

RHODIAN EPONYM: ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ

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DISSERTATIONES VIII  
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Otto Mørkholm  
ANTIOCHUS IV OF  
SYRIA //

I KOMMISSION HOS  
Gyldendalske Boghandel · Nordisk Forlag A/s  
KØBENHAVN 1966.



CLASSICA ET MEDIAEVALIA · DISSERTATIONES VIII

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## Contents

Preface .. .. .	7
Abbreviations .. .. .	8
Introduction .. .. .	11
Chapter I. The Seleucid Kingdom after Apamea .. .. .	22
Chapter II. The Accession of Antiochus IV .. .. .	38
Chapter III. The Relations of Antiochus IV with the Greek World .. .. .	51
Chapter IV. The First Invasion of Egypt .. .. .	64
Chapter V. The Second Invasion of Egypt and the Roman Intervention .. .. .	88
Chapter VI. The Administration .. .. .	102
Chapter VII. The King and the Cities .. .. .	115
Chapter VIII. The Seleucid Policy in Judaea .. .. .	135
Chapter IX. Antiochus IV in the East .. .. .	166
Conclusion .. .. .	181
Chronological Table .. .. .	192
Bibliography .. .. .	194
Index of Sources .. .. .	199
Index of Names .. .. .	206
Danish Summary .. .. .	213

## MAPS

Egypt .. .. .	75
The Seleucid Empire after 188 B. C. .. .. .	120-121
Coele-Syria and Phoenicia .. .. .	151



philhellene munificence, which brought them prestige and political influence at the same time.<sup>13</sup> In this respect Antiochus IV tried to maintain the dignity of the Seleucid house by rivalling even the most generous of his fellow kings. The following survey of his relations with the Greeks, compiled from a most fragmentary literary and epigraphical tradition, shows the surprisingly wide scope of his activities as a philhellene benefactor and patron.

In some cases the liberal gifts of Antiochus IV were bestowed on cities within the Pergamene sphere of influence. At *Miletus*, their native city, two Syrian dignitaries, the brothers Timarchus and Heracleidas, who were satrap of Media and secretary of finance (*dioiketes*) respectively, defrayed the costs of a new *bouleuterion* and dedicated it on behalf of their king.<sup>14</sup> At that period Miletus was the head of the Ionian League with which Eumenes II entertained close relations. Quite recently we have learned from a decree of Miletus, honouring a certain Eirenias for his devotion to the city, that Miletus through his agency and with the aid of a sister of Antiochus IV obtained a remission of duties on her exports to Syria, apparently a matter of great economic importance.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, a second century inscription from *Ilium*, recording benefactions towards the *demos* of this city, is too fragmentary to be of any use.<sup>16</sup> *Cyzicus*, the important city on the Propontis, an ally of Pergamum and birth place of Eumenes II's mother Apollonis, received from the Syrian king some valuable gold vessels for use in the *prytaneion*.<sup>17</sup> The same city is mentioned in the inscription of a certain Eudemus of Cilician Seleucia, a courtier of Antiochus IV, who in virtue of his influence with the

- 
13. On the various royal gifts to Athens cf. W. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (1911) 298 ff. For Rhodes we have the testimony of Diodorus Sic. XXXI, 36. The activities of the Attalids are described by Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids*, 262–274.
  14. Cf. Th. Wiegand, *Milet II* (Berlin 1908) 95–99. On Heracleides and Timarchus see below pp. 103 f. and 106 f. For Eumenes' relations with the Ionian League see Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids*, 415.
  15. Cf. P. Herrmann, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* XV (1965), 71–90, especially 82–87. Unfortunately the sister cannot be identified. But for the lack of one line this inscription might have settled the question whether Antiochus IV married his own sister (cf. above p. 49, note 44).
  16. Schliemann, *AM* 1890, 219, no. 5. Cf. Niese, *Geschichte* III, 94, note 4.
  17. Cf. Livy XLI, 20, 7.

king accumulated honours from all over the Greek world, which he took great care to record for posterity.<sup>18</sup> When Cyzicus made him *proxenos*, it was most probably in return for his help in obtaining some favour for the city from the king.

In any case, this is the explanation expressly given of the honours bestowed on Eudemus by the important cities on the Bosphorus. *Byzantium* gave him *proxenia* and citizenship as a consequence of the favourable report given of his attitude by an embassy which had been sent to King Antiochus, and *Calchedon* made him *proxenos* both on account of services rendered and with an eye to obtaining his assistance for an embassy which was just about to set out for Syria.<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that Byzantium in the 170's was an ally of Perseus of Macedonia and thus opposed to Pergamum.

Another adversary of Pergamum was *Rhodes*. After 188 this rich and influential island with its vast possessions in Caria and Lycia had adopted a jealous and distrustful attitude towards Eumenes. Nevertheless, Rhodes was on friendly terms with Syria (see above, p. 30, note 44). The literary tradition mentions some, unspecified, gifts of Antiochus IV to the merchants' republic,<sup>20</sup> and the inscription of Eudemus contains abstracts of no less than four Rhodian decrees which show him to hold an important position as mediator between the city state and the Syrian king. Apparently Antiochus IV had promised to give the Rhodians some equipment or money for their navy, and somewhat later a new embassy went out from Rhodes to persuade the king to redeem his obligations as soon as possible. At this juncture Eudemus was made *proxenos* of Rhodes in order that the embassy might bring him the news of this honour and at the same time enlist his help for their delicate mission. In all probability the acute Rhodian need for naval supplies can be dated to 171, the first year of the third Macedonian war, when Rhodes by the mobilization

18. SIG<sup>3</sup> no. 644/645. The inscription contains honours conferred upon Eudemus by Argos, Rhodes, the Boeotians, Byzantium, Calchedon, and Cyzicus in this order. King Antiochus is mentioned in the sections dealing with Rhodes, Byzantium, and Calchedon. For the dating and the identification of the king see Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, 108 ff.

19. SIG<sup>3</sup> no. 644/645 vv. 34-80. For the relations between Byzantium and Perseus see Livy XLII, 13, 8; 42, 4; Appian *Mac.* 11, 1.

20. Livy XLI, 20, 7.



## III. The Relations of Antiochus IV with the Greek World

of her fleet wished to persuade the Romans of her will and ability to assist them in the war with Perseus.<sup>21</sup>

According to Polybius, Antiochus IV consecrated altars and statues on *Delos*.<sup>22</sup> No traces of these gifts have come to light, but excavations have produced two inscribed bases for statues of the Syrian king, erected by Athenian citizens and dedicated to the *Delian Apollo*. One of these statues, erected after 167 when the Athenians became masters of Delos, was the work of Boethus of Calchedon, who was also active in Rhodes during this period.<sup>23</sup>

As the reason for the erection of this last statue the dedication mentions the Syrian king's good-will towards the Athenian people, and *Athens* really derived great profit from the generous cultural policy of Antiochus. His most ambitious project in this connexion was the resumption of building operations on the enormous temple of the Olympian Zeus, which had lain unfinished since the days of the Peisistratids. As is well known, this undertaking was not completed until the time of Hadrian. We cannot tell whether Antiochus' plans were thwarted by lack of funds or because of the king's premature death in 164. Nevertheless, this magnificent scheme more than any other attracted the attention of contemporary and later writers and ensured the Syrian king a prominent place among the royal patrons of the period.<sup>24</sup> According to Vitruvius, Antiochus used a Roman architect Cossutius for the project, and this surprising piece of information seems to be confirmed by the occurrence of the name Cossutius scrawled on a water-conduit at Antioch in Syria, built during the second century.<sup>25</sup> Besides the funds for the temple of Zeus, Antiochus

21. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> no. 644/645 vv. 12-27. On the Rhodian armaments Livy XLII, 45, 3-7. Cf. H. H. Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos*, 140.

22. Polybius XXVI, 1, 11 repeated by Livy XLI, 20, 9.

23. *OGIS* I, nos. 249-250 (= *Inscriptions de Délos* (1937), nos. 1540-1541). For the activity of Boethus in Rhodes see *Lindos, Fouilles et Recherches* II (1941), 422, no. 165. It is very doubtful if *OGIS* I, no. 251 also belongs to the time of Antiochus IV. The new discoveries concerning the younger son of Seleucus IV (see above pp. 44 ff.) have ruined the arguments of Dittenberger for this attribution.

24. Polybius XXVI, 1, 11; Livy XLI, 20, 8; Strabo IX, 1, 17; Velleius Paterculus I, 10, 1.

25. Vitruvius VII praef. 15. Cf. *Antioch on the Orontes* II (1938), 160, no. 90. See below p. 118. The name Cossutius has Etruscan connotations. Cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904), 67.

### III. The Relations of Antiochus IV with the Greek World

presented to Athens a golden aegis with a head of Medusa, which was placed on the south wall of the Acropolis, looking down on the people when they gathered in the theatre of Dionysus below. This gift can be dated to c. 170, because at that date a small series of hemidrachms was issued at Antioch with a representation of the aegis as reverse type. The identification of the coin type with this gift to Athens rests on some peculiarities in the design. Thus, contrary to normal usage, the aegis is represented as carved out of a hard and stiff material like wood or metal, and the nails for fixing it on a wall or similar structure are clearly indicated.<sup>26</sup>

According to Dinsmoor, Antiochus IV together with the kings of Pergamum and Cappadocia is said to have contributed also to an extensive restoration of the Parthenon and its famous cult statue in or shortly after 165.<sup>27</sup> As we have absolutely no evidence for this hypothesis, it is preferable to leave it as purely speculative and turn to epigraphical information as to the relations between Antiochus and Athens. As I have mentioned above (p. 40), the news of the murder of Seleucus IV reached Antiochus while he was in Athens on his way back from Rome. Already at that time the Seleucid prince had succeeded in establishing cordial relations with the cultural metropolis of Greece. A passage in the inscription honouring the Pergamene princes for their assistance to Antiochus reveals that even before his accession statues of the Syrian prince were erected on the Athenian agora.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand the latest research in the Athenian so-called "new style" coinage has led to the dismissal of the commonly accepted theory, that Antiochus also functioned as mint official during his visit; the issue bearing the name Antiochus and an elephant as symbol is now dated 163/2 and the connexion with the Syrian king disclaimed.<sup>29</sup>

Recently a new Athenian inscription has been published, containing a decree in honour of the Syrian officer Arrhidaeus, who had assisted various Athenian embassies to Syria, where he played much the same rôle as Eudemus did in relation to other cities.<sup>30</sup> The Epicurean

26. Pausanias I, 21, 3 and V, 12, 4. On the coin type see Mørkholm, *Studies*, 23 f.

27. W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 1934, 105-106.

28. *OGIS* I, no. 248.vv. 55-56.

29. Cf. Margaret Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (1961), 158-160.

30. Cf. Stamires, *Hesperia* XXVI (1957), 47-51. Many corrections to this text by L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII (1960) 92-111.



### III. The Relations of Antiochus IV with the Greek World

philosopher Philonides and his brother Dicaearchus from Laodicea ad mare may also have acted as mediators between Athens and the Syrian court, although the Athenian decree mentioning their friendly attitude and voting honours in return should in all probability be dated before the accession of Antiochus.<sup>31</sup>

It is also worth noticing that the list of victors at the Panathenaic games of 166 contains no less than four persons from the kingdom of Antiochus, thus illustrating the close connexion between Syria and Athens.<sup>32</sup> In the very same year the ordinary Athenian silver coinage showed the Seleucid symbols anchor and star. As it was accompanied by a special issue, revealing in all probability a distribution of grain to the Athenian citizens, it has been inferred most plausibly, that the grain in question was a gift from the Syrian king, who was very eager to reestablish his prestige in the Hellenistic world after the wars with Egypt.<sup>33</sup>

A last indication of the friendship between Athens and Antiochus appears in an Athenian decree of 160/59 honouring Pharnaces of Pontus. Here, about four years after the Syrian king's death, the memory of his benefactions was still living, and the gratitude of Athens transferred to his daughter, who had just been married to the Pontic king.<sup>34</sup>

In Central Greece we can trace a relation between Antiochus and the *Boeotian League* through Eudemus, who included the *proxenia* of

31. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, no. 1236. The decree also honours their father and thus may be earlier than the Delphian decree of 168/7 (see below note 37), where only one of the sons, Dicaearchus, is mentioned. For the role of Philonides see Mørholm, *Studies*, 73.
32. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, no. 2316 vv. 47-53, which mentions a citizen from each of the following cities: Antioch on the Cydnus (Tarsus), Antioch on the Pyramus (Magarsus), Laodicea in Phoenicia (Berytus) and Sidon. Of course, this relationship was not restricted to the reign of Antiochus IV. In *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, no. 2314, vv. 21 and 31 from ab. 180 we meet a Sidonian and a person from Antioch on the Orontes. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> no. 2317 v. 41 (after the death of Antiochus IV) lists a resident of Laodicea ad mare.
33. Cf. Margaret Thompson, *The American Numismatic Society Centennial Publication* (1958), 671.
34. *OGIS* II, no. 771. On the dating of this inscription and its consequences for the identity of the Seleucid princess see above p. 54.

## III. The Relations of Antiochus IV with the Greek World

this organization among his honours.<sup>35</sup> It has also been supposed that Antiochus contributed to the building of the League's temple for Zeus at Lebadea, but in the absence of any explicit reference to his activity here, it is preferable to leave this out of account.<sup>36</sup>

From Delphi we have a decree conferring the *proxenia* on Dicaearchus of Laodicea ad mare, which can be dated to the year 168/7. His assistance to Delphian embassies to King Antiochus is expressly mentioned.<sup>37</sup> The same Dicaearchus and his brother Philonides, who were also honoured at Athens (see above p. 60) appear on the official Delphian list of *theorodokoi*, i.e. persons designated to take care of and assist the embassies sent out to invite the Greeks to the Pythian games.<sup>38</sup> Another scrap of evidence is offered by a list of *proxenoi* of Delphi, where we meet two persons from Antiochia on the Pyramus in Cilicia, who obtained this distinction in the year 172/1.<sup>39</sup>

Apparently Antiochus IV took special care to secure the friendship of the most important political power in Greece during this period, the *Achaean League*. Already in the winter of 169/8, when Egypt applied to the League for help against Antiochus, Polybius, though spokesman of a pro-Egyptian faction, felt constrained to admit that the generosity of the Syrian king towards the Greek world was remarkable.<sup>40</sup> Among the members of the Achaean League Argos honoured our old friend, Eudemus from Seleucia.<sup>41</sup> From Livy we learn that Antiochus paid a substantial part of the expenses for the

35. *SIG<sup>3</sup>* no. 644/645, vv. 28–33. It is generally assumed that the Boeotian League was dissolved by the Romans in 172/1 on account of its friendly attitude towards Perseus. Cf. Polybius XXVII, 1 and 5; Livy XLII, 43, 4 ff. See Niese, *Geschichte* III, 114–116.

36. *SIG<sup>3</sup>* no. 972. Cf. Fabricius, *De architectura graeca comment. epigr.* (Berlin 1881), p. 15. The theory has been embraced by A. Wilhelm, *AM* 1897, 179–182, but see the cautious remarks of J. A. Bundgaard, *Class. et Med.* VIII (1946), 34 f.

37. *OGIS* I, no. 241, wrongly dated to the reign of Antiochus III. For an improved text and the conclusive dating see G. Daux, *Delphes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> siècle* (1936), 511 f.

38. Cf. A. Plassart, *BCH* 1921, 24.

39. *SIG<sup>3</sup>* no. 585, vv. 281–286.

40. Polybius XXIX, 24, 13. See below p. 90.

41. *SIG<sup>3</sup>* no. 644/645 vv. 1–10.



## III. The Relations of Antiochus IV. with the Greek World

city wall around *Megalopolis* and built a theatre at *Tegea*.<sup>42</sup> To the Zeus temple in *Olympia* he presented a remarkable curtain of Syrian workmanship embroidered or interwoven with figures. The idea that this curtain should originally have belonged to the temple in Jerusalem, which the king robbed of some of its treasures in 169, is pure speculation.<sup>43</sup> Finally, two inscriptions of relevance to our theme have been found at *Dyme* in Achaëa. The first contains a dedication by a certain Hegemonides, who had erected statues of King Antiochus, his queen Laodice and their son Antiochus (V).<sup>44</sup> Recently this information has been supplemented by the discovery of another stone with a decree passed by the city of Laodicea (probably Laodicea ad mare) honouring Hegemonides of Dyme, the son of Zephyrus.<sup>45</sup> Now it has been pointed out that this Hegemonides also appears in Maccabees II as a Seleucid officer, who in 162 under Antiochus V. was appointed *strategos* of Palestine and the coast from Ace-Ptolemais in north to the Egyptian frontier.<sup>46</sup> We are undoubtedly dealing with a Greek mercenary who had won an important position in Syria without neglecting the ties with his native city, ties which one day might also be of interest to his new master, the Syrian king.

The cumulative evidence of this long list of Antiochus' benefactions is decisive. There can be no doubt that the Syrian king pursued a deliberate policy designed to acquire prestige and influence for himself and his kingdom throughout the Greek world. Of course, Antiochus' personal philhellene attitude, originating in a genuine admiration of Greek culture, was a prominent factor in his endeavours, but it can hardly be doubted that political considerations also played their part. Our information, fragmentary as it is, reveals a far-reaching cultural (and political) offensive which certainly impressed his contem-

42. Livy XLI, 20, 6.

43. Pausanias V, 12, 4. A. Pelletier, *Syria* XXXII (1955), 289-307, rightly denies any connexion between the two curtains, but in attributing the Olympian gift to Antiochus III he overlooks the evidence of the coin type for the gift of the golden aegis to Athens, which cannot be separated from the gift of the curtain. See above note 26.

44. *OGIS* I, no. 252.

45. Cf. J. Bingen, *BCH* 1954, 396, no. 8.

46. Macc. II, 13, 24. Cf. C. Habicht, *Historia* VII (1958), 376-78.

### III. The Relations of Antiochus IV with the Greek World

poraries.<sup>47</sup> Apparently the opinion and good-will of the Greeks were still matters of some importance, since almost any expenditure towards their acquisition seemed justified. Antiochus also took great pains personally to enlist the sympathy of the Greek world on his side in the case of conflicts with other powers.<sup>48</sup> However, the magnificence of the gifts and the wide scope of Antiochus' cultural program should not lead us to forget the political realities of the time. After all, Syria's relations with the kingdoms of Asia Minor and the Greek states were of secondary importance. What really counted was her attitude towards the other great Hellenistic monarchies, Egypt and Macedonia, and above all her relations with Rome, the great arbiter of Hellenistic affairs. Here we arrive at the crucial point in the analysis of Antiochus' foreign policy. The next chapters are accordingly devoted to an examination of Antiochus' Egyptian policy and the ensuing intervention of Rome.

47. Besides the acknowledgement of Polybius XXIX, 24, 13, already cited (note 40), see Livy XLI, 20, 5.

48. Cf. his careful behaviour towards the Greek ambassadors trying to mediate on behalf of the Egyptian government in 169 (Polybius XXVIII, 20) and his gifts of money, 100 talents in all, to various Greek cities later in the same year (Polybius XXVIII, 22, 3). This last item comes very near to sheer bribery of public opinion. See below p. 86.



## VI. The Administration

the East, *Lysias*, a "kinsman" of the king, was appointed guardian of the young heir to the throne, Antiochus (V), and ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων for the western half of the kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Antiochus IV was still currently informed of important events in the West and the decision of vital issues was referred to him.<sup>14</sup> On his deathbed in distant Persis Antiochus tried to alter this arrangement by transferring the duties of *Lysias* to a certain *Philippus*, his "friend" and "foster-brother", only to stir up dissension and armed conflict between these two rivals for the power at a most inopportune moment.<sup>15</sup>

Among the circle of friends we may reckon a number of persons whom we know to have been influential with the king and to have exerted their influence on behalf of various Greek cities. I am thinking of people like *Eudemus* from Seleucia on the Calycadnus, the two brothers *Dicaearchus* and *Philonides* from Laodicea ad mare, and the officers *Hegemonides* and *Arrhidaeus*, whose activities have been mentioned in the chapter on the foreign relations of Syria during Antiochus' reign.<sup>16</sup> Arrhidaeus seems to have functioned as the chief of the king's guard and in all probability carried the title of σωματοφύλαξ or perhaps even ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ.<sup>17</sup>

To the same class of people may also belong a number of ambassadors who are mere names to us: *Meleager* and *Sosiphanes*, who on two occasions were sent to Rome together with Heracleides;<sup>18</sup> *Aristides* and *Theris*, who negotiated with Ptolemy VI in 169,<sup>19</sup> and *Athenaeus*, who was sent to Judaea in 167 on a special commission.<sup>20</sup> For the sake of

13. Macc. I, 3, 32. Cf. Macc. II, 10, 11 and 11, 1. The last text gives the full title of *Lysias*: ἐπίτροπος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ συγγενῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Cf. Corradi, *Studi ellenistici*, 260–262.

14. On his intervention in the Judaeian question see below p. 155.

15. Macc. I, 6, 14–15; Macc. II, 9, 29.

16. Cf. above pp. 56 ff. (*Eudemus*), pp. 59 ff. (*Dicaearchus*, *Philonides*, and *Arrhidaeus*), p. 62 (*Hegemonides*).

17. Cf. Róbert, *Hellenica* XI–XII (1960), 104. On the *somatophylakes* see Corradi, *Studi ellenistici*, 290 ff.; Bikerman, *Institutions*, 37.

18. Polybius XXVIII, 1, 1 and 22, 2.

19. Polybius XXVIII, 20, 12.

20. Macc. II, 6, 1: γέροντα Ἀθηναῖον. I take *Athenaeus* to be a personal name, while γέροντα most probably indicates that he was a member of a *gerousia* or council of elders in one of the Syrian cities. A council of elders, the πελιγᾶνες, is known in Laodicea ad mare during this period. See the inscription published by P. Roussel, *Syria* XXIII (1942/43), 21–32 (= *IGLS* IV, no. 1261).

## Index of Names

- Cyrrhestica 106  
 Cyzicus, city of Mysia 53, 56 f.  
  
 Daniel, Book of 19 f.  
 Daphne, sanctuary near Antioch on the  
   Orontes 27, 39, 55, 95, 97-100, 104,  
   131, 141, 166, 173, 175, 182  
 David, city of, quarter of Jerusalem  
   145  
 Decimius, C., Roman ambassador 91  
 Delos 26, 30f., 33, 35, 54, 58, 94  
 Delphi 60f.  
 Demetrius, king of Bactria 172f.  
 Demetrius, Macedonian prince 34  
 Demetrius I, king of Syria 34-36, 39-  
   41, 45, 48, 52, 54, 97, 107, 146, 156,  
   175, 177f., 180, 184f.  
 Demetrius II, king of Syria 174f., 185  
 Democrates, governor of Babylon 110  
 Dicaearchus of Laodicea ad mare 60f.,  
   105  
 Diodorus, Syrian official 184  
 Diodorus Siculus, Greek historian 18f.  
 Diomedes of Seleucia Pieria 104  
 Dionysius, chief secretary of Antiochus  
   IV 104  
 Dionysius Petosarapis, Egyptian officer  
   166  
 Dionysus 59, 131, 147  
 Diophanes, Macedonian ambassador 69  
 Dioscuri, the 75, 127, 174  
 Dura-Europus, city of Parapotamia 119  
 Dyme, city of Achaea 62  
  
 Ecbatana, city of Media 31, 107, 111-  
   113, 116f., 126, 172, 177-179  
 Edessa, city of Mesopotamia 116f.,  
   126-128  
 Egypt 15f., 29, 49, 61, 63-100, 129, 135,  
   139, 142f., 175, 183f., 186f., 189  
 Eirenias, citizen of Miletus(?) 56  
 Elaeussa-Sebaste, city of Cilicia 28  
 Eleusis, suburb of Alexandria 94-96,  
   103, 186  
 Elymais 29, 170f., 178, 180, 183  
 Emmaus, village of Judaea 152  
 Ephesus, city of Ionia 23, 52f., 124  
  
 Epiphania in Armenia 116f.  
 Epiphania, city of Cilicia 116f.  
 Epiphania in Media, see Ecbatana  
 Epiphania on the Euphrates, city of  
   Syria 116f.  
 Epiphania on the Orontes, city of Syria  
   116f.  
 Epiphania, quarter of Antioch 118  
 Eucratides, king of Bactria 172-175  
 Eudemus, citizen of Seleucia on the Ca-  
   lycadnus 56f., 59-61, 105  
 Eulaeus, Egyptian regent 67, 70, 73-78  
 Eumenes II, king of Pergamum 13, 22f.,  
   25, 27f., 33, 35, 40-43, 51, 54-57, 64,  
   66, 88, 97, 101, 187-190  
 Euphrates, river 111, 166, 179  
 Europa, nymph 127  
 Euthydemus, king of Bactria 29, 172  
*Excerpta Constantiniana* 18  
  
 Failaka, see Icarus  
  
 Gabae, city of Persis 171  
 Galatia 24, 28, 51  
 Gaza, city of Palestine 31, 73, 92  
 Gebal, see Byblus  
 Gerasa, city of Decapolis 122  
 Gerizim, Mount 148  
 Gerrha, city of Arabia 31, 168, 170  
 Gorgias, governor of Idumaea 108f.,  
   150, 152, 154  
  
 Hadrian, Roman emperor 58  
 Halys, river 25  
 Hama, see Epiphania on the Orontes  
 Hamadan, see Ecbatana  
 Hannibal of Carthage 22  
 Hanukka, feast of 158  
 Hasidim, the, Jewish sect 149  
 Hasmoneans, the 19, 108  
 Hegemonides, son of Zephyrus, Seleucid  
   officer 62, 105  
 Heliocles, Bactrian 172-174  
 Heliodorus, minister of Seleucus IV 33,  
   36, 41, 44, 46f., 49, 104, 136f.  
 Heraclea, city of Ionia 53



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March 11, 1986

Professor Christian Habicht  
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Dear Professor Habicht:

Thank you for the offprint of your paper to the American Philosophical Society, "An Ancient Baedeker and his Critics: Pausanias' Guide to Greece." I am glad to have a glimpse of the subject and point of view of your Sather lectures. Congratulations on being a member of the Philosophical Society, something I have wanted to be.

In my article in Hesperia 54 which I sent to you (thank you for the acknowledgment), Appendix 5 (p.44) was in my mind addressed to Louis Robert, who had usually noticed my articles in his bulletin epigraphique, and who once spent some hours here in my office at the Stoa, with Madame, looking at our archives and urging more publication. In this case I particularly needed his comment. He died before the article appeared. I understand you were one of his foremost pupils. Perhaps you have time to read that p.44 of my article, and to consider the implications. If so, I would then be much interested in your comment.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

Δαμωκλής  
Ἀντοχίδης

Athens, October 4, 1983

Dear M. Empereur,

Thank you for bringing the original readings of TD 6599-6529. I hope  
~~later~~ long to have them photocopied.

I was interested in what you brought up about the dates of some of the  
 Rhodian eponyms. As it is quite a lot easier for you to look up such things  
 in the library (yours or ours) than it is for me, and as you are also concerned,  
 let me ask you to verify some things, with photocopies for me.

ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ. There really seems to be only one source for the courtier  
And no separate inscription.  
 ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ - ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ, and that is SIG 644/5. No historical mention. So I think  
 you cannot say "we know he was a courtier of Antiochos IV" but only that good  
 scholars have so identified the King Antiochos mentioned in the inscription.  
 They had good and imaginative reasons for so identifying the king. But I  
 would have to suggest that they did not have all the evidence, they did not  
 have the evidence of the stamps.

If you find something else in the way of a source, I would be much con-  
 cerned to learn about it.

ΘΕΤΦΑΝΗΣ. The earthquake dated by his term. I would be much obliged if  
 you would be kind enough to make for me photocopies of the texts - inscriptions  
 - that mention it, and give me their proper references. Is there a good book  
 about earthquakes in Rhodes? as there seem to have been records of quite a  
 few.

Yours sincerely,



Nachtigael (1978)  
p. 35

tiochos IV Épiphane (175-163) (1). Ce document est datable des premières années de règne du Séleucide (2). Quant à Πεισιστρατος, V. R. Grace (3) le classe dans la Période IV, vers 150. Par conséquent, la longue carrière de Μαρούας, bien attestée par le nombre de ses marques, couvre la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle. Parmi les anses qui portent son nom, celles qui proviennent de Carthage (4) sont vraisemblablement les plus récentes.

Marques de Μαρούας inscrites dans un cadre : NILSSON, 298, 9 (Lindos) ; DUMONT, pp. 100-101, 175 (Athènes) ; GENTILI, 134, 9 (provenance inconnue) ; A.-L. DELATTRE, Bull. arch. du Comité des trav. hist. et scient. 1904, p. 486, 26 (Carthage) ; SZTETYLLO, p. 184, 89 (Alexandrie).

11      Ἐπ[ὶ Ἀγ]εμά-  
          [χ]ου  
          Ἰακινθίου



FIG. 11.

Anse du type 9. Timbre rectangulaire : 3,7 cm × 1,5. Le sceau a glissé de telle sorte que le haut de la l. 1 n'a pas été imprimé et que la l. 2 a à peine été marquée. Il est possible que, par suite du glissement, des traces de l'A initial se trouvent au-dessus de la ligne supérieure du cadre. FIG. 11.

(1) Syll.<sup>3</sup> 644-645 (Séleucie-du-Calycadnos).

(2) La date, établie par Ad. WILHELM, *Reisen in Kilikien*. Denkschr. der kais. Ak. der Wiss., Philos.-hist. Cl. 44 (1896), pp. 116-117 (« vor und um 170 v. Chr. ») a été confirmée par M. HOLLEAUX, *Études I* (1968), pp. 92-93. Remarquons que des timbres de Δαμοκλῆς se trouvent également à Pergame (*I. Pergamon II*, 982-996) et que, pour cette raison, BLECKMANN, *loc. cit.*, date son éponymie de ca 180. Cf. aussi, dans le même sens, GRACE, 1934, pp. 219 et 226, 42, et GRACE-SAVVATIANOU, 1970, p. 290, n. 5. Mais il faut rappeler que, dans la chronologie des timbres amphoriques, la distinction des Périodes ne fournit qu'une indication approximative.

(3) GRACE-SAVVATIANOU, 1970, p. 314, E 47. L'éponyme Peisistratos date un décret, en grande partie mutilé, trouvé près de Göleniye : P. M. FRASER - G. E. BEAN, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Londres, 1954), pp. 24-27, 15 (cf. J. et L. ROBERT, *Bull. ép.* 1955, 215 et 1958, 457). Ajoutons qu'une anse portant son nom a été trouvée à Hama dans un contexte archéologique que les monnaies situent après 161 : H. INGHOLT, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (Copenhague, 1940), pp. 120 et 123.

(4) CIL VIII, Suppl. 3, 22.639, 105-107 ; A.-L. DELATTRE, Bull. arch. du Comité des trav. hist. et scient. 1904, p. 486, 24-26, et 1915, p. CCIII, 11 ; F. ICARD, *ibidem*, 1943-1945, p. 624, 16.



on Phoen - Apokalypse

M. Empereur says it is known that  
 Eudymos was "a courtesan of A. IV."  
 he said ↓  
 See

Hollander, Blind I, p. 92-93  
 (a reprint)

Nachtrags p. 135 ~~with~~ with bibling.

I shall look these up, but I suspect we  
 "know" Eud. is a <sup>"courtesan"</sup> ~~courtesan~~ of A. IV because  
 we understand this inscription as saying <sup>i.e. referring to A. IV with the</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>A. III</sup>  
 Cf. Robert, REG 1979, pp. 461-2.



end of note 23?

16.X.82 7

Dating of  $\Delta$ apokryfs  
Pbl. ep.

$\Delta$ . 2nd of the stamps: MSBF 15, Perg. 21

He is unknown with sec. st., any sec. st.

So he was later before 188 (earliest with  
sec. st.). Say 189?

→ Cite Van Gelder (via EAD 27 note),  
Bärker (not 50 in his column article)  
and Robert (got ref. - Bö. tells me that not  
50 is all Robert notices in his column article  
and he simply says,  $\Delta$ ap. has to be 172<sup>170</sup>  
- 9 times this derives from Wilhelm on that  
~~most~~ issue. (Eudemus paper)

~~AMP 5~~  
Put at end of note 23? I wish it  
were more conspicuously placed. Because  
it calls attention to requirements. Hiller  
also ~~entangled~~ entangled by nec. of this  
issue. He says "500 172" although he  
accepts Perg. date 220-180.

Mention earlier  $\Delta$ , ca. 2/4 of 3rd. (Lila  
Korow)







## Order of Perg. eps

Dr. Bö. proposes today that Sapokding might fit better bet. 187 and 192 for historical reason (192 was when it was built not), i.e. rather than 187 as suggested by me. He refers me to Hatto Schmidt, Rom und Rhodos, pp. 75-77.

This would work ok with the spread of dates of pairs. I had put in as late as possible before the st. was used, partly because of the large no. of handles' using in the time found in Perg. top.



# A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON POLYBIUS

BY  
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EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY  
AND CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

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## XXVII. 7 THE RHODIANS SEND NAVAL HELP

166: why should Perseus have gone round the northern end of Mt. Bermios?). Thence he went south across the Haliacmon into the Europus valley, where Azorus, Pythous, Doliche, and another town (perhaps Malloea) surrendered to him (Livy, xlii. 53. 5-8). Chyretiae submitted, Mylae was stormed, Gyrton (with a Roman and Thessalian garrison) was bypassed, Elatia and Gonnus were taken, and Perseus occupied Sycurium on the slope of Ossa (Livy, xlii. 53. 9-54. 11; see 8. 15 n.).

Meanwhile the consul marched unopposed through Epirus and Athamania to Gomphi (on his probable route see Hammond, *Epirus*, 284) and thence to near Larissa, where he was joined by Eumenes, who had crossed to Chalcis with two of his brothers, and by forces from many parts of Greece, including Apollonia, Aetolia, Thessaly, and Achaea (Livy, xlii. 55. 1-10). See on all this Niese, iii. 118-23; De Sanctis, iv. 1. 282-8; Meloni, *Perseo*, 211-30; Kromayer, *AS*. ii. 236-9 with Karte 7. Livy (xlii. 56. 1) here returns to C. Lucretius who, after sending his brother ahead round Malea to Chalcis, himself took a trireme up the Corinthian Gulf to oversee affairs in Boeotia.

The present excerpt from *de legat. gent.* is a passage of P. which Livy has passed over, but must fall either in the part corresponding to Livy, xlii. 48. 9-10, where C. Lucretius reaches Cephallenia, or in that corresponding to Livy, xlii. 56. 1, where he leaves the island. The word *ἐν* (§ 1) favours putting it after the account of the land operations.

7. 1. Γάιος: C. Lucretius Gallus, praetor 171, was assigned to the fleet (in view of his experience as *IIuir navalis* in 181: Livy, xl. 18. 7-8, 26-28): see Livy, xlii. 28. 5, 31. 9, and for his departure the previous note (an annalistic account in Livy, xlii. 35. 3). In Boeotia he plundered Haliartus (Livy, xlii. 63. 1-11) and Thisbae (cf. 5. 3 n. for Syll. 646 = Sherk, no. 2, which throws light on the sufferings after its capture; Livy, xlii. 63. 12). At Delos he received a golden crown (*Insc. de Délos*, 460 E l. 19); but in 170, after he had dedicated an aqueduct and picture gallery at Antium from his spoils (Livy, xliii. 4. 5-7), he was prosecuted by tribunes and heavily fined (Livy, xliii. 6. 2-3, 7. 5-11, 8. 1-9). See Münzer, *RE*, 'Lucretius (23)', cols. 1684-6. ἀλείπτῃ τινὶ Σωκράτει: perhaps a gymnastics trainer.

2. Στρατοκλέους πρυτανεύοντος τὴν δευτέραν ἔκμηνον: on the Rhodian half-yearly magistracy see 3. 3 n., xlii. 5. 1 n., xxii. 5. 10 n.; van Gelder, 240-1. Stratocles evidently succeeded Hagesilochus as *prytanis* in Artamitios (April/May) 171 (3. 3 n.); the mention of the 'second semester' suggests that the year began in autumn. That was so in the first century A.D. (cf. *IG*, xii. 1. 3-4; cf. *Syll.* 974); but evidence contemporary with the period dealt with here points to a year beginning in spring. *Syll.* 644 a-c, ll. 14-20, records honours voted at Rhodes, in the priesthood of Damocles, to Eudemus of

## TO C. LUCRETIVS

## XXVII. 7. 5

Seleuceia-on-the-Calycadnus, a man in Antiochus IV's service; and of the two semesters of that priesthood, the first, in which Astymedes was *prytanis*, contained the month Dalios (a second reference to this month is erroneously carved as Daisios), and so began in spring, and the second, in which Iatrocles was *prytanis*, contained Badromios, and so began in autumn (on the Rhodian months see Bickerman, *Chronology*, 20; Hiller von Gaertringen, *RE*, Suppl.-B. v, 'Rhodos', col. 744); Damocles' priesthood must have fallen in 175/4 or 176/5 and ran from spring to spring (Pugliese Carratelli, *Annuario*, i-ii, 1942, 156-8 no. 18). Since P.'s reference to Stratocles as *prytanis* during τὴν δευτέραν ἔκμηνον contradicts the remaining evidence, Pugliese Carratelli (*Annuario*, i-ii, 1942, 160 n. 1) plausibly suggests that he is referring to the second semester from the point of view of the Achaean year, which at this time ran autumn to autumn—or what would be much the same, he is thinking of the second half of the olympiad year under discussion. The phrase τὴν δευτέραν ἔκμηνον does not reflect official Rhodian terminology, which speaks always of the χειμερινὰ or the θερινὰ ἑξάμηνος. On the Rhodian six-monthly office see also *Insch. Mag.* 55 l. 18; it is found elsewhere, for instance at Cnidus, Stratonicēia, Tenos, Tarsus, and Antioch-in-Persis (cf. Jones, *Greek City*, 335 n. 14).

τοῦ διαβουλίου προτεθέντος: 'when the discussion was opened' (cf. xii. 25 k 5 n.) or perhaps, with Paton, 'when the resolution was proposed' (cf. § 13, τὸ ψήφισμα).

3. Ἀγαθάγητον καὶ Ῥοδοφῶντα καὶ Ἀστυμήδην: the two former were members of the pro-Roman party; cf. xxviii. 2. 3; see xxx. 5. 4 for Rhodophon, whom Hagesander of Delphi (*FHG*, iv. 417 fg. 20 = Athen. x. 444 D-E) described as addicted to drink and gambling (cf. Stähelin, *RE*, 'Ῥοδοφῶν', col. 957). Astymedes may be the son of Archocrates, twice mentioned as *prytanis* in *Syll.* 644/5 (cf. § 2 n.: so van Gelder, *Rhodier*, 477; Pugliese Carratelli, *Annuario*, i-ii, 1942, 160 n. 1), but is more probably the son of Theaetetus, known from four inscriptions (*Insc. Lind.* 216-17 (priest of Helios in 154); *IG*, xii. 1. 856+852), especially if the pro-Roman Theaetetus, often mentioned by P. (cf. xxii. 5. 2 n.), was his father. On Astymedes' later activity see xxx. 4. 1-5. 1, 21. 4-5, 30. 1, 31. 1-20, xxxiii. 15. 3; Livy, xlv. 21-25; Diod. xxxi. 5; see too Blinkenberg, *Insc. Lind.* ii. p. 1010 (but if *Syll.* 673 concerns the Cretan War of 204-1, as seems probable (cf. xxxiii. 4. 1-4 n.), the priest of Helios there referred to as ἐπὶ Ἀσ[.] is not Astymedes, or at any rate not this one).

4. Δεῖνωνα καὶ Πολυάρατον: leaders of the anti-Roman party; cf. 14. 2, xxviii. 2. 3, 17. 14, xxix. 11. 2, 27. 9, xxx. 6. 1, 7. 10-9. 21.

5. τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Φαρνάκην: on this see xxiii. 9. 1-3, xxiv. 1. 1-3, 5. 1, 14. 1-15. 13.

διεκώλυσαν Ῥόδιοι: shortly after 180, when the Rhodians were



Dating of the Rhodian eponym ΔAMOKAHZ and of the original  
PERGAMON DEPOSIT

A ΔAMOKAHZ exists in Period I, but the one discussed here is the one ~~of which~~  
named on 21 handles in the Pergamon deposit and on 15 in the MSBF.

Because of the 21 at Pergamon, Bleckmann dates him 220-180 B.C. The 15 in the  
MSBF incline me to date him rather earlier than 180 B.C. (cf late date of MSBF in ca.  
183 or 182, Maison des Comediens, Rhod. int., p.R 5). Confirmed in this date by fact  
that no sec. st. are known with an ep. ΔAMOKAHZ.

At one time the shapes of handles suggested to me that there were 2 <sup>eponyms</sup> ΔAMOKAHZ  
in the late 3rd - early 2nd cent. B.C., but this idea had been given up, and examin-  
ation of Benachi handles naming this eponym did not suggest more than one in I and  
one in or about III.

But a decree, Ditt. Syll. (3), no. 644b, names a Rhodian eponym ΔAM. ΔAMEOY  
during whose term (?) there was a mission to expedite a gift promised to the Rhodians  
by a king Antiochos of Syria. Van Gelder, "Over Rhodische Kruikstempels en hun Belang  
voor onze Kennis van den Rhodischen Handel," (1915), pp.199-200, remarks that ~~the~~ as the  
inscr. is datable 1st half of 2nd cent. (by letter forms etc.), it has to be Ant. III or  
IV. Ant. III (223-187 B.C.) ~~was~~ "lived in feud and war with the Rhodians," so it has to  
be Ant. IV. Ant. IV is dated 175-163. Van G. for some reason I do not understand sets  
the date of the stone in 165 (rather than for instance 175). He points out that the  
Perg. deposit must be as late as the date of the eponym ΔAMOKAHZ, so he pulls it down  
to 165 too.

P. Fraser I believe follows Van Gelder on the Perg. deposit.

Hiller in his eponym list cites Syll.<sup>3</sup> 644b, which he says dates ΔAMOKAHZ "vor 172",  
for reasons presumably set forth in the text of ~~SM~~ Syll., but I cannot follow them, any-  
how without much more time. Throughout the list he dates otherwise undated eponyms as  
220-180 B.C. if they are in the Perg. deposit, i.e. he is not modifying the date of the  
deposit.

Rostovtzeff, ~~SEHWW~~, p.1479, note 68, summarizing on the Pergamon deposit, dates it  
220-180 B.C. "approximately". He does not seem to do anything with this inscription  
(cf. p.1769, under S.I.G. no.644 is not listed).

As ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ really does not fit in later than the 2nd decade as a stamp eponym, I suggest that it was Antiochos III after all who is referred to, say near the end of his life, after his defeat by the Romans etc. Perhaps he hoped to win over the Rhodians to be on his side.

The ~~in~~ alternative would seem to be that at this date stamp eponyms were not the ep. priests of Halios.

30.V.81

in another ref. in Walbank, <sup>country</sup>  
 on Polybios ) p. 303 He also Pugh  
 Constell, Annals 1-N, 1942, (156-8, 118) as date  
 priest of Halios ) Δαμοκλῆς, 175/4 or  
 176/5.



Hesperia 54, 1985

## APPENDIX 5

Note on the Dates of Rhodian Eponyms named  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  (cf. end of footnote 23)

Here we have differences of opinion among experts which have not yet been reconciled. I cannot now place later than about 189 B.C. an eponym of this name in stamps according to the chronology laid out in the present article. But an inscription (*SIG* III, no. 644b) containing text dated in the term of the Rhodian  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$   $\Delta\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$  is placed by many epigraphers in *ca.* 172 or 171 B.C., most recently by J. and L. Robert (see *REG* 92, 1979, pp. 460–461). A King Antiochos referred to in the text as having offered contributions to the Rhodian navy is identified by these scholars as Antiochos IV (175–163 B.C.) rather than Antiochos III (223–187 B.C.), considered less friendly to Rhodes. It seems possible that toward the end of his reign, when he was attempting to rally Greece around him against Rome, Antiochos III might have made efforts to please the Rhodians, and also citizens of some other Greek states, as implied in the inscription. For another tentative vote for Antiochos III in this connection, see C. Börker, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), p. 208, note 50.

In any case according to present information the  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  2nd of the stamps is dated before 175 B.C. by his name on 21 handles in the Pergamon deposit and before *ca.* 183 by his name on 15 handles in the Middle Stoa building fill; the fact that there are no known handles on which a stamp with his name is accompanied by a secondary stamp confirms the above dates and probably pushes him back before 188 (cf. p. 8 above with footnote 15). If the date of the inscription cannot be put earlier, we must accept the fact that the eponym  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  2nd in the stamps is not the same person as the eponym  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  of the inscription, and then apparently that the stamp eponyms (often called priests in the stamps) are not the priests of Halios who date other Rhodian documents.

The difficulty over  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  is not new. In the dated list of Rhodian eponyms by Hiller von Gaertringen, in his article "Rhodos" (*RE*, Suppl. V, Stuttgart 1931, p. 837), the author dates this name "vor 172" while otherwise attributing names from the Pergamon deposit to the period 220–180; cf. the comment on e.g.  $\Delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ . Van Gelder (*op. cit.* [footnote 23 above], pp. 199–200) dates the inscription 165 B.C. and pulls down  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  and the whole Pergamon deposit with it. Cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 290, note 5: we cannot use so late a date for the Pergamon stamped handles.

Possibly it is worth remarking that if the stamps cannot date for us a later  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , they do notify us of an earlier one. A small number of handles is known whose shape, and the style of their stamps, indicate that the  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  they name is datable in or about the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. or about contemporary with the Rhodian eponyms found at Koroni (cf. Grace 1974, p. 197). This is  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  1st of the stamps. He would be contemporary with Antiochos I, Soter (280–261 B.C.) or possibly Antiochos II, Theos (261–247 B.C.). We can then take note that the Rhodian admiral Agathostratos helped Antiochos II to recover Ephesos in 259 B.C. (*CAH* VII, p. 713) and can consider whether this might have been in acknowledgment of benefactions received by the Rhodian navy during the term of  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  1st.



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