου-
λάς, ταμειύσαν[τα, στραταγήσαντα, πρυτανεύ]σαντα.

24 Fragment of an honorary column, Rhodes,
late first or second century AD: Maiuri 1925, 48–50

no. 38. Cf. Badoud 2015, 187 no. A 87.

l. 5–6: τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου | τῶν ἱε-
ρῶν καὶ εἰσελαστικῶν τῶν μεγάλων | Ἀλείων ἀγῶνων
καὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀλίου.

This list of public functions is unusual for Rhodian
CVs insofar it uses nouns and not participles. Since it is
very unlikely that the honorand was *gymnasiarchos*, *agono-
thetes* and priest of Halios all in one year, the syntax is
probably a reflex of Latin usage.

25 Fragment of a statue base, Lindos, after 161
AD (?): Pugliese Carratelli 1955–1956, 168 no. 18. Cf.
Badoud 2015, 140 n. 38 (for the date) and 238 no. 18.

– – – | [– – –] θεοῖς. | [ἐπ' ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς
Λινδ]ίας (?) Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀγήτορος β' καὶ ἐπὶ
γυμ[νασιάρχου τοῦ δεῖνος].

Badoud 2015, 140 n. 38 dates the base to ca. 141/142
AD, identifying the priest of Athena Lindia mentioned
as the one honoured in IG XII, 1, 832 whose name
was previously restored as [Πόπλιον Αἴ]λιον Ἀγήτορα β'
(l. 1). Prosopographically, the identification seems plau-
sible, and the restoration [Μάρκον Αὐρή]λιον fits the re-
mains indicated in IG XII, 1. But it is unlikely for a Rho-
dian to have acquired the Roman name Marcus Aurelius
before 161 AD. So if Badoud's identification is correct,
IG XII, 1, 382 should be disconnected from the great
earthquake dated to 141/142 AD (for the date cf. Del-
rieux 2008, 220–221 with n. 72). Placing the fragmentary
base in the later second or early third century AD would
also put the secondary dating by a *gymnasiarchos* closer
to the only other documented case of this practice in 26
(180 AD).

26 Monumental base for eight statues, Lindos,
ca. 180 AD: Lindos II, 465. Cf. Robert 1966a, 84 n. 1;
Badoud 2015, 187 no. A 87.

All statues were dedicated by the priest of Athana
Lindia and of Zeus Polieus, the *mastroi* and the Lindi-
ans. They honour the *gymnasiarchos* himself (f, l. 3–8):
Πόπλιον Αἴλιον Καλλίστρατον | τὸν καὶ Πλαγκιανὸν
Ἀντιπά[τρου Ἐρ(ειναῖ)] τὸν δι' αἰῶνος φιλο|τειμότητα
ἐν τᾷ μεγάλῃ | πόλει Ῥόδῳ ἐπώνυμον | γυμνασίαρχον
νεώτερον, his maternal grandfather (a), his wife (b), his
mother (c), his father (d), his uncle (e), his fraternal
grandmother (g) and his fraternal grandfather (h).

Base g, l. 5–13: ἐπαγγει[λα]μέ[ναν] μετὰ τοῦ υ[ί]οῦ
αὐτᾶς τοῦ γυμνασιάρχ[ου] Πο. Αἴλ. | Θέωνος διὰ
γρ[αμ]μάτων καὶ τᾷ μεγάλῃ π[ό]λει Ῥόδῳ | τᾶν δι'

αἰῶνος ἐπώνυμον τοῦ προδηλ[ου]μέ|νου ἐκγόνου αὐτᾶς
 γυμνασιαρχίαν κ[αί] ἱερεῦ|σι καὶ μαστρο[ί]ς καὶ Λιν-
 δίοις τὰς κατ' ἔτο[ς] νο|μὰς καὶ ἐλαιοθέσια ἰς αἰδίων
 μνάμαν [καί] ἐπώ|νυμον τειμᾶν τοῦ προγεγραμ(μ)ένο[υ]
 | Καλλιστράτου τοῦ καὶ Πλαγκιανοῦ. Cf. base e, l. 6–16.

Part i (set below the bases): [ἐπὶ γυμνασιάρχου νε-
 ωτέρου Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Καλλιστρ]άτου τοῦ καὶ Πλα-
 γκιανοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου Ἐρειναέως.

The uncle Publius A[elius] Theon, son of Zenodotos alias Theon, had also been *gymnasiarchos*, a fact only mentioned on the base of the statue of the grandmother Aelia Zenodote (g, l. 6). Since he is not called γυμνασιαρχήσας, strictly he should have held the office at the time the bases were dedicated, resulting in a ‘family team’ of uncle and nephew officiating in both *gymnasiarchiai* in the same year. But the use of the noun could also be explained as resulting from Latin influence (cf. the comment on 24).

27 Graffito, Rhodos, undated: Pugliese Carratelli 1955–1956, 161 no. 15.

Face a, l. 1–6: ...ου Θεοδώρο[υ] | γυμνασιαρχή[σαντος (?)].

28 Fragment, Megiste, undated (based on Diamantaras’ rendering of the letters probably Hellenistic): Diamantaras 1894, 332 no. 19; Ashton 1995, 28 no. C 5.

--- | [---]ς γυμνασια[ρχ---] | ---.

The kind of monument the fragment belonged to cannot be determined, since the *editio princeps* offers no information beyond the letters themselves and the find-spot in a private house, and the stone itself seems to be lost. The remains can be restored either as a form of γυμνασιαρχήσας or one of γυμνασιάρχος, probably referring to a Rhodian *gymnasiarchos* since it is very unlikely that the small island had a *gymnasion* of its own and Megiste clearly belonged to Rhodes, being garrisoned in Hellenistic times (cf. Bresson 1999, 104–106). Since it is unclear what a *gymnasiarchos* would have been doing on the island, or why someone would have erected a monument with a CV there, one should consider that the fragment originated from Rhodes itself.

(b) The *gymnasion* in Rhodes

29 Decree regulating the furnishing of oil, Rhodos, first century AD: IG XII, 1, 3; SIG³ III, 974; Badoud 2015, 360–361 no. 17.

l. 1–4: τῶ[ν] | ἀνδρῶν, οἵτ]ινες θησεῦντι καὶ πωλη-
 σεῦντι τὸ ἔλαιον ἰς τ[ὸ] | γυμνάσιον ἀ]φθόνως καὶ ἀνεπι-
 κωλύτως ποιούμενοι τὰν θέ[σιν] ἀ]φθόνως καὶ ἀνεπι-
 κωλύτως ποιούμενοι τὰν θέ[σιν] | ἀναγράψαι ὀ]πόσας
 κα ἕκαστοι λάχωντι ἀμέρας κτλ.

A day-by-day list of contributors deriving from this or a similar regulation is IG XII, 1, 4 (Badoud 2015, 361–366 no. 18).

30 Fragmentary regulations concerning the pentathlon, Rhodos (in the vicinity of the *gymnasion*), first century AD (?): Pugliese Carratelli 1952–1954a, 289–290 no. 65; Moretti 1956; SEG 15, 501.

Col. I, l. 18–20: [ἀγ]ωνοθε[---] γυ]μνασι|[---].

The scant remains of the first column allow no certain restorations. In l. 19, supplementing a form of γυμνασιάρχος as well as one of γυμνάσιον would result in a word division not conforming to the syllabification usually employed in Greek inscriptions.

31 Fragment of an honorary decree, Rhodos, second century AD: Maiuri 1925, 6–7 no. 3.

l. 2–4: προνοησάμενον τὰς τοῦ γυμνα|[σίου ἐλαιο-
 θεσίας (?)] ἀκολουθῶς ταῖς θεῖαις νομοθεσίαι[ς] | ---.

The context cannot be restored with any certainty from the remains. Instead of τὰς τοῦ γυμνα|[σίου ἐλαιο-
 θεσίας], one could consider either a genitive singular (with τᾶς) or the supplement *χρείας*, giving the passage a more general sense.

Appendix II: Dating IG XII, 1, 46 (11) and Maiuri 1925, 19–29 no. 18 (10)

A monument of special interest for the Rhodian *gymnasiarchiai* is IG XII, 1, 46 (11), a statue base for Asklepiadas, son of Andronikos, γυμνασιάρχος πρεσβύτερος κατὰ Ῥωμαῖα, that has recently been reedited and redated by Nathan Badoud (Badoud 2015, 399–404, no. 3). The inscription consists of four columns of names after a short dedicatory text already cited in Appendix I. Badoud 2015, 121 calculates ca. 446 names; the total is uncertain, as in the first column the beginnings of several lines are lost, and some of the extant endings may not belong to a patronymic, but to the name of a grandfather or an adoptive father, in which case the name would extend to two lines. Since the honorand was

gymnasiarchos presbyteros, it is generally assumed that the men listed were the *presbyteroi* (cf. Hiller von Gaertringen 1929, 351).

The dating to the first half of the first century BC proposed by Holleaux 1893, 173–175 (Holleaux 1938, 383–386) has been specified to ca. 70 BC based on prosopographical arguments by van Gelder in the commentary to GDI III, 1, 3791 (p. 457). Since according to the chronology established by Blinkenberg 1938, 25, the closest Rhomaia had been held in 69 BC, Benediktsson 1938 proposed dating the base to ca. 68 BC. Fraser 1953, 41 n. 3 summarized the discussion to “ca. 75 B. C.,” while the text is dated to “ca. 75–68 B.C.” in SEG 53, 824. Nathan Badoud now dates it to 80 BC (Badoud 2015, 131–132; cf. Badoud 2010, 133, no. D 8, with 81 BC).

One important element of Badoud’s argumentation is that since a *gymnasiarchia* exercised *κατὰ Ῥωμαῖα* is not attested anywhere else, the festival must have been special. That is probably correct: not so much based on comparison with the single other *gymnasiarchos* attested as having officiated *κατὰ μέγαρα Ἀλιεία*, but because of the fact that while this addition can be found with a considerable number of other public functions, 11 provides the only instance where another festival is linked to an office in this way.³⁵ Badoud’s conclusion that these Rhomaia had an extraordinary status, prompted by the privileges awarded to Rhodes after the First Mithridatic War, is not implausible. But the chain of probabilities does not provide a firm base for the dating. Apart from the fact that Badoud’s date for the privileges in 82 BC, linked to Sulla’s return to Rome, might be a little early,³⁶ the Rhodians had many other occasions for celebrating their friendship with Rome in the following years, such as the Roman victory in the Third Mithridatic War or Pompey’s triumph over the pirates.

Badoud’s main line of argumentation is prosopographical. Here only a extensive analysis of the cata-

logue, which Badoud does not provide and which I cannot attempt here, will yield a definite result. I will explicate only one point arguing against Badoud’s date which is relevant in the context of the inscriptions discussed in this article:³⁷ Despite having been *gymnasiarchos presbyteros* himself, the honorand of 10, Polykles, is not mentioned in 11. Assuming that the catalogue in 11 names all *presbyteroi* alive or at least active when the statue was erected, the simplest explanation is that Polykles was already dead at this time.³⁸ Following Maiuri, Badoud dates 10 to ca. 80 BC, so that it could predate 11 slightly.³⁹ But this date is difficult to maintain: As mentioned above, Polykles reached the pinnacle of his political career during the First Mithridatic War (88–85 BC), and he held at least five public functions afterwards, one of them a posting as *trierarchos* in wartime (*κατὰ πόλεμον*: 10, l. 17). While dating this *trierarchia* to 85 BC is not impossible, it would mean that three of the functions mentioned before – a *phylarchia*, a command of a *tetrereis* Polykles had apparently not performed *κατὰ πόλεμον*, and a *choregia* (10, l. 14–16), each combined with a victory in a competition – have to be compressed into a period of just three years. Thus it seems more plausible that these activities should be dated after 85 BC and that the war mentioned was one of the Roman campaigns against ‘pirates’ between 78 and 67 BC or the Third Mithridatic War (74–63 BC). This would date Polykles’ statue to ca. 70 BC, arguing that if 11 is to be dated at least a short time later, one should reconsider the proposal made by van Gelder and Benediktsson.

35 Cf. p. 2.

36 Badoud 2015, 132. A Rhodian embassy to the senate including the orator Apollonios Molon and pleading for a reward for the Rhodians’ assistance against Mithridates is placed by Cicero shortly before his defence of Sex. Roscius in the year 80 BC (Cic. Brut. 90 [312]: *eodem tempore Moloni dedimus operam; dictatore enim Sulla legatus ad senatum de Rhodiorum praemiis venerat*). Accordingly, Schmitt 1957, 182 dates the visit to 81 BC, but it might have been even later. Therefore, it is not certain that the Roman decision was made soon enough for the Rhodians to turn the Rhomaia of 80 BC into a special event.

37 There is one additional basic point of criticism: A cornerstone of Badoud’s prosopographical reasoning, also employed by others (cf.

Benediktsson 1938), is the mentioning respectively omission of an adoption in the name formulae used in 11 and parallel texts obviously recording the same person. Yet as it is at least possible that an adoption could be omitted in certain documents because it was regarded as inconsequential in the context (I. Lindos I, col. 96 n. 1; Fraser 1953, 31; Poma 1972, 197–198; Gabrielsen 1997, 198 n. 5), there needs to be a broader discussion as to the validity of this argument.

38 Of course there is the possibility that members of the *presbyteroi* had abstained from participating in the honours for Andronikos for personal or political reasons. But this seems rather unlikely.

39 Maiuri 1925, 22; Badoud 2015, 210, no. 122.

Appendix III: I. Lindos II, 482 (23)

The office of *gymnasiarchos* is mentioned twice in a part of a CV on a fragmentary statue base found on the acropolis of Lindos and published by Christian Blinkenberg as I. Lindos II, 482. The inscription has now been dated by Nathan Badoud to the middle of the second century AD (Badoud 2015, 237 no. 841). With the correction proposed by Badoud 2015, 186 n. 429 the text reads as follows:

 [τ]ᾶς Ἀθά[νας τ]ᾶς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν πόλ[ει,
 δαμιουργήσαν]-
 τα τᾶ ἐν Καμίρω Ἐστία καὶ τῶ Διὶ τ[ῶ Τελείω, ιε-
 ρατεύσαντα]
 τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀλίου κατὰ τὸ ἄ[στυ καὶ Δαμα]-
 4 γόραν δ' γυμνασίαρχον νεώτερ[ον κατὰ τὸν
 ἐνιαυ]-
 τὸν τᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἱερωσύν[ας Ἀθάνας
 Πολι]-
 ἄδος καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως καὶ Ἡρακλ[εῦς, -----
 - -]-
 τα, ἀγεμονεύσαντα τᾶς χώρας, ἱερ[οταμιεύ-
 σαντα],
 8 χρεοφυλακήσαντα, γυ(μ)νασιαρχή[σαντα,
 γραμμα]-
 τεύσαντα βουλᾶς, ταμιεύσαν[τα, πρυτανεύ]-
 σαντα, ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Ῥω[μαίων, πρεσ]-
 βεύσαντα ποτὶ τε τοὺς Ἀψ[τοκράτορας καὶ ἐν]
 12 προῖσ[φο]ραῖς μείζ(ο)[σι γενόμενον -----]

3-4 Badoud: κατα το α[- - - και - -]|γοραν Δ I. Lindos 8 γυμνασιαρχη lap. 10 Ρω[- - - I. Lindos 12 μείζω lap.

The inscription honoured a man called Damagoras (for the identification cf. Badoud 2015, 186 no. A 83) who had held a number of Rhodian priesthoods (l. 1-7) and other public offices (l. 7-12). Blinkenberg's reconstruction of the text should be reviewed, the first and most obvious problem being that, in its restored form, line 2 is considerably longer than the other lines. Since the restoration of this line is without alternative (sup-

plementing the shorter *ιερέα* instead of *ιερατεύσαντα* does not conform to the list of participles), one should consider that the other supplements are too short. Further arguments for this proposition are: (1) In l. 4 *γυμνασίαρχον* should be complemented by *γενόμενον*. (2) The *gymnasiarchia* of the younger Damagoras must have been dated by his father's eponymous priesthood of Halios mentioned in l. 3-4. Therefore, the priesthoods following τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἱερωσύν[ας in l. 5 should be preceded by *ιερατεύσαντα*. (3) After *πρεσ]*βεύσαντα ποτὶ τε τοὺς Ἀψ[τοκράτορας in l. 11 (if the reading qualified by Blinkenberg as "très douteuse" is correct) a second destination of the honorand's embassies must be added.⁴⁰

Without having the space to go into further detail, I propose the following preliminary restoration:

 [τ]ᾶς Ἀθά[νας τ]ᾶς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν πόλ[ει, - - - -
 δαμιουργήσαν]-
 τα τᾶ ἐν Καμίρω Ἐστία καὶ τῶ Διὶ τ[ῶ Τελείω, ιε-
 ρατεύσαντα]
 τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀλίου κατὰ τὸ ἄ[στυ, τὸν υἱὸν
 αὐτοῦ Δαμα]-
 4 γόραν δ' γυμνασίαρχον νεώτερ[ον γενόμενον
 κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυ]-
 τὸν τᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἱερωσύν[ας, ιερα-
 τεύσαντα Ἀθάνας Πολι]-
 ἄδος καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως καὶ Ἡρακλ[εῦς - - - - -
 - - - - -]-
 τα, ἀγεμονεύσαντα τᾶς χώρας, ἱερ[οταμιεύ-
 σαντα, - - - -],
 8 χρεοφυλακήσαντα, γυ(μ)νασιαρχή[σαντα πρε-
 σβύτερον, γραμμα]-
 τεύσαντα βουλᾶς, ταμιεύσαν[τα, στραταγήσα-
 ντα, πρυτανεύ]-
 σαντα, ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Ῥω[μαίων, -----
 - - - -, πρεσ]-
 βεύσαντα ποτὶ τε τοὺς Ἀψ[τοκράτορας καὶ ποτὶ
 ἀνθυπάτους, ἐν]
 12 προῖσ[φο]ραῖς μείζ(ο)[σι γενόμενον -----
 - - - - -]

40 Cf. 21, l. 9-12: πρεσβεύσαντα πλεονάκ[ις ἰς Ῥώμαν | πο]τὶ [τ]ε τοὺς Σε-
 βαστοὺς καὶ ποτὶ ἀνθ[υπάτους καὶ | ποτὶ ἐπι]τρόπους.

4 νεώτερον or νεωτέρων | 8 πρεσβύτερον or πρεσβυτέρων.

For ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Ῥωμαίων in l. 10 cf. SEG 39, 749 (Kontorini 1989a, 145–148 no. 62; cf. Badoud 2015, 187 no. A 90), l. 1–3: ἱερεὺς Ἥλιου καὶ ἀγωνοθετῆς τοῦ ἀγῶνος | τῶν Ῥωμαίων. The oddity that the son's office is inserted into the father's CV retaining the accusative of the main list (instead of using a *genitivus absolutus*, for instance) remains, but I do not see how this could be solved in any case. Otherwise, the inscription contains a typical Rhodian CV listing a *gymnasiarchia*, with all probability that of the *presbyteroi*, alongside other public functions.

Appendix IV: The *gymnasiarchia* of Nisyros

In addition to the evidence for the *gymnasiarchiai* of Rhodes proper, there is one inscription mentioning a *gymnasiarchos* active on Nisyros. Situated north-west of Rhodes, the island had been incorporated into the *polis* of Rhodes probably at the very end of the third century BC, forming a *damos* of its own. A CV inscription on a statue base dated to the first century AD documents that the honorand, a member of the local *damos*, had served in the (Rhodian) navy, had been crowned several times

by the council (of Rhodes), had been priest of the Emperors in Nisyros, *damiourgos* and *gymnasiarchos* in Nisyros and had distributed oil for 13 months. Since it is evident from the text that the *gymnasiarchia* is a local institution and not one of Rhodes, I did not include it in the catalogue in Appendix I.⁴¹

The inscription is the sole evidence for a *gymnasiarchia* on Nisyros or one of the other islands belonging to the Rhodian state (cf. the commentary to 28). As far as I know, there is no archaeological record of a *gymnasion* on Nisyros (or, for that matter, for a temple of a local Imperial cult). Based on this scant evidence, there is no way to determine whether the *gymnasiarchia* was a relic from the independent *polis* of Nisyros of the third century BC or, like the imperial cult, a new development of the first century AD. The CV itself reveals a special position of Nisyros: Following the Rhodian model in its overall arrangement, it offers some apparently local variations, one of them in the description of the distribution of oil: The text from Nisyros has θέντα τὸ ἔλαιον, whereas the Rhodian inscriptions use ποιησάμενος τὰν θέσιν τοῦ ἔλαιου, and there is no parallel text from Rhodes where the recipients of the distribution are named, much less enumerated as distinct groups (cf. the evidence discussed in note 21).⁴²

41 IG XII, 3, 104, l. 1–11: Γνωμαγόραν Δωροθέου | Νεισύριον | στρατεύσασμενον ἐν τριημιολίᾳ, ἧ ὄνομα Εὐανδρία Σεβαστά, καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τὰν βουλᾶν πλεονάκις χρυσέοις στεφάνοις καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα ἐν Νισύρῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ δαμιουργήσαντα καὶ | γυμνασιαρχήσαντα{ν} ἐν Νισύρῳ καὶ θέντα τὸ ἔλαιον πᾶσι ἐλευθέροις καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσι ἐν Νεισύρῳ καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδαμῆσιν ἐπὶ μῆνες (l. μῆνας) ἑξήκοντα. For the historical evidence for Nisyros as a part of Rhodos see Pa-

pachristodoulou 1989, 47.

42 The other variation is the description of the honorand's merits concerning the local associations heading the otherwise conventional list of honours awarded by associations at the end of the CV (l. 11–12: γενόμενον εὐάρεστον πᾶσι τοῖς κοινείοις τοῖς ἐν Νισύρῳ), the term *κοινεῖον* being a synonym for *κοινόν* rarely found in inscriptions generally and never on Rhodes.

		line
honorand	[Damagoras, son of Damagoras, grandson of Damagoras]	
dedicant(s)	---	
priesthoods	[priest] of Athana in <i>Achaia polis</i> (Ialysos)	1
	[<i>damiourgos</i>] to Hestia and Zeus [Teleios] in Kamiros	1–2
	[priest] of the Halios in the city	2–3
	[his son Dama]goras [being] <i>gymnasiarchos neoterios</i> (or of the <i>neoterioi</i>)	3–5
	in the year of his father's (eponymous) priesthood	3–5
	priest of Athana Polias, Zeus Polieus and Herakles	5–6
	[---]	6–7
	commander of the territory (<i>ἀγεμὼν τᾶς χώρας</i>)	7
	temple-treasurer (<i>ἱεροταμίως</i>)	7
	[---]	7
public offices and functions	superintendent of the archive (<i>chreophylax</i>)	8
	<i>gymnasiarchos</i> [<i>presbyteros</i> (or of the <i>presbyteroi</i>)]	8
	secretary of the council (<i>γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς</i>)	8–9
	treasurer (<i>tamias</i>)	9
	[<i>strategos</i>]	9
	[<i>prytanis</i>]	9–10
	<i>agonothetes</i> of the <i>Rhomaia</i>	10
	[---]	10
	ambassador to emperors as well as [to governors]	10–11
	participating in major <i>proeisphorai</i>	11–12

Tab. 6 CV in I. Lindos II 482 (23).

		line
honorand	Gnomagoras, son of Dorotheos, from the <i>damos</i> Nisyrioi	1–2
public offices, functions and honours	military service on the <i>tribemolia</i> named Euandria Sebasta	2–3
	crowned several times by the (Rhodian) councils	3–5
	priest of the imperial cult in Nisyros	5–6
	<i>damiourgos</i>	6
	<i>gymnasiarchos</i> in Nisyros and distributing oil for 13 months	6–11

Tab. 7 CV in IG XII 3, 104.

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