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**OVER RHODISCHE KRIJKSTEMPELS EN HUN  
BELANG VOOR ONZE KENNIS VAN  
DEN RHODISCHEN HANDEL.**

BIJDRAGE VAN DEN HEER

— H. VAN GELDER. —

Overgedrukt uit de Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie  
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De handelsgeschiedenis der Oudheid verkeert nog in het stadium van wording. Zij heeft niet de archivalia te harer beschikking, die voor de bestudeering der handelsgeschiedenis van latere tijden zoo ongemeen dienstig zijn. Zij wordt ook bijzonder weinig gesteund door de antieke geschiedschrijvers; die laten ons op dit gebied bijna geheel in den steek. Dus moet zij te harer opbouw het materiaal vaak op de meest onverwachte plaatsen zoeken. Zoo berust de studie der handelsgeschiedenis van het eenmaal in dit opzicht niet ongewichtige eiland Rhodus op ooren van weggeworpen kruiken.

Ik wil hier voornamelijk spreken over den duur, den bloeitijd van dien handel, en over de richting, welke hij nam. Voor dit onderzoek leveren de geschreven teksten der Grieken en Romeinen ons zoogoed als niets. Zeker, ieder, die iets van Rhodus heeft gehoord, weet, dat het eene handelsrepubliek was; en als hij zoekt, zal hij met gemak vijftig plaatsen van de meest verschillende classieke schrijvers, ja misschien honderd kunnen bijeenlezen, waarin dat staat. Maar ternauwernood eene heel enkele gaat iets verder en geeft met eenige bepaaldheid antwoord op de vragen: Over welke eeuwen strekte die handel zich uit? Wanneer was de hoogste bloeitijd



er van? Op welke landen werd hij vooral gedreven? Men heeft nu, in moderne geschiedwerken waarin volstrekt een antwoord op die vragen moest worden gegeven, stilzwijgend aangenomen, dat staatkundige macht en handelsbloei wel hand in hand zullen zijn gegaan, dat in den hellenistischen tijd, de derde en tweede eeuw v. Chr., toen Rhodus machtiger was dan ooit, ook de handel meer gebloeid zal hebben dan ooit. Men heeft over de vraag, of de handelsbloei ook voortduurde, toen het staatkundige verval was ingetreden, zich liefst terughoudend uitgelaten. Men heeft voorts gemeend, aangezien Rhodus zoo bijzonder bevriend was met de Ptolemaeën, dat de handel op Egypte wel heel aanzienlijk zal zijn geweest; verder praat men gansch algemeen van Rhodischen handel op alle kusten der Middellandsche Zee. Maar, hoewel blijken zal, dat men bij deze onderstellingen, zooals trouwens te verwachten was, der waarheid zeer nabij is gekomen, het hadde toch ook anders kunnen zijn. Dikwijls bijv. — wij behoeven hiervoor niet ver rondom ons te kijken — is de grootste handelsbloei van een staat saamgevallen met reeds begonnen staatkundigen achteruitgang. In allen geval, wetenschappelijke zekerheid is iets anders dan onderstellingen. En de bestudeering van de stempels op de ooren van weggeworpen Rhodische wijnkruiken geeft ons hier die zekerheid.

Allereerst iets naders omtrent die gestempelde Grieksche kruiken. In allerlei kustlanden der Middellandsche Zee, vooral daár natuurlijk, waar eenmaal groote steden hebben gestaan, zijn scherven gevonden, talloos vele, van groote kruiken van Grieksche aardewerk. Daar werd van alles in bewaard, wat vloeibaar was of wat ingelegd werd. Die scherven nu verschillen onderling van kleur, het gebezigde leem is fijner of grover, beter of minder goed bewerkt, kortom, zij wijzen zeer duidelijk op uiteenlopende plaatsen van herkomst. Welke echter zijn dat? De onderstelling is wel niet gewaagd, dat zij ten deele afkomstig zijn uit de steden zelve, in wier nabijheid zij zijn gevonden. Eene Grieksche, en zelfs eene niet-Grieksche stad zonder eenige fabricage van grof aardewerk lijkt mij niet

wel denkbaar. Een zeer aanzienlijk deel der gevonden massa's is evenwel wis en zeker ingevoerd. Dat bewijzen de stempels, die zeer dikwijls op de handvatten van zulke kruiken zijn aangebracht. Die stempels verheffen de aldus gemerkte tot bronnen van historie; de ongemerkte zijn voor ons niets meer dan curiositeiten. De gestempelde zijn vervaardigd te Rhodus, te Cnidus en te Thasos, en bovendien waarschijnlijk in tal van andere Grieksche steden. Maar van die andere Grieksche steden kennen wij zelfs meestal den naam niet eens; want hare productie was uiterst gering. Eén of heel enkele teruggevonden exemplaren houden voor ons de herinnering levendig aan de aardewerkfabricage van Paros, Naxos, Colophon, Smyrna en de vele nog totaal onbekende herkomstplaatsen. Meer dan 97 procent daarentegen van de geheele op het oogenblik aanwezige massa komt uit de drie genoemde steden; daarvan bezit Rhodus wederom het leeuwendeel, bijna 73 procent van het geheel. Wat nu het aantal der langzamerhand ontgraven en teruggevonden handvatten betreft, dat is veel grooter dan menig buitenstaander wel denkt; ik kwam al tellende voor Rhodus tot een totaal van 9860. Daarbij vergete men niet, dat er stellig nog vele dergelijke stempels onuitgegeven zijn (van gansche voorraden, op Delos, op Amorgos en te Gezer in Palestina gevonden, wordt dat uitdrukkelijk vermeld), <sup>1)</sup> dat andere bij de buitengewone verspreidheid der publicaties mij waarschijnlijk ontgaan zijn, en dat ik mij bovendien enkele Russische en andere publicaties, die ik geciteerd vond, met geen mogelijkheid heb kunnen verschaffen. Behalve deze 9860 Rhodische komen dan nog ongeveer 2100 Cnidische en 1650 Thasische kruikstempels. De Cnidische en Thasische handvatten hebben een ietwat anderen tint dan de Rhodische, eene andere geaardheid van leem, eene andere wijze van stempeling, zoodat het voor den deskundige bij gave exemplaren heel gemakkelijk valt, de drie soorten te onderkennen; ook bij de

<sup>1)</sup> Voor Delos zie Bl blz. 17; voor Amorgos BCH XII. 326; voor Gezer PEF 1903. 306; 1904. 213.



zeer talrijke niet gave exemplaren slaagt hij daarin gewoonlijk met voldoende zekerheid.<sup>2)</sup>

Uit het hier genoemde laten zich een paar reeds lang gemaakte gevolgtrekkingen afleiden. Ten eerste, dat de uitvoerhandel van Rhodus veel grooter was dan die van Cnidus of Thasos, een feit dat wel reeds a priori vaststond. Maar ook ten tweede, dat, juist als in de Middeleeuwen en ten deele ook in nog veel nieuwere tijden, zekere bepaalde steden de zetels waren van bepaalde industrieën. In het oude Griekenland vervaardigde men goedkoope, eenvoudige amphoren voor den uitvoerhandel eigenlijk alleen op drie plaatsen; eene monopoliseering der productie, die trouwens genoegzaam gestaafd is voor andere Grieksche industrieën, voor de vervaardiging van aarden siervazen, van bronzen vaatwerk, van geweven stoffen, enz. Die amphoren dienden in de eerste plaats voor den uitvoer van wijn. Rhodus en Thasos waren wijnrijk; ik heb in mijne *Geschiede der alten Rhodier* op blz. 427 de plaatsen bijeengebracht, die dat voor Rhodus bewijzen. Dáár blijkt, dat van de voortbrengselen van dat eiland niets ook maar in de verte zoo dikwijls vermeld wordt als wijn, druiven en rozijnen. Zij dienden ook voor olie, voor zout, voor vruchten,<sup>3)</sup> voor gezouten visch, eveneens producten, waar Rhodus een te veel van bezat; zij werden echter stellig ook naar den vreemde uitgevoerd, omdat daar vraag was naar kruiken. De stempels, op de handvatten aangebracht, hadden niet, zooals men lang vrij algemeen vermoed heeft, iets uitstaande met belastinginning of met uitvoercontrole van den staat. Lange,

<sup>2)</sup> De eigenaardige verschillen tusschen Rhodische, Cnidische, Thasische en andere stempels vindt men kort maar goed aangegeven bij P blz. 423 vlg.

<sup>3)</sup> Vgl. hiervoor Hall blz. 389, eene beschrijving van dertig gaaf bewaarde Rhodische kruiken in het Metropolitan Museum of Art te New-York, verreweg de grootste verzameling van dien aard, die ergens aanwezig is. „Remains of figs and other fruit have been found in them, and sometimes salt.” Deze kruiken waren van Rhodus naar Cyprus uitgevoerd.

ietwat vermoeiende discussies zijn gevoerd,<sup>4)</sup> eer men omtrent het doel der stempeling tot klaarheid is geraakt; thans is, naar het mij voorkomt, door Nilsson een vaststaand resultaat verkregen (L blz. 58 vlg.). Op iedere Grieksche kruik, onverschillig waarvandaan, staan de naam van een fabrikant en een datum gestempeld. Te Rhodus is die dateering nauwkeurig tot op eene maand. Dit stempelen nu der amphoren is een aanhangsel, waarschijnlijk een vervolg op de stempeling van tegels en dakpannen. Men stempelde, om de aanwezige voorraden, ook de reeds gelegde tegels en pannen, te beschermen tegen diefstal en elke soort van vervreemding. Op de tegels — het laat zich bewijzen — werd de naam gezet van het gebouw, waarvoor zij waren bestemd, tevens de naam van den fabrikant, die ze had geleverd. Bij kruiken was het eerste buitengesloten, de naam van den fabrikant bezat echter ook hier zijne waarde. Op beide werd de juiste datum aangebracht, het jaar waarin zij waren gebakken. Bij de Rhodische kruiken breidde men dit uit tot de aanwijzing ook der maand. Want veelal liet de eigenaar der fabriek zijne belangen waarnemen door een meestersknecht of een zetbaas. Dan wees hem die stempeling naar de maand een gemakkelijken weg, om de productie van elke maand te kunnen controleeren.<sup>5)</sup> Hij bezat tevens, daar hij gewoon was, de oudere kruiken eerst te verkoopen, hierin een middel, om diefstal der nieuwvervaardigde nog zekerder te voorkomen; de maandstempel immers wees ze als voorshands nog onverkocht, als magazijnvoorraad aan. Uit den angst voor diefstal voortgekomen, is de stempeling met den naam van den fabrikant ook spoedig een middel van reclame geworden. Bij de kruiken was zij dat zeker weldra in de allereerste plaats.

<sup>4)</sup> Zie hiervoor o.a. Stéphan in SM blz. 8 vlg.; 207 vlg.; Becker in BIV blz. 487 vlg.; BV blz. 515 vlg.; Grundmann in Gr blz. 32 vlg.; Schuchhardt in P blz. 428 vlg.; Keil Berl. Phil. Wschr. 1896. 1606 vlg.; Kaibel Deutsche Lit. Zeit. X (1890). 985; Brandis GGA 1895. 645; Bleckmann in Bl blz. 6 vlg.

<sup>5)</sup> Vgl. Francotte, L'industrie dans la Grèce ancienne II. 140.



Op elke Rhodische kruik staan dus drie dingen aangegeven: 1°. de naam van den fabrikant of van de firma, die de pottenbakkerij drijft; 2°. als jaarbepaling de naam van den eponymen priester van Helios te Rhodus; 3°. de naam van eene maand. Deze drie aanwijzingen zijn willekeurig over de twee ooren der kruik verdeeld.<sup>6)</sup> Steeds vindt men den naam van den priester van Helios met het voorzetsel *ἐπὶ* er voor, dus bijv. *ἐπὶ Ἀγέμυχου*, ten tijde dat *Ἀγέμυχος* eponymus was; de namen der fabrikanten en der maanden staan naar verkiezing in den genetivus of in den nominativus. De stempels zijn of vierkant of rond.

Eer ik nu ga bespreken, hoe deze stempels ons veel omtrent richting en duur van den Rhodischen handel kunnen leeren, nog eene kleine uitweiding over eigenaardige moeilijkheden, welke de lezing en bestudeering van hunne opschriften medebrengt. Heel vele dezer gestempelde ooren zijn gebroken, lang niet de helft der namen van priesters en fabrikanten is onverminkt tot ons gekomen. De gelukkige vindsters, die ze uitgeven, moeten dus raden en door conjectuur het ontbrekende aanvullen. Waren zij nu allen op de hoogte dezer studiën, kenden zij de namen der tot op hun tijd gevonden priesters en fabrikanten, zij hadden dan ten minste een grondslag, om op voort te bouwen. Maar gewoonlijk is het geval aldus. Deze of gene vindt een tiental, misschien zelfs vijftig Rhodische stempels op kruiken. Van de duizenden reeds wijd en zijd uitgegeven dito opschriften weet hij bijna niets: de literatuur over het onderwerp is inderdaad hoogst bezwaarlijk en wel voor niemand volledig bijeen te brengen. Zijne exemplaren zijn geschonden; hij vult dus ten beste aan, doch maakt er dikwijls maar wat van. Vaak is de uitgave ook min of meer met opzet slordig; hij is nu ja gedwongen deze dingen uit te geven, omdat zij van antieken oorsprong zijn, maar hij

<sup>6)</sup> De doodenkele gevallen, waarin van dezen regel is afgeweken, vindt men verzameld bij L. blz. 72 vlg. Zij zijn te weinig talrijk, dan dat aan iets anders dan aan gril of vergissing mag worden gedacht.

begrijpt niet, dat zij eenig werkelijk nut kunnen hebben, en concentreert al zijne uitgeverszorg op belangrijker inscripties, die hij heeft weten op te sporen. Weliswaar is men in de laatste decennien zorgvuldiger te werk gegaan, nu men het nut is gaan beseffen, dat uit deze gestempelde eigennamen voor de historie is te trekken. Maar, de goede niet te na gesproken, vele uitgevers hebben treurig werk geleverd. Het is trouwens verschoonbaar. Niet alleen zijn de meeste kruikopschriften gebroken en onvolledig, maar zij zijn ook dikwijls lastig leesbaar. De fabrikanten, die natuurlijk geen groote kosten wilden maken, gebruikten maar al te vaak stempels met flauwe, matte afdrukken, met rare, misteekende letters. Ook waren de stempelsnijders ten deele beunhazen, die bij vergissing verkeerde letters sneden, die uit onkunde fouten tegen de Grieksche spelling begingen, die stukken van een naam weglieten, andere stukken dubbel sneden, enz. Zoo kan alleen hij, die het gansche materiaal overziet en al de 10000 stempels heeft doorlezen en bestudeerd, zich met vrucht aan het verbeteren wijden van de soms zoo dwaze en corrupte lezingen, en ook anderszins dit studiegebied vooruitbrengen. Met eere noem ik hier de namen van Becker, van Stephani, van Kaibel, van Schuchhardt, van Hiller von Gärtringen, van Bleckmann, van Breccia, bovenal van Nilsson, die zich in de laatste vijftig jaren in dit opzicht verdiensten hebben verworven. Verbeteringen bij tientallen zijn reeds door hen en anderen gemaakt, maar er blijven er nog tientallen te maken. Ik zelf, die, toen ik indertijd in de verzameling van Collitz de Rhodische Dialektinschriften uitgaf, natuurlijk eene bijdrage in deze richting leverde, vond nu, bij de hernieuwde bestudeering van het onderwerp ter wille van deze voordracht, nogmaals de gelegenheid, om meer dan honderd andere lezingen voor te stellen. Zij zullen in een Aanhangsel worden uitgegeven.

Eerst kome thans de richting van den Rhodischen handel ter sprake; dan volgt een betoog over den bloeitijd er van. Het valt heel gemakkelijk, die richting te bepalen. Er zijn,



zeide ik, eigenlijk alleen gestempelde kruiken gevonden van Rhodischen, van Cnidischen of van Thasischen oorsprong. Indien men nu van eene landstreek of stad zoo nauwkeurig mogelijk becijfert, hoeveel kruikopschriften daar zijn voor den dag gekomen, en hoe tusschen die drie herkomstplaatsen de aantallen procentsgewijze zijn verdeeld, dan weet men de hoegrootheid van den Rhodischen handel. Aan dit onderzoek kleeft het bezwaar, dat men Rhodus slechts met twee steden kan vergelijken en niet met andere handelsmiddelpunten. Ook leeren wij niets anders kennen dan alleen de hoegrootheid van den handel in kruiken. Maar ik houd het voor zeer waarschijnlijk, dat voor de drie genoemde steden die bewuste kruiken een zeer voornaam, zoo niet het allervoornaamste artikel van uitvoer hebben uitgemaakt; en niet minder aanmerkelijk lijkt het mij, dat de richting, die de handel in kruiken nam, ook die zal zijn geweest van andere uitvoerartikelen.

Met Sicilië wil ik het onderzoek aanvangen. Daar zijn reeds in 1558 kruikstempels bestudeerd en uitgegeven (door Fazzelli), dat is bovendien het land, dat reeds in de zevende eeuw op handelsverkeer met Rhodus mocht bogen; want dáár juist, zoo ver van huis, heeft Rhodus zijne grootste koloniën aangelegd, Gela en middellijk Agrigentum. De kruikstempels van Sicilië zijn tegelijk met die van Italië uitgegeven door Kaibel (IG XIV 2393). Hij geeft onder 610 nummers 885 stempels, daaronder 602 Siciliaansche. Wat zijn die van herkomst? „*Prae titulorum rhodiorum multitudine cnidii parii thasii paucissimi vix apparent.*” Zoo schrijft Kaibel terecht in zijne voorrede. Zet men precies de puntjes op de i, dan bevindt men, dat van de 602 kruikopschriften, achtereenvolgens op Sicilië verzameld, er vier Cnidisch zijn (S 170, 212, 239 en 253), geen enkel Thasisch, geen enkel Parisch, en 30 à 40 onzeker. Al de overige zijn stellig Rhodisch. Bij dit resultaat mag men gerust zeggen, dat de invoer van Rhodische amphoren op Sicilië zoogoed als geen mededinging uit Cnidus en Thasos kende.

In Italië is het niet anders. Kaibel geeft 283 stempels, bijna alle uit Tarente, Brundisium en Rhegium. Vergeten heeft hij er nog 23 uit Praeneste, die Henzen uitgaf in het BI 1865. 72 vlg. Van die 306 handvatten zijn er 3 Cnidisch (S 79, 120 en 339), een twintigtal onzeker, en de overige alle Rhodisch.

Nog overweldigender komt het overwicht van Rhodus te Carthago aan het licht. Daar zijn van 331 stempels (te vinden in C en in het BCT 1902, 1904 en 1907) de onzekere een twintigtal sterk; de geheele rest is Rhodisch.

Uit Zuid-Frankrijk, Spanje, Marocco, Algiers bezitten wij haast geen stempels, ook niet uit de ten deele met Rhodische kolonisten bevolkte stad Cyrene.

Het resultaat omtrent het westen der Middellandsche Zee is derhalve, dat Thasische amphorenhandel er niet bestond, de Cnidische uiterst gering was, de Rhodische oppermachtig.

Egypte, Syrië en Cyprus vormen wederom eene eenheid. De handel van Rhodus uit overweegt hier weliswaar zeer, maar zoo overheerschend als in het Westen is hij toch niet. Uit Alexandrië (het verdere Egypte heeft nog bijna niets geleverd) kennen wij 479 stempels, door Stoddart van 1842—44 bijeengegaard (Transactions Royal Society of Literature, Second Series III. 1—127; IV. 1—67), 970, die Neroutsos in 1875 uitgaf (N 226 vlg.), 82, door Miller in hetzelfde jaar gepubliceerd (Ra 1875. 378 vlg.), 634 uit verschillende werken van Botti, en nog een tweehonderdtal uit verspreide publicaties (A blz. 74—85; Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien 1871. 125—129; 1874. 16—23; enz.). Botti geeft zeker, Miller waarschijnlijk, Neroutsos misschien stempels, die ten deele reeds vroeger waren uitgegeven. Tot een vaststaand totaalcijfer te komen, is dus hier onmogelijk; vermoedelijk zijn het in het geheel omstreeks 2100 exemplaren. Daarvan zijn er ongeveer 30 Thasisch, ongeveer 350 Cnidisch, 100 onzeker, en ongeveer 1620 Rhodisch, 80 % dus.

De Syrische, of nog scherper omschreven de Palëstijnsche stempels, door Macalister en anderen uitgegeven (in PEF



1900—1904; Clermont—Ganneau, *Archaeol. Researches in Palestine II.* 148 vlg.), zijn 358 in aantal, de Cyprische 264 (in *BI* 1870. 202 vlg.; *Ra* 1873. 317 vlg.; *Hall* blz. 389—397; *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, Descriptive Atlas III Suppl., Greek Inscriptions n.* 72—104; *Myres and Ohnefalsch—Richter, A catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, Oxford* 1899, 95 vlg.). Van deze 622 nummers zijn er ongeveer 80 % Rhodisch, de rest is onzeker (de zeer onvoldoende publicaties doen dit ons ten minste zoo voorkomen); slechts zeer enkele exemplaren zijn stellig Cnidisch of Thasisch.

Het eiland Rhodus zelf heeft een vervaarlijk aantal stempels opgeleverd. Daar is allereerst de reusachtige voorraad, 2841 nummers, die onlangs door de Denen te Lindos is gevonden en door Nilsson zoo voorbeeldig uitgegeven; dan de meer dan duizend handvatten, die Newton uit de stad Rhodus naar het Britsche Museum overbracht en die Miss C. Aemilia Hutton catalogiseerde en beschreef (*IG XII 1.* 1065 vlg.); vervolgens de 212 stempels, eveneens uit de stad Rhodus, onlangs door Johanès Paris in de *Mélanges Holleaux* gepubliceerd (blz. 153 vlg.); eindelijk eenige kleinere verzamelingen (o.a. *AM* 21. 57 vlg.). Van de  $\pm$  4300 exemplaren zijn er nog geen 100 Cnidisch of onzeker, Thasische komen er in het geheel maar 8 voor. Deze uitkomst liet zich trouwens van te voren verwachten.

Uit Pergamum bezitten wij 882 kruikstempels (*P* 766 vlg.). Daarvan zijn er 819 Rhodisch, 20 Thasisch, 8 Cnidisch, 1 Parisch, 2 Smyrnaëisch, 32 onzeker. Weer dus een overwicht van meer dan 90 % ten gunste van Rhodus.

Uit andere steden van de Kleinaziatische kust, uit de Sporaden en de Cycladen zijn nog te weinig exemplaren tot ons gekomen dan dat wij hier gevolgtrekkingen kunnen maken.

Drukkend centonig was tot dusverre het resultaat. In het westen der Middellandsche Zee is de Rhodische amphorenhandel haast concurrentielooz, in het oosten en in de landstreken, die Rhodus onmiddellijk omgeven, zoo overwegend,

dat hij het tot 85 à 90 % van het geheel brengt. Maar een geheel ander beeld vertoont zich plotseling in het eigenlijke Griekenland of ten minste in de eenige stad van het eigenlijke Griekenland, waaruit wij meer dan zeer enkele kruikstempels bezitten, te Athene. Dáár juist is het aantal van dergelijke opschriften zeer groot: Dumont gaf er reeds in 1872 meer dan 2200 uit (*Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce, Paris* 1872). Daaronder zijn volgens hem 347 Rhodische. Hij was weinig bevoegd, om eene zoo groote collectie te bewerken; want hij wist niet eens Cnidische van Rhodische stempels behoorlijk te onderscheiden. Toch zal globaalweg zijne opgave wel betrouwbaar zijn: hij is immers even gul, om wat Cnidisch is voor Rhodisch te verklaren als dat hij wat Rhodisch is voor Cnidisch uitgeeft. Hier dus te Athene slechts 15 % Rhodische stempels. Al het overige is Cnidisch op 124 Thasische en een driehonderdtal onzekere na. Wie, na kennismaking met Dumonts wijze van werken, dit resultaat versterkt wenscht te zien, bedenke, dat lang daarna een aantal van 98 stempels uit Attica naar Dresden is gezonden; Grundmann onderzocht die (*Gr* blz. 279 vlg.) en bevond, dat ook hier van de 98 stempels slechts 14 Rhodisch zijn. Eene kleine verzameling, zes jaren later te Athene bijeengebracht (*AM* 21. 127 vlg.), bracht wederom dezelfde uitkomst. Men mag dus wel aannemen, dat de Rhodische handel op Attica (en op het overige Griekenland?) zeer veel minder te beduiden had dan op de verre streken west-, oost- en zuidwaarts.

Blijft nog ten slotte Zuid-Rusland. Daar zijn tussehen de puinhoopen der Grieksche steden aan den noordrand der Zwarte Zee langzamerhand meer dan 3000 amphorenstempels voor den dag gekomen. Zij zijn verdeeld over vele staats- en particuliere verzamelingen, en gepubliceerd in tal van tijdschriften en boeken. Men kan die opgesomd vinden in mijne Rhodische Dialektinschriften blz. 571 en de nieuwste aanvullingen bij Nilsson (*L* blz. 41 vlg.). De uitkomst is deze, dat van die  $\pm$  3000 stempels (men kan hier, gegeven het gehalte van sommige publicaties, zoomin als te Alexandrië,



in Palestina, op Cyprus of te Athene de getallen geheel precies geven), dat van die meer dan 3000 stempels er slechts ongeveer 1200 Rhodisch zijn, 1500 Thasisch en 200 Cnidisch. Een honderdtal is onzeker. Hier — en hier alleen — treedt het trouwens meest nabijgelegen eiland Thasos sterk op den voorgrond en overvleugelt Rhodus, gelijk Cnidus dat nog beslister te Athene deed.

De oorzaken met zekerheid te noemen, waarom de Rhodische handel op Griekenland en de kustlanden der Zwarte Zee onbelangrijker was dan elders, gaat bij den stand onzer kennis niet aan. Wij kunnen slechts gissingen opperen. Geene lijkt mij meer voor de hand te liggen dan dat het was, omdat Rhodus als handelsstaat betrekkelijk laat tot grooten bloei kwam. Te voren hadden Milete, Chalcis, Corinthe, Aegina, Athene achtereenvolgens als handelsmetropolen geschitterd. Het was voor Rhodus, dat bovendien aan een uithoek der oud-Grieksche wereld lag, moeilijk zich terrein te veroveren in gewesten, waar men het als handelsland niet kende en anderen zich reeds genesteld hadden. Daarom wendde het zich naar het verre buitenland en naar de streken, die eerst sedert de vierde eeuw meer en meer voor den Griekschen handel werden ontsloten.

De vraag komt nu aan de orde, hoe het verloop was van den Rhodischen handel en wanneer hij zich het krachtigst heeft ontwikkeld. Die vraag, voorzoover de beantwoording met de stempels op amphoren samenhangt, is, meer ter loops, reeds door Schuchhardt onder de oogen gezien, daarna meer opzettelijk door Bleckmann, in zijn boekje *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis rhodiis*, Gottingae 1907, en vervolgens in een artikel in *Klio* XII (1912), blz. 249—258. Bij dit onderzoek echter, waarbij helaas de soliditeit der meeste bouwstenen te wenschen overlaat, is de angstvalligste nauwgezetheid plicht en dient in de eerste plaats het materiaal zoo volledig mogelijk te worden saamgedragen. Het moet natuurlijk van het feit uitgaan, dat op iedere Rhodische kruik de naam van een priester staat gestempeld, die een bepaald jaar

aanwijst. Van die priesters, 269 in het geheel, verdeeld over 10000 stempels, moet men er zooveel mogelijk chronologisch trachten vast te leggen. Hoe dat te bereiken? want geen enkele dier velen komt voor in onze Grieksche en Latijnsche auteurs, daar wordt niet van één Rhodischen priester van Helios of van één fabrikant de naam genoemd. Men zoekt in den onuitputtelijken voorraad van Grieksche opschriften naar staatsstukken, die gedateerd zijn naar Rhodische eponymi, ἐπ' ἡρέως τοῦ θεῶς, toen die of die priester van Helios te Rhodus was. Men vindt er dan 28, meest natuurlijk op inscripties van het eiland zelve. Met een beetje zaakkennis gelukt het dan, van bijna al die 28 vrij precies den tijd uit te vinden, van sommige zelfs zeer precies. Nu zoekt men naar eene gesloten, bijeenbehoorende vondst van Rhodische stempels, zoo groot mogelijk. Vanzelf biedt zich die van Pergamum aan, in 1895 door Carl Schuchhardt op blz. 423 vlg. van Deel II van de *Inscripten von Pergamon* gepubliceerd, 882 stempels, alle bijeengevonden als puin voor den ondergrond van een huis op hellend terrein en alle blijkbaar op een zelfde oogenblik weggeruimd. Inderdaad was vóór deze groote samenhangende vondst een onderzoek als het onderhavige geheel ondoenlijk. Nu komt het er op aan, ten nauwkeurigste den tijd van die vondst te bepalen. Dat wordt uitvoerbaar, door na te gaan, hoeveel en welke priesters te Pergamum opduiken, die tegelijk voorkomen onder het 28-tal, dat op gewone inscripties prijkt en waarvan wij meerendeels den tijd kennen. Heeft men aldus dien tijd benaderd, dan telt men alle priesters van de vondst te Pergamum. Men vergewist zich dan, hoeveel malen elk dier priesters voorkomt onder al de 10000 Rhodische stempels, die wij van heinde en verre bezitten. Komen zij bijna allen vaak voor onder die massa, dan was natuurlijk de handel van Rhodus bloeiend in hun tijd; is het tegendeel het geval, dan was hij toen kwijnend. Dit onderzoek brengt gelukkig heel duidelijke resultaten.

De spil, waarom alles draait, is dus de chronologische vastlegging van de vondst van Pergamum. Die vondst — gelijk



gezegd — bestaat uit 882 stempels. Daarvan zijn er 819 Rhodisch, en op die 819 komen 44 priester namen voor en 63 van fabrikanten. Die priesters zijn hoogstens 60 à 70 jaar ouder dan de vondst; niemand stelt het langer uit, om oude wijnkruiken op te ruimen. Wanneer leefden zij nu? Schuchhardt sprak het vermoeden uit van omstreeks 180; toen, zeide hij, waren bloei en macht van Pergamum op zijn allergrootst, toen ook was Rhodus op het toppunt van glans. Dat de vondst uit een tijd stamt, toen het handelsverkeer tusschen Rhodus en Pergamum aanzienlijk was, volgt nog o.a. uit het feit, dat van sommige priesters de naam niet minder dan tien-, twintig-, ja vijf en twintigmaal onder deze 819 stempels terugkeert, sommige jaren dus tot vijf en twintigmaal toe vertegenwoordigd zijn. Wie na Schuchhardt eene meening hebben moeten uitspreken, hebben zich bij zijne dateering aangesloten; zeker is zij evenwel niet. Pergamum en Rhodus beiden hebben lang na en voor dien tijd bestaan en zelfs gebloeid. Meerdere zekerheid laat zich langs andere wegen bijbrengen. Er is een opschrift uit Seleucia aan den Calycadnus, door Heberdey en Wilhelm gevonden, laatstelijk door mij uitgegeven in de Griechische Dialektinschriften als n. 3751. Daar worden in uittreksel vier Rhodische eeredecreten medegedeeld ten gunste van Εὐδημος, den zoon van Νίκων, een burger van Seleucia en blijkbaar een invloedrijk vriend van een koning Antiochus van Syrië. De koning heeft groote geschenken aan de Rhodiërs beloofd ten bate hunner vloot; Εὐδημος wordt aangespoord, de uitbetaling dier geschenken te bespoedigen. Dit opschrift is volgens de vinders — en het afbeeldsel, dat zij er van geven, duidt ook volgens mij hierop — stellig van de eerste helft der tweede eeuw; dan komen er slechts twee koningen Antiochus in aanmerking, Antiochus III of de Groote (223—187) en Antiochus IV (175—163). Maar de eerste leefde met de Rhodiërs, de trouwe bondgenooten der Romeinen, in veete en oorlogstoestand; Antiochus IV blijft dus alleen over. De inscriptie is dus van een der jaren tusschen 175 en 163. Bij geluk behoort zij tot

de zeer weinige Rhodische inscripties met een jaartal; zij is nl. uit het jaar van den priester van Helios Δαμωναῖος den zoon van Δαμέως (ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμωνάεως τοῦ Δαμέως). Nu treffen wij in de groote vondst van kruikstempels uit Pergamum bijna geen priester zoo veelvuldig aan als juist dezen Δαμωνάειος. Hij komt onder de 819 Rhodische stempels niet minder dan 21 maal voor. Slechts 3 van de 44 overtreffen hem in dit opzicht.<sup>7)</sup> Daar het nu voor de hand ligt, dat bij het wegruimen de amphoren der allerlaatste jaren doorceengenomen nog in het sterkste aantal voorhanden waren, moet dat waarschijnlijk zeer spoedig na zijn priesterschap zijn gebeurd en het tijdstip der wegruiming dus ongeveer in 165 vallen.

Van een anderen kant komen wij tot dezelfde uitkomst. De meest naar voren tredende Rhodische staatslieden der tweede eeuw zijn Θερίδης en zijn zoon Ἀστυμήδης. Zij worden beiden herhaalde malen bij Polybius genoemd (zie den index bij Hultsch), Ἀστυμήδης voor het eerst in het jaar 171 en verder als Rhodisch afgezant te Rome in de jaren 167, 164 en 153. Dat hij een zoon van Θερίδης was, staat niet in Polybius, maar blijkt zoogoed als zeker uit opschriften (EAR 3. 69; GDI 4205<sub>2</sub>; IG XII 1. 163<sub>4</sub>). Blinkenberg heeft dit reeds als vaststaand aangenomen (EAR 3. 70), en ik ga gaarne met hem mede. Nu bestaat er een priester van Helios Ἀστυμήδης, een bekende eponymus, want zijn naam keert niet minder dan 49 maal op kruikstempels weer. Hij komt ook op een opschrift voor (IG XII 3. 103<sub>8</sub>), eene plaats die ik bij Blinkenberg noch bij iemand geciteerd vind. Is nu deze priester van Helios dezelfde als de staatsman? Ja, zegt Blinkenberg, en ook ik acht dit zeer waarschijnlijk. Want de naam Ἀστυμήδης is niet alledaagsch, en de zes of zeven andere dragers er van te Rhodus (GDI 3751<sub>25</sub>; 3791<sub>86</sub>; 3791<sub>164</sub>; 3853<sub>2</sub>; 3875<sub>3</sub>; 4157<sub>70</sub>; 4198<sub>15</sub>) zijn allen obscuur. Van den priester van Helios Ἀστυμήδης kennen wij echter langs twee wegen

<sup>7)</sup> Nl. Ἀγέμαχος (28), Ἀριστόδαμος (24) en Καλλικράτιδας (23).



vrij nauwkeurig het jaar van zijn priesterschap. Het zooeven genoemde opschrift IG XII 3. 103 is een grafteeken met statue, door treurende kleinkinderen voor een grootvader opgericht en door Epicharmus van Soli vervaardigd. Epicharmus beeldhouwde ook nog in de eerste eeuw (zie GDI 3792<sub>25</sub>; 3802<sub>12</sub>; 4200<sub>11</sub>). Hij was perquam juvenis, zegt Hiller von Gärtringen, de uitgever dezer inscriptie, toen hij dit monument beitelde, en ik geloof het graag. Maar zelfs in dat geval kan het toch kwalijk vóór 140 à 130 zijn geweest. De bewuste grootvader, wiens loopbaan op het gedenkteeken wordt verheerlijkt, bracht het tot στρατηγός, hoofdofficier, κατὰ πόλεμον τὸν Κρητικὸν ἐπὶ Ἀστυμήδης. Hiller vermoedt, dat met dezen oorlog tusschen Rhodus en Creta die van 154 tot 151 bedoeld wordt, welken Polybius in zijn 33ste boek beschrijft. Inderdaad is deze gissing hoogst aannemelijk. Dan was dus Ἀστυμήδης priester van Helios in 153 of daaromtrent. Zij wordt nog aannemelijker, als wij bedenken, dat, wederom volgens Polybius (33. 15<sub>3</sub>), juist Ἀστυμήδης in 153 door de Rhodiërs naar Rome werd afgevaardigd, om in den senaat het geschil tusschen Rhodus en Creta toe te lichten; wie kon voor dien post meer in aanmerking komen dan de eponymus van den staat? Een tweede pad voert naar hetzelfde jaartal 153. Blinkenberg vermeldt op de plaats, die ik zooeven aanhaalde, dat hij te Lindos een opschrift heeft gevonden (hij heeft het nog niet uitgegeven), dat onwederlegbaar bewijst, hoe precies in het jaar 154 Ἀστυμήδης priester van Athana Lindia te Lindos was. Gewoonlijk bekleedde men het priesterschap van Helios te Rhodus en dat van Athana te Lindos, die twee hoogste lokselen voor Rhodische staatmanseerzucht, vrijwel gelijktijdig. Dus was Ἀστυμήδης in 153, in allen geval tusschen 155 en 150 priester van Helios. Nu is het opmerkelijk, dat van 49, zegge 49 kruikstempels, die wij van hem bezitten, er niet één in de groote vondst van Pergamum voorkomt. De meest voor de hand liggende verklaring is toch wel, dat, toen die kruiken werden weggeruimd, Ἀστυμήδης nog geen priester van Helios was. Hij was het echter kort na 155; de datee-

ring dezer wegruiming in ongeveer 165 gaat hiermede accoord.

Zijn vader Θεσιδότης komt echter wel degelijk op de kruiken te Pergamum voor. Van dezen staatsman weten wij door Polybius (30. 22<sub>2</sub>), dat hij in het jaar 167 te Rome stierf, meer dan 80 jaar oud. Verder leert ons het nog onuitgegeven opschrift van Blinkenberg, dat ik zooeven noemde, dat hij in 188 priester van Athana Lindia te Lindos was. Heeft ook hij het priesterschap van Helios verworven, dan was dat waarschijnlijk zoowat gelijktijdig. Het is echter gewoon ondenkbaar, dat een staatsman van zijn aanzien dat niet zou hebben gedaan. Bovendien kennen wij door 44 kruikstempels een priester van Helios Θεσιδότης. Is hij dat? Natuurlijk ja. Want de naam Θεσιδότης is zóó zeldzaam, dat wij elders van geen enkelen, te Rhodus slechts van twee naamgenooten van hem weten, een voorvader van hem (GDI 4154<sub>37</sub>) en een afstammeling (EAR 3. 73; GDI 3810 b<sub>1</sub>). In onze uitgaven van Polybius heet hij dan ook nog steeds hardnekkig Θεσιδότης, onjuist maar meer gewoon, hoewel alle Rhodische inscripties die naamgeving wraken (EAR 3. 69; GDI 4205<sub>2</sub>; IG XII 1. 163<sub>3</sub>). Nu gaan wij ook weer met dezen Θεσιδότης naar de vondst van Pergamum terug. Als die van ongeveer 165 is en Θεσιδότης was priester van Helios omstreeks 190, moet hij op Pergameensche handvatten meermalen voorkomen. Inderdaad zijn van de 44 stempels, die wij in het geheel van hem bezitten, er 12 uit Pergamum afkomstig.

Maar nog zekerder dan het bewijs, dat Δαμοκλῆς of Ἀστυμήδης of Θεσιδότης ons kunnen bijbrengen, is dat, wat samenhangt met den priester Ἀρχιδάμος. Een opschrift is gevonden onder de puinhoopen van den tempel van Zeus Panamarus nabij Stratonicea in Carië; de best toegankelijke uitgave is die van Michel 479. Dat opschrift begint met de dateering Ἐπ' ἐρέως Ἀρχιδάμου. Juist die tijdsbepaling door middel van een Rhodischen priester van Helios maakt het zeker, dat het uit den tijd van Stratonicea's onderdanigheid aan Rhodus is. De inhoud, een eerebesluit voor een afgetreden Rhodischen ἐπιστάτης, bevestigt dat nog, zoo het noodig



ware. Wanneer echter was Stratonicea onderworpen aan Rhodus? Wij weten dat<sup>\*)</sup> nauwkeurig: in 188 schonken de Romeinen de stad aan Rhodus, in 166 namen zij hunne gift terug. Nooit daarvoor of daarna herhaalde zich die onderdanigheid. Dus 'Αρχίδαμος was priester in een der jaren tusschen 188 en 166. Wij bezitten van dezen eponymus 56 kruikopschriften, daaronder het betrekkelijk groote aantal van 16, dat te Pergamum is aan het licht getreden. Stemt dat niet ten schoonste overeen met wat wij zooeven vonden, dat nl. de stempels te Pergamum in  $\pm 165$  zijn opgeruimd?

Ter wille van het groote belang, dat de datum dier wegruiming zoo zeker mogelijk worde gekend, wil ik ook nog vijf andere priesters ter sprake brengen, die hiervoor van nut kunnen zijn. Allereerst Εὐκλῆς. Hij komt voor op eene inscriptie, die, na eerst twee jaar geleden te zijn uitgegeven, thans reeds beroemd is geworden, nl. de „Kroniek van Lindos”. Dáár lezen wij (EAR 6. 340, D 40), dat de tempel van Athana Lindia afbrandde, toen Εὐκλῆς, de zoon van Ἀστυνοκτιδῆς, priester van Helios was (ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀλίου Εὐκλέως τοῦ Ἀστυνοκτιδῆ). Blinkenberg heeft in zijn commentaar op dit opschrift (t. p. blz. 448 vlg.) in een uitnemend betoog, dat uit verschillende historische gegevens is opgebouwd, bijna bewezen, dat die brand ongeveer in 335 heeft plaats gegrepen. Wie nog twifelen mocht, leze daarna EAR 2. 65 vlg.; daar wordt door Kinch op architectonische gronden, lang voordat de Kroniek van Lindos bekend was, ontwikkeld, dat de nieuw opgerichte tempel van Athana Lindia, de thans nog als bouwval aanwezige, van de tweede helft der vierde eeuw is. Εὐκλῆς was dus priester van Helios in  $\pm 335$ . Er zijn mij 16 kruikstempels van hem bekend<sup>\*)</sup>. Van die 16 is geen enkele te Pergamum gevonden. Ware dit anders, deze vondst

<sup>\*)</sup> Of zijn het er 15? Men mag zich nl. afvragen, of de stempel uit Alexandrië, vermeld bij Be als n. 104, een andere is dan die, genoemd bij A 79 n. 48. De derde stempel van Εὐκλῆς uit Alexandrië (N 237 n. 91), thans te Athene, schijnt zeker een afzonderlijk exemplaar te zijn.

zou bezwaarlijk van  $\pm 165$  kunnen zijn. Nu is dit juist het resultaat, dat men a priori mocht verwachten.

Deze Εὐκλῆς, in tegenstelling met de vier te voren genoemden, komt ook niet voor op de stempels uit de tweede groote bijeenbehoorende vondst, die van Carthago. Of mag men hier wel van eene groote vondst spreken, daar toch het aantal der Pergameensche kruikopschriften dat der Carthaagsche meer dan driemaal overtreft? En vooral — wat gewichtiger is — mag men de Carthaagsche vondst „bijeenbehoorend” noemen? De zaak zit zoo. Te Carthago zijn in het laatste twintigtal jaren der 19de eeuw achtereenvolgens 331 Grieksche kruikstempels voor den dag gekomen. Zij werden bekendgemaakt in verschillende jaargangen van de Revue Tunisienne, van het Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, van de Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions en van mij ontoegankelijke plaatselijke tijdschriften. Gezamenlijk ondergebracht zijn zij daarop in 1904 door Dessau in den IIIden Supplementband van het VIIIste Deel van het CIL, onder n. 22639. Dessau geeft 266 inscripties, alle Rhodisch; ten minste van geen enkele laat zich het tegendeel bewijzen. Beweerd wordt nu in de oudste vondstberichten, dat het meerendeel dezer stempels één geheel vormt; Delattre beschrijft in het BCT van 1894, blz. 89 vlg. een muur uit den tijd van Augustus, inwendig met amphoren en scherven er van opgevuld. Tevens geeft hij aan (blz. 92 en 107), waarom zij veel ouder dan Augustus moeten zijn en nog uit den tijd van het Punische Carthago moeten stammen. Hoevele echter van het totaal van 266 bij elkaar behooren en welke precies, daarover laat hij zoomin als iemand zich uit. Gelukkig laat zich hun onderlinge samenhang uit de stempels zelven aantoonen. Bleckmann namelijk vestigde er reeds de aandacht op, dat de stempels te Carthago en die te Pergamum blijkbaar van ongeveer denzelfden tijd zijn. Van 42 priesters van Helios nl., die te Carthago op kruiken vermeld worden, keeren er 30 te Pergamum terug, terwijl slechts 14 Pergameensche namen te Carthago worden



gemist<sup>9)</sup>. Eene dergelijke overeenstemming tusschen twee massa's Rhodische kruikstempels valt nergens elders te constateren. Welke vondst is echter jonger, de Pergameensche of de Carthaagsche? Om dit te beslissen, kan weer de priester van Helios Ἀστυμήδης dienst doen, van wien wij straks uitmaakten, dat hij in 153 of daaromtrent het priesterschap bekleedde. Wij bezitten van hem 49 stempels. Geen daarvan is te Pergamum voor den dag gebracht; in de vondst te Carthago evenwel, die nog niet derdepart zoo groot is, komt hij tweemaal voor. De stempels te Carthago vallen dus ten deele na  $\pm 165$  en reiken natuurlijk niet verder dan 149, het jaar dat onverbiddelijk aan allen Rhodischen invoer in die stad een einde moet hebben gemaakt.

Nu, na op deze gronden de wegruiming der Pergameensche kruiken in  $\pm 165$  gezet en de Carthaagsche dooreengenomen iets later te hebben gesteld, moet ik, ter nog nadere bevestiging van het gewonnen resultaat, den priester van Helios Πρατοφάνης nog even vooropschuiven, die als tijdsbepaler voorkomt op het ellenlange, niet onbekende opschrift, de uitspraak der Rhodiërs in het eenwenoude twistgeding tusschen Samos en Priëne. Zij twistten over de vesting τὸ Κάριον en over het land daaromheen en brachten die zaak altijd weer voor nieuwe scheidsrechters. Het bedoelde opschrift, reeds meermalen behandeld, heeft eindelijk na zijne overbrenging naar het Britsche Museum in Hicks een waardigen uitgever gevonden. Hicks maakt het om meer dan eene reden waarschijnlijk, dat het van de eerste helft der tweede eeuw is. Ik heb, toen ik op mijne beurt dit opschrift bewerkte (als GDI n. 3758), aan zijne argumenten nog toegevoegd, dat twee der aanzienlijke Rhodiërs, die hier als scheidsrechters optreden, ons nog van elders bekend schijnen te zijn. Ἀγύσωνδρος, de zoon van Εὐδάμους, is vermoedelijk de zoon van den bij Livius (37. 12<sub>9</sub>) vermelden Eudamus, die in 190 in den zeeslag bij

<sup>9)</sup> Van de 49 fabrikanten te Carthago komen er 36 te Pergamum voor, terwijl 27 Pergameensche namen te Carthago ontbreken.

Myonnesus het Rhodische eskader commandeerde, terwijl Τιμαγόρας, de zoon van Πολεμακλής, waarschijnlijk de admiraal Τιμαγόρας is, die volgens Polybius (27. 7<sub>14</sub>) in 170 tegen koning Perseus vocht. De inscriptie zou dan van omstreeks 165 zijn. Zij is gedateerd ἐπὶ ἱερέως Πρατο[φάνους]. Weliswaar is van zijn naam niet meer dan Πρατο- bewaard gebleven; maar de aanvulling Πρατο[φάνης] is, dunkt mij, zeker, daar onder al de 269 Rhodische priesters van Helios er geen enkele dan deze is, wiens naam met Πρατο begint. De priester Πρατοφάνης komt dus op een opschrift van omstreeks 165 voor. Hij wordt ook op kruikstempels aangetroffen, op 24 in het geheel. Daaronder zijn er twee uit Pergamum (P 1166 en 1167), maar niet minder dan acht zijn te Carthago gevonden (7 bij C 137—143, 1 in het BCT 1904. 488 n. 35). Ja, er zijn zelfs van geen enkelen Rhodischen priester meer stempels te Carthago opgegraven dan van dezen Πρατοφάνης. Dit resultaat, zoowel te Pergamum als te Carthago, is volkomen waar men op mocht hopen bij een priester, die dat was omstreeks 165.

Δαμχίνετος, een andere eponyme priester, is ons reeds lang bekend door het opschrift ter eere van den ἀρχιερατῆρας Dionysodorus van Alexandrië (GDI 3836). Dat is naar zijn priesterschap gedateerd. Kellermann, Franz, Boeckh, Hiller von Gärtringen, alle uitgevers dezer inscriptie, zijn het er over eens, dat zij van de tweede eeuw is. Zij uitten die meening lang voordat er van vondsten uit Pergamum en Carthago iets bekend was. Maar hun resultaat klopt met dat, waartoe ik kwam bij de vondst van Carthago. Want deze Δαμχίνετος (hij ontbreekt te Pergamum) komt te Carthago tweemaal voor (C 54; BCT 1902. 447 n. 1). Men mag hem dus voortaan omstreeks 160 onderbrengen.

De priester Σωσιλλής verkeert geheel in hetzelfde geval. Hij komt voor op een opschrift (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1270), dat, afgaande op het schrift, gezet wordt in de tweede eeuw, misschien in het begin der eerste. Het getuigenis der kruikstempels sluit zich hierbij aan. Want te Carthago komt hij



voor (BCT 1904. 489 n. 41), niet te Pergamum. Ook hij is dus van  $\pm 160$ . Op kruikstempels treft men hem 37 maal.

Ten slotte de priester van Helios  $\text{Ἡελίου Φαίνος}$ . Hij geeft het jaar aan op eene inscriptie der Rhodiërs ter eere van de stad Cyzicus (thans GDI n. 3752). Boeckh, de verdienstelijke uitgever van dezen steen, zet hem in de tweede eeuw v. Chr.; aan deze ietwat vage tijdsbepaling heb ik indertijd in mijne uitgave niets kunnen toevoegen, wat ze eenigszins doet inkrimpen.  $\text{Ἡελίου Φαίνος}$  komt echter ook voor op kruikstempels, een en vijftigmaal. Daarvan zijn er acht te Pergamum (P 867—874) en drie te Carthago gevonden (C 1b en 28; BCT 1904. 484 n. 6). Dat komt overeen met Boeckhs dateering van het Rhodisch-Cyziceensche eere-decreet en met mijne van de Pergameensche en Carthaagsche vondsten. Men zal nu echter Boeckhs dateering mogen beperken en alleen de eerste helft der tweede eeuw in aanmerking nemen, nog nauwkeuriger het jaar 175 ongeveer.

Wat baat het ons nu, dat wij al zoekende en pluizende het jaartal van de vondst te Pergamum vrij precies hebben benaderd, dat wij den tijd van de Carthaagsche stempels ongeveer weten? Natuurlijk zeer veel. Immers de 56 priesters en de 76 fabrikanten, die te Pergamum en te Carthago genoemd worden, mogen thans veilig in een tijd gezet worden, die hoogstens tot 60 jaar vóór de Pergameensche vondst teruggaat; zij hooren dus thuis in de jaren tusschen 225 en 149. Zoo dadelijk zal aangetoond worden, dat letterlijk al deze priesters en deze fabrikanten bijzonder druk in onzen algemeenen stempelvoorraad van 10000 stuks optreden, en dat dus de periode van 225 tot 150 de groote bloeitijd van den Rhodischen handel moet zijn geweest. Eerst is het echter mogelijk, hen nog wat nauwkeuriger over de onderhavige periode te verdeelen, en ook, om hun aantal nog wat uit te breiden. Want diegenen onder hen, die te Pergamum meer dan tienmaal voorkomen, mogen wij met groote waarschijnlijkheid tusschen 190 en 165 plaatsen, zij, die dikwijls of alleen te Carthago, zelden te Per-

gamum worden aangetroffen, zijn wel van 170 tot 150, de slechts sporadisch te Pergamum, in het geheel niet te Carthago opduikende moeten wel tusschen 225 en 190 worden ondergebracht. Voor de priesters zijn hier natuurlijk de uitkomsten zekerder dan voor de fabrikanten: de priesternamen vertegenwoordigen ieder slechts één jaar, de fabrikantennamen een menschenleven, soms misschien meerdere menschenlevens, het leven eener firma.<sup>10)</sup> En wat de uitbreiding van het aantal van 56 priesters en 76 fabrikanten betreft, die kan voor de 75 jaren in kwestie nog op de volgende wijze worden bereikt. Er zijn enkele gave Rhodische kruiken teruggevonden; de namen van priester en fabrikant, die daarop voorkomen, behooren natuurlijk bij elkander, zij leefden in één tijd. Het komt ook voor, weliswaar zeer zelden, dat op één zelfde ooreener kruik de naam van een fabrikant en die van een priester naast elkaar staan gestempeld. Op 10000 kruikstempels kennen wij van deze beide rubrieken te zamen ongeveer 80 gevallen. Bruikbaar voor ons doel zijn daarvan 62;<sup>11)</sup> op de overige gave kruiken kunnen wij de opschriften

<sup>10)</sup> Zoo alleen laat zich verklaren, dat onder de 9860 Rhodische stempels de namen van sommige fabrikanten zoo heel vaak terugkeeren,  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$  bijv.,  $\text{Ἀγαθοκλῆς}$  en  $\text{Μαρσίας}$  respectievelijk 227, 169 en 162 maal. De firma overleefde den stichter der zaak.

<sup>11)</sup> Bleckmann heeft eene lijst van het totaal dezer beide rubrieken opgemaakt en komt dan tot 63 gevallen. Een 64ste heeft hij over het hoofd gezien, de gave kruik uit Vulci in Toscane, het laatst door mij uitgegeven in GDI 4245, 2. Twee nummers zijner lijst had hij bovendien moeten schrappen, allereerst zijn nummer 4, de kruik waarop, naar Berg beweert, de namen  $\text{Μολπαγόρας}$  en  $\text{Ἀλέξανδρος}$  voorkomen. Nilsson heeft reeds aangetoond (L blz. 72 aanm. 2), dat die bewering onjuist is. Vervolgens is de kruik, die hij in Klio vermeldt (XII. 250) als dragende de namen van den eponymus  $\text{Ἀρίσταρχος}$  en den fabrikant  $\text{Ἀγαθόβουλος}$ , eene fictie. Hij citeert er Nilsson voor, maar nergens is zij bij dien te vinden; wel daarentegen verzekert Nilsson (L blz. 116), dat hem (ook mij niet) een eponymus  $\text{Ἀρίσταρχος}$  niet bekend is. Het totaal der genoemde lijst wordt dus 62.

Andere kleine onnauwkeurigheden in deze lijst van Bleckmann moeten ook nog worden verbeterd. De priester van zijn nummer 5 heet niet Philanius, maar  $\text{Φιλαινίος}$ , de fabrikant van zijn nummer 8 niet



niet voldoende lezen. Zij helpen ons aan den tijd van nog enkele priesters en fabrikanten. Uit het jaar  $\pm 190$  bijv. van den priester Θεζίδητος, die ons zooeven bezighield, is op Cyprus eene volledige kruik gevonden (Hall 391 n. 5060); op het eene handvat staat zijn naam, op het andere die van den fabrikant Ἰπποκράτης. Deze Ἰπποκράτης leefde dus ook in ongeveer 190. Op zijne beurt komt hij weer voor op eene andere gave kruik, die te Tell Sandahannah in Palestina is opgedolven (PEF 1903. 306), en op eene dito uit Cyprus (Hall 391 n. 5041). De priesters op deze twee kruiken zijn dus ook al weer van  $\pm 190$ . De priester Νικασαγόρας, te Pergamum en te Carthago welbekend, dus ongeveer van 175, staat op één zelfde handvat naast den fabrikant Ἀγαθόβουλος (L 329, 5 en 6); zij leefden dus in één tijd. En zoo komt men van resultaat tot resultaat. Langs dezen weg (de bijzonderheden staan hier beneden in de voetnoot) verkrijgen wij opnieuw voor de periode tusschen 225 en 150 een aanwas van 11 priesters<sup>12)</sup> en 8 fabri-

Nanius, maar Νάνιος, de priester van zijn nummer 14 niet Harmosilas, maar Ἀρμοςίδης, de fabrikant van zijn nummer 16 niet Dion, maar Δῖος, die van zijn nummer 22 niet Menesthes, maar Μενεσθεύς, die van zijn nummer 33 niet Androbulus, maar Ἀγαθόβουλος (zie L blz. 116).

<sup>12)</sup> Te weten: Ἀλεξιάδης, Ἀνδρίας, Ἀνδρόνικος, Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀρίστακος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Ἀρίστρατος (zie voor dezen priester L blz. 116), Ἀρχέμβροτος, Αὐτοκράτης, Θέρσανδρος en Φιλαίνιος. Bleckmann geeft alphabetische lijsten (Bl blz. 34 vlg.) van de te Pergamum en te Carthago gevonden eponymi en fabrikanten. Met behulp daarvan vindt men gemakkelijk het bewijs voor de priesters Ἀντίπατρος en Φιλαίνιος. De leeftijd van Ἀλεξιάδης wordt bewezen door de fabrikante Διόκληια, die op één zelfde kruik met hem voorkomt, en die te Pergamum bekend is (P 1002); haar naam is echter in de lijst van Bleckmann vergeten. Ἀνδρίας, Ἀνδρόνικος, Ἀρίστακος en Θέρσανδρος zijn fabrikanten, die met hen op dezelfde handvatten genoemd worden, die weliswaar noch te Pergamum noch te Carthago voorkomt, maar wiens leeftijd gegeven is, daar hij ook met den priester Νικασαγόρας op een zelfde handvat staat (L 329), een eponymus, die en uit Pergamum en uit Carthago tot ons is gekomen. Ἀρχέμβροτος en Ἀρίστρατος vinden hun leeftijd bepaald door den fabrikant Δρακοντίδης,

kanten.<sup>13)</sup> Het totaal klimt daardoor tot 67 priesters en 84 fabrikanten.

Wat weet nu de historie van de driekwarteeuw, waarover het hier loopt? Dat het voor Rhodus een tijdperk van grooten staatkundigen bloei is geweest, van den helsten glans, dien de staat naar buiten ooit heeft bereikt. De bloeitijd heeft evenwel dubbel zoo lang geduurd, aan deze driekwarteeuw ging eene andere vooraf, vrijwel gelijk in voorspoed. Geen geschiedschrijver van Rhodus, of hij leidt de grootheid der

die naast hen op kruiken vermeld wordt, die te Pergamum en te Carthago onbekend is, maar die op één zelfde handvat wordt aangetroffen met den priester Ἀλεξιάδης (Hall 393 n. 5043; vgl. L blz. 117). Ἀριστοκλῆς staat met Μίδης op eene gave kruik gestempeld; Μίδης, onbekend te Pergamum en te Carthago, duikt evenwel op eene dito kruik te zamen met den priester Ἀριστογένης op. Deze is te Pergamum bekend (P 894), ofschoon ook hij op de lijst van Bleckmann ontbreekt. Μίδης en daardoor ook de priester Ἀριστοκλῆς behooren dus in onze periode te huis. Αὐτοκράτης, een priester die trouwens reeds door een opschrift (BCH 27. 234<sub>2</sub>) in ongeveer dezen tijd werd gezet, hangt van Ἑρμῖος af, een Rhodisch fabrikant, te Pergamum voorkomende (P 1276), maar wederom door Bleckmann vergeten.

Op de lijst van Rhodische eponymi, door Bleckmann uit de vondst van Pergamum opgemaakt, worden (om dit nog even ter loops te behandelen) behalve Ἀριστογένης ook nog gemist de priesters Ἀρχίδης (P 956), Ἀξυνόδοτος, Δαήμων en Λαφείδης, op die der te Pergamum voorkomende fabrikanten behalve Ἑρμῖος en Διόκληια nog Ἀγησώνιος, Κρέων, Πηγσίς (P 1299) en Ἴμῆς (P 1240); de op deze lijst vermelde Ageso heet in waarheid Ἀγήμων, de Molesius Μόλεσις, de Nanius Νάνιος.

De lijst van Rhodische eponymi, welke hij uit de vondst van Carthago heeft samengesteld, toont bij Bleckmann deze drie leemten: Ἀριστανίδης (C 32), Ὀνόσανδρος (C 124) en Φιλόδαμος; de lijst van Rhodische fabrikanten, die uit Carthago bekend zijn, moet nog worden aangevuld met de namen Διονύσιος (C 65), Εἰρηνίδης (C 83) en misschien Ἀρίστακος (C 188 a).

<sup>13)</sup> Te weten: Ἀγαθόβουλος, Ἀρίστιππος, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐκλείτος, Θάσος, Μενεσθεύς, Μίδης en Χαρίτων. Met behulp van de zooeven genoemde lijsten van Bleckmann laat zich het bewijs voor Ἀρίστιππος, Θάσος, Μενεσθεύς en Χαρίτων vanzelf bijbrengen. Over Ἀγαθόβουλος, Δρακοντίδης en Μίδης sprak ik reeds in de vorige noot; Εὐκλείτος hangt van den samen met hem voorkomenden priester Ἀρίστακος af, wiens leeftijd insgelijks in de vorige noot werd aangegeven.



stad in met het merkwaardige beleg van 305 tot 304, hij sluit die periode met 164, toen de Romeinen hunne ongenade loodzwaar lieten drukken en den Rhodischen handel naar Delos trachtten te verplaatsen. Dan begint de neergang, langzaam voorloopig, maar toch onafgebroken. In die 140 jaren van grootheid heeft Rhodus misschien van 304 tot 225 de meeste innerlijke kracht verzameld, in de 61 jaren daarna het meest naar buiten geschitterd. En die schittering blijkt nu ook te gelden op het gebied van den Rhodischen handel en van het verkeer. Want ondervraagt men de 10000 kruikstempels, die wij bezitten, en gaat men na, wie onder het totaal van 269 priesters, die wij in het geheel kennen, en wie van de 375 fabrikanten het vaakst in die massa terugkeeren, dan zijn het altijd weer de priesters en de fabrikanten, waarvan wij vonden dat hun tijd besloten ligt tusschen 225 en 150. Een klein beetje statistiek zal dit bewijzen. Ik heb uitgeteld, wie van alle priesters en fabrikanten in 30 of meer stempels de heugenis aan hun persoon voor ons hebben doen voortleven. Het geval 30 is willekeurig genomen; maar het moeten in allen geval dooreengenomen de priesters zijn, in wier ambtsjaar de uitvoer van kruiken het grootst was, de fabrikanten, die aan dien uitvoer het grootste aandeel hadden. In het geheel blijken het 60 priesters te zijn en 39 fabrikanten. De namen spaar ik u; die komen met het cijfer van het aantal hunner stempels in de voetnoot.<sup>14)</sup> Van die 60

<sup>14)</sup> Te weten: de priesters 'Αλεξίμαχος (43), 'Ανάζανδρος (52), 'Αριστόγειτος (47), 'Αριστόμαχος (46), 'Αριστομβροτίδας (33), Γόργων (39), Εὐδαμος (44), Λεοντίδας (30), Πολυάρατος (40), Πυθογένης (49), Τιμόδιος (34), Τιμόθεος (36), en de fabrikanten 'Αρτίμας (43), 'Επίγονος (36), Εὐφράνωρ (32), 'Ιεροκλῆς (33), Φιλοστέφανος (31). Dezen zijn ons niet uit het tijdvak 225—150 bekend. Wel daaruit bekend zijn de priesters 'Αλέμαχος (65), 'Αλέστρατος (50), 'ΑΣανόδοτος (66), Αἰνυσιδάμος (53), Αἰνύτωρ (59), 'Αλεξιάδας (31), 'Αναξίβουλος (32), 'Ανδρίας (32), 'Ανδρόνικος (35), 'Αρατοφάνης (51), 'Αριστείδας (90), 'Αριστογένης (34), 'Αριστόδαμος (85), 'Αρίστων (67), 'Αρχέμβροτος (36), 'Αρχίδαμος (56), 'Αρχιλαΐδας (49), 'Αρχοκράτης (63), 'Αστυμήδης (49), Αὐτοκράτης (60), Δαμῖνετος (47), Δαμόθεμις (31), Δαμοκλῆς (50), Δορυ-

meest voorkomende priesters bevinden zich niet minder dan 48 onder de 67, die ons uit de driekwarteeuw van 225 tot 150 bekend zijn; slechts 12 blijven er dus over voor de vier eeuwen, dat er nog buitendien handel in gestempelde Rhodische amphoren werd gedreven, 12 op 202 priesters. Bij de fabrikanten is de verhouding even overtuigend; onder 39, wier namen op 30 of meer handvatten bewaard zijn gebleven, zijn er 34, wier firma in die bewuste driekwarteeuw bestond, daarentegen niet meer dan 5, die buiten die periode vallen. Deze statistiek is welsprekend in hare nuchterheid; zij wijst het hoogtepunt van den Rhodischen handel duidelijk aan.

Rest nog de vraag, hoe het met den Rhodischen handel stond vóór 225 en na 150. Bleckmann heeft hier een antwoord op gegeven. Waar zooveel Rhodische stempels ons bekend zijn, redeneert hij, 10000 in het geheel, daar is het bijna zeker, dat wij uit den tijd der stempeling, dat wil zeggen van den handel, zoogoed als alle Rhodische eponymi kennen. Wij kennen er 260; niet veel langer dan dat aantal jaren is dus de handelsperiode geweest. Het begin er van is 331, het jaar waarin Alexander de vrije republiek Rhodus herstellde, het einde omstreeks 50; want na dat jaar wordt geen enkele priester, die op inscripties voorkomt, ook op kruikstempels vermeld. Van die 281 tusschenliggende jaren bezitten wij dus op 21 na alle eponymi. Tegen deze schoon-

λίδας (32), 'Ηραγόρας (30), Θεαΐδητος (44), Θέρσανδρος (46), Θέστωρ (51), 'Ιέρων (42), Καλλικράτης (107), Καλλικρατίδας (49), Κλέαρχος (36), Κλευκράτης (40), Κλεώνυμος (84), Κρατίδας (44), Νικασαγόρας (110), Κλεονοφάνης (80), Ξενοφάντης (52), Ξενοφών (35), Πανσανίας (138), Πεισίστρατος (63), Σόμμαχος (71), Σώδαμος (33), Σωσικλῆς (37), Τιμασαγόρας (65), Τιμοῦρροδος (59), Τιταγόρας (48), Φιλόδαμος (45), en de fabrikanten 'Αγαθόβουλος (30), 'Αγαθοκλῆς (169), 'Αγορᾶναξ (93), 'Αμύντας (73), 'Αντίμαχος (88), 'Αρίσταρχος (70), 'Αριστείδας (38), 'Αριστίων (62), 'Αριστοκλῆς (74), 'Αριστοκράτης (52), Βρόμιος (56), Δαμοκράτης (227), Διόδοτος (35), Διονύσιος (40), Δῖος (48), Δίσκος (43), Δρακοντίδας (42), Εὐκλείτος (58), Ζήνων (47), 'Ηράκλειτος (31), 'Ιάσων (39), 'Ιέρων (57), 'Ιμάς (59), 'Ιπποκράτης (66), Μαρσύας (162), Μίδας (56), Μίνυππος (38), Νικαγίς (76), Νύσιος (46), 'Ολυμπος (45), Πανσανίας (70), Σωκράτης (112), Τιμῶ (31), Φιλαίνιος (77).



schijnende theorie laten zich afdoende bezwaren inbrengen: dat het aantal van 260 ons bekende eponymi niet juist is, dat 331 een zeer willekeurig beginpunt is,<sup>15)</sup> en 50 een stellig verkeerd eindpunt; want nog eene eeuw na dien kennen wij — om van onzekere gevallen te zwijgen — den priester Διογένης van 55 n. Chr., die èn op eene inscriptie èn op een stempel wordt aangetroffen. Wil het onderzoek vrij en onbevooroordeeld verlopen, dan dient er, buiten alle kruikstempels om, uit de ons bekende Rhodische historie naar het vroegst mogelijke beginpunt der stempeling gevraagd te worden en naar het laatst mogelijke eindpunt. Het vroegst mogelijke beginpunt is 407. Toen werd de stad Rhodus gesticht, werd de staat Rhodus ingericht, kreeg natuurlijk die staat eponyme magistraten. Voordat die er waren, kan er onmogelijk met hun naam gestempeld zijn; maar er is geene enkele reden, om te bestrijden, dat er reeds toen uitvoer van kruiken naar het buitenland plaats vond, en men dus reeds toen met de stempeling is begonnen. Wanneer hield de Rhodische uitvoerhandel op? Wie in de geschiedenis dier stad ervaren is en weet, hoe spoedig in den keizertijd zij eene doode stad werd, wie het uitvoerige getuigenis hieromtrent zich voor den geest roept, dat Dio Chrysostomus en Aristides in hunne Ῥοδίωνες ons hebben nagelaten, die zal niet kunnen gelooven, dat van een uitvoerhandel, die vrijwel alle kusten der Middellandsche Zee omspande, in 100 n. Chr. nog iets noemenswaardig kan overig zijn geweest. Dus bij ruime berekening der grenzen eene mogelijke periode voor den uitvoer van gestempelde kruiken van vijfhonderd jaar (407—± 100 n. Chr.). Voor dat misschien vijfhonderdjarig tijdvak kennen wij nu nog geen 300 priesters. Er schijnen dus, niettegenstaande onze 10000 Rhodische stempels, toch altijd nog heel wat eponymi te zijn, die in het geheel daarop niet voorkomen. Laten wij

<sup>15)</sup> Bleckmann schijnt reeds weerlegd te worden door den priester Εὐκλῆς, dien ik straks noemde, en dien ik iets vroeger, in het jaar ± 335 stelde.

allereerst zoo nauwgezet mogelijk de lijst opmaken. Bleckmann gaf die het laatst (in Klio XII), en kwam tot een aantal van 260, daaronder 10, die alleen op opschriften, niet op ooren van kruiken worden gevonden.<sup>16)</sup> Hiller von Gärtringen vulde in eene der jongste afleveringen van Klio (XIV. 388—389) dien catalogus aan en gaf 11 nieuwe namen van priesters. Het totaal werd dus 271. Ook na zijne bijdrage blijft uitbreiding van het aantal mogelijk; ik vond nog de priesters Ἀγαθέμβροτος<sup>17)</sup> (N 231 n. 3), Ἀγαστοφάνης (GDI 4245, 24), Ἀγορᾶναξ (L 20), Ἀθανόφιλος (L 27), Ἀντίγονος (R 1082), Ἀρκέδων (L 117), Ἀρσίπολις (L 121; vgl. ook de twee stempels uit Tell Sandahannah, op blz. 244 genoemd), Εὐφρογύρας (AM 21. 57 n. 15), Κλεύστρατος (L 276), Μενεχράτης (N 240 n. 130), Πεισιδάδας (M 186), Πραξιφάνης (GDI 4245, 604 en 605), Σωσιφίλος (L 389) en Χαρίδαμος (L 434).<sup>18)</sup> Dus wederom 14 nieuwe namen; het totaal wordt dus nu 285. Maar zorgvuldig toeziende, moet men bij Bleckmann en zelfs bij Hiller schrappen. Hiller noemt een priester [Μαχχ]ᾶων, van wiens naam slechts de laatste helft op de kruik leesbaar is. Een bekende heros droeg dien naam, sterfelijke menschen echter hoogst zelden. Veel liever zou ik dus [Ἀστ]ᾶων aanvullen, welken naam men inderdaad op de ooren van twee kruiken ontmoet (C 22),..... doch als naam van een fabrikant. Het meest geraden dunkt het mij derhalve, om nog voorshands de aanvulling van —ᾶων in het onzekere te laten. Ten tweede heb ik bezwaar tegen Hillers priester Τεισομένης. De naam lijkt mij niet gelukkig gevormd; ik houd hem voor niets anders dan voor eene minder juiste

<sup>16)</sup> Als zoodanig noemt hij er slechts 9; doch de Ἀστυμήδης II, dien hij als n. 87 opgeeft, komt ook alleen op het opschrift JOAI 4. 160<sub>11</sub> voor.

<sup>17)</sup> Vgl. voor den juisten vorm van den naam EAR 3. 54<sub>16</sub>; Nils-son, die Ἀγαθούμβροτος voorstelde (L blz. 140 en 148), vergist zich hier.

<sup>18)</sup> De priester Ἀμφίλοχος wordt tot tweemaal toe door Hall opgegeven (Hall 394 n. 5050 en 5048); toch meen ik, dat op zijn getuigenis alleen het bestaan van dien priester niet mag worden aangenomen.



lezing van den welbekenden priester naam *Τεισαμενός*. Bij Bleckmann kom ik allereerst op tegen den door hem genoemden *Ἀλεξίδης*. Hij citeert geen plaats, waar deze priester voorkomt, en ik heb hem nergens ooit kunnen ontdekken; ik vermoed, dat hij bij vergissing de lijst is binnengeslopen. Dan geloof ik niet aan den priester *Ἀπολλώνιος*. „Selten” noemt Bleckmann hem; in waarheid komt hij maar eens voor, bij den hoogst onbetrouwbaren Dumont (D 82 n. 41), en Nilsson heeft dan ook reeds te recht zijn bestaan betwijfeld (L blz. 91). Eene even onwezenlijke verschijning is, dunkt mij, de priester *Ἀστυμήδης* II. Onder zijn priesterschap, dus vermeldt een grafschrift (JOAI 4. 160), werd een aanzienlijke Rhodiër, voor ons een anonymus, met kransen en eerbewijzen onderscheiden. Het opschrift is „jünger als 100 v. Chr.”, zegt Hiller, de uitgever, maar hij gaat daarvoor alleen op schrift en orthographie af. Als wij het in 120 stellen (en dat zullen schrift en orthographie toch zeker wel veroorloven), is er niets tegen, dat de pas gestorvene in 153 zijne eerbewijzen ontving, onder *Ἀστυμήδης*, den bekenden zoon van *Θερίδης*, wiens priesterschap wij straks in dat jaar vastlegden. Dan vervalt de eenigszins verdachte splitsing in een priester *Ἀστυμήδης* I en een *Ἀστυμήδης* II. De zoogenaamde priester *Δαρσίδης* van Bleckmann is reeds door Nilsson (L blz. 112) in een *Λαφείδης* veranderd, die daar ter plaatse ook *Δημήτριος* uit de lijst der Rhodische priesters heeft gebannen. Door *Δημήτριος* te schrappen wint of juist verliest men bij Bleckmann twee namen; want hij heeft dezen niet bestaanden *Δημήτριος* ook nog eens in den Rhodischen dialectvorm *Δημήτριος* meegeteld. *Θέρωνδρος* is ook in zijn bijvorm *Θέρωνδρος* in de lijst opgenomen, *Ἐπτιεύς* ook in zijn eenmaal voorkomenden nevenvorm of waarschijnlijk juist verschrijving *Ἰπτιεύς*. De priester *Κῶδης* is ook vermoedelijk slechts klatergoud. „Nur zweimal”, schrijft Bleckmann, „bei M und Z”. De stempel M 144 is reeds door Nilsson (L blz. 114) op de juiste wijze geduid. Ik vrees zeer, dat het mij ontoegankelijke opschrift bij Z (Zapiski Odesskago obščetsva)

eveneens *Ἐπιμόδης* luidt, en eveneens, in plaats van aan den fabrikant *Ἐπιμόδης*, door den uitgever aan een geheel hypothetischen priester *Κῶδης* wordt toegeschreven. Op de mythische figuur van den priester *Μολπαγόρας* wees ik reeds in noot 11. Nog moet de priester *Νικασίβουλος* geschrapt, die volgens Bleckmann „nur einmal bei R” d. i. in de IG XII 1 wordt aangetroffen, die daar evenwel nergens is te vinden. *[Τί]μαρχος* komt maar eens voor (L 405), in eene verminkte inscriptie, die juist even goed tot *[Δά]μαρχος* of tot *[Κά]μαρχος* kan worden aangevuld. En haast nog zekerder moet de *Τιμομένης* verdwijnen, die alleen berust op één stempel in Stéphanis *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (BC n. 23). Wie in die moeilijk toegankelijke publicatie het afbeeldsel van dien stempel beziet, zal dadelijk van de onhoudbaarheid der traditie overtuigd raken, dat hier *Τι[μο]μέν[ης]* moet worden gelezen; wat wèl de juiste naam is, *Τεισαμενός*, *Τιμομένης* of nog wat anders, dat valt lastiger uit te maken. Ten slotte zijn de priesters *Φιλώνδης* en *Φιλωνίδης* één zelfde persoon. Na deze besnoeiing met zestien namen blijven er dus van de lijst van 285 priesters als eindsaldo 269 over.

Van die 269 zijn er nu 67 tusschen 225 en 150 ondergebracht. Overschot 202. Maar hoeveel van die 202 zijn ons van elders bekend? Uit de literatuur geen een; ik noemde echter reeds meermalen opschriften, die eponyme priesters vermelden. Die moeten ons, vergeleken met de kruikstempels, het beloop van den Rhodischen handel duidelijk maken. Ongelukkig is het tot dusverre aanwezige materiaal lang niet voldoende. Er worden, alles te zamen genomen, 28 priesters van Helios op opschriften vermeld.<sup>19)</sup> Daarvan is er een voor ons doel onbruikbaar, nl. *Εἰκράτης*: zijn leeftijd is te onzeker. Collignon, de eerste uitgever van de inscriptie die

<sup>19)</sup> Als de dateering *ἐπ' ἱερέως Θεοφάνους* (DS<sup>2</sup> 744,) op een priester van Helios betrekking heeft, zijn het er 29. Maar het dunkt mij waarschijnlijker, dat hij priester was van den *ἔρανος*, in die inscriptie vermeld. In allen geval is hij voor ons van geen nut; want zijn leeftijd is onbekend.



zijn naam bevat (GDI 3755<sub>5</sub>), zegt, „que l'inscription ne saurait être d'une date antérieure au troisième siècle”; Hiller beweert daartegenin, dat zij „multo recentior” is. Uit de vierde eeuw, de eeuw na 407, de eerste die met mogelijkheid in aanmerking komt, kennen wij twee priesters. Een hunner is Εὐζλῆς, de eponymus van den brand van den tempel van Athana te Lindos, dien wij in circa 335 stelden. Van hem zijn 16 stempels bewaard gebleven, een redelijk groot aantal dus. De andere is Πυθωνῆς (EAR 6. 341, D 61), van wien in de Kroniek van Lindos een droomgezicht gemeld wordt, waarin Athana hem een zoenmiddel voor haar verontreinigden tempel onthulde. Daar dit droomgezicht staat na eene ἐπιφάνεια der godin in 490 en voor eene dergelijke in 304, valt het waarschijnlijk tusschen die twee datums in; dan was Πυθωνῆς een priester der vierde eeuw. Het geheele verhaal trouwens pleit ook voor die betrekkelijk vroege toewijzing. Πυθωνῆς evenwel komt op kruikstempels nergens voor. Te concludeeren valt hier mijns inziens niet veel. Ziet men op Πυθωνῆς, dan zou men geneigd zijn, te meenen, dat er in de vierde eeuw nog geen uitvoerhandel bestond, daarentegen op Εὐζλῆς, dan beschouwt men hem reeds als redelijk groot. In allen geval bezitten de 16 stempels met Εὐζλῆς naam bewijskracht. Had-den wij als vervolg op hen de namen van drie of vier priesters der derde eeuw, die ook allen door een behoorlijk aantal stempels waren vertegenwoordigd, dan zou het als wetenschappelijk vrijwel vaststaande mogen gelden, wat a priori waarschijnlijk lijkt, dat omstreeks 350 de Rhodische handel de vleugels begon uit te slaan, na 300 zich krachtig ontwikkelde, en dan na 225 zijn hoogtepunt bereikte. Maar helaas is uit de derde eeuw, de bij uitstek groote van Rhodus, met zekerheid geen enkele priester als tijdsbepaler van een opschrift tot ons gekomen. Ἀντισθένης wordt aan het einde dier eeuw gesteld, een priester die uit het opschrift GDI 3798 bekend is, maar die op kruikhandvatten geheel en al ontbreekt. Hij is volgens Hiller, den laatsten uitgever die het opschrift zelf onder de oogen heeft gehad, „ineunte altero

saeculo ante Christum natum vix recentior”, dus van 200 of een beetje vroeger. Newton en Foucart, vroegere uitgevers die te Rhodus den steen gezien hebben, zijn het, ofschoon aarzeland, hiermede eens. Maar allen beroepen zich voor deze tijdsbepaling uitsluitend op het karakter van het schrift der inscriptie. En dit criterium is uit den aard der zaak bedrieglijk, vooral daar het waarlijk niet van chronologisch zekere Rhodische inscripties van omstreeks dien tijd wemelt. Ik wil dan ook liever dezen eenigen zoogenaamden getuige voor de derde eeuw buiten rekening laten.

Zijn de resultaten dus vóór het jaar 225 in hooge mate onzeker, na 150 gaat het ons niet veel beter. Daartusschenin liggen de uit inscripties bekende priesters Δαμοκλῆς, Θεαίδης, Ἀστυμήδης, Ἀρχίδαμος, Δαμάνετος, Πρατοφάνης, Σωσιπλῆς en Ἀρατοφάνης, die reeds ter sprake kwamen. Zij zijn allen van 190 tot 150. Op stempels komen zij vaak voor, respectievelijk 50, 44, 24, 47, 51, 37 en 49 maal. De priester Αὐτοκράτης wordt door het opschrift uit Tenos, waarop hij genoemd wordt (IG XII 5. 824<sub>32</sub>), eveneens in de eerste helft der tweede eeuw geplaatst; ik bracht hem in noot 12 reeds in verband met de vondsten uit Pergamum en Carthago. Hij prijkt op 60 kruikstempels. Ἀγέστητος komt voor op het opschrift DS<sup>2</sup> 450<sub>29</sub>. Niets leert dat opschrift omtrent zijn leeftijd; maar hier integendeel leeren de kruikinscripties, dat deze te Pergamum en te Carthago opduikende priester van ± 180 moet zijn. Op 50 stempels keert hij weer. Dit zijn dus tien eponymi uit de eerste helft der tweede eeuw.

Zij allen wijzen door hunne vele stempels op den bloeitijd van den Rhodischen handel, die zooeven voor dit tijdvak werd geconstateerd. Nam die bloeitijd schielijk na 150 weder af? Drukten de scherpe maatregelen, die de Romeinen in 164 tegen dien handel namen, drukte de concurrentie van de door hen in het leven geroepen handelsmetropolis Delos zóó zwaar, dat reeds in de tweede helft dier eeuw zeer merkbare verslapping intrad? Men zou het haast uit de getuigenissen der verder uit die eeuw bekende Rhodische eponymi moeten aan-



nemen. Want nog drie andere priesters zijn uit de tweede eeuw ons overgeleverd; maar twee dier drie komen op kruikopschriften niet voor, de derde slechts eenmaal. Het zijn vooreerst de twee priesters *Ξερότειμος* en *Μενεσθεύς*, die samen met *Ἀστυμήδης* op het grafschrift JOAI 4. 160 als jaarbepalers fungeeren. *Ἀστυμήδης* is van 153, *Ξερότειμος* en *Μενεσθεύς* moeten dus ook uit dien tijd zijn, vermoedelijk iets jonger. *Μενεσθεύς* komt op den kruikstempel R 1165 voor,<sup>20)</sup> *Ξερότειμος* op geen enkelen. De naam *Μενεσθεύς* is zeer zeldzaam, de hier genoemde priester is dus hoogst waarschijnlijk identisch met den veel voorkomenden fabriekseigenaar van dien naam, dien ik in noot 13 in samenhang bracht met de vondst te Carthago, en die dus geheel uit denzelfden tijd is. Moeten *Ξερότειμος* en *Μενεσθεύς* dus van ongeveer 150 wezen, de priester *Ἐπίχαρμος*, ofschoon ook nog uit de tweede eeuw, schijnt na hen te komen. De dateering van het opschrift, dat hem noemt (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1269), steunt echter wederom louter op het schrift. Deze *Ἐπίχαρμος* ontbreekt geheel op de kruikstempels.

Het magere resultaat, tusschen 150 en 100 bereikt, zet zich voort in de eerste eeuw. Ook daar van de priesters, die op opschriften voorkomen, slechts eene minderheid, die wij op ooren van kruiken terugvinden. En zij, die wij nog terugvinden, vertoonen zich slechts eene enkele maal. De rij opent *Ἀρχέστρατος*. „Kurz vor 100 v. Chr., eher etwas jünger,” noemt Hiller het opschrift, waarop hij staat vermeld (DS<sup>2</sup> 610<sub>3</sub>). Inderdaad, wie het afbeeldsel beziet, dat er van is uitgegeven, zal het hiermede eens zijn en deze inscriptie in het eerste kwart der eerste eeuw stellen. Het aanwijzen van den tijd uit het schrift alleen is hier niet al te onzeker, daar juist uit dezen tijd de meeste Rhodische opschriften stammen.

<sup>20)</sup> Bleckmann (Klio XII. 256) zegt, dat ook te Alexandrië bij Neroutsos een stempel van hem genoemd wordt; ik heb daar alleen een stempel van den fabrikant *Μενεσθεύς* kunnen vinden (N 240 n. 131), niet van den priester.

*Ἀρχέστρατος* wederom, de hier genoemde priester, is ons uit de kruikstempels volslagen onbekend.

Inhoud en schrift beide der inscripties, waarop zij genoemd worden, maken het eveneens waarschijnlijk, dat de priesters *Θευγένης*<sup>21)</sup> (GDI 3800<sub>1</sub>), *Ἀντίλοχος* (GDI 3828<sub>3</sub>) en *Ῥοδοπέιθης* (GDI 4155<sub>3</sub>) van dien zelfden tijd, het begin der eerste eeuw zijn. *Θευγένης* komt eens op het handvat eener kruik voor (als *Θεογένης*, B<sup>n</sup> 231 n. 19), *Ἀντίλοχος* driemaal (L 54), *Ῥοδοπέιθης* in het geheel niet. Meer zekerheid, ja zelfs volledige bestaat omtrent den tijd van de priesters *Ἀρχέλεως*, *Ἐρμοκράτης*, *Κριτόβουλος* en *Χαρίσιος*. Eene inscriptie uit Naxos, reeds aan Boeckh bekend (IG XII 5. 38), die zeker uit de allereerste jaren is, nadat Antonius in 42 het eiland Naxos aan de Rhodiërs ten geschenke had gegeven (App. B. C. V 7; Sen. de Benef. V 16, 6), vermeldt hen als tijdgenooten. Op deze vier priesters, die dus stellig van ongeveer 40 zijn, berust voornamelijk de meening, dat de Rhodische handel reeds in de tweede helft der eerste eeuw was doodgebloed. Inderdaad komen zij geen van vieren op eenig kruikopschrift voor, en zeker wijst dit feit niet op krachtigen bloei. Maar in de eeuw daarvoor — wij zagen het juist — keert toch ook de meerderheid der op opschriften genoemde priesters niet op kruikhandvatten weer; daarenboven zal het ons thans blijken, dat in de eeuw, die nu volgt, een priester, die op een opschrift vermeld staat, ook op het oor eener kruik wordt aangetroffen. Uit den keizertijd namelijk kennen wij drie priesters door middel van opschriften. Een hunner heet *Τίτος Φλαύιος Φανόστρατος* (GDI 3801<sub>2</sub>) en wordt dus reeds door zijn naam in den tijd der Flavische keizers geplaatst. Zijn vader *Διοκλῆς* was ook priester van Helios (GDI 3801<sub>3</sub>) en leefde dus omstreeks 50 n. Chr. Van den zoon is geen kruikstempel tot

<sup>21)</sup> Hij (*Θευγένης Λέοντος*) is niet onwaarschijnlijk de broeder van *Νικόλαος Λέοντος Ῥόδιος*, die voorkomt op de inscriptie, het laatst door mij uitgegeven Gesch. der alten Rhodier blz. 444, die juist van dezen zelfden tijd is. *Λέων* nl. is te Rhodus een vrij zeldzame naam.



ons gekomen, van  $\Delta\iota\omicron\lambda\lambda\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ ; wel, zooals Nilsson meent (L blz. 91). Hij neemt aan, dat de raadselachtige stempel  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Delta\iota\omicron\upsilon$  (N 237 n. 80) gelezen moet worden  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Delta\iota\omicron\lambda\lambda\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ — en verklaard als eene afkorting van  $\Delta\iota\omicron\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$ . Overtuigd heeft hij mij niet, maar de zaak is zeker mogelijk. Gelijktijdig met  $\Delta\iota\omicron\lambda\lambda\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$  leefde de priester  $\Delta\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ , wiens tijd volkomen bepaald wordt, daar tijdens zijn priesterschap in het jaar 55 n. Chr. keizer Nero een brief tot de Rhodiërs richtte. Die brief is bewaard in het opschrift DS<sup>2</sup> 373. Hier is geen twijfel toelaatbaar, of  $\Delta\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$  <sup>22)</sup> komt op kruikstempels voor: te Panticapaeum is een stempel van hem opgedoken (BA<sup>11</sup> 99 n. 416), een onwraakbare getuige, dat er ook in den keizertijd althans nog Rhodische uitvoerhandel bestond. Wel heeft men dezen lastigen getuige trachten weg te werken, door aan te nemen, dat de priester van 55 n. Chr. een andere was dan de priester van het kruikhandvat, die dan vroeger zou moeten hebben geleefd. Maar deze op zich zelf bedenkelijke splitsing wordt geheel onaannemelijk, als men bedenkt, dat deze stempel, ware hij uit vroegeren tijd, natuurlijk den Rhodischen dialectvorm  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Delta\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  hadde moeten vertoonen, terwijl Skorpil, de uitgever er van, rapporteert, dat hij met den in de  $\kappa\omicron\iota\upsilon\tilde{\eta}$  gebruikelijken, voor Rhodus laten vorm  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Delta\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$  prijkt. Resumeerende krijgen wij dit beeld voor den Rhodischen handel vóór 225 en na 150. Uit de bijna twee eeuwen, die vóór 225 als mogelijke periode van stempeling van Rhodische kruiken in aanmerking komen, zijn ons met zekerheid niet meer dan twee priesters bekend, een derde is zeer onzeker. Van twee der priesters bestaan naast opschriften geen stempels, van den derden,  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ , een der twee zekere, komen 16 stempels voor. Wil men hier volstrekt eene conclusie trekken, dan moet, dunkt mij, voor dien tijd handel van eenig belang worden aangenomen. Na 150 kennen wij voor de eerste halve

<sup>22)</sup> Dat de aanvulling van den naam tot  $\Delta\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$  juist is, wordt uitgemaakt door het facsimile van het opschrift bij Hiller AM 20. 386 n. 5.

eeuw drie priesters, waaronder een onzekere. Van die drie komt er maar een op kruikstempels voor, en wel slechts eenmaal. Van de vier priesters tussehen 100 en 50, alle vier eenigszins onzeker, vertoont een zich op drie kruikopschriften, een ander op één, twee in het geheel niet. De vier priesters tussehen 50 en het begin onzer jaartelling ontbreken allen op kruikstempels. Van de drie ons bekende uit de eerste eeuw na Christus komt er één zeker op een stempel voor, een mischien, een zeker niet. Hier is de gevolgtrekking het meest aannemelijk, dat doorgaand na 150 de uitvoerhandel te Rhodus nooit geheel verlopen, maar ook nooit meer recht levendig was.

Gegevens, om de 202 ons bekende priesters van Helios nader vast te leggen, die tot de tijdvakken 407—225 en 150—100 n. Chr. moeten behooren, bezitten wij dus voorschands nog niet. Maar veel gelukkiger staan wij ten opzichte van de overige 67 priesters. Die mogen wij met gerustheid tussehen 225 en 150 onderbrengen. En niet minder zeker zijn wij, dat die 75 jaar den allerhoogsten bloeitijd van den Rhodischen handel vertegenwoordigen. Dat hebben epigraphiek en archaeologie, die onmisbare zusterwetenschappen der geschiedenis, bij dit onderzoek, waar de geschreven bronnen ons in den steek laten, ons toch alvast geleerd.



## AANHANGSEL I.

KRUIKSTEMPELS IN 'S RIJKS MUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN  
TE LEIDEN.

In de „Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Verzamelingen van Geschiedenis en Kunst X 1887, blz. 59” vond ik omtrent 's Rijks Museum van Oudheden het navolgende bericht: „Nog slaagden wij in den aankoop van eene verzameling van 45 ooren en gedeelten van ooren, van gebakken aarde, alle bij Smyrna gevonden. Zij zijn van belang om de daarop ingedrukte opschriften en merken, die de namen der pottenbakkers, handelaars, leveranciers, den inhoud, ook de namen van beambten, onder wie de inhoud verzameld of weggeborgen werd, doen kennen. Onder de namen: Aristoon, Danophilos, Dionysios, Limnios, Herodotos, Hiëroon, Kissos, Kodalos, Linos, Monos, Metrodoros, Praxias, Pa(?), Sosigenes, Skai(os?), Ska(moon?), Cherioon, Philostephanos, Papa (Pappos?), en andere; verder onderscheiden verkortingen en merken, met of zonder bijvoeging van opschriften”. Daar de hier geciteerde namen mij de zekerheid gaven, dat de verzameling ten deele uit Rhodische stukken bestond, verzocht en verkreeg ik van den Directeur, Prof. Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda, verlof, om de stempels, die in het magazijn werden bewaard, te mogen bezichtigen en bestudeeren. Met zijne goedkeuring worden zij nu hier uitgegeven. Het blijken 46 stempels te zijn, waar- onder 17, die ik zeker voor Rhodisch houd (Groep A), 2, die zeker Cnidisch zijn (Groep C), van Thasischen oorsprong is geen enkele. Dertien stempels (Groep B) vertoonen zeer veel overeenkomst met onbetwistbaar Rhodische. Ofschoon nu

kleine afwijkingen van verschillenden aard bij Rhodische stempels volstrekt niet zeldzaam zijn, heb ik toch gemeend, deze afzonderlijk te moeten houden; want de geheele Leidsche verzameling is nabij Smyrna gevonden, bevat dus niet onwaarschijnlijk Smyrnaeïsche stukken, en omtrent de twee eenige geheel zekere Smyrnaeïsche stempels, die tot dusverre zijn gevonden, schrijft Schuchhardt (P blz. 424): Form und Thon dieser zwei Henkel von Smyrna sind denen von Rhodos so ähnlich, dass man sie ohne die Inschrift für rhodische Henkel halten würde. Ten slotte blijven er nog 19 exemplaren, (Groep D), omtrent wier plaats van herkomst ik niets bepaalds durf zeggen.

Onder al de 46 stempels zijn er maar drie rond (n. 1, 34 en 37); de overige zijn rechthoekig.

### A.

#### Rhodische stempels.

##### 1.

O  
roos

Rondom de roos:

Ἐπὶ Ἀνδρῶν. Πανή[μου].

##### 2.

Ἐπὶ Ἀριστο

πόλιος.

Ἀγριωνίου.

##### 3.

Ἀρίστων.

De naam van den fabrikant in den nominativus, zooals op twee exemplaren te Pergamum (P 938); maar hier is niet, zooals daar, een staf (κηρύκειον) als attriboot aanwezig.



4.

ἐπὶ Ἀρχιερέως.

De stempel vertoont dikke letters en is niet duidelijk; men begrijpt, hem ziende, dat Neroutsos twee stempels van dezen priester heeft kunnen uitgeven als Ἀρχιερέως (N 235 n. 55).

5.

[Ἐπὶ Ἀρχιερέως]

Ἰαχίδης.

Ζμινθίου.

Ἀρχιερέως is een vaak voorkomende priester; de aanvulling is, dunkt mij, zeker.

6.

Γόργωνος.

[Υ]ακινθίου.

De fabrikant Γόργων is tot dusverre te Rhodus onbekend; een priester van dien naam komt voor. Daar het opschrift in eene lijst bevat is en de Υ van Ὑακινθίου bij het stempelen blijkbaar buiten die lijst is gevallen (zij ontbreekt thans op het opschrift), zou het denkbaar zijn, dat ook ἐπὶ in den eersten regel op gelijke wijze is weggevallen. Dan hadden wij ook hier den priester Γόργων.

7.

Δαμόφιλος.

Van dezen fabrikant schijnen tot dusverre slechts stempels gevonden te zijn met het opschrift Δαμόφιλου; hier staat zeer duidelijk Δαμόφιλος.

8.

Εὐκλεί

του.

groote herautenstaf naar rechts.

Acht overeenkomstige stempels bij L 203<sub>1-9</sub>.

9.

Ἰέρωνος.

Groote letters.

10.

Κίσσου.

Een fabrikant Κίσσος is te Rhodus nog geheel onbekend. Het handvat ziet er echter volmaakt als een Rhodisch uit. Een Κίσσος Σολεύς, die in de stad Rhodus woont, bij GDI 4070<sub>1</sub>.

11.

Λύου[υ]. druiventros.

Vier overeenkomstige stempels o. a. bij L 286<sub>b<sub>2-6</sub></sub>.

12.

Hermesbeeld, naar links gekeerd.

Παπᾶ.

Drie overeenkomstige stempels bij L 347<sub>2-5</sub>.

13.

ἐπὶ Πολυα

ράτου.

Ὑακινθίου.







22 en 23.

Mzίων.

ster met zes stralen.

Twee exemplaren, waarvan één zeer onduidelijk. Lettervormen jong, evenals bij n. 21. Misschien heeft zich eene ster met zes stralen ook links van de opschriften bevonden; daar is op beide exemplaren thans alles uitgewischt.

Van het tweede exemplaar laat zich met voldoende zekerheid niets meer onderscheiden dan de slotletters ων en de ster.

De pottenbakker Mzίων is tot dusverre onbekend. Wel echter maakt Delattre melding van een raadselachtigen Carthaagschen pottenbakker Mζγων, die met Grieksche letters stempelde, en van wien hij te Carthago vijf stempels heeft gevonden (zie thans C 103). Is deze misschien dezelfde als onze Mzίων?

24.

Μητρο  
δώρου.

Het schrift schijnt laat te zijn of op niet-Rhodische herkomst te wijzen. Een Rhodische fabrikant Μητροδώρος (dezelfde?) bij GDI 4245, 535.

25.

Μητροδώρου).

onduidelijk attriboot, misschien een thyrsusstaf.

26.

[Παρχ]μόνου.

Deze aanvulling van den afgeknotten stempel is, dunkt mij,

zeker. Alleen is tot dusverre Παράμνος als bezitter eener pottenbakkerij niet bekend. In uiterlijk komt deze stempel volkomen met n. 20 overeen.

27.

Σωσιγένου.

Naar het uiterlijk zijn dit (en het volgende handvat) Rhodisch; de genetivus Σωσιγένου (niet Σωσιγένεως) wijst dan echter op laten tijd. Een fabrikant Σωσιγένης is tot dusverre nergens bekend.

28.

Σωσιγέ(νου).

29.

Τήρου.

Het handvat ziet er uit als Rhodisch. De fabrikant Τήρης is echter op dat eiland, trouwens ook elders, onbekend. Allerlei vreemdelingen bezaten evenwel pottenbakkerijen aldaar: Ἀρχης, Ἀπολλώνιος Πισίδας, Ἰμῶς, Κοτῆς, Σινδης, Μάνης, Μίδας, Μαρούας, enz. In hun gezelschap is natuurlijk ook voor den Thraciër Τήρης plaats.

30.

Als attriboot draagt de stempel een herautenstaf met vleugels; een opschrift was wel nooit aanwezig.

C.

Cnidische stempels.

31.

[Κλ]εύπο

λιν. Ἰππο

στ	bij	[ρ]ά
το		[ν].



De bij als attriboot en het donkere leem van het handvat wijzen met zekerheid naar Cnidus. Beide namen zijn namen van fabrikanten (zie Bechtel GDI n. 3549 blz. 243). Voor den fabrikant Κλεύπολις te Cnidus zie o. a. D 150 n. 48; 209 n. 398 vlg.

32.

Ἰερο krab κλεῦς.

Het bijna uitgewischte opschrift moet van rechts naar links worden gelezen.

D.

Stempels van onzekere herkomst.

De handvatten n. 33 tot en met 44 zijn niet hoekig, maar beslist rond van vorm; zij behooren dus waarschijnlijk tot die groep, welke Nilsson samengebracht heeft als „anses d'origine incertaine à courbure arrondie” (L 800—875).

33.



Geen opschrift.

34.



Misschien worden hier letters voorgesteld.

35.



Misschien worden hier letters voorgesteld.

36.



Beneden rechts en links staan misschien de letters Δ en Ρ gestempeld; in allen geval zijn zij thans zeer onduidelijk.

37.

Een monogram, waarop zich na elkander de letters ΗΥ (deze letter is onduidelijk) ον laten lezen. Alles is in eene rondte gevat. Vermoedelijk is de bedoeling ΗΥ(μ)ον(ος).

38.

Ἡροδότου.

Een fabrikant van dezen naam is tot dusverre nergens bekend.

39.

Θεόμυδος.

De Μ en Δ staan omgekeerd gestempeld, ΟΣ is met een compendium geschreven, de Ι is niet zeer duidelijk.

De naam Θεόμυς is niet alleen op stempels geheel onbekend, maar komt ook, zoover ik weet, alleen op opschriften uit Chios voor (CIG 2223; als Θεῶμυς op eene Chiische munt Hermes 7. 50).



40.

Μητ.

Misschien staat als vierde letter nog een ρ of een ι; voor meer dan vier letters is er geen plaats.

41.

Πζ.

De letters (zeer duidelijk) staan verticaal onder elkander.

42.

Πζ.

De letters staan naast elkander.

43.

Σηζ.

De ruimte laat niet meer dan deze drie letters toe.

44.

Χηνι

ωνοζ.

Deze naam is volslagen onbekend. Twijfel omtrent de ware lezing is buitengesloten; de stempel behoort tot de allerbest leesbare.

45.

Aan weerszijden van een herautenstaf staan de volgende letters gestempeld:

P E (de E staat niet vast) en Σ H M.

Het geheel is in eene lijst gevat.

Ik kan geene eenigszins zekere verklaring geven.

46.

Het handvat wijkt in vorm en in soort van leem sterk van de overige af; de letters schijnen eer Romeinsch dan Grieksch te zijn. Met moeite onderscheidt men:

L E . A C H .



## AANHANGSEL II.

### OPMERKINGEN BIJ REEDS UITGEGEVEN KRIJKSTEMPELS.

*BCT* 1886 = *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (stempels, te Carthago gevonden).

Blz. 17 n. 30. — De hier vermelde stempel  $\Upsilon\Lambda\Lambda\text{IO}/\text{MAP}\Sigma$  — is door Dessau (C 107) eenigszins aarzeland tot  $\Delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\upsilon$ . [*Μαρσύα* verbeterd].

Mij dunkt deze verbetering evident.

*BCT* 1894.

Blz. 109 n. 7. — De stempel, hier opgegeven als —  $\nu\iota\sigma\upsilon$ , kan niet anders worden aangevuld dan tot  $[\Phi\iota\lambda\alpha\iota]\nu\iota\sigma\upsilon$ . Geen andere naam van een Rhodischen fabrikant eindigt op  $\nu\iota\sigma\upsilon$ .

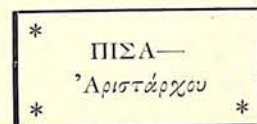
*BCT* 1902.

Blz. 447 n. 1. — Opgegeven wordt:  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Delta\alpha\mu\alpha/—\sigma\upsilon$ . [*Ἀγρινίου*]. Natuurlijk:  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Delta\alpha\mu\alpha/\nu\epsilon\tau\sigma\upsilon$ . [*Ἀγρινίου*]. Een andere stempel van Damaenetus te Carthago is C 54.

Blz. 448 n. 6. — De opgave  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Sigma\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\sigma\upsilon$ . [*Ἀγρινίου*] („le nom du magistrat ne paraît pas complet”) moet aangevuld worden tot  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Α}ινησιδ\acute{\alpha}\mu\sigma\upsilon$ . De epouymus Aenesidamus komt nog driemaal te Carthago voor (C 18—21).

Blz. 450 n. 12. — De afbeelding van dezen stempel is aldus:

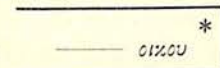
vermoedt  
met  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   
priester



. Op het eerste gezicht men, dat de eerste regel begint. Daar echter een van Helios Aristarchus in

het geheel niet bekend is, maar wèl vele stempels van den fabrikant Aristarchus tot ons zijn gekomen, met als fabrieksmerk vier sterren in de hoeken (o. a. negen dergelijke stempels te Lindos, zie L 79), zijn de letters van r. 1 òf letters van een bijstempel (vgl. hiervoor *BCT* 1904. 484 n. 9; M 39; P 876 en 877) òf misschien niets meer dan spleten in het leen van het handvat. Vier andere stempels van dezen fabrikant Aristarchus te Carthago bij C 31 en *BCT* 1904. 484 n. 7; nog twee andere aldaar met de vier sterren in de hoeken bij *BCT* 1904. 484 n. 8 en 9.

Blz. 450. n. 15. — Delattre geeft op:



en teekent daarbij aan: „Dumont (nl. D 119 n. 6) ne donne qu'une seule marque se terminant ainsi; encore est-elle incomplète. Il l'a lue: ONΔ? — OIKOT”. In beide gevallen vulle men de opschriften aan tot  $\text{Ὀνκσιούκω}$ . Voor den Rhodischen fabrikant  $\text{Ὀνκσιούκω}$  zie o. a. GDI 4245, 595—598. Hij komt ook te Carthago voor (C 126). Sterren als zijn fabrieksmerk bij L 346<sub>2</sub>.

*BCT* 1904.

Blz. 483 n. 2. — Den stempel  $\text{ΑΓΟΙΝΑΚΤΟΣ}/\text{Θεσμοφορίου}$  („A la première ligne I est peut-être un P”) leze men natuurlijk als  $\text{Ἀγορίνακτος}$ .

Blz. 484 n. 6. — Zoo is  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{ΑΡΑΙ}/\text{ΟΦΑΝΕΤΣ}.$  [*Καρνείου*] even natuurlijk  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \text{Ἀρατοφάνεως}$ .

Blz. 484 n. 12. —  $\text{Ἐπὶ Ἀρχιδάμου}.$  [*—ύου*]. Als aanvulling zijn alleen mogelijk de maandnamen  $\text{Διοσθίου}$  en  $\text{Πεδαιετινίου}$ .



Blz. 485 n. 13. — 'Επὶ ΔΑΜΟ/ΘΕ.ΙΟΥ. Πανόμου. Te verbeteren: Δαμοθέμιος. Zie voor den priester Δαμοθέμιος o. a. GDI 4245, 314—320. Hij komt niet te Pergamum voor, wel te Carthago, is dus waarschijnlijk van ± 160.

Blz. 486 n. 20 en 487 n. 27. — Deze twee stempels zijn waarschijnlijk niet Rhodisch. De eerste bevat als opschrift niets dan den letter Θ, eene korthed die te Rhodus ongebruikelijk is; de tweede wijkt af in vorm en bevat een opschrift MEAKA—, dat, als het juist gelezen is, onmogelijk een Rhodischen eigennaam oplevert.

Blz. 487 n. 30. — Νικιστῶνος. Bleckmann (Bl blz. 41) heeft hier reeds verbeterd Νικισίωνος.

Blz. 488 n. 34. — ΠΑΤΩΝΟΣ. De stempel is, volgens Delattre, of Cnidisch of Rhodisch. Noch te Cnidus noch te Rhodus kennen wij een fabrikant Πάτων; bovendien is te Carthago niet één enkele Cnidische stempel gevonden. Ik acht het mogelijk, dat ΠΑΤΩΝΟΣ gelezen moet worden en dan de stempel Rhodisch is. Voor den fabrikant Πάτων zie L 350.

Blz. 490 n. 44. — 'Επὶ ΧΩΔΑΜΟΥ. Lees: Σωδάμου. Ook het attriboot („tête radiée tournée à droite”) wijst op den bekenden priester Σώδαμος.

Blz. 490 n. 45. — 'Επὶ — ΕΝΟΡΩΝ — Πανόμου. Vul aan: ἐπὶ Ξενοφῶντος. Πανόμου. De priester Ξενοφῶν andermaal te Carthago BCT 1904. 488 n. 31.

Blz. 490 n. 46. — 'Επὶ — ΕΙΣΙ/ΔΑΜΟΥ/Ἀρταμιτίου. Hier is wel 'Επὶ Αἰνῆσιδάμου bedoeld. Voor den eponymus Αἰνῆσιδάμος te Carthago zie ook blz. 235.

C = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum VIII, Supplementum III, n. 22639 (stempels, te Carthago gevonden).*

4. De stempel Α—λεῦς kan alleen aangevuld worden tot Ἀ[γαθον]λεῦς, Ἀ[γῆσι]λεῦς en Ἀ[ριστον]λεῦς. Van deze drie fabrikanten komen Ἀγαθονλεῦς en Ἀριστονλεῦς ook nog verder te Carthago voor.

20. De stempel ἐπὶ Αἰνῆσιδ— moet zonder twijfel aangevuld worden tot Αἰνῆσιδάμου. Hetzelfde attriboot (caput radiatum) en dezelfde verdeling der letters over de twee regels ook bij een stempel uit Lindos (L 30<sub>1</sub>).

32. Het opschrift luidt bij Delattre: ΕΠΙΑΡΙΣ/ΤΟ—ΔΑ./Ἀγριανίου. Dessau stelt als aanvulling voor Ἀριστείδας. Mij lijkt het juister, aan den eponymen priester Ἀριστωνίδας te denken, van wien verschillende kruikstempels bekend zijn (zie o.a. GDI 4245, 220 en EAR 5. 530 n. 5).

40. De lezing ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους van Delattre en Dessau is niet geheel zeker. Deze eponymus is noch te Carthago noch te Pergamum bekend. Men kan ook aan Ἀγαστοφάνης denken; zie voor dezen priester GDI 4245, 24.

48. Alle te Carthago gevonden stempels, meer dan 300, zijn Rhodisch; althans van geen enkelen laat zich het tegendeel bewijzen. Daarom is waarschijnlijk ook dit nummer met den fabrikanten naam Ἀσκληπι[οδάρου] Rhodisch. Maar dan geldt dit vermoedelijk insgelijks voor den stempel P 1288, die denzelfden naam vertoont, en dien Schuchhardt onder de stempels van onzekere herkomst heeft gerangschikt.

57. Het opschrift op een ronden stempel Δαμονλεῦς ΑΤΡΙΝΙΟΥΤΕ — moet natuurlijk gelezen worden: ἐπὶ Δαμονλεῦς. Ἀγριανίου.

63. Dit opschrift, Διο —, heeft reeds Bleckmann (Bl blz. 41) tot Δίου aangevuld.

83. Delattre en Dessau geven uit [ἐπὶ Θεοδότ]ου. Εἰρηνίδα. Dan zouden priester en fabrikant op één zelfde kruikoor staan, iets wat te Rhodus op ± 10000 stempels 8 maal voorkomt. Veel natuurlijker en beter dunkt het mij, om den naam eener maand aan te vullen en dus te lezen [Ἀγριανί of Ἀρταμιτί]ου. Εἰρηνίδα.

102. Dessau geeft uit Λάμπων. Deze fabrikant is van elders geheel onbekend. Beziet men het facsimile bij Delattre, dan denkt men allereerst aan Νάμπων. Inderdaad komt deze naam duidelijk leesbaar voor op den blijkbaar gelijksoortigen stempel Nécropole des rabs 3<sup>e</sup> année 31. Het is een Libysche



naam (zie den index op CIL VIII en de supplementa hiervan); de fabrikant was een Libyer, die te Carthago woonde.

103. Onder dit nummer zijn de vijf stempels verzameld, die, volgens Delattre, met den Carthaagschen naam  $\text{Μάρων}$  prijken. „Les tessons”, schrijft hij, „sont de composition et d'aspect absolument puniques”; ook verhaalt hij, dat hij een exemplaar van dezen zelfden naam heeft gevonden, met Carthaagsche letters op het oor eener kruik gestempeld. Men moet dus hier eene Carthaagsche pottenbakkerij met Grieksche stempeling aannemen. Wie niettemin toch nog aan het bestaan van zulk eene fabriek mocht twijfelen, dien zij herinnerd, dat ons een Rhodische pottenbakker  $\text{Μάρων}$  bekend is (R 1347; vgl. voor den Griekschen naam  $\text{Μάρων}$  o. a. Her. 7. 127) en een pottenbakker  $\text{Μαρίων}$ , wiens woonplaats onzeker is (zie blz. 229).

104. Op dit opschrift leest men  $\text{Μαζος}$  —. Een Grieksche eigenaam, die met  $\text{Μαζος}$  begint, bestaat niet; men moet dus tot conjectuur zijne toevlucht nemen. Maar beziet men de afbeelding van dezen stempel bij Delattre BCT 1894. 114 n. 34, dan wordt het direct duidelijk, dat hij Romeinsch, niet Grieksch is. Hij moet dus te dezer plaatse vervallen. Delattre schijnt hem ook voor Romeinsch te hebben gehouden; ten minste hij teekent er bij aan: „Ce nom est sans doute celui de Magon transcrit par un Romain.”

108. Als lezing van dezen stempel wordt opgegeven  $\text{MATMA}$  (alleen de eerste en de laatste letter staan vast). Nilsson heeft  $\text{Ματρύα}$  gegist (I. blz. 120), den naam van een der meest voorkomende Rhodische fabrikanten. Ik houd deze gissing voor bijna zeker.

124. Dit opschrift wordt opgegeven als:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ O — } \sigma\text{ — } \Delta\chi\lambda\iota\upsilon$ . Daar ons maar één Rhodische priester bekend is, wiens naam met een O begint, nl.  $\text{Ὀυάσανδρος}$ , is hier de waarschijnlijke lezing:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ Ὀυάσανδρου. } \Delta\chi\lambda\iota\upsilon$ .

134. Delattre geeft uit:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ Πει — } \Pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\mu\upsilon$ . Geen enkele priester is bekend, wiens naam met Πει aanvangt, tenzij  $\text{Πεισιστράτος}$  (de  $\text{Πεισιστράτιδας}$ , die op een stempel bij

Neroutsos heet voor te komen, N 242 n. 150, is twijfelachtig); daarom is de aanvulling  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ Πει[σιστράτου]. } \Pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\mu\upsilon$  vermoedelijk juist.

146. Delattre geeft op:  $\Sigma\tau\alpha\iota\sigma$ . Dit is geen naam. Waarschijnlijk lijkt mij  $\text{[Ἀρ]εταῖος}$ , een fabrikant, wiens stempel o. a. zesmaal bij L 69 gevonden wordt.

150. Op het handvat staat  $\text{Συμμάχου}$  volgens Delattre, niets meer. Deze fabrikant  $\text{Σύμμαχος}$  is alleen bekend door één kruikstempel uit Alexandrië (N 230 n. 141) en één uit Athene (D 109 n. 239); den eersten heeft Neroutsos uitgegeven, die weinig, den anderen Dumont, die zoogoed als geen gezag bezit. Ik acht het zeer mogelijk, dat op alle drie  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  of  $\epsilon\pi\prime$   $\text{ἱερῆως}$  over het hoofd is gezien. Ziet men nu den stempel bij Delattre aan, dan treft het, dat het schrift (spiegelschrift) volkomen overeenstemt met dat van den stempel C 147, die drie nummers voorafgaat. Maar C 147 heeft één regel meer, waarop staat  $\epsilon\pi\prime$   $\text{ἱερῆως}$ . Ik vrees, dat van onzen stempel de eerste regel ontbreekt, doch door den uitgever niet als zoodanig is opgegeven, en dat ook hier gelezen moet worden  $[\epsilon\pi\prime \text{ ἱερῆως}] \text{ Συμμάχου}$ .

166. Opgegeven wordt:  $\text{ΕΠΙ — } \Delta\text{ — } \text{ΤΟΥ. } \text{Βατρομ[ίου]}$ . Hier zijn slechts twee aanvullingen mogelijk:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ [Θεσι]/δ[ή]του}$  of  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ [Ἀθανο]/δ[ό]του}$ .

167. De opgave is:  $\text{ΕΠΙ Α — Α/ΤΟΙ — ΕΥΣ. } \text{[Θεσμοφορίου]}$ . Hieruit volgt haast zeker deze lezing:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ Ἀ[ρ]α/τοφ[άν]εως}$ . De eponymus  $\text{Ἀρατοφάνης}$  komt driemaal te Carthago voor (C 1 en 28; BCT 1904. 484 n. 6).

168. Dezen stempel,  $\text{Ἐπὶ ΟΤΤΟΣ. } \text{[Καρνείου]}$ , heeft Nilsson (L blz. 120) reeds verbeterd tot  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ Θεοφ[ί]δ[ε]ως}$ .

178. Delattre geeft op:  $\text{Επὶ — α — κρ[ά]τ[ε]ως}$ . Dat beduidt wel haast zeker:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ [Κ]α[λλ]ικρ[ά]τ[ε]ως}$ . De priester  $\text{Καλλιμάχης}$  komt viermaal te Carthago voor (C 94 en 95; BCT 1904. 486 n. 21).

180. De stempel  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ — εσι/δη — } \nu$  is wel een stempel van  $\text{Θεσιδητος}$ .

188a. Van den stempel wordt niets meer uitgegeven dan



de uitgang —  $\alpha\alpha\sigma$ . Daar echter geen enkele Rhodische fabrikanten-naam op  $\alpha\alpha\sigma$  eindigt behalve 'Αρίστακκος, staat de lezing [Ἀρίστ]ακκος hier bijna vast.

188b. Het opschrift luidt: —  $\alpha\alpha\iota\alpha$ . Delattre heeft reeds vermoed [Παυσ]α $\alpha\iota\alpha$ . Deze aanvulling lijkt zeker; want op  $\alpha\alpha\iota\alpha$  eindigt geen enkele Rhodische fabrikanten-naam dan deze.

192b. Opgegeven wordt: —  $\Upsilon$ — $\Lambda$ , met de kantteekening: „Inter  $\Upsilon$  et  $\Lambda$  tres litterae perierunt.” Stel, dat het er slechts twee zijn geweest; dan dringt zich hier als vanzelf de naam van een zeer bekenden Rhodischen fabrikant op (te Carthago komt hij voor BCT 1904. 484 n. 4), en is de lezing [Ἀμ]υ[ντ]α.

$L = M$ . P. Nilsson, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos, in Exploration archéologique de Rhodes V 1909 (Extrait du Bulletin de l'académie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark)*.

258. Καβαλέ[ωσ]

αση.....

lettres irrégulières; il est vraisemblable qu'une ligne qui contenait le nom propre est effacée; écriture rétrograde, l. 2 renversée, certainement [Βαδρο]μίου. — Deze duiding is mogelijk; minstens even waarschijnlijk lijkt het mij echter, dat of [Βρο]μίου Καβαλέωσ moet aangevuld worden, zoodat er dan dus niets mankeert (de pottenbakker Βρόμιος Καβαλέωσ te Rhodus zou de volmaakte tegenhanger zijn van Ἀπολλώνιος Πισιδας aldaar, C 27), of dat Καβαλέωσ Βαδρομίου de juiste lezing is, maar dan Καβαλέωσ geduid moet worden als eigen-naam van den pottenbakker, niet als volksnaam, zoodat ook in dat geval niets ontbreekt.

290. Nilsson geeft deze lezing:  $M \dots \Lambda OY$ , met de opmerking: „trois ou au plus quatre lettres manquent; Μηνοφίλου est trop long, W. a restitué Μικύλου (een fabrikanten-naam, die geheel onbekend is)”. Waarom niet aan Μεμελίου gedacht?

Van dezen fabrikant zijn te Lindos zelf twee stempels gevonden (L 306).

389<sub>2</sub>. ἐπὶ Σωσι(Φί)[λ]ου.

Δαλίου Σπ

Φι = K.

Ik acht het waarschijnlijk, dat deze stempel met Σωσιφίλος niets te maken heeft en een tweede exemplaar is van L 385<sub>3</sub>:

ἐπὶ Σωσιπλόου

Δαλίου ε.

815. Een geheel overeenkomstige stempel (opschrift Ἰων) bij R 1326. Hij wordt daar niet als onzeker, maar als Rhodisch opgegeven.

826. Een geheel overeenkomstige stempel (opschrift Φίλων) is te Pergamum gevonden (P 1294). Ook daar wordt hij onder de „onzekere” gerekend.

Nilsson geeft L blz. 533 vlg. eene lijst van de Rhodische priesters en fabrikanten, die na het voltooiën van zijn arbeid hem uit Russische publicaties, welke hij over het hoofd had gezien, nog bekend werden. Daaronder noemt hij als volstrekt onbekende fabrikanten o. a.: Ἐρμίς, Εὔαρχος, Ζωῖλος en Πάτρων. Ἐρμίς komt echter reeds voor op de drie stempels L 198 (en 9 andere daar geciteerde exemplaren), Εὔαρχος bij CIG IV p. 261 n. 426 en bij P 1277, Ζωῖλος bij P 1017 en 1018 (vier exemplaren) en bij CIG III blz. XVIII n. 75, Πάτρων bij L 350 (waar nog 5 dito stempels worden geciteerd). In deze zelfde lijst geeft Nilsson als nieuwgevonden fabrikant Παζξίως op in plaats van Παζξίως (zie hiervóór, blz. 227).

$M = R$ . A. Stewart Macalister, *Amphora handles, with Greek stamps, from Tell Sandahannah, in Palestine Exploration Fund 1901, blz. 25 vlg. en 124 vlg.*

De nummers 14, 15, 52, 82, 102, 107, 111, 117, 139, 144, 162, 170, 210, 234, 240, 241, 251, 260, 272, 294,







van Helios voor. Voor een tweeden stempel van dezen Ἀρσι-  
πολις, in hetzelfde Tell Sandahannah gevonden, zie men PEF  
1902. 395 (waar onjuist ἐπὶ Ἀρσίπολις. Κερσεύς wordt uit-  
gegeven, maar natuurlijk ἐπὶ Ἀρσιπόλις bedoeld wordt).

136. Als opschrift op een ronden stempel, „fractured and  
flaked”, wordt opgegeven [K]λειτομάχου. Aangezien een pries-  
ter Κλειτόμαχος; zeer wel bekend, een fabrikant van dien naam  
geheel onbekend is, stond er op het gebroken en onleesbare  
stuk van dezen stempel waarschijnlijk meer dan een enkele K  
en moet er aangevuld worden [ἐπὶ K]λειτομάχου.

167. De fabrikant [MO?] ΚΛΕΥΣ van dezen stempel zal  
wel moeten gelezen worden als Ἰερκλεῦς. Te meer wordt dit  
waarschijnlijk, daar als fabrieksmerk een „anchor?” beneden  
het opschrift wordt opgegeven, terwijl Ἰερκλεῦς daar inderdaad  
dikwijls door een herautenstaf (de verwisseling met een anker  
ligt voor de hand) wordt begeleid.

203. Macalister geeft op ΣΩ.../ΒΟΥ; als fabrieksmerk  
„bunch of grapes”. De afbeelding van het opschrift vertoont  
vrij duidelijk de letters ΣΩ/ΡΟΥ; maar de drie uitgewischte  
letters worden daar verwaarloosd. Bedenkt men nu, dat een  
druiventros het attriboot is o. a. van den fabrikant Σώταρος,  
dan zal men niet aarzelen, hier dien naam te herstellen.

232. Priesters of fabrikanten te Rhodus, wier naam op  
ωνίδας eindigt, zijn er slechts twee: de vrij zeldzame priester  
Ἀρίστωνιδας en de priester Φιλωνίδας. Dus moet de stempel  
.. ΝΑΩΝΙΔΑ./Ἀγρινίου hoogst waarschijnlijk gelezen wor-  
den ἐπὶ Φιλωνίδα. De priester Φιλωνίδας wordt nog eens te  
Tell Sandahannah aangetroffen (M 224).

246. De opgave luidt: —ΕΤΑΚΟΥ. Δαλίου; lees [ἐπὶ  
Ἀρι]στάνου. Voor een anderen stempel uit Tell Sandahan-  
nah van den priester Ἀρίστακος, eveneens „oval, with rose,  
inscription surrounding the rose, reading outwards”, zie  
M 38.

249. Macalisters lezing Ε.ΤΑΡ [M?] Α [P<sup>I</sup>/<sub>Φ</sub>O]Υ lijkt vrij  
hopeloos. Ik zou mij echter zeer vergissen, als hier niet

ἐπὶ Ἀρχιβίου moest worden gelezen. Ook te Leiden is een  
stempel van dezen priester, waar men op het eerste gezicht  
Ἀρμαβίου van maakt.

263. Onder n. 203 verbeterde ik ΣΩ.../ΒΟΥ tot Σωταί/  
ρου. Hier wordt opgegeven „ΣΩΘΑΙ/ΒΟΥ, beginning of the  
seal broken off”. Mij dunkt, ook hier moet Σωταί/ρου worden  
gelezen; wat dan aan den aanvang ontbreekt, is de druiven-  
tros, het fabrieksmerk.

264. Het opschrift luidt volgens Macalister — ανδρουα —.  
De stempel is rond; eene roos vormt het middelpunt. Begint  
men nu te lezen met de laatste α, dan vindt men als van  
zelf den fabrikant Ἀ[λεξ]άνδρου, wiens naam dikwijls rondom  
eene roos is gestempeld.

268. Er zijn stempels bekend met het opschrift ἐπ' ἱερῶς  
Πολυχράτου (o. a. L 357<sub>1-3</sub>). Kijkt men met die wetenschap  
het hier opgegeven opschrift [—]ς/[—] υαρυτο  
aan, dan weet men, wat er aangevuld moet worden.

270. Macalister geeft —ΛΑΝΙΟΥ. Ik vermoed, dat er  
een K is over het hoofd gezien en dat gelezen moet worden  
[Ἐλ]λανί(κ)ου.

271. De opgave is [ΑΡ?] ΗΝΙΑ[—]; natuurlijk is de  
juiste lezing Εἰρηνίδα.

274. Schuilt in [Ι?] Α ΤΟΝ[—] misschien Ἰάπωνες?

279. Het raadsel ]... τωος kan, daar de fabrikant  
Χαρίτων eene zeer zeldzame verschijning is, niet anders opge-  
lost worden dan met Ἀρίστωνος tot slot. Maar is het Ἀρίστωνος  
of ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος? Want zoowel de fabrikant Ἀρίστων als de  
gelijknamige priester zijn te Rhodus bekend.

302. Opgegeven wordt ΣΑΚΡΑΤΗ./Θεσμοφορίου. Hieruit  
leest Nilsson (L bl. 113) Σακράτης./Θεσμοφορίου. Een bezwaar  
tegen deze aanvulling is evenwel, dat de fabrikant Σακράτης,  
die niet minder dan 112 maal voorkomt, nooit den naam  
eener maand aan zijn eigen naam toevoegt. Die staat altijd  
op het andere kruikoor gestempeld. Men heeft dus met [ἐπὶ]  
Σ[ω]κράτ[ε]ς[υς] meer kans, om het ware te treffen. Toch is







1011. Bleckmann (Bl blz. 40) verbeterde reeds de onjuiste lezing  $\Delta\omega\rho\iota\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  van dezen en den volgende stempel (n. 1012) in  $\Delta\omega\rho\iota\omega\omicron\varsigma$ .

1083—86. De drie stempels  $\text{Καλλίους}$  of  $\text{Καλλίου}$ , zooals Schuchhardt ze duidt, hebben niets met een (niet bestaanden) fabrikant  $\text{Καλλίας}$  te maken, maar moeten gelezen worden  $\text{Καλλισύς}$  en  $\text{Καλλισύς}$ . Zij zijn genetivi van  $\text{Καλλιάς}$ , eene niet onbekende eigenares eener pottenbakkerij te Rhodus (L 269<sub>1-4</sub>; C 97; M 132; N 228 n. 96). Vgl. Bl blz. 40.

1150. Hier geeft Schuchhardt op:

Stern  $\epsilon\pi\iota \Xi[\epsilon\nu\omicron]$  of  $\epsilon\pi\iota \Xi[\epsilon\nu\omicron]$ . De ster, die als attriboot  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}$  [νευς]  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}$  [ντου]

van  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\Phi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  voorkomt (BA<sup>11</sup> 105 n. 438d), maar nooit van  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ , wijst aan, dat laatstgenoemde aanvulling de juiste is.

1234. ——  $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ . Blume. Aldus de opgaaf bij Schuchhardt. Hij gist  $[\text{Αισώ}]\pi\omicron\upsilon$  of  $[\text{Ολύμ}]\pi\omicron\upsilon$ . Daar  $\text{Αἴσωπος}$  echter òf geen attriboot heeft òf eene staande vrouwenfiguur,  $\text{Ὀλύμπος}$  daarentegen voorkomt met rechts van den stempel eene roos als attriboot (zie L 343<sub>1</sub>; C 125), lijkt mij de toewijzing aan  $\text{Ὀλύμπος}$  zeker.

1263. Dezen Thasischen stempel heeft Schuchhardt minder gelukkig aangevuld. Hij leest  $\Theta\alpha\sigma\iota\omega\nu$ . /  $\text{Νύμφ}$  — en vult aan  $\text{Νύμφ}[\iota\varsigma]$  of  $\text{Νύμφ}[\iota\varsigma]$ . Op een anderen Thasischen stempel (R 1421) komt echter de naam van den pottenbakker  $\text{Νύμφος}$  voor.

1273. De letters van dit opschrift zijn half uitgewischt. Schuchhardt ontcijfert (de stempel is rond)  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\upsilon$  —  $[\text{Κ}]\nu[\iota]\delta[\iota\omega\upsilon]?$ . Mij komt het voor, dat er staat  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\upsilon$ .  $\text{Κυδοσθένου}$ .  $\text{Ἀνδρίων}$ . Een bezwaar tegen deze lezing is, dat de ossenkop, waaromheen het opschrift loopt, op Cnidus wijst, en dat nog in het geheel geen stempels uit Andros bekend zijn. De twee firmanten  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  en  $\text{Κυδοσθένης}$  duiken ook elders op; hunne woonplaats wordt dan echter niet aangegeven. Te Lindos is een stempel gevonden, „de provenance incertaine”, met het opschrift:  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\upsilon$  καὶ  $\text{Κυδοσθέ}[\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma]$

(L 858). Hiermede lijkt mij de stempel gelijksoortig, dien Dumont opgeeft als  $\text{Κυ}[\delta\omicron\sigma\theta]\acute{\epsilon}\nu[\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma]$ .  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\upsilon$  Κν?, maar die wel zal moeten gelezen worden:  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\upsilon$  καὶ  $\text{Κυδοσθένου}$  (D 175 n. 200). Ten derde vermeldt Boeckh CIG III blz. XV n. 108 een stempel, te Athene bewaard, waarop volgens Kumanudis te lezen staat:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{Κυδοσθένε}[\upsilon\varsigma]$ .  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\upsilon$ . Ook hier is wellicht  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  vergissing voor καὶ en de ware lezing  $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\iota\upsilon$  καὶ  $\text{Κυδοσθένε}[\upsilon\varsigma]$ .

1276. Van dezen stempel (er staat  $\text{Ἐρμαιος}$  op) schrijft Schuchhardt: „Unbestimmter Herkunft. Nach Form und Thon rhodisch. Der Name ist bisher auf Henkeln nicht vorgekommen.” Reeds toen hadde hem de Rhodische fabrikant  $\text{Ἐρμαιος}$  uit den stempel R 1295 bekend kunnen zijn; sedert zijn er nog vier stempels met zijn naam bijgekomen (zie L 196 en 142<sub>2</sub>).

1280. Het opschrift van dezen stempel is  $\text{Ἀθηνокλείους}$ ; eene amphora fungeert als attriboot. Schuchhardt aarzelt, of hij hem aan Cnidus of aan Thasos zal toewijzen („nach Form und Thon knidisch oder thasisch”). De amphora schijnt reeds naar Thasos te wijzen; maar daarenboven hadde in Cnidische taal het opschrift  $\text{Ἀθηνόκλειος}$  moeten luiden.

1281 en 1282. Ook deze stempels met amphora als attriboot en het opschrift  $\text{Ἐκχταίειν}$  zijn haast zeker Thasisch, niet Cnidisch.

1285. De stempel met het opschrift  $\text{Παρθοῖσκου}$  (N 229 n. 129), dat Nilsson te recht als  $\text{Παρθοῖσκου}$  heeft geduid (L blz. 57), wijst ons den weg, om hier —  $\alpha\rho\alpha$ —/  $\nu\iota\sigma\kappa\upsilon$  op de juiste wijze aan te vullen. Het is niet  $\text{Παρμενίσκου}$ , zooals Schuchhardt wil, maar een stempel, geheel gelijk aan L 145<sub>3</sub>:  $\text{Παρθοῖσκου}$ .

1291. Dit slecht leesbare opschrift, rondom eene roos gestempeld, moet, dunkt mij, gelezen worden te beginnen met den letter, dien Schuchhardt middenin plaatst en voor een K uitgeeft. Het is echter een E. Dan volgt vanzelf de lezing:  $\{\epsilon\}\pi[\iota] \text{Ἀ}[\theta]\alpha\nu\omicron\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$  en is de stempel Rhodisch, rondom eene Rhodische roos.



1296. Duister is de van voren gebroken stempel ΤΑΛΟΥ-  
ΡΟΥ. Schuchhardts bisher nicht vorgekommene Name Τάλουρος  
is natuurlijk slechts een noodshot. Ik houd het voor zeer  
mogelijk, dat Ἀελοῦρος moet worden gelezen. Zie voor een  
voorbeeld van dezen naam (op Rhodus) bij EAR 6. 325  
B 33; 327 B 68; 328 B 86.

1299. Deze stempel (er staat Ἡγησίω op) verschilt in  
uiterlijk noch in den vorm der letters ook maar in het minst  
van den stempel R 1309. Hiller von Gärtringen heeft dien  
voor Rhodisch verklaard; te recht, naar het mij voorkomt.  
Maar dan behoort ook deze niet langer onder de „Henkel  
unsicherer Herkunft”.

1316. Dat deze stempel (Ξεῤῥετος. Δάλλιος) Rhodisch is,  
niet „onzeker”, toonde ik reeds aan GDI 4245, 571.

1318. Dit handvat, met het opschrift Σωταίρ[ω] gestem-  
peld, schijnt Rhodisch, niet „onzeker” te zijn. Want de fabri-  
kant Σωταίρος is te Rhodus niet onbekend (L 394<sub>1-6</sub>; M 203;  
263; AM 21. 58 n. 41).

## AFKORTENDE AANDUIDINGEN VAN BOEKEN EN TIJDSCHRIFTEN.

- A* = Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie IX  
(1907). 74—85.  
*AM* = Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts  
zu Athen.  
*B<sup>IV</sup>* = P. Becker in Neue Jahrbücher für klassische Philo-  
logie, Neue Folge, Supplementband IV.  
*B<sup>V</sup>* = P. Becker in N. Jahrb. f. klass. Phil., N. F.,  
Suppl. V.  
*BA<sup>II</sup>* = Bulletin de la Commission Impériale Archéolo-  
gique de St. Pétersbourg (russisch: Isvestia enz.), Deel  
XI 1904.  
*BC* = L. Stéphan, Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien,  
Vol. II, Inscript. 79.  
*Be* = G. Botti, Catalogues des monuments exposés au Musée  
Gréco—Romain d'Alexandrie, 1901.  
*BCH* = Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.  
*BCT* = Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux  
historiques et scientifiques.  
*BI* = Bulletino dell' Istituto di Roma.  
*Bn* = G. Botti, Notices des monuments exposés au Musée  
Gréco—Romain d'Alexandrie, 1893.  
*Bl* = F. Bleckmann, De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in  
vasculis rhodiis, Gottingae 1907.  
*C* = Corpus inscriptionum latinarum VIII, Supplementum  
III, No. 22639.  
*D* = A. Dumont, Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce, Paris  
1872 (= Archives des missions scientifiques, 2e Série,  
T. VI).



- DS*<sup>2</sup> = G. Dittenberger, Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum, 1898—1901.
- EAR* = Exploration archéologique de Rhodes (Fondation Carlsberg), Extrait du bulletin de l'Académie Royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark, Rapport I—VI (1903—1912).
- GDI* = Griechische Dialektinschriften von Collitz, Bechtel, u. s. w.
- Gr* = R. Grundmann in Neue Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, Neue Folge, Supplementband XVII (1890).
- Hall* = I. H. Hall in Journal of the American Oriental Society XI (1885). 389—397.
- IG* = Inscriptiones graecae.
- JOAI* = Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts.
- L* = M. P. Nilsson, Timbres amphoriques de Lindos, in *EAR* Rapport V.
- M* = R. A. Stewart Macalister, Amphora handles, with greek stamps, from Tell Sandahannah, in *PEF* 1901, 25 vlg. en 124 vlg.
- Michel* = Ch. Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, 1897—1900.
- N* = Γ. Δ. Νέπουρος in het tijdschrift 'Αθήναιον III (1875). 226—245 en 441—462.
- P* = Die Inschriften von Pergamon, herausgegeben von Max Fränkel, Ernst Fabricius und Carl Schuchhardt, II n. 766—1323.
- PEF* = Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement.
- R* = Inscriptiones graecae XII 1 n. 1065—1416.
- Ra* = Revue Archéologique.
- S* = Inscriptiones graecae XIV n. 2393, 1—610.
- Sm* = L. Stéphan in Mélanges Gréco—Romains II = Bulletin de la classe hist.-phil. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg XIII (1856). 150—163 en Bull. de l'Acad. des sciences de St. Pétersb. I (1860). 249—255.



H. Van Gelder, "Over Rhodische Kruikstempels en hun Belang voor onze Kennis van den Rhodischen Handel," in "Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen," V.1, 1915pp. 186 - 222.

English version made by a native of Holland, somewhat clarified and smoothed by V.G. Copied by two different typists, the change beginning with page 14.

Page numbers of the Dutch text appear in the translation, placed according to the beginning of each new page of the Dutch. These are set off at the beginning of the typed lines in the translation. The typists have broken the text where these occur: the reader is to disregard the gap thus caused.

Where footnote references were not clear as such in the typed copy, the numbers have been circled. The notes themselves have not been translated or copied except for notes 11 and 12, for which see the end of this manuscript.

The manuscript as a whole is intended to be used with the Dutch text, to which reference must be made for most footnotes, for the explanation of abbreviations, etc. However, a rather careful check (from text to copy of translation) has been made with of figures and references appearing in the text. Most of the Greek names in the text have been turned into English to cut down individual copying into the carbons.

A few inserts in square brackets toward the end are comments by V.G.

The translator's comment on the author's style: "Old fashioned Dutch, distinguished and polite."



H. Van Gelder, "On Rhodian Jar Stamps and their Importance for our Knowledge of Rhodian Commerce."

p. 186) The history of commerce in antiquity is still in statu nascendi. It has not the documents to hand which are so useful for the study of commerce in later times. It has also very little support from the ancient historians. In this field they almost abandon us. Thus it must be built up from the most unexpected sources. The study of the history of commerce of the island of Rhodes, which was once not unimportant in this respect, depends on discarded jars.

I will here speak mainly about the duration, the flowering of this commerce, and about the direction which it took. For this investigation, the written texts of the Greeks and Romans give us practically nothing. Certainly, everyone who has heard anything of Rhodes knows that it was a commercial republic; and if he searches he will easily find fifty passages in the works of the most various ancient classical writers, even a hundred, where this is stated. But hardly one goes any further, and gives any positive answer to the questions as to which were the centuries covered by this commerce, and when p. 187) was its most flourishing period, and with which countries it was carried on. In modern historical works, where the answer to these questions should certainly have been given, it has tacitly been taken for granted that political power and the flourishing of commerce went hand in hand; that in the Hellenistic period, the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., when Rhodes was at her most powerful, her commerce also must have flourished most. The question whether the flourishing of the commerce continued when political decay set in has been treated with reserve. It is thought that trade with Egypt must have been good, because Rhodes was so very friendly with the Ptolemys; and there is general reference to trade of Rhodes all about the Mediterranean. Although in these suppositions we have come very near to the truth, which was to be expected, it might have been otherwise. Often, for example - and one does not need to look far for this - the greatest flourishing of the trade of a state comes at a time when political decay has already set in. Anyway, scientific certainty is a different thing from supposition. And the study of the stamps of the handles of discarded Rhodian wine jars gives us here this certainty.

First, more particularly about these Greek stamped jars. In all the Mediterranean coastlands, especially of course where there were big cities, great numbers of sherds are found of



of large earthenware jars. All kinds of things were kept in these, fluids and non-fluids [literally fluids and things that were put in]. These sherds vary in color, the clay is finer or coarser, it is more or less well worked, in short they clearly point out their different places of origin. But which are these places? The supposition is not impossible that some of the fragments come from the places in which they are found. A Greek or even a non-Greek town without any fabrication of pottery seems to me hardly possible. A very considerable part of the heaps found is, however, surely imported. This is proved by the stamps. Jars marked by these stamps are thus elevated to becoming sources of history; the unmarked are nothing to us but curiosities. The stamped were made at Rhodes, Knidos, and Thasos, probably in lots of other Greek towns, but of the other Greek towns we know mostly not even the names; because their production was extremely small. One or very few specimens found keep alive for us the memory of the pottery manufactures of Paros, Naxos, Colophon, Smyrna, and many still entirely unknown places of origin. However, more than 97% of the present total quantity come from the three towns mentioned. Of these, Rhodes has the lion's share, nearly 73% of the total. As to the number of handles gradually unearthed and found, that is much bigger than outsiders may think; counting for Rhodes I have already come to a total of 9860. Besides it must not be forgotten that many stamps of this kind ~~still~~ are still entirely unpublished (that is explicitly mentioned of quite a lot found on Delos, on Amorgos and at Gezer in Palestine<sup>(1)</sup>), that others have probably escaped my notice with the extreme spread of the publications, and that moreover I could not possibly get some Russian and other publications, which I found mentioned. Besides these 9860 Rhodian, there are also about 2100 Knidian and 1650 Thasian jar stamps. The Knidian and the Thasian handles have a somewhat different color tone from the Rhodian, a different kind of clay, a different way of stamping, so that the expert has no difficulty in distinguishing the three kinds when dealing with complete examples; also with the majority of incomplete

p. 189) examples he succeeds mostly with enough certainty<sup>(2)</sup>.

From what has been said a few conclusions can be made which have already been deduced long ago. First, that the export-trade of Rhodes was much bigger than that of Knidos or Thasos, a fact that already a priori had been established. But also in the second place, that, just as in the middle ages and to some extent also in more recent times, certain towns were the headquarters of certain industries. In ancient Greece, cheap, simple amphoras for the export-trade properly speaking were made only in three places; a monopolizing of the production,



which as a matter of fact is sufficiently confirmed for other Greek industries, for the fabrication of clay vases, of bronze pottery, of woven materials, etc. These amphoras were used in the first place for the export of wine. Rhodes and Thasos were rich in wine; on page 427 of my Geschichte der alte Rhodier I have collected the references which prove that for Rhodes. There it is evident that, of the products of that island, nothing is mentioned nearly as often as wine, grapes and raisins. They were also used for oil, for salt, for fruits, (3) for salted fish, also products of which Rhodes had a surplus; they certainly were also exported to foreign countries, because there was a demand for jars. The stamps impressed on the handles do not have anything to do with tax-collecting or with export control of the state, as was p. 190) generally suspected for rather a long time. (4) There were long and somewhat tiresome discussions, before the purpose of the stamping was cleared up; it appears to me that Nilsson's conclusions will not be shaken. On every Greek jar, whatever its origin, are stamped the name of a manufacturer and a date. At Rhodes the dating tells you even the month. This stamping on the handles is an extension, probably a sequel, to the stamping on tiles. The stock on hand, and the tiles already set in place too, were stamped to protect them against theft and against being diverted in any other way from their proper purpose. On the tiles - it can be proved - was stamped the name of the building for which they were destined, also the name of the manufacturer who supplied them. For jars, the first item was excluded, the name of the manufacturer however was here valuable too. On both the exact date was stamped, the year in which they were baked. On Rhodian jars, the month, even, was mentioned. For mostly the owner of the factory left the execution of his affairs to his foreman or manager. The stamping with the month showed him an easy way to control the production of every month. (5) Through this means he had also a surer way of preventing the theft of newly made jars because it was his custom to sell the older ones first; for the stamp of the month marked them as still unsold, as stock. From fear of theft, the stamping with the name of the manufacturer soon became a means for advertising. For jars, this soon certainly became the primary purpose.

p. 191) So on each Rhodian jar three things are mentioned: 1. The name of the manufacturer, or of the firm, which ran the pottery; 2. to fix the year, the name of the eponymous priest of Helios at Rhodos; 3. the name of a month. These three indications are arbitrarily spread over the two handles of the jar (6). The name of the priest of Helios is always found with the preposition *ἐν*, so for example *ἐν Ἀγέμαχου* at the time that Agemachos was eponymos; the names of the manufacturers and of the month are either in the genitive or in the nominative. The stamps are rectangular or round.



Before I begin to discuss how these stamps can tell us much about the direction and duration of Rhodian trade, a little digression about queer difficulties, which the reading and studying of their inscriptions entail. Many of these stamped handles are broken, less than half of the names of priests and manufacturers come to us complete. The happy finders who edit them have to guess and fill in the missing parts by conjecture. If they were all well-informed in these studies, if they knew all the names of the priests and manufacturers found up to their time, then they would at least have a basis to build further on. But mostly the case is as follows. Ten or even fifty Rhodian jar stamps are found. The finder knows almost nothing of the thousands of similar inscriptions already edited far and wide: the literature about the subject is indeed very difficult to gather completely, even for anybody. His specimens are damaged; so he restores as well as possible; often, however, he makes up something. Often the edition also is more or less intentionally careless; he is compelled to edit these things, because they have an antique origin, isn't he? but he does not understand that they p. 19<sup>2</sup>) can be of any real use, and concentrates all his editorial care on more important inscriptions, which he has succeeded in finding. It is true that in the most recent decades there has been more careful work, since it has been realized how useful these stamped names are for history. But good editors excepted, many have delivered sad work. Indeed it is forgivable. Most of the inscriptions on the jars are not only broken or incomplete, but they are also often difficult to read. The manufacturers, who of course wanted to avoid expense, very often used dim and faint marks, with queer and ~~WR~~ wrongly drawn letters. The stamp-carvers too were partly dabblers, who by mistake carved the wrong letters, who through ignorance made blunders against Greek spelling, who skipped parts of the names, carved other parts double, etc. So only if one has looked through all the material and has read all the 10000 stamps and has studied them, can one devote himself with success to correcting the readings which sometimes are so foolish and corrupt, and on the other hand make progress in this field. I mention here to their credit the names of Becker, Stephany, Kaibel, Schuchhardt, of Miller von Gärtringen, Bleckmann and Breccia, and above all of Nilsson, who in the last fifty years have acquired merit in this respect. Tens of corrections have already been made by them and others; but there still remain tens to make. I myself, who of course, at the time that I published the Rhodian Dialect-inscriptions in the collection of Collitz, made a contribution in this direction, found in the course of a renewed study of this subject for the sake of this lecture, once more a chance to suggest more than a hundred other readings. They will be published in an appendix.



At first now the direction of Rhodian commerce will be taken up; then follows a discussion of its flourishing period. p. 193) It is very easy to fix the direction. As I said, stamped jars with Rhodian, Knidian or Thasian origin are practically the only ones found. If for a region or town a calculation as exact as possible is made as to how many jar inscriptions are found there, and what percent of the total derived from each of these three places of origin, then you know the size of the Rhodian trade. To this method there is this objection, that Rhodes is compared with only two towns and not with other centers of commerce. We also learn nothing but the size of the trade in jars. But I consider it very likely that the jars in question were a very important export, if not the most important, for these three towns; it seems to me not less possible that the direction which the trade in jars took, was the same for other articles.

I will begin with an investigation of Sicily. Jarstamps from here were studied and published as early as 1558 (by Fazelli), moreover this is the country that already in the seventh century traded with Rhodes; for just there, so far from home, Rhodes built its biggest colonies, Gela and indirectly Agrigentum. Kaibel published the jarstamps of Sicily together with those of Italy (IG XIV 2393). He gives under 610 numbers 885 stamps, among them 602 Sicilian. What origin do these have? "Prae titulorum rhodiorum multitudo cnidii parii thasii paucissimi vix apparent". So writes Kaibel justly in his preface. To be very precise, of the 602 jar inscriptions collected in Sicily, 4 are Knidian ( S 170, 212, 239 and 253 ), none Thasian, none Parian and 30 or 40 are uncertain. The rest are certainly Rhodian. With this result one may say with a clear conscience that the import of Rhodian amphoras got practically no competition from Knidos and Thasos. p. 194) In Italy it is the same. Kaibel publishes 283 stamps, nearly all from Tarentum, Brundisium and Rhegium. He has forgotten 23 from Praeneste, which Henzen published in the BI 1865, pp. 72 ff. Of the 306 handles, three are Knidian ( S 79, 120 and 339 ), about twenty uncertain, and the rest all Rhodian.

The preponderance of Rhodes comes to light more overwhelmingly in Carthage. Of the 331 stamps (to be found in C and BCT 1902, 1904 and 1907) about twenty are uncertain; the rest are Rhodian.

We have almost no stamps from southern France, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, no more from Cyrene, a town populated partly with Rhodian colonists.

So the result about the west of the Mediterranean is that Thasian amphora trade did not exist there, that the Knidian was extremely little, the Rhodian supreme.



Egypt, Syria, and Cypros form again a unit. Although the trade from Rhodes is very preponderant here, it is not as dominating as in the west. From Alexandria (the rest of Egypt has supplied almost nothing up to the present) we know 479 stamps gathered by Stoddart from 1842-44 (Transactions Royal Society of Literature, Second Series III, 1-127; IV, 1-67), 970 which Neroutsos published in 1875 (N226 ff.), 82 published in the same year by Miller (Ra 1875, 378 ff.), 634 from several works of Botti, and about 200 more from scattered publications (A. pp. 74-85; Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien 1871, 125-129; 1874, 16-23; etc.). Botti certainly, Miller probably, Neroutsos perhaps, include stamps which had already been published earlier. So it is impossible to come here to a definite total number; presumably there are in total about 2100 specimens. Of that, + 30 are Thasian, about 350 Knidian, 100 uncertain and about 1620 Rhodian, that is, 80%.

The Syrian, or more precisely, the Palestinian stamps, p. 195) published by Macalister and others (in PEF 1900-1904; Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeol. Recherches in Palestine II, 148 ff.), are 358 in number, the Cyprian 264 (in BI 1870, 202 ff.; Ra 1873, 317 ff.); Hall pp. 389-397; The Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, Descriptive Atlas III Suppl. Greek Inscriptions n. 72-104; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, A catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, Oxford 1899, 95 ff.). Of these 622 items, about 80%, are Rhodian, the rest are uncertain (anyway the very incomplete publications make this seem so to us); only a very few specimens are certainly Knidian or Thasian.

The island of Rhodes itself has supplied a huge number of stamps. In the first place there is the tremendous supply, which was recently found at Lindos by the Danes and published in so exemplary a manner by Nilsson; further, the more than 1000 handles, which Newton transported from the City of Rhodes to the British Museum, and which Miss C. Aemilia Hutton listed and described (IG XII 1, 1065 ff.); further, the 212 stamps, also from the City of Rhodes, lately published by Johannes Paris in the Melanges Holleaux (pp. 153 ff.); finally, some smaller collections (among others AM 21, 57 ff.). Of the + 4300 specimens, there are less than 100 Knidian or uncertain, and in total there are only 8 Thasian. Of course this result was to be expected.

We have 882 jar stamps from Pergamum (P 766). Among them, 819 are Rhodian, 20 Thasian, 8 Knidian, 1 Parian, 2 from Smyrna, 32 uncertain. So again a preponderance in favor of Rhodes of more than 90%.

We have too few specimens from other towns on the coast of Asia Minor, from the Sporades and the Cyclades, to make conclusions here.

Up to this point, the figures have had a tedious monotony. The Rhodian amphora-commerce is nearly without a rival in the



western Mediterranean; in the East, and in the districts which surround Rhodes, p. 196) it is so preponderant that it draws up to 85 or 90% of the total. But quite another picture appears at once in Greece itself, at least in the only town of Greece from which we have more than a very few jar stamps--Athens. The number of this kind of inscriptions just there is very large: already in 1872 Dumont published there more than 2200 (*Inscriptions ceramiques de Grece*, Paris 1872). According to him there are 347 Rhodian among them. He was not competent to edit such a big collection; for he does not even know how properly to distinguish the Knidian from the Rhodian stamps. Yet roughly his report may be reliable: isn't he just as generous in declaring Rhodian what is Knidian, as in publishing a Knidian piece which is Rhodian? So here in Athens only 15% Rhodian stamps. The rest are Knidian, except for 124 Thasian and about 300 uncertain. Whoever after getting acquainted with Dumont's way of working wants to see some confirmation of his results should consider that much later a series of 98 stamps was sent from Attica to Dresden; Grundmann examined them (Gr pp. 279 ff.) and found that here too of the 98 stamps, only 14 are Rhodian. A little collection gathered six years later (AM 21, 127 ff.), gave again the same result. So it may be admitted that the Rhodian trade to Attica (and the rest of Greece) was of much less significance than that to the far districts to the west, east, or south.

There remains at last South Russia. More than 3000 amphora handles have appeared gradually among the ruins of the Greek towns on the north coast of the Black Sea. They are distributed over many government and private collections and published in a lot of periodicals and books. They are summed up in my "Rhodian Dialectinscriptions" (p. 571) and the newest supply in Nilsson (L pp. 41, ff.). The result is this, that of those + 3000 stamps (given the standard of some publications, it is here no more possible than in Alexandria, p. 197) Palestine, Cyprus or Athens, to give exact numbers), that of these more than 3000 stamps only about 1200 are Rhodian, 1500 Thasian, and 200 Knidian. About 100 uncertain. Here--and only here--the island of Thasos (which is very close by) comes strongly to the fore and surpasses Rhodes, though less than Knidos did at Athens.

With our knowledge on this subject, we can not state with certainty why the Rhodian trade to Greece and the countries on the shores of the Black Sea was less important than elsewhere. We can only guess. To me it is the most likely solution that Rhodes as a commercial state came rather late to prosperity. Earlier, Miletos, Chalcis, Corinth, Aegina, Athens, successively had been first in trade. For Rhodes, which moreover was situated in a remote corner of the antique Greek world, it was difficult to gain ground in districts where it was not known as a commercial country and where others already had settled themselves. There--fore it turned to far abroad and to the districts which beginning only with the fourth century were opened more and more.



Now comes the question what the course of Rhodian commerce was and when it developed most strongly. This question, as far as it is connected with the stamps on amphoras, is faced more or less seriously by Schuchhardt, later deliberately by Bleckmann in his book "De Inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis rhodiis," Gottingae 1907, and further in the article in *Klio* XII (1912), pp. 249-258. With this research, however, where the solidity of the building stones is not very reliable, there is a duty to be very exact, and the material must in the first place be brought together as completely as possible. Of course it must be taken as a fact that on each Rhodian jar is stamped the name of a priest, which indicates a fixed year. p. 198) An attempt must be made to fix chronologically as many as possible of those priests, in total 269, distributed on 10000 stamps. How are we to arrive at this? because none of these many appears in our Greek and Latin authors, not one name of a Rhodian priest of Helios, or one name of a manufacturer is mentioned. Searching in the endless supply of Greek inscriptions for political documents which are dated according to Rhodian eponymi *ἡμετέριος τοῦ δαίμονα*, at the time that this one or that one was a priest of Helios at Rhodes, one finds 28, of course mostly in inscriptions of the island itself. With a little knowledge of the subject, one succeeds in fixing the date of all these 28 rather exactly, of some even very precisely. Now if you search for as large as possible a find of Rhodian stamps belonging closely together, you will find the discovery at Pergamum, published by Carl Schuchhardt on p. 423 of Part II of the *Inscripfen von Pergamon*, 882 stamps, all found together as rubbish to support a house on sloping ground, and apparently all deposited at the same time. Indeed before this large discovery of material belonging together, an investigation of the present kind was impossible. Now it is important to fix as accurately as possible the time to which this discovery belongs. This can be done by tracing how many, and which, priests turn up at Pergamum of the 28 whose names appear in ordinary inscriptions, whose dates we mostly know. When an approximate date has been established in this way, then all priests of the discovery are to be counted. Then one must settle how many times each of these priests appear among all the 10000 Rhodian stamps, which we possess from far and near. If nearly all occur frequently among that mass, then of course the commerce of Rhodes was flourishing in their time; if the reverse is the case, then it was flagging at that time. Happily this investigation brings very clear results.

So the pivot on which everything turns, is the chronological fixing of the discovery at Pergamum. That discovery--as has been said--

p. 199) consists of 882 stamps. Of these, 819 are Rhodian, and on these 819 stamps are found 44 names of priests and 63 names of manufacturers. These priests are datable at most 60 or 70 years earlier than the date of the deposit; nobody postpones



longer the clearing away of old wine jars. When did they live? Schuchhardt supposed about 180; then, he said, Pergamum was most prosperous and most powerful, at that time Rhodes too was at the top of its glory. That the find dates from a time when there was considerable commercial traffic between Rhodes and Pergamum, follows among other things from the fact that the names of several priests turn up 10-20 times, even 25 times among those 819 stamps, so several years are represented 25 times.

All those who had to express their opinions after Schuchhardt agreed with his dating; however, it is not certain. Pergamum and Rhodes both existed and even flourished before and after that time. More certainty can be gathered along other roads. An inscription from Seleucia on the Calycadnus was found by Heberdey and Wilhelm, and recently published by me in the Greek Dialektinscriptions as n. 3751. The stone contains four Rhodian decrees in honor of Eudemos, the son of Nikon, a citizen of Seleucia and obviously an influential friend of a king Antiochus of Syria. The king has promised large presents to the Rhodians to support their fleet; Eudemos is stimulated to hasten the payments of those presents. This inscription according to the finders--and it appears to me that the copy which they give of it indicates the same--is definitely of the first half of the second century; then only two kings Antiochus can be taken into consideration, Antiochus the III, the Great (223-187), and Antiochus IV (175-163). The first, however, lived in feud and war with the Rhodians, the faithful allies of the Romans; so Antiochus IV remains. That means that the inscription is one of the years between 175 and 163. Fortunately it is one of the very few Rhodian inscriptions with a date; it is namely from the year of the priest of Helios, Damokles, the son of Dameas (~~Δαμίας~~ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους τοῦ Δαμίου). In the large p. 200) discovery of jarstamps at Pergamum there is almost no priest we meet so frequently as just this Damokles. Among the 819 R. stamps he appears not less than 21 times. Only 3 of the 44 surpass him in this respect (7). As it is obvious that when the fragments were swept together the amphoras of the most recent years were as a whole the most common of those still on hand, it must probably have happened soon after his priesthood, so the date of the clearing away must have been about 165.

Along another way we come to the same result. The most prominent Rhodian politicians of the second century are Theaidetos and his son, Astymedes. Both are mentioned again and again by Polybius (see the index in Hultsch), Astymedes for the first time in the year 171 and further as Rhodian ambassador in Rome in the years 167, 164, and 153. It is not stated in Polybius that he is a son of Theaidetos, but it appears almost certain from inscriptions (EAR 3, 69; GDI 42052; IG XII 1, 1634). Blinkenberg has taken it as a fact (EAR 3, 70),



and I agree readily with him. Now there exists a priest of Helios, Astymedes, a wellknown eponymus, for his name appears not less than 49 times on jarstamps. His name also appears in an inscription (IG XII 3, 103g), a passage which I have not found mentioned either in Blinkenberg or anywhere else. Is this priest of Helios now the same as the politician? Yes, says Blinkenberg, and it seems likely to me too. For the name, Astymedes is not common and the six or seven other bearers of this name at Rhodes (GDI 3751<sub>2.5</sub>; 3791<sub>86</sub>; 3791<sub>164</sub>; 3853<sub>2</sub>; 3875<sub>3</sub>; 4157<sub>70</sub>; 4198<sub>15</sub>) are still obscure. Along two ways, however, we know rather precisely the year of the priesthood of Astymedes, the priest of Helios. The p. 201) ~~just~~ inscription IG XII 3, 103 just mentioned is an epitaph with statue, erected by grieving grandchildren for a grandfather and made by Epicharmus of Soli. Epicharmus sculptured also as late as the first century (see GDI 3792<sub>25</sub>; 3802<sub>12</sub>; 4200<sub>11</sub>). He was perquam iuvenis says Hiller von Gärtringen, the publisher of this inscription, when he sculptured this statue, and I believe it gladly. But even in that case it can hardly have been before 140 or 130. The grandfather in question, whose career is glorified on the memorial, had risen to be στρατηγός, field officer, *κατὰ πόλεμον τὸν κρητικόν ἐπὶ Ἀστυμήδεω*. Hiller assumes that by this war between Rhodes and Crete the one of 154-151 is meant, which Polybius describes in his 33<sup>d</sup> book. This guess is indeed very acceptable. So, ~~then~~ then Astymedes (*ἄστυμης*) was priest of Helios in 153 or thereabout. It becomes still more likely, when we consider that, again according to Polybius, (33, 15<sub>3</sub>), just Astymedes was delegated in 153 to Rome by the Rhodians, to explain the quarrel between Rhodes and Crete in the senate. Who could be more properly considered for this post than the eponymus of the state? A second path leads to the same year 153. Blinkenberg mentions on the passage which I just quoted, that he has found an inscription at Lindos (he has not published it yet), that proves irrefutably how exactly in the year 154 Astymedes was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos. As a rule the priesthood of Helios at Rhodes and that of Athana at Lindos, these two highest attractions for Rhodian political ambition, were mostly attained by the same person. So, Astymedes was priest of Helios between 155-150. Now it is remarkable that of 49 jar stamps which we have with his name, not one appears in the big find of Pergamum. The readiest explanation is still that when these jars were cleared away, Astymedes had not yet been priest of Helios. He held this office, however, shortly after 155; the dating agrees with p. 202) this clearing away at about 165.

His father, Theaidetos, however, appears most positively on the jars at Pergamum. We know from Polybius (30, 22<sub>2</sub>), that this politician died at Rome in the year 167, more than 80 years old. Further, this unpublished inscription of Blinkenberg which I just mentioned informs us that he was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos in 188. If he too obtained the priesthood of Helios,

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Charles L. (1911)

if this is any mention of Astymedes, see  
list of A. L. (1911)



then that was probably at about the same time. It is, however, unthinkable that a politician of his note should not have held that office. Moreover, we know a priest of Helios, Theaidetos, from 44 jar stamps. Is he the one? Of course, yes! For the name Theaidetos is so rare that we know elsewhere none, at Rhodes only two others of the same name, an ancestor (GDI 4154<sup>37</sup>) and a descendant (EAR 3, 73; GDI 3810 b<sub>1</sub>). In our editions of Polybius he is then also called obstinately *Θεαίτητος*, wrong but more common, although no Rhodian inscriptions support this appellation (EAR 3, 69; GDI 42052; IG XII 1, 163<sub>3</sub>). Now we go again back with this Theaidetos to the find at Pergamum. If the discovery dates from about 165, and Theaidetos was priest of Helios in about 190, then he must appear several times on the Pergamum handles. Indeed, of the 44 stamps we possess of him, 12 come from Pergamum.

But, still more certain than the proof which Demokles or Astymedes or Theaidetos can produce for us, is that which is connected with the priest, Archidamos. An inscription was found under the ruins of the temple of Zeus Panamarus near Stratonicea in Caria; the most accessible edition is the one of Michel 479. That inscription begins with the dating 'Εν' ἑσέως Ἀρχιδάμου. Just that dating by a Rhodian priest of Helios makes it certain that it originates from the time that Stratonicea was subject to Rhodes. The content, an honour-decree for a retired Rhodian *ἐκστρατής* (p. 203) confirms that too, if necessary. ~~KK~~ When, however, was Stratonicea subject to Rhodes? We know that exactly: in 188 the Romans presented the town to Rhodes, in 166 they took their gift back. Never before or after was this condition repeated. So Archidamos was priest in one of the years between 188 and 166. Of this eponymus we have 56 jar inscriptions, among them the rather large number of 16 that appeared at Pergamum. Does that not beautifully harmonize with what we just found, that the stamps at Pergamum were cleared away in ± 165?

Because of the fact that it is of great importance to know as definitely as possible the exact date of the clearing away, I will also speak of five other priests who can be of use for this. First, Eukles. He appears in an inscription which, although it was published only two years ago, is now already famous, that is, the "Chronicle of Lindos". There we read (EAR 6, 340, D40), that the temple of Athana Lindia burned down, when Eukles the son of Astyanaktidas, ~~he~~ was priest of Helios

Blinkenberg in his comment on this inscription (op. cit., pp. 448 ff.) in an excellent argument, which is built up from several historical data, has practically proved that this fire took place in about 335. Whoever still doubts should read further EAR 2, 65 ff.; there Kinch develops on architectonical grounds, long before the Chronicle of Lindos was known, that the newly constructed temple of Athana Lindia, now still existing in

What about the  
inscr. in Seleucia  
on Calydonia (p. 9  
of *Chronik*) with  
Blinkenberg's dating

Ed. can be  
fixed after 188,  
or say 174 -  
perhaps the actual  
year of the Perg.  
defeat - which  
might then just  
begin (since  
only 16 jars  
stamp)



ruins, dates from the second half of the fourth century. So Eukles was priest of Helios in about 335. I know 16 jar stamps of him<sup>(8)</sup>. None of these 16 are found at Pergamum. If this were otherwise, then this deposit could hardly date p. 204) from about 165. Now this is just the result which could be expected a priori.

*\* Publisher.  
Certainly does  
not answer the  
date, to say it  
was not in the  
4th century*

This Eukles, in contrast with the four formerly mentioned, also does not appear on the stamps of the second large group discovery, the one at Carthage. Or can one speak of a large group, since the number of the Pergamon jar inscriptions is three times as big as the number of those found at Carthage? And above all--what is more important--can the Carthage find be called a connected group? The case is this. In the last twenty years of the 19th century successively 331 Greek jar stamps were found at Carthage. They were published in several numbers of the Revue Tunisienne, of the Bulletin Archéologique du comité des travaux historiques, of the Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions and of local periodicals which are inaccessible to me. Afterward they were combined by Dessau in 1904 in the IIIrd Supplement volume of the VIIIth part of the CIL, under N. 22639. Dessau gives 266 inscriptions, all Rhodian; at least, none can be proved not to be Rhodian. In the earliest announcements of the discovery it is claimed that the greater part of these stamps form a unit: Delattre describes in the BCT of 1894, (pp. 89 ff.) a wall of the period of Augustus with an interior filling of amphoras and amphora fragments. At the same time he points out (pp. 92 and 107) why they must be much older than Augustus and must derive from the time of the Punic Carthage. How many of the total 266 belong together, and which exactly, he does not mention, any more than anybody else. Fortunately the mutual connection can be proved from the stamps themselves. Bleckmann has already called attention to the fact that the stamps at Carthage and those at Pergamum apparently are from about the same time. Of the 42 priests of Helios which are mentioned on the jars at Carthage, 30 occur at Pergamum, while only p. 205) 14 Pergamum names are missing at Carthage<sup>(9)</sup>. Such a harmony between two masses of Rhodian jar stamps is nowhere else to be found. Which find is later, the one at Pergamum or the one at Carthage? To decide that, the priest of Helios, Astymedes, can again be useful, about whom we have just settled, that he occupied the priesthood in 153 or thereabout. We possess 49 stamps of him. None of them was found at Pergamum; in the discovery of Carthage, however, which was less than a third the size, he appears twice. So, the stamps at Carthage fall partly after about 165 and of course do not reach further than 149, the year that must inevitably have finished all Rhodian importation into that town.



Now, after the Pergamum jars are, for these reasons, placed at 165 and those from Carthage as a whole somewhat later, for further confirmation of the results achieved I must mention the priest of Helios, Pratophanes, who appears as dating authority on the lengthy, fairly well-known inscription, the statement of the Rhodians in the age-old feud between Samos and Priene. They quarreled about the fortress  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\upsilon$  and about the ground around it, and brought this case continually before different arbiters. The inscription in question, already several times dealt with, has at last found a worthy publisher in Hicks after its transportation to the British Museum. Hicks makes it appear likely for more than one reason that it dates from the first half of the second century. When I in turn worked on this inscription (GDI 3758), I added to his arguments that two of the respectable Rhodians who appear here as arbiters seem to be known to us from elsewhere. Agesandros, son of Eudamos, is probably the son of the Eudamos p. 206) mentioned by Livy who in 190 commanded the Rhodian squadron in the sea-battle at Myonnesos, while Timagoras, the son of Polemakles, is probably the admiral who, according to Polybius (27, 7<sup>14</sup>), fought against Perseus in 170. The inscription might then be from about 165. It is dated  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \Pi\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\ [\phi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma]$ . It is true that no more of his name is preserved than  $\Pi\rho\alpha\tau\omicron$ ; but the restoration is certain, as it seems to me, because there is no other, among all the 269 Rhodian priests, whose name begins with  $\Pi\rho\alpha\tau\omicron$ . So the priest Pratophanes appears in an inscription from about 165. He is also found on jar stamps, in total on 24. Among these, two were found at Pergamum (P 1166 and 1167), but no less than 8 were found at Carthage (7 at C 137 - 143, 1 in the BCT 1904, 488, n. 35). Indeed, there is not a single Rhodian priest of whom more stamps were found at Carthage than of this Pratophanes. This result at Pergamum as well as at Carthage is exactly what was to be hoped of a priest at about 165. Damainetos, another eponymous priest, has already long been known through the inscription in honor of the  $\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  Dionysodoros of Alexandria (GDI 3836). That is dated according to his priesthood. Kellermann, Franz, Boeckh, Hiller von Gartringen, all publishers of this inscription, agree that it dates from the second century. They dated it thus long before anything was known about the finds at Pergamum and Carthage. For this, Damainetos, (he is missing at Pergamum) appears twice at Carthage (C 54; BCT 1902, 447 n. 1). In future he may be placed at about 160.

The priest Sosikles is in the same case. He appears in an inscription (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1270) that is placed by letter forms in the second century, maybe in the beginning of the first. The evidence of the jars agrees with that. For he is found p. 207) in Carthage (BCT 1904, 489 n. 41), not in Pergamum. So he too is from  $\pm$  160. He is found 37 times on jar stamps.



Finally the priest Aratophanes. He indicates the year on an inscription of the Rhodians in honor of the City of Cyzicus (now GDI n. 3752). Boeckh, the deserving publisher of this stone, places him in the second century B.C.; at the time I was not able to add anything in my edition to narrow somewhat this rather vague dating. Aratophanes appears also on jar stamps, 51 times. Among them 8 were found at Pergamum (P 867-874) and three at Carthage (C 1b and 28; BCT 1904, 484 n. 6). This agrees with Boeckh's dating of the Rhodian-Cyzician honor decree and with my dating of the Pergamum and Carthage finds. Now, however, Boeckh's dating can be limited and only the first half of the second century need be considered, to be more precise -- about the year 175.

"What does it help us, that we so searching and searching have estimated the date of the find at Pergamum rather precise, that we know about the time of the Carthagian stamps? Very much of course." For the 56 priests and 76 manufacturers mentioned at Pergamum and Carthage can now safely be placed at a time which at the most goes back 60 years before the Pergamum discovery; so they belong to the years between 225 and 149. After a moment it will be proved that literally all these priests and manufacturers appear extremely often in our common stamp supply of 10,000 pieces, so that the period of 225 to 150 must have been the great flourishing time of Rhodian trade. At first it is, however, possible to distribute them a little more precisely over the period in question and also to increase their number somewhat. For those among them who appear more than ten times at Pergamum, we can with great probability place between 190 and 165, and those who p. 208) appear often or only at Carthage, seldom at Pergamum, may be from about 170 - 150. Those who are found sporadically at Pergamum, not at all at Carthage, must very likely be placed between 225 and 190. The results are here of course more certain for the priests than for the manufacturers: the names of the priests represent each only one year, the manufacturers' names a lifetime, maybe sometimes several lifetimes, the life of a firm.<sup>(10)</sup> As to the enlargement of the number of 56 priests and 76 manufacturers, that can also be attained along another way for the 75 years in question. A few complete Rhodian jars have been found; the names of priest and manufacturer which appear on them belong of course together, they lived at the same time. It also occurs, although very seldom, that on the same handle of a jar, the name of a priest and the name of a manufacturer are stamped next to each other. We know of these two categories together about 80 instances on 10,000 jarstamps. 62 are useful for our purpose <sup>(11)</sup>. On the rest of the complete jars the inscriptions are not sufficiently legible. (p. 209) They help us to learn the date of a few more priests and manufacturers. For example a complete jar was found in Cyprus, datable in the year  $\pm$  190, with the name of the priest Theaidetos, who kept us busy just now (Hall 391 n. 5060); on



*This page  
one copy about*

3.16

one handle is his name, on the other the names of the manufacturer Hippokrates. So this Hippokrates lived also in about 190. He, in turn, appears again on another complete jar, which was excavated at Tell Sandahannah in Palestine (PEF 1903, 306), and also on one from Cyprus (Hall 391 n. 5041). The priests on these two jars are also again from about 190. The priest Nikasagoras, well-known at Pergamum and Carthage, so from about 175, appears on the same handle beside the manufacturer Agathoboulos (L 329, 5 and 6); so they lived at the same time. In this way you come from one result to another. Along this way (see footnotes for details) we get again for the period between 225 and 150 an increase of 11 priests (12) and 8 manufacturers (13) (page 210). This brings the total to 67 priests and 84 manufacturers.

What does history know of the three-quarters of a century about which we speak here? That it was a period of great political prosperity for Rhodes, of the brightest outward splendour this state ever achieved. The period of prosperity, however, lasted twice as long, another three-quarters of a century preceded this one, almost equal in prosperity. There is no historian of Rhodes who does not date the beginning of the greatness of the town from the remarkable siege of 305 - 304 and close this period with 164, (p. 211) when the Roman weighed them down with disgrace heavy as lead and tried to transfer the Rhodian trade to Delos. Then begins the decline, slow for the time being, but continuous.

In those 140 years of greatness, Rhodes probably mustered the greatest internal strength between 304 and 225; in the 61 years after that, it was outwardly splendid. And this splendour seems also to affect the domain of Rhodian trade and traffic. For, scrutinizing the 10,000 stamps at our disposal, and tracing which of the names of the total of 269 known priests, and which of the names of 375 manufacturers, occur most in this material, we always find again those priests and manufacturers of whom we have learned that they lived between 225 and 150. A little bit of statistics will prove this. I have counted which names occur on 30 or more stamps. The number 30 has been taken arbitrarily; but in any case, they have to be those priests, during whose priesthood the export of jars was greatest, those manufacturers who contributed most to that export. In total it turns out that these are 60 priests and 39 manufacturers. I spare you the names; they are mentioned together with the number of their stamps in the note (14) (p. 212) Among these 60 most common priests are no less than 48 of the 67 known to us from the period 225 - 150; so there are only 12 left, 12 of 202 priests, for the remaining four centuries during which Rhodian amphorae were traded. For the manufacturers, the ratio is just as convincing: of 39 whose names occur on 30 or more handles, there are 34 who existed in the three quarters of a



century in question; whereas only 5 do not belong to that period. These statistics are eloquent in their soberness. They point very clearly to the zenith of Rhodian trade.

We are left with the problem of Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. Bleckmann has provided an answer here. As so many Rhodian stamps are known to us, he reasons, 10,000 in total, it is almost certain that of the period of stamping, i.e. the period of trade, we know practically all Rhodian eponyms. We know 260 of them; so the trading period was not much longer than that number of years. The beginning of it is 331, the year in which Alexander reestablished the free Rhodian Republic, the end around 50; for after that year not one priest occurring in inscriptions is mentioned on jarstamps. Therefore we possess from the 281 intervening years all except 21 eponyms. Against this (p. 213) seemingly beautiful theory there can be found serious objections: that the number of 260 eponyms known to us is not exact, that 331 is a very arbitrary starting point (15), and 50 certainly the wrong end point; for even one century afterwards we know - not to speak of uncertain cases - the priest Diogenes of 55 A.D. whose name occurs in an inscription as well as on a stamp. If the investigation is to be free and objective, then one must look in history for the earliest possible moment when the stamping may have begun and also for the most likely endpoint, without judging from the jarstamps. The earliest possible start is 407. Then the city of Rhodes was founded, the state Rhodes was organized, so of course then this state got eponyms and magistrates. Before they existed it was impossible to stamp their names; but there is no reason at all to dispute that there was export to foreign countries already at that time, so that already then the stamping had begun. When did Rhodian export trade stop? No one who is experienced in the history of this city and knows how soon she became a dead city in the imperial period, who remembers the lengthy evidence about this which Dio Chrysostomus and Aristides have left for us in their *Ροδίωνες*, can believe that in 100 A.D. there can have been anything worth mentioning left of an export trade which had almost spanned all coasts of the Mediterranean. So calculating the limits liberally, there is a possible export period



of stamped jars of about 500 years (407 -  $\pm$  100 A.D.). For this possible 500-year period we know as yet less than 300 priests. So it seems that in spite of the 10,000 Rhodian stamps, there still are quite a lot of eponyms who do not appear on them at all.

(p.214) In the first place let us make the list as exact as possible. Bleckmann gave this most recently (in *Klio* XII), and got a number of 260, among them 10, which were found only in inscriptions, not on jar handles (16). Hiller von Gärtringen supplied this catalogue in one of the most recent numbers of *Klio* (XIV 388-389) with 11 new names of priests. So the total became 271. Also after his contribution it is still possible to enlarge the number; I still found the priests Agathombrotos (17) (N 231 n. 3), Agastophanes (GDI 4245, 24), Agoranax (L 20), Athanophilos (L 27), Antigonos (R 1082), Ankedon (L 117), Anisipolis (L 121); compare also the two stamps from Tell Sandahannh, mentioned on p. 244), Euphragoras (AM 21.57 n. 15) Kleustratos (L276), Menekrates (N 240 n. 130), Peithiadas (M 186) Praxiphanes (GDI 4245, 604 and 605), Sosiphilos (L 389) Charidamos (L 434) (18). So again 14 new names; the total becomes now 285. But scrutinizing, some must be crossed out from Bleckmann, even from Hiller. Hiller mentions a priest *Μαχάων*, of whose name only the last half is readable. A well-known hero was called so, mortal people however seldom. I would rather fill in *ΠΑΚΤΙΩΝ*, which name indeed is found on the handles of two jars (C 22), . . . but as the name of a manufacturer. So the best thing to do seems to me, to keep the restoration of *-άων* in uncertainty. In the second place I take exception to Hiller's priest *Τελεονέμης*. I do not think this name rightly formed; I believe it to be simply (p.215) a less exact reading of the well-known priestname *Τελεονόμος*. In Bleckmann I protest in the first place against the name called by him Alexidamos. He does not quote a place where this priest occurs and I never could find him anywhere; my guess is that he came on the list by mistake. Further I do not believe in the priest Apollonios. "Selten", Bleckmann calls him; truthfully he only appears once, in the very unreliable Dumont (D 82 n. 41), and Nilsson already rightly also doubted his existence (L p. 91). The priest Astymedes II seems to me also an unreal person. At the time of his priesthood, as is mentioned on an epitaph (JOAI 4. 160), a respected Rhodian, an anonymous person for us, is distinguished with wreaths and honours. The inscription is "jünger als 100 B.C.," Hiller, the publisher, says, but he relies only on letter forms and orthography. If we settle it at 120 (and letter forms and orthography will certainly allow that), there is nothing against the hypothesis that the person who had just died had accepted his honours in 153, at the time of



Astymedes, the well-known son of Theaidetos, whose priesthood we just set at 153. Then the somewhat suspicious splitting into a priest Astymedes I and Astymedes II collapses. The so-called priest  $\Delta\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$  of Bleckmann has already been changed into a  $\Delta\alpha\phi\epsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$  by Nilsson (L p. 112), who also in the same place crossed out Demetrios from the list of Rhodian priests. By the crossing out of Demetrios two names are lost from Bleckmann; for he has included the Rhodian dialect form Damatrios of this non-existent Demetrios. Thersandros also appeared in the other writing Tharsandros on the list. Hestielos also occurs as Histielos, which spelling probably is better. The priest  $\kappa\delta\delta\omega\varsigma$  is probably also imagination. "Nur Zweimal" writes Bleckmann, "bei M und Z". The stamp M 144 has already been interpreted correctly by Nilsson (L p. 114). I am very much afraid that the inscription inaccessible to me in Z (Zapiski Odesskago obščetstva) also is  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\delta\omega\varsigma$  (p. 216) and likewise is to be ascribed to the hypothetical priest  $\kappa\delta\delta\omega\varsigma$ , instead of to a manufacturer  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ . I have already pointed out the mythical priest Molpagoras in note 11. The priest Nikasiboulos must be crossed out, who according to Bleckmann occurs "nur zweimal bei R", that is, in IG XII 1, but in fact is found nowhere.  $\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omega\varsigma$  appears only once (L 405), in an incomplete inscription which could as well be restored as  $\Delta\alpha\tau\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omega\varsigma$  or  $\kappa\omega\tau\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omega\varsigma$ . And, almost more certainly, the Timomenes must go, who is based on a single stamp in Stephani's Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien (BC n. 23). In this publication, difficult of access, the picture of this stamp will immediately convince any reader of how little foundation there is for the tradition that here  $\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omega\varsigma$  is to be read; what is the right name, Tisamenos, Timogenes or something still different, is more difficult to settle. Finally the priests Philondas and Philonidas are the same person. So, after this meddling with 16 names, there remain 269 of the list of 285 priests.

Of these 269, 67 are to be placed between 225 and 150. But how many of the remaining are known to us from other sources? From the literature none; but I have mentioned several times inscriptions in which eponymous priests occur. These must, laid beside the jar stamps, make the course of Rhodian trade clear to us. Unfortunately the material so far at hand is not at all sufficient. All taken together, only 28 priests of Helios are mentioned in inscriptions (19). Among them one is useless to us, i.e. Eukrates: his period is too uncertain. Collignon, the first publisher of the inscription in which his name occurs (GDI 3755<sub>5</sub>), (p. 217) says "que l'inscription ne saurait être d'une date antérieure au troisième siècle"; Hiller, on the other hand, asserts that it is "multo recentior". We know two priests from the fourth century, the century after 407, the first which can possibly be considered. One of them is Eukles, the



eponym of the burning of the temple of Athana at Lindos, whom we have set at about 335. Sixteen of his stamps are preserved, thus rather a large number. The other is Pythannas (EAR 6.341, D61), of whom a vision is mentioned in the Chronicle of Lindos, in which Athana reveals to him a sin-offering for her polluted temple. As this vision comes after an *incubation* of the goddess in 490 and before a similar occurrence in 304, it probably happened between these two dates; then Pythannas was a priest of the fourth century. The whole story, for that matter, calls also for the rather early dating. But Pythannas does not appear on any jarstamp. It seems to me that there is not very much to conclude here. If Pythannas is taken into consideration, then it seems likely that there was no export trade in the fourth century; judging by Eukles, this trade is to be considered rather large. Anyhow, the 16 stamps with Eukles' name have force as evidence. If we had had, in continuation of them, the names of three or four priests of the third century who also all were represented by a rather large number of stamps, then there might be scientific proof of what seems likely a priori, that about 350 Rhodian trade began to stretch its wings, that it developed powerfully after 300, and then after 225 attained its zenith. But unfortunately we have not one priest as dating authority certainly datable in the third century, the pre-eminently great period of Rhodes. Antisthenes is placed at the end of this century, a priest who is known from the inscription GDI 3798, but who is entirely missing from jarhandles. According to Hiller, who edited this inscription most recently, and who saw it, Antisthenes is (P: 218) "ineunte altero saeculo ante Christum natum vix recentior", is so from 200 or a little earlier. Newton and Foucart, earlier publishers, who saw the stone in Rhodes, agree with that, though with hesitation. But all rely for fixing the date purely on the character of the letter forms of the inscription. And this criterion is deceptive by the nature of things, particularly because there really are very few Rhodian inscriptions with chronological certainty from about that time. So I would rather leave this so-called only witness for the third century out of reckoning.

Before the year 225 the results are very uncertain, but after 150 it is no better. In between are the epigraphically known priests Damokles, Theaidetos, Astymedes, Archidamos, Damainetos, Pratophanes, Sosikles and Aratophanes, already discussed. They are all from 190 to 150. They appear often on stamps, respectively 50, 44, 24, 47, 51, 37 and 49 times. The priest Autokrates is also to be placed in the first half of the second century because of the inscription from Tenos in which he is mentioned (IG XII 5. 824<sub>32</sub>); in note 12 I have already connected him with the discoveries at Pergamum and Carthage. He is to be found on 60 jarstamps. Ag@stratos



occurs in the inscription DS<sup>2</sup> 450<sup>29</sup>. This inscription gives us no information about its date; but here the jarinscriptions inform us that this priest, appearing at Pergamum and Carthage, must be from about 180. He recurs on 50 stamps. So these are 10 eponyms from the first half of the second century.

By their many stamps they all point out the flourishing time of Rhodian trade, which has just been dated at this period. Did this prosperity decline soon after 150? Considering the severe measures which the Romans had taken against them in 164, was the competition of the commercial metropolis Delos, founded by the Romans, so great that already in the second half of that century a very noticeable slackening began? One would believe so, relying on the evidence of the rest of the Rhodian eponyms known from that century.

(p. 219) For three other priests of the second century are handed down to us; but two of those three do not appear on jarinscriptions, the third only once. In the first place there are the two priests Xenoteimos and Menestheus who together with Astymedes act as dating authorities on the epitaph JOAI 4. 160. Astymedes is from 153, so Xenoteimos and Menestheus must also have been from that time, probably a little later. Menestheus occurs on the jarstamp R 1165(20), Xenoteimos on none. The name Menestheus is very rare, so the priest here mentioned is very likely identical with the frequently recurrent manufacturer of that name, whom in note 13 I connected with the discovery at Carthage, and consequently is from the same time. Xenoteimos and Menestheus must be from about 150; the priest Epicharmos, though still from the second century, seems to come after them. The dating of the inscription which mentions him (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1269) relies however again only on the letter forms. This Epicharmos is entirely lacking from jarstamps.

The poor result achieved between 150 and 100 continues in the first century. There, too, of the priests who occur in inscriptions, we find only a minority on jarhandles. And those whom we find in both places appear only once. The series begins with Archestratos. "Kurz vor 100 BC, eher etwas jünger", Hiller calls the inscription in which he occurs (DS<sup>2</sup> 610<sub>3</sub>). If one looks at the picture that is published of it, one will indeed agree with that and fix this inscription in the first quarter of the first century. To fix the date according to the letter forms is not too uncertain here, as it is just from this time that most of the Rhodian inscriptions date.

(p. 220) Archestratos, the priest mentioned is again totally unknown to us from jarstamps.



Contents and letter forms of the inscription in which they are mentioned make it likewise probable that the priests Theogenes<sup>(21)</sup> (GDI 3800<sub>1</sub>), Antilocho<sup>s</sup> (GDI 3828<sub>g</sub>) and Rhodopeithes (GDI 4155<sub>3</sub>) are from the same period, the beginning of the first century. Theogenes appears once on the handle of a jar (as *Θεογένης*, B<sup>n</sup> 231 n. 19), Antilocho<sup>s</sup> three times (L 54), Rhodopeithes not at all. There is more, even complete, certainty about the time of the priests Archeleos, Hermokrates, Kritoboulos and Charisios. An inscription from Naxos, already known to Boeckh (IG XII 5.38), which certainly is from one of the first years after Antony had presented the island to the Rhodians in the year 42 (App. B.C.V 7; Sen. de Benef. V 16, 6), mentions them as contemporaries. These four priests, who without doubt are from about 40, are the chief basis of the opinion that Rhodian trade had fizzled out as early as the second half of the first century. None of these four occurs on any jarinscription and this fact surely does not point at prosperity. But in the century before we just saw that the majority of the priests mentioned in inscriptions do not occur on jarhandles; moreover we shall now see that in the century which follows, a priest whose name appears in an inscription is also found on the handle of a jar. We know namely three priests from the imperial period through inscriptions. One of them is called *Τίτος Φλάβιος Φρόνιστος* (GDI 3801<sub>2</sub>) and by his name alone is already placed in the time of the Flavian Emperors. His father Diokles was also a priest of Helios (GDI 3801<sub>3</sub>) and lived about 50 A.D. We do not have any stamp of the son, but we do have one of Diokles, (p. 221) according to Nilsson (Lp. 91). He assumes that the enigmatical stamp *Ενὶ Δίου* (N 237 n. 80) must be read as *Ενὶ Διοκί* and explains this as an abbreviation of *Διοκλῆς*. He has not convinced me, but it is certainly possible. A contemporary of Diokles was Diogenes, whose date is quite fixed, because Nero sent a letter to the Rhodians at the time of his priesthood in the year 55 A.D.. That letter is preserved in the inscription DS<sup>2</sup> 373. Undoubtedly Diogenes<sup>(22)</sup> appears on jarstamps: at Panticapaeum a stamp with his name was found (BA<sup>n</sup> 99n. 416), an unchallengeable witness that even in the imperial period export trade existed. By assuming that the priest of 55 A.D. was a different individual from the priest on the jarhandle, who must have lived earlier in that case, an attempt is made to get rid of this annoying witness. But this distinction, questionable in itself, becomes quite unacceptable if one considers that had this stamp been of earlier date, it would of course have been written in the Rhodian dialect form *Ενὶ Διογέει*, whereas Skorpil, its publisher, reports that it appears in the form used in the *κοινὴ*, *Ενὶ Διογέει*, which belongs to a later period in Rhodes.



Summarizing, we get the following impression of the Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. From the nearly two centuries, which can be considered as a possible period of stamping of Rhodian jars before 225, we know not more than two priests for certain, a third is very doubtful. Of two of these priests there exist no stamps, only inscriptions; of the third, Eukles, one of the two certain priests, appear 16 stamps. If it is necessary to draw some conclusion here, then it seems to me that trade of some importance has to be supposed for this time. After 150 we know for the first half century three priests

(p.222), among whom one is uncertain. Of these three, only one occurs on jarstamps, and only once. Of the four priests between 100 and 50, all four rather uncertain, one appears on three jarinscriptions, another on two, two not at all. The four priests between 50 and the beginning of our era are all lacking on jarstamps. One of the three known to us from the first century A.D. appears certainly on a stamp, one probably, one certainly not. Here the conclusion is the most acceptable, that on an average trade at Rhodes after 150 never died out entirely, but also never became really lively.

Still, for the time being, we do not have data to fix more recently the date of the 202 priests known to us, the priests who must belong to the periods 407 - 225 and 150 - 100 A.D.. But we are more fortunate with the other 67 priests. Without doubt we can place them between 225 and 150. And we are no less sure that those 75 years represent the highest flourishing period of Rhodian trade. Epigraphy and archaeology, those indispensable sister sciences of history, have yet in the meantime taught us that at this investigation.



Van Gelder, p. 208, note 11:

Bleckmann has made a list of all these instances, and he gets 63 cases. A 64th he missed: the complete jar from Vulci in Tuscany, most recently published by me in GDI 4245, 2. Two numbers of his list should be struck out. First, his no. 4, the jar on which according to Berg the names Molpagoras and Alexandros appear. Nilsson has already shown (L.p. 72, note 2) that this assertion is wrong. In the second place, the jar which he mentions in *Klio* (XII, 250) as bearing the names of the eponymous Aristarchos and the manufacturer Agathoboulos is a fiction. He refers to Nilsson, but it is nowhere to be found in Nilsson; but on the contrary Nilsson assures us (L.p. 116) that an eponymous Aristarchos is not known to him (nor to me either). So the total number of instances becomes 62.

Other small inaccuracies by Bleckmann in this list must be corrected. The priest of his no. 5 is not called Philanios but Philainios, the manufacturer of his no. 8 not Nanius but Nanis, the priest of his no. 49 not Harmosilas but Harmosidas, the manufacturer of his no. 16 not Dion but Dios, the priest of his no. 22 not Menesthes but Menestheus, the one of his no. 33 not Androboulos but Agathoboulos (see L. p. 160).

. . . . . Note 12:

To wit: Alexiadas, Andrias, Andronikos, Antipatros, Aristakos, Aristokles, Aristratos (see for these priests L. p. 116), Archembrotos, Autokrates, Thersandros, and Philainios. Bleckmann gives alphabetical lists of the eponymi and manufacturers found in Pergamon and Carthage (Bl. pp. 34 ff.). With the aid of these, the proof for the priests Antipatros and Philainios is easily to be found. The date of Alexiadas is proved by the manufacturer Diokleia, who is found with him on one jar, and who is known at Pergamon (P 1002); her name however is forgotten in the list of Bleckmann. Andrias, Andronikos, Aristakos and Thersandros depend on the manufacturer Agathoboulos, who is mentioned on the same handles with them, who, however, appears neither at Pergamon nor at Carthage, but whose date is given because he appears on the same handle with Nikasagoras (L 329), an eponymos who occurs in Pergamon and Carthage, but is found on a handle with Alexiadas (Hall 393, no. 5043; cf L p. 170). Aristokles is stamped with Midas on a complete jar; Midas, unknown at Pergamon and Carthage, appears, however, on a similar jar with the priest Aristogenes. This priest is known at Pergamon (P 894), however he also is missing from Bleckmann's list ["fundort unbekannt"]. Midas and so also the priest Aristokles belong in our period. Autokrates, who moreover had already been placed epigraphically (BCH 27, 234, 32) in about this time, depends on Hermaios, a Rhodian manufacturer appearing at



Pergamon (P 1276), but again forgotten by Bleckmann [not listed as Rhodian by Schuchhardt].

Incidentally, on the list of Rhodian eponymi drawn up by Bleckmann from the find at Pergamon, are missing, besides Aristogenes, also the priests Archidas (P 956) [restoration not certain], Athanodotos, Daemon, and Lapheides, on the list of the manufacturers appearing at Pergamon besides Hermaios and Diokleia, also Agesonios, Kreon, Hegesias, (P 1299) and Imas (1240). The one called on his list Ageso is in fact Agemon. The "Molesius" is Molesis, the "Nanius" is Nanis.

The list of Rhodian eponymi which he has drawn up from the find at Carthage shows these three gaps: Aristonidas, (C 32), Onasandros (C 124) and Philodamos; the list of Rhodian manufacturers who are known from Carthage must be completed with the names Dionysios (C 65), Eirenidas (C 83), and maybe Aristakos (C 188a).

[insert by V.G.]



6  
June 22, 1948

Dear Home:

The enclosed is for Peter Fraser to read if he likes, and then to be kept with Agora stamp papers. Please tell Mr. Fraser I am sending him a copy to Oxford, so there is no need for him to do any travelling with it. I am sorry it did not get finished earlier, but it has been difficult to get it typed.

When you come back to Princeton, I hope you will take me on one of those therapeutic tramps. It is considered a little peculiar around here for females to tramp unescorted. But actually I seem to get a good deal of exercise in the unequal struggle with the long grass that keeps trying to grow in my garden.

Yours



"old fashioned Dutch, distinguished and polite"

H. Van Gelder, "On Rhodian Jar stamps and their importance for our Knowledge of Rhodian Commerce,"

(Try to find a review of this)

p.186] The history of commerce in antiquity is still in statu nascendi. It has not the documents to hand which are so useful for the study of commerce in later times. It has also very little support from the ancient historians. In this field they almost abandon us. Thus it must be built up from the most unexpected <sup>sources</sup> places. The study of the history of commerce of the island of Rhodes, which was once not unimportant in this respect, depends on discarded jars.

I will here speak mainly about the duration, the flowering of this commerce, and about the direction which it took. For this investigation, the written texts of the Greeks and Romans give us <sup>practically</sup> as good as nothing. <sup>certainly</sup> Sure, everyone who has heard anything of Rhodes knows that it was a commercial republic; and if he searches he will easily find fifty <sup>passages</sup> places in the works of the most various ancient classical writers, even a hundred, where this is stated. But hardly one goes <sup>any</sup> a little further, and gives any positive answer to the questions <sup>as to</sup> <sup>were the</sup> <sup>covered by this</sup> about which centuries this commerce spread over, and when p.187] was its most flourishing period, and with which countries it was carried on. In modern historical works, where the answer <sup>to</sup> on these questions should certainly have been given, it has tacitly been taken for granted that political power and the flourishing of commerce went hand in hand; that in the Hellenistic period, the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., when Rhodes was at her most powerful, <sup>her</sup> the commerce also must have flourished most. ~~About~~ The question whether the flourishing of the commerce continued when political decay set in has been treated with reserve. It is thought

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reference to the  
author)



that trade with Egypt must have been good, because Rhodes was so very friendly with the Ptolemys; and there is general reference to trade of Rhodes all about the Mediterranean. Although in these suppositions we have come very near to the truth, which ~~might have been~~ <sup>was to be</sup> expected, it might have been otherwise. Often, for example - and one does not need to look far for this - the greatest flourishing of the trade of a state ~~is coincident~~ <sup>comes at a time</sup> when with a political decay ~~which~~ <sup>has</sup> already ~~had~~ set in. Anyway, scientific ~~certain~~ <sup>certainly</sup> is ~~something else than~~ <sup>a different thing from</sup> supposition. And the study of the stamps of the handles of discarded Rhodian wine jars gives us here this certainty.

First, ~~something closer~~ <sup>more particularly</sup> about these Greek stamped jars. In all the Mediterranean coastlands, especially of course where there were big cities, great numbers of sherds are found of large earthenware jars. All kinds of things were kept in these, fluids and non-fluids [literally fluids and things that were put in]. These sherds vary in color, the clay is finer or coarser, it is more or less well worked, in short they clearly point out the different places of origin. But which are these places? The supposition is ~~that it is~~ <sup>some of the fragments</sup> not impossible that ~~they partly~~ come from the places in which they are found. A Greek or even a non-Greek p.183] town without any fabrication of pottery seems to me hardly possible. A very considerable part of the heaps found is however surely imported. This ~~proves~~ is proved by the stamps. Jars marked by these stamps are thus elevated to become <sup>sources</sup> of history; the unmarked are nothing to us but curiosities. The stamped ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> made at Rhodes, Knidos, and Thasos, probably in lots of other Greek towns, but of the other Greek towns we know mostly not even the names; because their production was extremely small. One ~~of~~ <sup>or</sup> very few specimens found keeps <sup>alive</sup> vivid for us the memory of the pottery manufactures of Paros, Naxos, Colophon, Smyrna, and many still entirely unknown places of origin. However, more than 97% of



the present total quantity come from the three towns mentioned. Of these, Rhodes has the lion's share, nearly 73% of the total. As to the number of ~~the~~ handles gradually unearthed and found, that is much bigger than outsiders may think; counting for Rhodes I have already come to a total of 9860. Besides it must not be forgotten, ~~That positively there still~~ <sup>are many <sup>stamps</sup> of this kind <sup>still entirely</sup> unpublished</sup> (that is explicitly mentioned of quite a lot found on Delos, on Amorgos and at Gazer in Palestine) <sup>(1)</sup> ~~[note 1]~~, that otherwise <sup>can probably escape my</sup> ~~I probably did not~~ notice with the extreme spreading of the publications, and that moreover I ~~impossibly~~ <sup>9</sup> could not possibly <sup>Besides</sup> get some Russian and other publications, which ~~if~~ <sup>are also</sup> found mentioned. ~~Except~~ for these 9860 Rhodian, there ~~still come~~ <sup>are also</sup> about 2100 Knidian and 1650 Thasian jarstamps. The Knidian and the Thasian handles have a ~~little~~ <sup>somewhat</sup> different color <sup>tone from</sup> ~~than~~ the Rhodian, a different <sup>kind</sup> ~~nature~~ of clay, a different way of stamping, so that the expert has no difficulty in <sup>distinguishing</sup> ~~discriminating~~ the three kinds <sup>when dealing</sup> with complete examples; also with the <sup>majority</sup> ~~great~~ amount of incomplete examples [p.189] he succeeds mostly with enough certainty. <sup>(2)</sup> ~~[note 2]~~

<sup>has been said</sup> From what ~~is mentioned here~~ <sup>which have already been deduced long ago</sup> a few ~~already long ago deduced~~ conclusions can be made. First, that the export-trade of Rhodes was much bigger <sup>that</sup> than the ~~e.-t.~~ of Knidos or Thasos, a fact <sup>that</sup> that already <sup>and been</sup> ~~a priori~~ was established. But also in the second place, <sup>that</sup> just as in the middle ages <sup>to some extent</sup> and partly also in more recent times, certain towns were the headquarters of certain industries. In the ancient Greece, cheap, simple amphoras for the export-trade properly speaking only were made on three places; a monopolizing of the production, which as a matter of fact sufficiently is <sup>conformed</sup> ~~supported~~ for other Greek industries, for the fabrication of clay vases, of bronze pottery, of woven materials, etc. These amphoras were <sup>used</sup> in the first place ~~used~~ for the export of wine. Rhodes and Thasos were rich in wine; on page 427 of my Geschichte der alte Rhodier I have <sup>collected the references</sup> ~~put the places to~~ ~~gether~~, which prove that for Rhodes. There it is evident, that <sup>9</sup> of the



products of that island, nothing ~~in the least as often~~ <sup>nearly as often</sup> is mentioned <sup>as</sup>  
 wine, grapes and raisins. They also were used for oil, for salt, for fruits, <sup>(3)</sup>  
 for salted fish, also products, of which Rhodes had a surplus; they cer-  
 tainly also were exported to foreign countries, because there was a demand  
 for jars. The stamps, impressed on the handles ~~do not~~ <sup>do not</sup> have anything to do  
 with tax-collecting or with export control of the state, as ~~rather long~~ <sup>was</sup>  
~~generally is suspected~~ <sup>for rather a long time</sup> <sup>(4)</sup> <sup>were</sup> There have been long and somewhat tire-  
 some discussions, before the ~~intention~~ <sup>purpose</sup> of the stamping was  
 cleared up; it appears to me, that Nilsson ~~has got a firm stay-~~ <sup>conclusions will not</sup>  
~~ing result~~ <sup>be shaken</sup>. On every Greek jar, ~~indifferent from where~~ <sup>whatever its origin</sup> are  
~~the name of a manufacturer and a date stamped~~ <sup>stands is</sup> stamped. At Rhodes the  
 dating tells you even the ~~month~~ <sup>extension</sup>. This stamping on the handles  
 is an ~~annex~~ <sup>extension</sup>, probably ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> sequel, to the stamping of tiles. The  
 stock on hand, and the ~~already placed tiles~~ <sup>tiles</sup> <sup>set in place</sup> too, were stamped  
 to protect them against theft and ~~each kind of alienation~~ <sup>against being diverted in any other</sup>  
<sup>way from their proper purpose.</sup> On the tiles - it ~~is to be pre~~ can be proved - was stamped the  
 name of the building, for which they were destined, also the name  
 of the manufacturer, who ~~had~~ supplied them. ~~As~~ For jars, the  
 first ~~one~~ <sup>year</sup> was excluded, the name of the manufacturer how-  
 ever ~~had~~ was here valuable too. On both was the exact date stamped,  
 the year in which they were baked. ~~As for~~ <sup>On</sup> Rhodian jars, the month,  
 even, was mentioned. For mostly the owner of the ~~factory~~ <sup>factory</sup> ~~left the~~  
~~execution of his affairs to~~ <sup>interest perform</sup> by his foreman or manager. The stamping with  
 the month showed him an easy way to control the production of  
 every month. <sup>(5)</sup> ~~(note 5)~~. He ~~Through this~~ <sup>means he had also a surer way of</sup> ~~he also had a way to prevent~~  
~~theft of recently made jars~~ <sup>preventing the theft of newly made jars</sup>, because ~~he was used~~ <sup>it was his custom</sup> to sell the  
 older ones first; for the stamp of the month ~~indicated the~~ <sup>marked them as</sup> for  
 the time being, still unsold, as ~~supply~~ <sup>stock</sup> <sup>From</sup> out of fear for theft,



the stamping with the name of the manufacturer soon became a means for advertising. ~~As for jars, soon it certainly became that in the first place.~~ *this soon certainly became the primary purpose.*

- ✓ p. 191) So on each Rhodian jar three things are mentioned:
- 1°. The name of the manufacturer, or of <sup>the</sup> firm, which ran the pottery;
  - 2°. <sup>to fix the year,</sup> ~~as yearfixing~~ the name of the eponym<sup>s</sup> priest of Helios at Rhodos,
  - 3°. the name of a month.

These three indications are arbitrarily spread over the two handles of the jar <sup>(6)</sup> ~~(note 6)~~. The name of the priest of Helios is always found with the preposition ἐνι, <sup>for example</sup> so *ἐνι Ἀγερμάχου* at the time that *Agemachos* was eponymos; the names of the manufacturers and of the month <sup>are either</sup> stand at choice in the genitive or in the nominative. The stamps are <sup>rectangular</sup> ~~square~~ or round.

Before I begin to <sup>discuss</sup> ~~talk about~~ how these stamps can tell us much about <sup>the</sup> ~~direction~~ direction and duration of ~~the~~ Rhodian trade, a little digression about queer difficulties, which the reading and studying of <sup>their</sup> ~~its~~ inscriptions entail. Many of these stamped handles are broken, <sup>less than</sup> ~~not nearly~~ half of the names of priests and manufacturers <sup>come</sup> ~~come~~ to us complete. The happy finders, who edit them have to guess and fill the missing <sup>in</sup> ~~up~~ <sup>parts</sup> by conjecture. If they <sup>were</sup> ~~all~~ were well-informed on these studies, if they knew all the names of the <sup>found up to their time</sup> ~~up to their time~~ found priests and manufacturers, then they would at least have a basis to build further on. But mostly the case is as follows. This one or the other finds Ten or even fifty Rhodian stamps on jars. <sup>jar are found. The finder knows almost nothing</sup> He ~~does not~~ know nearly anything of the thousands already <sup>of similar inscriptions</sup> ~~far and wide~~ edited ~~into~~ inscriptions: the literature about the subject is indeed very difficult to gather



completely, even for <sup>anybody</sup> nobody. His specimens are damaged; so he <sup>often</sup> restores <sup>as well</sup> fills ~~as good~~ as possible; <sup>up</sup> ~~up~~, however, he makes <sup>up something</sup> it up somehow. Often the edition also is more or less intentionally careless; he is compelled to edit these things, because they have an antique origin, isn't he? but he does not understand that they <sup>p. 192</sup> can be of any real use, and concentrates all his <sup>editorial</sup> editors' care on more important inscriptions, which he <sup>has</sup> succeeded to <sup>in finding</sup> trace. It is true, that in the most recent decades there <sup>has been more</sup> ~~is been worked more~~ <sup>careful work</sup> ~~carefully~~, since it <sup>has been</sup> ~~is~~ realized, how useful these stamped names are for ~~the~~ history. But <sup>good edition excepted</sup> ~~except the good ones~~, many editors have delivered sad work. Indeed it is <sup>forgivable</sup> ~~to forgive~~. <sup>Most of the</sup> The inscriptions on the jars are not only broken or incomplete, but they are also often difficult to read. The manufacturers, who of course ~~did not~~ want to <sup>avoid</sup> ~~make big~~ expenses, <sup>used</sup> ~~used~~ very often dim and faint marks, with queer and wrong <sup>drawn</sup> letters. The stampcarvers too were partly dabblers, who by mistake carved the wrong letters, who through ignorance made blunders against the Greek spelling, who skipped parts of the names, carved other <sup>parts</sup> ~~pieces~~ double, etc. So <sup>he</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>So only if one has looked</sup> ~~who looks~~ through all material and has read all the 10000 stamps and has studied them, can <sup>one</sup> ~~with success~~ devote himself to correcting the readings which sometimes are so foolish and corrupt, and on the other hand <sup>make progress in</sup> ~~advance~~ this field. With <sup>to their credit</sup> ~~credit~~ I mention here the names of Becker, Stephany, Kaibel, Schuchhardt, of Hiller von Gärtringen, Bleckmann and Breccia, and above all of Nilsson, who <sup>in last</sup> ~~the latest~~ fifty years have <sup>acquired merit</sup> ~~gained~~ merits in this respect. Tens of corrections <sup>have</sup> ~~are~~ already <sup>been</sup> made by them, and others; but there still remain tens to make. I myself, who of course, at the time that I published the Rhodian Dialect-inscriptions in the collection of Collitz, made a contribution in this direction, <sup>in the course of a</sup> ~~found at the renewed~~ study of



this subject for the sake of this lecture, once more a chance to suggest more than a hundred other <sup>readings</sup> ~~versions~~. They will be published in an ~~annex~~ <sup>appendix</sup>.

At first now the direction of ~~the~~ Rhodian commerce will be <sup>taken up</sup> ~~mentioned~~; then follows a discussion about its flourishing period.

It is very easy to fix <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ direction. There are, (p. 193) As I said, ~~properly speaking only found stamped jars with Rhodian, Knidian or with Thasian origin.~~ <sup>are practically the only ones found</sup> If <sup>for</sup> a region or town, <sup>as exact as possible is calculated,</sup> how many jar inscriptions are found there and <sup>what percent of the total derived from each</sup> how between these three places of origin ~~these amounts in~~ <sup>size</sup> percents are divided, then you know the ~~bigness~~ <sup>size</sup> of the Rhodian trade. <sup>To this method there is</sup> This research ~~has~~ <sup>only</sup> this objection, that Rhodes ~~only~~ <sup>to be</sup> is compared with <sup>only</sup> two towns and not with other centers of commerce. We also ~~only-learn nothing else than only the bigness in~~ <sup>but the size of</sup> the trade in jars. But I consider it very likely, that the jars in question ~~have been~~ <sup>were</sup> a very important export ~~article~~, if not the most important, for these three towns; it seems to me not less possible, that the direction, which the trade in jars took, was the same for other articles.

I will begin with an investigation of Sicily. Jarstamps <sup>from here</sup> ~~are already~~ <sup>as early as</sup> studied and published in 1558 (by Fazelli), moreover ~~it~~ <sup>this</sup> is the country, that already in the seventh century traded with Rhodes; for just there, so far from home, ~~has~~ Rhodes built its biggest colonies, Gela and indirectly Agrigentum. Kaibel published the jarstamps of Sicily together with those of Italy (IG XIV 2393). He gives under 610 numbers 1885 stamps, among them 602 Sicilian. <sup>What</sup> Which origin do these have? "Prae titulorum rhodiorum multitudine onidii parii thasii paucissimi vix apparent". So writes Kaibel just-



ly in his preface. To be very precise, it is found, that of the 602 jarinscriptions, successively collected <sup>in</sup> on Sicily, 4 are Knidian ( S 170, 212, 239 and 255 ), none Thasian, none Parian and 30 or 40 <sup>are</sup> uncertain. The rest <sup>are certainly</sup> is surely Rhodian. With this result <sup>one may say</sup> it is said with a clear conscience, that the import of Rhodian amphorae <sup>practically</sup> got ~~as good as~~ no competition from Knidos and Thasos.

p. 191 In Italy it is the same. Kaibel <sup>publishes 3</sup> gives 288 stamps, nearly all from Tarento, Brindisium and Rhegium. He has forgotten 23 from Praeneste, which Henzen published in the BI 1865, 72 <sup>pp.</sup> ~~his~~. Of the 306 handles, are three Knidian ( S 79, 120 and 339 ), about twenty uncertain, and the rest all Rhodian.

\*  
For Praeneste

The preponderance of Rhodes comes more overwhelmingly <sup>to light</sup> at ~~light~~ <sup>in</sup> Carthage. Of the 331 stamps (to <sup>be found</sup> find in C and BCT 1902, 1904 and 1907) about twenty are uncertain; the rest <sup>are</sup> is Rhodian.

We have <sup>almost</sup> nearly no stamps from <sup>from</sup> south France, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, no more from the partly with Rhodian colonists populated town Cyrene, <sup>a town populated partly with Rhodian colonists.</sup>

So the result about the west of the Mediterranean is, that Thasian amphora trade did not exist there, that the Knidian was extremely little, the Rhodian supreme.

Egypt, Syria and Cypros form again <sup>a unit.</sup> an uniformity. Although the trade from Rhodes is very preponderant here, it is not as dominating as in the West. From Alexandria ( the rest of Egypt has <sup>almost</sup> nearly nothing <sup>up to the present</sup> supplied until now ) we now know 479 stamps gathered by Stoddart from 1842-44 ( Transactions Royal Society of Literature, Second Series III, 1-127; IV, 1-67 ), 970 which <sup>Neroutsos</sup> ~~Neroticus~~ published in 1875 ( N 226 ~~comp.~~ ), 82, in the same year



published by Miller (Ra 1875, 378 <sup>comp.</sup>), 634 from several works of Botti, and still about 200 <sup>more scattered</sup> from spreaded publications (A. pp. 74-85; Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien 1871, 125-129; 1874, 16-23; etc.). <sup>gives</sup> Botti certainly, Miller probably, Neroutsos <sup>perhaps, include</sup> ~~gives maybe~~ stamps, which <sup>had been</sup> ~~earlier~~ <sup>earlier</sup> were published. So it is ~~impossible~~ <sup>impossible</sup> to come here to a definite total number; presumably there are in total about 2100 specimens. <sup>of</sup> From that, are <sup>±30</sup> Thasian, about 350 Knidian, 100 uncertain and about 1620 Rhodian, that is, 80%.

The Syrian, or <sup>more</sup> precisely ~~described~~, the Palestinian stamps, published by Macalister and others (in PEF 1900-1904; Clermont-<sup>Gan-</sup>neau, Archaeol. Researches in Palestine II, 148 <sup>ff.</sup>), are 358 <sup>±</sup> in number, the Cyprians 264 (in BI 1870, 202 <sup>ff.</sup>; Ra 1873, 317 <sup>ff.</sup>); Hall <sup>pp.</sup> 389-397; The Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, Descriptive Atlas III Suppl. Greek Inscriptions n. 72-104; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, A catalogue of the Cyprus <sup>Mu</sup>Museum, Oxford 1899, 95 <sup>ff.</sup>). Of these 622 <sup>items</sup> numbers, are about 80 % Rhodian, the rest <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ uncertain ( anyway the very incomplete publications make this seem so to us ); only <sup>a</sup> very few specimens are <sup>certainly</sup> ~~for sure~~ Knidian or Thasian.

The island Rhodes itself has supplied a huge number of stamps. In the first place there is the huge supply number of stamps tremendous supply, which <sup>was</sup> recently ~~is~~ found at Lindos by the Danes and so ~~exemplary~~ <sup>in so exemplary a manner</sup> published by Nilsson; further, the more than 1000 handles, which Newton transported from the <sup>city of</sup> ~~town~~ Rhodes to the British Museum, and which Miss C. Aemilia Hutton listed and described ( IG XII 1, 1065 <sup>ff.</sup> ); further, the 212 stamps, also from the <sup>city of</sup> ~~town~~ Rhodes, lately published by Johannes Paris in the Melanges Holleaux (pp. 153 <sup>ff.</sup> ); <sup>finally,</sup> ~~at last~~ some smaller collections ( <sup>among others</sup> <sup>^</sup> AM 21, 57 <sup>ff.</sup> ).



Of the  $\pm$  4300 specimens, there are <sup>less than</sup> not even 100 Knidian or uncertain, and in total there are only 8 Thasian. Of course this result was to <sup>be</sup> expected.

We own <sup>have</sup> 882 jarstamps from Pergamum (F 766). Among them, are 819 Rhodian, 20 Thasian, 8 Knidian, 1 Parian, 2 from Smyrna, 32 uncertain. So again a preponderance in favor of Rhodes <sup>for</sup> more than 90 %.

We have <sup>other</sup> ~~got~~ too few specimens from towns on the coast of <sup>Asia Minor</sup> Little Asia, from the Sporades and the Cyclades, than that we here <sup>to</sup> can make conclusions, here.

<sup>Up to this point, the figures have had a tedious monotony.</sup>  
The result was until now burdensome monotonous. The Rhodian amphora-commerce is nearly without a rival in the <sup>western</sup> West of the Mediterranean; in the East, and in the districts, which surround Rhodes, it is so preponderant, <sup>draws up to</sup> that it pulls to 85 or 90 % of the total. But quite ~~an~~ other picture appears at once in <sup>of</sup> real Greece, <sup>itself</sup> anyway at least in the only town of Greece, from <sup>which</sup> where we <sup>have</sup> possess more than very few jarstamps—<sup>this</sup> at Athens. The number of <sup>long</sup> such kind of inscriptions <sup>is</sup> just there very <sup>big</sup>: in 1872 Dumont (already published there more than 2200 (Inscriptions ceramiques <sup>de</sup> the Grèce, Paris 1872)). According to him there are 347 Rhodian among them. He was not competent ~~enough~~ to edit such a big collection; for he does not even know how properly to <sup>distinguish</sup> discriminate the Knidian from the Rhodian stamps. Yet roughly his <sup>report</sup> statement may be <sup>reliable</sup> faithful: isn't he just as <sup>generous in declaring</sup> liberal to declare Rhodian <sup>that</sup> what is Knidian, as to <sup>in publishing</sup> publish a Knidian <sup>piece</sup> jar which is Rhodian. So here <sup>in</sup> at Athens only 15 % Rhodian stamps. The rest <sup>are</sup> is Knidian, <sup>except for</sup> besides 124 Thasian and about 300 uncertain. <sup>Who</sup> after getting acquainted with Dumont's way of wor-



king, wants to see his results <sup>some confirmation of</sup> fortified, <sup>confirmed</sup> must consider, that much later a <sup>series</sup> number of 98 stamps <sup>was</sup> is sent from Attica to Dresden; ← Grundmann examined them ( Grpp. 279 ff. ) and found <sup>to</sup> that here too ~~from~~ the 98 stamps, only 14 are Rhodian. A little collection, gathered six years later ( AM 21, 127 ff. ), gave again the same result. So it may be admitted that the Rhodian trade <sup>to</sup> on Attica ( and ~~on~~ the rest of Greece ) <sup>was of</sup> ~~more~~ much less <sup>significance than that to</sup> than on the ~~far~~ districts <sup>to the</sup> in west, east, or south directions.

<sup>There</sup> Remains at last South Russia. More than 3000 amphorenhandles <sup>have</sup> appeared gradually among the ruins of the Greek towns on the north coast of the Black Sea. They are distributed over many government <sup>d</sup> and private collections and published in a lot of periodicals <sup>d</sup> and books. They are summed up in my " Rhodian Dialect inscriptions ( p. 571 ) and the newest supply <sup>in</sup> at Nilsson ( Lpp. 41, ff. ) The result is this, that of those <sup>±</sup> 3000 stamps ( given the standard of some publications, it is here, <sup>possible</sup> no more <sup>in</sup> than at Alexandria, <sup>by</sup> in Palestine, ~~on~~ Cyprus or ~~at~~ Athens, impossible to give ~~quite~~ exact numbers ), that of these more than 3000 stamps only about 1200 are Rhodian, 1500 Thasian, and 200 Knidian. About 100 uncertain. Here - <sup>The island of Thasos (which is very close by) comes</sup> and only here - comes the ~~moreover~~ closest situated island Thasos strongly <sup>to</sup> on the fore and surpasses Rhodes, <sup>though less than</sup> ~~just as~~ Knidos did at Athens.

With our knowledge on this subject, we can not <sup>state</sup> mention the ~~causes~~ with certainty, why the Rhodian trade <sup>to</sup> on Greece and on the ~~coast~~ <sup>on the shores</sup> countries of the Black Sea was less important than elsewhere. We can only guess. To me it is the most likely solution, that Rhodes as an commerce <sup>d</sup> state came rather late to prosperity. ~~Earlier,~~ Before, Miletos, Chalcis, Corinth, Aegina, Athens, successively had been ~~the~~ first in trading. For Rhodes, <sup>which</sup> ~~that~~ moreover was situ-



ated in a remote corner of the antique Greek world, it was difficult to gain ground in districts, where it was not known as a commerce country and where others already had <sup>settled</sup> ~~tagged~~ themselves. Therefore it turned to far abroad and to the districts, which <sup>only</sup> ~~at first~~ <sup>beginning with</sup> since the fourth century were opened more and more.

Now comes the question, <sup>what</sup> ~~how~~ the course of ~~the~~ Rhodian commerce was and when it developed most strongly. This question, as far as it is connected with the stamps on amphorae, is ~~less or more~~ <sup>more or less seriously</sup> ~~serious~~ faced by Schuchhardt, later on <sup>deliberately</sup> ~~purpose~~ intentional by Bleckmann in his book "De Inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis rhodiis," Gottingae 1907, and further in the article in Klio XII (1912), pp. 249-258. <sup>with</sup> ~~which~~ this research, however, where the solidity of the building stones is not very <sup>reliable</sup> ~~faithful~~, <sup>then</sup> it is a duty to be very exact, and the material must in the first place be brought together as complete <sup>as</sup> possible. Of course it must be taken as a fact, <sup>is stamped</sup> that on each Rhodian jar the name of a priest, ~~is stamped~~, who in a fixed year was - which indicates a fixed year. (pp. 198) <sup>An attempt must be made</sup> ~~It must be tried as much~~ to fix chronologically as many as possible of those priests, in total 269, distributed on 10000 stamps. <sup>are we to arrive at this?</sup> ~~How to reach this?~~ because none of these many appears ~~at~~ in our Greek and Latin authors, not one name of a Rhodian priest of Helios, or one name of a manufacturer is mentioned. Searching in the endless supply of Greek inscriptions for documents, which are dated according to Rhodian eponymi, <sup>ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ θεῶν</sup> ~~at the time~~ that this one or <sup>that</sup> ~~this~~ one was a priest of Helios at Rhodes, ~~there are found~~ <sup>one finds</sup> 28, of course mostly on inscriptions of the island itself. With a little knowledge of the subject, <sup>one succeeds in</sup> ~~the~~ fixing of the date of all these 28 is succeeded rather exactly, of some even very precise. <sup>if you search for as large as possible a find of</sup> ~~Now searching for for an as big as possible, close~~ <sup>Rhodian stamps belonging closely together</sup> ~~together belonging discovery of~~ Rhodian stamps, you will find the



discovery of Pergamum, by Carl Schuchhardt (published) on p. 423 of Part II of the "Inscriptionen von Pergamon", 882 stamps, all found together <sup>as rubbish & surplus</sup> ~~as ruins for an~~ foundation of a house on <sup>slanting</sup> ground, and apparently all <sup>deposited at</sup> put off on the same time. Indeed before this <sup>large discovery of material belonging together,</sup> ~~big, together belonging discovery,~~ a research <sup>an investigation of the present</sup> as this present <sup>as most accurately as possible</sup> case was impossible. Now it is important to fix the time to which this discovery belongs. This <sup>can be done</sup> ~~becomes practicable~~ by tracing how many, and which, priests turn up at Pergamum, who appear at the same time among the 28, <sup>whose names appear in ordinary</sup> ~~who are to read on the normal~~ inscriptions, and of whose <sup>dates</sup> ~~time~~ we mostly know. <sup>When an approximate date has been</sup> ~~Is the time so estimated,~~ then <sup>established in this way, then</sup> ~~all~~ priests of the discovery are to be counted. Then <sup>our must settle</sup> ~~is to be made~~ sure, how many times each of these priests appear among all the 10 000 Rhodian stamps, which we possess from far and near. <sup>Are</sup> ~~Are~~ nearly all <sup>occur frequently</sup> ~~found often~~ among that mass, then ~~was~~ of course the commerce of Rhodes <sup>was</sup> flourishing <sup>in</sup> at their time; <sup>if the reverse</sup> ~~is the case~~ the ~~opposite~~, then ~~was~~ it flagging at that time. Happily this investigation brings very clear results.

So the pivot on which everything turns, is the chronological fixing of the discovery at Pergamum. That discovery - <sup>has been</sup> ~~as is said~~ - <sup>consists</sup> ~~exists~~ of 882 stamps. (p. 199) <sup>Of</sup> ~~Among~~ these, <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ 819 Rhodian, and on these 819 <sup>stamps</sup> ~~are found~~ 44 names of priests and 63 <sup>names</sup> ~~of~~ manufacturers. These priests are, <sup>at the</sup> ~~at~~ most 60 or 70 years <sup>earlier</sup> ~~older~~ than the <sup>date of the</sup> ~~discovery~~; nobody postpones <sup>the clearing away of</sup> ~~longer to clear~~ old winejars ~~away~~. When did they live? Schuchhardt supposed about 180; then, he said, Pergamum was most <sup>our</sup> ~~prospering~~ and most powerful, at that time Rhodes too was at the top of its glory. That the <sup>find</sup> ~~discovery~~ dates from a time <sup>when</sup> ~~that~~ there was <sup>follows</sup> ~~considerable~~ <sup>commercial traffic</sup> ~~commerce~~ between Rhodes and Pergamum, ~~ensues~~ among other things from the fact, that the names of several priests turn up 10-20 times, even 25 times among those 819 stamps, so several years are represented 25 times.



<sup>those</sup> All <sup>express</sup> who had to ~~utter~~ their opinion after Schuchhardt, agreed with his dating; however, it is not certain. Pergamum and Rhodes both ~~have~~ existed and even flourished before and after that time. More certainty can be gathered along other roads. An inscription from Seleucia <sup>on</sup> ~~the~~ Calycadnus <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ found by Heberdey and Wilhelm, <sup>and recently</sup> ~~late~~ published by me in the Greek Dialektinscriptions as n. 3751. <sup>The stone contains</sup> Four Rhodian ~~honorary~~ decrees ~~are communicated~~ in ~~honor~~ favor of <sup>Eudemos</sup> Εὐδήμος, the son of <sup>Nikon</sup> Νικων, a citizen of Seleucia and obviously an influential friend of a king Antiochus of Syria. The king has promised <sup>large</sup> ~~big~~ presents to the Rhodians <sup>to support</sup> ~~in favor of~~ their fleet; <sup>Eudemos</sup> Εὐδήμος is stimulated to hasten the payments of those presents. This inscription ~~is~~ according to the finders- and it appears to me <sup>that</sup> the copy, which they give of it, <sup>indicates the</sup> ~~point at~~ <sup>same</sup> ~~it~~ - is <sup>definitely</sup> ~~absolutely~~ of the first half of the second century; then only two kings Antiochus can be taken in <sup>in</sup> consideration, Antiochus the III, ~~the~~ the Great (223- 187), and Antiochus IV (175 - 163). The first however, lived in feud and war with the Rhodians, the faithful allies of the Romans; so Antiochus IV <sup>rests</sup> remains. That means that the inscription is of one of the years between 175 and 163. Fortunately it <sup>is one of</sup> ~~belongs to~~ the very few Rhodian inscriptions with a date; it is namely from the year of the priest of Helios <sup>Damokles</sup> Δαμοκλῆς, the son of <sup>Dameas</sup> Δαμεας (Επιτελεως Δαμοκλῆους <sup>του Δαμεως</sup>). <sup>Among the big long</sup> ~~Among the big long~~ discovery of jarstamps at Pergamum there is <sup>almost</sup> ~~nearly~~ no priest we meet so frequently as just this <sup>Damokles</sup> Δαμοκλῆς. Among the 819 R. stamps he appears not less than 21 times. Only 3 of the 44 surpass him in this respect <sup>(note 7)</sup> ~~(note 7)~~. As it is obvious, <sup>when the fragments were swept together</sup> ~~that at the clearing away the amphorans of the most recent years on an average still~~ <sup>were as a whole</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>the most common of those still on hand</sup> ~~were in the biggest number on hand~~, it must probably have happened soon after his priesthood, so the date of the clearing away must have been about 165.



Along another way we come to the same result. The most to the prominent Rhodian politicians of the second century are Theaidetos and his son Astymedes. Both are again and again mentioned by Polybius (look at the index at Hultsch), Astymedes for the first time in the year 171 and further as Rhodian ambassador at Rome in the years 167, 164 and 153. It is not stated to read in Polybius, that he is a son of Theaidetos, but it appears almost certain from inscriptions (EAR 3, 69; GDI 4205<sub>2</sub>; IG XII 1, 163<sub>2</sub>). Blinkenberg has taken it as a fact (EAR 3, 70), and I agree readily with him. Now there exists a priest of Helios Astymedes, a wellknown eponymus, for his name appears not less than 49 times on jarstamps. His name also appears in an inscription (IG XII 3, 103<sub>8</sub>), a passage which I have not either in Blinkenberg or anywhere else. Is this Blinkenberg, or at anybody else have found mentioned. Is this priest of Helios now the same as the politician? Yes, says Blinkenberg, and it seems likely to me too. For the name Astymedes is not common ordinary and the six or seven other bearers of this name at Rhodes (GDI 3751<sub>2,5</sub>; 3791<sub>86</sub>; 3791<sub>164</sub>; 3853<sub>2</sub>; 3875<sub>3</sub>; 4157<sub>70</sub>; 4198<sub>15</sub>) are still obscure. Along two ways, however, we know rather precisely the year of the priesthood of Astymedes, the priest of Helios. The just mentioned inscription IG XII 3, 103<sub>8</sub> is an epitaph with statue, erected by grieving grandchildren for a grandfather and made by Epicharmus of Soli. Epicharmus sculptured also still in the first century (look at see GDI 3792<sub>15</sub>; 3802<sub>12</sub>; 4200<sub>11</sub>). He was perquam iuvenis says Hiller von Göttingen, the publisher of this inscription, when he sculptured this statue, and I believe it gladly. But even in that case it can hardly have been before 140 or 130. The grandfather in question, whose career is glorified on the memorial, had risen to be στρατηγός, head officer, κατά πολέμον τον Κρητικόν επί Αστυμεδίου. Hiller presumes, that with this war between Rhodes and Crete, the one of 154 - 151 is meant, which Polybius describes in his 33<sup>d</sup>



book. This guess~~ing~~ is indeed very acceptable. So, then <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Astymedes~~ was priest of Helios in 153 or thereabout. It becomes still more likely, when we consider, that, again according to Polybius, just <sup>(33,15)</sup> ~~just~~ <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Astymedes~~ was delegated to Rome by the Rhodians, to explain the quarrel between Rhodes and Crete in the senate. Who could be more <sup>properly</sup> considered for this post <sup>than</sup> ~~as~~ the eponymus of the state? A second path leads to the same year 153. Blinkenberg mentions on the <sup>passage</sup> ~~place~~ which I just quoted, that he has found an inscription at Lindos (he ~~did~~ <sup>was</sup> not publish it yet), that proves irrefutably ~~cross~~, how exactly in the year 154 <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Astymedes~~ was priest of Athana Linda at Lindos. As a rule the priesthood of Helios at Rhodes and that of Athana at Lindos, these two highest <sup>attractions</sup> ~~lures~~ for Rhodian political <sup>al</sup> ~~ambition~~, were mostly <sup>attained</sup> ~~occupied~~ by <sup>the same</sup> ~~one~~ person. So <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Astymedes~~ was priest of Helios between 155 -150. Now it is remarkable that of 49 jarstamps, which we <sup>have with his name</sup> ~~own~~ of him, not one appears in the big find of Pergamum. The <sup>readiest</sup> ~~most at hand~~ being explanation is <sup>still</sup> ~~yet~~ that, when these jars were cleared away, <sup>Astymedes had not yet been</sup> ~~Astymedes~~ was not yet priest of Helios. He <sup>held this office</sup> ~~was it~~ however shortly after 155; the dating agrees with this clearing away at about 165. (p. 202)

p. 202

### Theaidetos

His father ~~Θραϊδης~~ <sup>from</sup> however, appears most positively on the jars at Pergamum. We know <sup>from</sup> ~~by~~ Polybius (30, 22), that this politician died at Rome in the year 167, more than 80 years old. Further, ~~learned~~ this unpublished inscription of Blinkenberg, which I just mentioned, <sup>informs us</sup> that he was priest of Athana Linda at Lindos in 188. If he too ~~has~~ obtained the priesthood of Helios, then ~~was~~ that probably at about the same time. It is however <sup>in</sup> ~~un~~thinkable that a politician of his note <sup>held that office</sup> ~~(not)~~ should have ~~been that~~. Moreover, we know a priest of Helios ~~Θραϊδης~~ <sup>Theaidetos</sup> ~~from~~ 44 jarstamps. Is he <sup>the one</sup> ~~that~~? of course yes!. For the name ~~Θραϊδης~~ <sup>Theaidetos</sup> is so rare, that we know



none elsewhere, at Rhodes only two <sup>others of the same name</sup> namesakes of him, an ancestor <sup>(GDI 4154)</sup> and descendant (EAR 3, 73; GDI 3810 b<sub>1</sub>). In our editions of Polybius he is then also called obstinately <sup>wrong</sup> ~~Οιδιόντος~~, unjust but more common, although <sup>no</sup> all Rhodian inscriptions <sup>support</sup> ~~condemns~~ this name. <sup>appellation</sup> giving (EAR 3, 69; GDI 4205<sub>2</sub>; IG XII 1, 163<sub>2</sub>). Now we go again back with this <sup>Trechidatos</sup> ~~Οιδιόντος~~ to the find at Pergamum. <sup>Trechidatos</sup> If the discovery dates from about 165, and <sup>in</sup> ~~Οιδιόντος~~ was priest of Helios at about 190, then he must appear several times on the Pergamian handles. Indeed, of the 44 stamps we possess of him, 12 come from Pergamum.

But, still more certain than the proof, which <sup>Daniels</sup> ~~Δαμοκλῆς~~ or <sup>Astymede</sup> ~~Ἀβτομενδῆς~~ or <sup>Trechidatos</sup> ~~Οιδιόντος~~ can produce <sup>for</sup> us, is that, which is connected with the priest <sup>Anchidamos</sup> ~~Ἀνχιδάμος~~. An inscription <sup>was</sup> found under the ruins of the temple of Zeus Panamarus near Stratonicea in Caria; the <sup>most</sup> ~~best~~ <sup>accessible</sup> ~~approachable~~ edition is the one of Michel 479. That inscription begins with the dating <sup>by</sup> ~~Ἐπ' ἱερέως~~ <sup>Trechidatos</sup> ~~Ἀνχιδάμου~~. Just that dating <sup>for</sup> through a Rhodian priest of Helios makes it certain, that it originates from the time, that Stratonicea was <sup>subject</sup> ~~submissive~~ to Rhodes. The content, an honour-decree for an <sup>retired</sup> ~~Rhodian abdicated~~ <sup>στ. στρατῶν</sup> ~~priest of Helios~~, confirms that too, if necessary. (p. 203). When <sup>subject</sup> ~~was~~ (however) Stratonicea <sup>subject</sup> ~~submissive~~ to Rhodes? We know that exactly: in 188 the Romans presented the town to Rhodes, in 166 they took their gift back. Never before or after was this <sup>condition</sup> ~~submissively~~ repeated. So <sup>Anchidamos</sup> ~~Ἀνχιδάμος~~ was priest in one of the years between 188 and 166. Of this eponymus we own 56 jar inscriptions, among them the rather <sup>large</sup> ~~big~~ number of 16 <sup>have</sup> that appeared at Pergamum. Does that not beautifully harmonize with what we just found, that the stamps at Pergamum were cleared away in ~~165~~ <sup>166</sup>?

Because of the fact that it is of great importance to know <sup>definitely</sup> as certain as possible the exact date of the clearing away, I will

But of the Rhodian inscription found near Stratonicea - don't suppose Stratonicea was subject to Rhodes?

(Obviously this is an autograph of 166.)



also <sup>speech</sup> talk of five other priests, who can be of use for this. ~~At~~  
First, <sup>Eukles</sup> Εὐκλῆς. He appears on an inscription, which, although it  
was published only two years ago, <sup>now</sup> already <sup>is</sup> famous, that is,  
the " Chronicle of Lindos ". There we read (EAR 6, 340, D 40 ),  
that the temple of Athana Linda burned down, when <sup>Eukles</sup> Εὐκλῆς, the son of

<sup>Astyanaktidas</sup> Ἀστυνανκτίδας, was priest of Helios (ἱππῆτος ἡλίου τοῦ Ἀλίου Εὐκλέου τοῦ  
<sup>Ἀστυνανκτίδα</sup> Ἀστυνανκτίδα ). Blinkenberg <sup>has</sup> in his comment on this inscription (<sup>pp. 448 ff.</sup> pp. 448 ff.)  
in an excellent argument, which is built up from several historical  
data, <sup>practically</sup> almost proved, that this fire took place <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ about 335. Who  
still ~~may~~ doubts, should <sup>in</sup> further read EAR 2, 65 ff.; there Kinch deve-  
lops on architectural grounds, long before the Chronicle of  
Lindos was known, that the new <sup>in ruins</sup> ~~raised~~ temple of Athana Linda, now  
still as <sup>Eukles</sup> ~~ruin~~ existing, dates from the second half of the fourth  
century. So <sup>Eukles</sup> Εὐκλῆς was priest of Helios <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ about 335. I know 16 jar-  
stamps of him <sup>(8)</sup> ~~(note 8)~~. None of these 16 are found at Pergamum.  
If this <sup>were</sup> otherwise, then this <sup>discovery</sup> ~~discovery~~ could hardly <sup>date</sup> ~~have been~~  
from about 165. ( p. 204 ) Now this is just the result, which  
could be expected a priori.

<sup>Eukles</sup> This Εὐκλῆς, in contrast with the four formerly mentioned,  
also does not appear on the stamps of the second <sup>large group</sup> ~~big~~ <sup>one speaks</sup> ~~together be-~~  
~~longing~~ discovery, the one at Carthage. Or can there be spoken of  
a <sup>large group</sup> ~~big find~~, since the number of the Pergamian jar inscriptions is  
<sup>three times</sup> ~~thrice~~ as big as the number of the <sup>three found at Carthage</sup> ~~Carthagians~~? And above all  
things - what is more important - can the Carthagian find be called  
<sup>a connected group</sup> ~~"together belonging"~~? The case is this. In the last twenty years  
of the 19<sup>th</sup> century successively 331 Greek jarstamps were found at  
Carthage. They were published in several <sup>numbers</sup> ~~files~~ of the Revue Tuni-  
sienne, of the Bulletin Archéologique du comité des travaux histo-  
riques, of the Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions and



of local periodicals<sup>DP</sup> which are inaccessible to me. <sup>Afterward they</sup> ~~Later they are~~  
~~were combined~~ <sup>to be Rhodian</sup> ~~together placed~~ <sup>earliest</sup> in the III<sup>d</sup> Supplement volume of the VIII<sup>th</sup> part  
of the CIL, under n. 22639 (by Dessau in 1904. Dessau gives 266  
inscriptions, all Rhodian; at least, <sup>none can be proved not</sup> ~~if none is the opposite to~~  
<sup>prove.</sup> In the ~~oldest~~ <sup>earliest</sup> announcements of the discovery <sup>is</sup> claimed,  
that the greatest<sup>s</sup> part of these stamps form a unit. Delattre  
describes in the BCT of 1894, pp. 89<sup>(16.)</sup> a wall <sup>of the period</sup> ~~from the time of~~  
August<sup>with an</sup> interior filled <sup>in</sup> ~~up with~~ amphorae and <sup>amphora fragments</sup> ~~sherds of them~~. At  
the same time he points out (p. 92 and 107), why they must be much  
older than August<sup>P</sup> and must <sup>derive</sup> ~~origin~~ from the time of the Punic  
Carthage. How many of the total 226 belong together, and which  
exactly, he does not <sup>mention, any</sup> ~~say~~ more than anybody else. For-  
tunately the mutual connection <sup>can be proved</sup> ~~is to prove~~ from the stamps them-  
selves. Bleckmann<sup>has</sup> already called ~~the~~ attention to the fact, that the  
stamps at Carthage and those at Pergamum apparently are from  
about the same time. Of the 42 priests of Helios, which are men-  
tioned on the jars at Carthage, 30 <sup>occur</sup> ~~return~~ at Pergamum, while only  
✓ 14 Pergam<sup>um</sup> names are missed<sup>in</sup> at Carthage (note 9). (p. 205) Such  
a harmony between two masses of Rhodian jarstamps is nowhere else  
to <sup>be found</sup> ~~find~~. Which <sup>find</sup> ~~discovery~~ is <sup>later</sup> ~~younger~~, the Pergam<sup>um</sup> or the Carthagian<sup>e?</sup>  
To decide that, the priest of Helios <sup>Asymedes</sup> ~~Asymedes~~ can again be useful,  
<sup>about</sup> ~~of~~ whom <sup>have</sup> we just settled, that he occupied the priesthood in 153  
or thereabout. We possess 49 stamps of him. None of them <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ found  
at Pergamum; in the discovery of Carthage however, which <sup>was less</sup> ~~is not~~  
<sup>than</sup> ~~even~~ a third <sup>the size</sup> ~~part~~ big, he appears twice. So, the stamps at Carthage  
fall partly after about 165 and of course do not reach further ~~the~~  
than 149, the year, that <sup>must inevitably</sup> ~~inexorable~~ must have finished all <sup>Rhodian</sup> ~~vim-~~  
<sup>port</sup> ~~in~~ that town.

Now, after <sup>um</sup> for these reasons the Pergam<sup>um</sup> jars are ~~placed~~ <sup>at</sup>







<sup>Damainetos</sup>  
<sup>Δαμαινέτος</sup>, an other eponym<sup>us</sup> priest, <sup>was</sup> is already long been known through the inscription in honour of the <sup>Δεξιέρις</sup> Δεξιέρις Dionysodoros of Alexandria (GDI 3836). That is dated according to his priesthood. Kellermann, Franz, Boeckh, Hiller von <sup>GÄRTRINGEN</sup> GÄRTRINGEN, all publishers of this inscription, agree ~~with~~ that it dates from the second century. They ~~express this meaning~~ <sup>dated it thus</sup> long before ~~there was~~ anything known about the finds at Pergamum and Carthage. For this <sup>Damainetos</sup> ~~Δαμαινέτος~~ (he is missing at Pergamum) appears twice at Carthage (C54; BCT 1902. 447 n. 1). In future he may be placed at about 160.

<sup>Sosibios</sup>  
 The priest <sup>Σωσίβιος</sup> Σωσίβιος in the same case. He appears <sup>in</sup> on an inscription (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1270), that ~~according to the writing~~ <sup>is placed by letter forms</sup> ~~is settled~~ in the second century, maybe in the beginning of the first. The evidence of the jars agrees with that. For he is found in Carthage <sup>(BCT 1904. 489 n. 41)</sup>, not in Pergamum. So he is <sup>too</sup> from  $\pm$  160. He is found 37 times on jarstamps.

<sup>Anatophanes</sup>  
 Finally the priest <sup>Ἀνατοφάνης</sup> Ἀνατοφάνης. He indicates the year on an inscription of the Rhodians in honour of the <sup>city of</sup> ~~town~~ Cyzicus (now GDI n. 3752). Boeckh, the deserving publisher of this stone, places him in the second century B.C.; at the time I ~~have not been able~~ <sup>was not</sup> to add ~~anything~~ <sup>anything</sup> in my edition to this ~~rather dim dating~~ <sup>narrow somewhat this</sup>, what ~~makes it shrink a little~~ <sup>rather vague dating</sup>. <sup>Anatophanes</sup> Ἀνατοφάνης appears also on jarstamps, 51 times. Among them 8 ~~are~~ <sup>were</sup> found at Pergamum (P 867-874) and three at Carthage (C 1b and 28; BCT 1904, 484 n. 6). <sup>This</sup> ~~That~~ agrees with Boeckh's dating of the Rhodian- Cyzician honour decree and with my dating of the Pergamian <sup>in</sup> and <sup>Carthage</sup> Rhodian finds. Now however Boeckh's dating ~~can~~ <sup>may</sup> be limited and only the first half of the second century <sup>need</sup> ~~can~~ be considered, to be more precise -about the year 175.



What does it help us, that we so searching and searching have estimated the date of the find at Pergamum rather precise, that we know about the time of the Carthagian stamps? Very much of course. For the 56 priests and 76 manufacturers, ~~who are~~ mentioned at Pergamum and Carthage, can now safely be placed at a time, which at the most goes back ~~till~~ <sup>un</sup> 60 years before the Pergamian discovery; so they belong to the years between 225 and 149. After a moment ~~the~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~there~~ will be proved, ~~that~~ literally all these priests and these manufacturers appear extremely often in our common stamp supply of 10 000 pieces, so that the period of 225 ~~till~~ 150 must have been the great flourishing time of ~~the~~ Rhodian trade. At first it is ~~no~~ however possible to distribute them a little <sup>unprecisely</sup> ~~preciser~~ over the period in question and also to <sup>increase their number</sup> ~~enlarge their amount~~ somewhat. For those among them, who appear more than ten times at Pergamum, we can with great probability place between 190 and 165 and those, who appear often or only at Pergamum Carthage, seldom <sup>on</sup> at Pergamum, may be from about 170 - 150. Those, who sporadically are found at Pergamum, not at all at Carthage, must very likely be placed between 225 and 190. The results are here of course more certain for the priests than for the manufacturers: the names of the priests represent each only one year, the manufacturers' names a lifetime, maybe sometimes several lifetimes, the life of a firm <sup>(10)</sup> ~~(note 10)~~. As to the enlargement of the number of 56 priests and 76 manufacturers, that can also be attained along another way for the 75 years in question. A few complete Rhodian jars <sup>have been found</sup> ~~are found~~ a gain; the names of priest and ~~and~~ manufacturer, which appear on them belong of course together, they lived at the same time. It also occurs, although very seldom, that on the same handle of a jar, the name of a priest and the name of a manufacturer are stamped next to each other. We know of these two <sup>categories</sup> ~~subdivisions~~ together

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Note 10  
Only 20 or 30 copies  
the stamp  
man from  
manufacturers  
as very often  
Dionysius, 195  
Agallou  
The firm lived  
longer than its  
founder



about 80 <sup>instances</sup> ~~cases~~ on 10 000 jarstamps. 62 ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> useful for our purpose (note 11). On the rest of the complete jars ~~we cannot read the~~ <sup>the inscriptions are not</sup> inscriptions <sup>sufficiently legible</sup> (p. 209). They help us to learn the <sup>date</sup> time. For example

of a few more priests and manufacturers. <sup>There is found a complete</sup> jar <sup>was found in</sup> on Cyprus, <sup>datable in</sup> from the year <sup>with the name of</sup>  $\pm$  190, of the priest Θεαίδης, who kept us busy just now (Hall 391 n. 5060); on one handle is his name, on the <sup>other</sup> the name of the manufacturer <sup>Hippokratēs</sup> Ιπποκράτης. So this <sup>Hippokratēs</sup> Ιπποκράτης lived also <sup>in</sup> at about 190. He, <sup>on his</sup> turn appears again on an other complete jar, <sup>was</sup> which ~~is~~ excavated at Tell Sandahannah in Palestine (PEF 1903, 306), and also on one ~~at~~ from Cyprus (Hall 391 n. 5041).

The priests on these two jars are also again from about 190. ~~So~~

The priest <sup>Nikasagoras</sup> Νικασάγωρας, wellknown at Pergamum and Carthage, <sup>so</sup> from about 175, appears on the same handle <sup>beside</sup> next to the manufacturer

<sup>Agathoboulos</sup> Ἀγαθοβούλος (L 329, 5 and 6); so they lived at the same time. In this way you come from one result to <sup>another</sup> the other result. Along this way <sup>are footnotes for details</sup> (the ~~finesses~~ stay in the note) we get again for the period between 225 and 150 an increase of 11 priests <sup>(12)</sup> (note 12) and 8 manufacturers <sup>(13)</sup> (note 13). <sup>This brings</sup> (page 210). By <sup>that</sup> the total <sup>to</sup> rises till 67 priests and 84 manufacturers.

What does <sup>of this</sup> the history know ~~about~~ the three quarters of ~~a~~ century, about which we speak here? That it <sup>was</sup> ~~has been~~ a period of great political prosperity for Rhodes, of the <sup>outward</sup> ~~most~~ brightest splendour, <sup>in almost all</sup> which this state ever achieved to the outside. The flourishing period <sup>of prosperity</sup> however lasted twice as long ~~as~~, an other <sup>equal</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a century preceded this one, almost alike in prosperity. There is no history <sup>from</sup> ~~author~~ of Rhodes who does not <sup>date the beginning of</sup> ~~open~~ the greatness of the town <sup>and</sup> with the remarkable siege of 305 till 304, ~~he~~ closed this period with 164, when the Romans <sup>weighed</sup> ~~pressed~~ <sup>them down with</sup> their disgrace heavy as lead ~~and they~~ tried to transfer the Rhodian trade to Delos. Then begins the decline, <sup>for</sup> ~~say~~ for the time being, but ~~yet~~ continuously.



In those 140 years of greatness, Rhodes ~~has~~ <sup>mustered</sup> probably gathered the most ~~inside~~ <sup>greatest internal strength</sup> power between 304 and 225; in the 61 years after that, it ~~has been~~ <sup>was outwardly</sup> splendid to the outside. And this splendour seems also to ~~concern~~ <sup>reflect</sup> the domain of the Rhodian trade and the traffic. For, scrutinizing the 10 000 stamps at our disposition and tracing which of the names of the total of 269 <sup>known</sup> priests we know, and which of the names of 375 manufacturers, occurs most in this material, <sup>we</sup> always gives again those priests and manufacturers, of whom we ~~found~~ <sup>have found</sup>, that they lived between 225 and 150. A little bit of statistics will prove this. I have counted, which names occurs on 30 or more stamps. The number 30 has been taken arbitrarily; but in any case, they have to be those priests, during whose priesthood the export of jars was greatest, those manufacturers, who contributed most to that export. In total it turns out, that these are 60 priests and 39 manufacturers. I spare you the names; they are mentioned together with the number of their stamps in the note <sup>(14)</sup> (note 14). Among these 60 most <sup>common</sup> occurring priests are no less than 48 of the 67 known to us from the period of 225 - 150; so there are only 12 left, 12 of 202 priests, for the remaining four centuries during which Rhodian amphorans were traded. For the manufacturers, the ratio is just as convincing; among 39, whose names occur on 30 or more handles, there are 34, who existed in the three quarters of a century in question; whereas only 5 do not belong to that period. This statistics is eloquent in its soberness. It points very clearly to the zenith of the Rhodian trade.

We are left with the problem of Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. Bleckmann has provided an answer there. As so many Rhodian stamps are known to us, he reasons, 10,000 in total, it is almost certain, that we know of the period of stamping, i. e.

Check no. 1  
priest  
269  
260  
(imp. 25)

p. 212



the period of trade, <sup>we know</sup> practically all Rhodian eponym<sup>3</sup>. We know 260 of them; so the trading period <sup>was</sup> ~~has~~ not ~~been~~ much longer than that number of years. The beginning of it is 331, the year, in which Alexander reestablished the <sup>free</sup> Rhodian Republic, the end around 50; for after that year not one priest occurring in inscriptions is mentioned on jarstamps. Therefore we possess from 281 <sup>the intervening</sup> years in ~~between~~ all ~~except~~ 21 eponym<sup>3</sup>. Against this (p. 213) seemingly beautiful theory there can be found serious objections: that the number of 260 eponym<sup>3</sup>, known to us, is not exact, that 331 is an very arbitrary starting point (note 15), and 50 certainly the wrong endpoint; for even one century afterwards we know - not to speak of uncertain cases - the priest <sup>Diogenes</sup> Διογενής of 55 <sup>a</sup>AD, whose name occurs in an inscription as well as on a stamp. If the investigation <sup>is</sup> to be free and objective, then <sup>one</sup> there must ~~be~~ looked in the history for the earliest possible moment, when the stamping may have begun and also for the most likely endpoint, without judging from the jarstamps. The earliest possible <sup>start</sup> ~~begin~~point is 407. Then the <sup>city</sup> ~~town~~ Rhodes was founded, the state Rhodes was organized, so of course then this state got eponym<sup>3</sup> and magistrates. Before they existed it was impossible to stamp their names; but there is no reason at all to dispute, that there was export to the foreign countries already at that time, so that already then the stamping had begun. When did the Rhodian export trade stop? <sup>No</sup> Every one, who is experienced in the history of this <sup>city</sup> ~~town~~ and knows how soon she became a dead <sup>city</sup> ~~town~~ in the <sup>imperial</sup> ~~emper~~or period, who remembers the lengthy evidence about this, which Dio Chrysostomus and Aristides <sup>have</sup> left for us in their <sup>Ερ</sup>Ροδιακοί, cannot believe, that in 100 <sup>AD</sup> there can have been anything worth mentioning left of an export <sup>trade</sup> ~~which~~ almost spanned all coasts of the Mediterranean. So calculating the limits liberally, there is a possible export period

Parameters on p. 26 — up until p. 214)



of stamped jars of about 500 years (407 -  $\pm$  100AD). For this possible 500-year period we know ~~not~~ <sup>as</sup> yet <sup>as</sup> 300 priests. So it seems, that in spite of the 10 000 Rhodian stamps, there still are quite a lot of eponyms, who do not appear on them at all. (p.214) In the first place let us make the list as exact as possible. Bleckmann gave this most recently (in Klio XII), and got a number of 260, among them 10, which only were found in inscriptions, not on jarhandles (note 16). Hiller von Gärtringen supplied this catalogue in one of the most recent numbers of Klio (XIV 388-389) with 11 new names of priests. So the total became 271. Also after his contribution it is still possible to enlarge the number; I still found the priests <sup>Agathombrotos</sup> (17) <sup>Agastophanes</sup> (N 231 n. 3), <sup>Agoranax</sup> (GDI 4245), <sup>Athanoophilos</sup> (L 20), <sup>Antigonos</sup> (L 27), <sup>Ankedon</sup> (R 1082), <sup>Ansipolis</sup> (L 117), <sup>Agastophanes</sup> (L 121; compare also the two stamps from Tell Sandahannh, mentioned on p. 244), <sup>Euphragoras</sup> (AM 21. 57 n. 15), <sup>Kleustratos</sup> (L 276), <sup>Mene-</sup> <sup>Krates</sup> (N 240 n. 130), <sup>Peithiadas</sup> (M 186), <sup>Praxiphanes</sup> (GDI 4245, 604 and 605), <sup>Sosiphilos</sup> (L 389), <sup>Charidamos</sup> (L 434) (note 18). So again 14 new names; the total becomes now 285. But ~~scrutinizing, there has to be crossed out~~ <sup>some must</sup> <sup>from Bleckmann, come from</sup> even in Hiller. Hiller mentions a priest [Μαχ]ων, of whose name only the last half is readable. A wellknown hero was called so, mortal people however seldom. I would rather fill in [ΑΚΤ]ων, which name indeed is found on two handles of two jars (C 22), ..... but as the name of a manufacturer. So the best thing to do seems to me, to keep the <sup>restoration</sup> ~~complement~~ of ων in uncertainty. In the second place I <sup>take exception to</sup> have objection against Hiller's priest Τειδομένης. I do not think this name rightly formed; I <sup>believe it to be simply</sup> keep him for nothing else than a less exact reading of the wellknown priestname Τειδαμένος. In Bleckmann I protest in the first place against the <sup>name</sup> ~~by him cal-~~

p.215



led <sup>by him</sup> ~~Αλξιδάμος~~ <sup>Alexidamos</sup>. He does not quote a place where this priest occurs and I never could find him anywhere; I guess that he came on the list by a mistake. Further I do not believe in the priest <sup>Apollonios</sup> ~~Απολλωνιος~~. "Selten", Bleckmann calls him; truthfully he only appears once, <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ the very unreliable Dumont (D 82 n. 41), and Nilsson already rightly also doubted his existence (L p. 91). The priest <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Αστυμεδης~~ II seems to me also an unreal person. At the time of his priesthood, as is mentioned on an epitaph (JOAI 4. 160), a respectful Rhodian, an anonymous person, for us, is distinguished with <sup>wreaths</sup> ~~garlands~~ and honours. The inscription is "jünger als 100 BC", Hiller, the publisher, says, but he only relies on <sup>letter forms</sup> ~~writing~~ and orthography. If we <sup>settle</sup> ~~estimate~~ it on 120 <sup>at 120</sup> (and <sup>letter forms</sup> ~~writing~~ and orthography certainly will allow that), there is nothing against, that the just died person <sup>had</sup> ~~accepted~~ his honours in 153, at the time of <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Αστυμεδης~~, the wellknown son of <sup>Theaidetos</sup> ~~Θεαιδητος~~, whose priesthood we just <sup>at</sup> ~~settled~~ on 153. Then the somewhat suspicious splitting in a priest <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Αστυμεδης~~ I and <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Αστυμεδης~~ II <sup>collapse</sup> ~~fall in~~. The so-called priest <sup>his</sup> ~~Δαεσίδης~~ of Bleckmann <sup>has been changed</sup> ~~is already~~ by Nilsson (L p. 112) <sup>in the same</sup> ~~changed~~ in a <sup>Demetrios</sup> ~~Δαφειδης~~, who also there on that place crossed out <sup>Demetrios</sup> ~~Δημητειος~~ <sup>from</sup> ~~of~~ the list of Rhodian priests. By <sup>the</sup> ~~crossing out~~ of <sup>Demetrios</sup> ~~Δημητειος~~ two names are lost <sup>from</sup> ~~at~~ Bleckmann; for he has included the Rhodian dialectform <sup>Damatrrios</sup> ~~Δαματειος~~ of this <sup>non-existent</sup> ~~not existing~~ <sup>Demetrios</sup> ~~Δημητειος~~. <sup>Thersandros</sup> ~~Θεσσανδρος~~ also appeared in the other writing <sup>Thersandros</sup> ~~Θαεσανδρος~~ on the list, <sup>Hestieios</sup> ~~Εστιειος~~ also occurs as <sup>Histieios</sup> ~~Ιστιειος~~, which spelling probably is better. ~~than~~ The priest Κυδος is probably also imagination. "Nur zweimal" writes Bleckmann, "bei M und Z". The stamp M 144 <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ already <sup>been</sup> ~~justly~~ interpreted <sup>correctly</sup> by Nilsson (L p. 114). I am very much afraid, <sup>inaccessible to me</sup> ~~th~~ that the ~~to me unapproachable~~ inscription in Z (Zapisci Odesskago obschetsva) also is <sup>to be</sup> ~~Επικυδου~~ (p. 216) and likewise is ascribed to the hypothetical priest Κυδος, instead of to <sup>at</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~manufacturer~~ <sup>Επικυδης</sup>.



Molpagoras

I <sup>have</sup> already pointed <sup>out</sup> to the mythical priest <sup>Nikasiboulos</sup> Μολπαγορας in note 11.

The priest Νικαδισβουλος must be crossed out, who according to

Bleckmann "nur zweimal bei R", that is, in <sup>XII</sup> the IG XII 1, ~~is not~~, but <sup>occurs</sup> in fact <sup>is found</sup> nowhere <sup>is to find</sup>. [Ti]μαexos <sup>Timexos</sup> only appears once (L 405), in an incomplete inscription, which <sup>as well</sup> could be <sup>restored</sup> filled

up to [Δα]μαexos or to [Kw]μαexos. And, almost more certainly,

the <sup>Timomenes</sup> Τιμομενης <sup>must go</sup> has to disappear, who <sup>is based on a single</sup> only relies on one stamp

in Stephani's Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien (BC n. 23). who

In this publication, <sup>difficult of access</sup>, the picture of <sup>portrait</sup> in this difficult approachable publication looks at the image of

this stamp, will immediately <sup>convince any reader of how little</sup> be convinced of the unstableness of

the tradition that here <sup>is</sup> Τιμομενης has to be read; what is the

right name, <sup>Tisamenos</sup> Τιδαμενος, <sup>Timoxenos</sup> Τιμοξενης, or still something <sup>still different</sup> else, is

more difficult to settle. Finally the priests <sup>Philondas</sup> Φιλωνδας and <sup>Philondas</sup> Φιλωντ.

<sup>16</sup> Φιλωντ. are the same person. So, after this meddling with names,

there remain 269 of the list of 285 priests.

Of these 269, 67 are <sup>to be</sup> placed between 225 and 150. But how many of <sup>the remaining</sup> those 202 are known to us from <sup>other sources</sup> elsewhere? From the literature none;

but I <sup>have</sup> mentioned several times inscriptions, in which eponym <sup>our</sup> priests occur. These must, <sup>be laid beside the</sup> compared to the jarstamps, make

the course of ~~the~~ Rhodian trade clear to us. Unfortunately <sup>is</sup> the material <sup>so far</sup> until now at hand, not at all sufficient. All taken to-

gether, only 28 priests of Helios are mentioned in inscriptions <sup>(note 19)</sup>. Among them one is useless to us, i. e. <sup>Eukrates</sup> Εὐκρατης <sup>19</sup>

his age is too uncertain. Collignon, the first publisher of the inscription, in which his name occurs (GDI 3755) (p. 217), says

"que l'inscription ne <sup>au</sup> saurait être d'une date antérieure au troisième siècle"; Hillere <sup>on the other hand</sup> asserts ~~against that~~, that it is much

"multo recentior". We know two priests from the fourth century, & the century after 407, the first which <sup>possibly</sup> can be considered.



One of them is <sup>Eukles</sup> ~~Eukles~~, the eponym~~es~~ of the <sup>burning</sup> ~~fire~~ of the temple of Athana at Lindos, whom we <sup>settled at about</sup> ~~settled around~~ 335. 16 Stamps are <sup>preserved</sup> ~~kept~~ from him, <sup>thus</sup> ~~so~~ a rather <sup>large</sup> ~~big~~ number. The other is <sup>Pythannas</sup> ~~Pythannas~~ (EAR 6. 341, D61), of whom a vision is mentioned in the Chronicle of Lindos, in which Athana reveals <sup>to</sup> him a sin-offering for her polluted temple. As this vision <sup>comes</sup> ~~stands~~ after an <sup>occurrence</sup> ~~event~~ of the goddess in 490 and before a similar <sup>Pythannas</sup> ~~Pythannas~~ in 304, it probably happened between these two dates; then <sup>Pythannas</sup> ~~Pythannas~~ was a priest of the fourth century. The whole story, for that matter, <sup>dates</sup> ~~speaks~~ also for that rather early <sup>Pythannas</sup> ~~Pythannas~~ settling. But <sup>Pythannas</sup> ~~Pythannas~~ does not appear on any jar-stamp. It seems to me, that there is not very much to conclude here. If <sup>Pythannas</sup> ~~Pythannas~~ is taken in <sup>to</sup> ~~consideration~~, then it seems likely, that there was no export trade in the fourth century; judging <sup>by</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>Eukles</sup> ~~Eukles~~, <sup>Eukles</sup> ~~then~~ this trade is <sup>large</sup> ~~considered~~ rather <sup>big</sup> ~~big~~. Anyhow, the 16 stamps with <sup>Eukles</sup> ~~Eukles~~ name have <sup>as evidence</sup> ~~evidential~~ force. If we had had, in continuation of them, the names of three or four priests of the third century, who also all were represented by a rather <sup>large number</sup> ~~great amount~~ of stamps, then <sup>there</sup> ~~it~~ might be of scientific <sup>proof of</sup> ~~valid~~ what seems likely a priori, that <sup>about</sup> ~~around~~ 350 ~~the~~ Rhodian trade began to stretch its wings, <sup>that it</sup> ~~developed~~ powerfully after 300, and then after 225 attained its zenith. But unfortunately <sup>we have</sup> ~~there has not come~~ one priest as <sup>dating authority</sup> ~~adjunct~~ of time from <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ third century with <sup>Antisthenes</sup> ~~certainty~~, the pre-eminently great of Rhodes. <sup>Antisthenes</sup> ~~Antisthenes~~ is placed at the end of this century, a priest, who is known from the inscription GDI 3798, but who is <sup>entirely missing from</sup> ~~misses~~ quite on jarhandles. According to Hiller, <sup>who edited this</sup> ~~the latest~~ publisher, <sup>who saw this inscription himself</sup> ~~he is~~ (P: 218) "ineunte altero saeculo ante Christum natum vix recentior", so from 200 or a little earlier. Newton and Fournet, earlier publishers, who



<sup>have</sup> seen the stone <sup>in</sup> at Rhodes, agree with that, though <sup>with hesitation</sup> hesitating. But all rely for the <sup>fixing to date</sup> adjunct of time <sup>purely</sup> only on the character of the <sup>letter forms</sup> writing of the inscription. And this criterion is <sup>deception</sup> deceiving by the nature of ~~the~~ things, <sup>particularly</sup> especially because there really are very few Rhodian inscriptions with chronological certainty from <sup>about</sup> around that time. So I rather would leave this so-called only witness for the third century out of reckoning.

Before the year 225 the results are very uncertain, but after 150 it is ~~not~~ better. In between are the <sup>epigraphically</sup> from inscriptions known priests <sup>Damocles</sup> Δαμοκλής, <sup>Theaidetos</sup> Θεαιδητος, <sup>Astymedes</sup> Ἀστυμηδης, <sup>Anchi-</sup> Ἀνχι-  
<sup>damos</sup> δαμος, <sup>Damainetos</sup> Δαμαινέτος, <sup>Pratophanes</sup> Πρατοφάνης, <sup>Sasikles</sup> Σωσικλής and <sup>Anatophanes</sup> Ἀνατοφάνης, <sup>already discussed</sup> of whom ~~already~~ was spoken. They are all from 190 to 150. They appear often on stamps, respectively 50, 44, 24, 47, 51, 37 and 49 times. The priest <sup>Autokratas</sup> Ἀυτοκράτης is also placed in the first half of the second century <sup>because of</sup> through the inscription from Tenos, in which he is mentioned (IG XII 5. 824<sub>32</sub>); in note 12 I <sup>have</sup> already connected him with the discoveries at Pergamum and Carthage. He is to <sup>be found</sup> find on 60 jarstamps. <sup>Agastatos</sup> Ἀγαστάτος occurs in the inscription DS<sup>3</sup> 450<sub>29</sub>. This inscription <sup>gives us no information</sup> learns us nothing about its <sup>date</sup> age; but here the jarinscriptions <sup>inform us</sup> tell that this priest, appearing at Pergamum and Carthage, must be from about 180. He <sup>recurr</sup> returns on 50 stamps. So <sup>these</sup> ~~this~~ are 10 eponyms from the first half of the second century.

By their many stamps they all point out the flourishing time of ~~the~~ Rhodian trade, which <sup>has just been dated at</sup> just now was fixed on this period. Did this prosperity decline soon after 150? <sup>weighed the</sup> Considering the <sup>severe measures</sup> sharp measures, which the Romans had taken against them in 164, ~~so early~~, was the competition of the commercial metropolis



Delos, founded by <sup>the Romans</sup> them, so <sup>great</sup> big, that already in the second half of <sup>that</sup> the century a very noticeable slackening began? <sup>One would</sup> You almost <sup>next</sup> should believe so, relying on the evidence of the <sup>known from this century</sup> further of the century known Rhodian eponyms. (p.219) For three other priests of the second century are handed down to us; but, two of those three do not appear on jarinscriptions, the third only once. In the first place there are the two priests <sup>Xenoteimos</sup> ~~Ξενοτίμος~~ and <sup>Menestheus</sup> ~~Μενεστῆς~~ who together with <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Ἀστυμέδης~~ act as <sup>dating authorities</sup> times adjuncts on the epitaph JOAI 4. 160. <sup>Astymedes</sup> ~~Ἀστυμέδης~~ is from 153, so <sup>Xenoteimos</sup> ~~Ξενοτίμος~~ and <sup>Menestheus</sup> ~~Μενεστῆς~~ must also have been from that time, probably a little <sup>later</sup> younger. <sup>Menestheus</sup> ~~Μενεστῆς~~ occurs on the jarstamp R 1165 <sup>(note 20)</sup> ~~(note 20)~~, <sup>Xenoteimos</sup> ~~Ξενοτίμος~~ on none. The name <sup>Menestheus</sup> ~~Μενεστῆς~~ is very <sup>rare</sup> seldom, so the here mentioned (priest) is very likely identical with the <sup>frequently recurrent</sup> often appearing manufacturer of that name, whom I in note 13 connected with the discovery at Carthage, and consequently is from the same time. <sup>Xenoteimos</sup> ~~Ξενοτίμος~~ and <sup>Menestheus</sup> ~~Μενεστῆς~~ must be from about 150; the priest <sup>Epicharmos</sup> ~~Ἐπιχάρμος~~, though still from the second century, seems to come after them. The dating of the inscription, which mentions him (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1269), relies however again only on the <sup>letter forms</sup> writing. This <sup>Epicharmos</sup> ~~Ἐπιχάρμος~~ <sup>is entirely lacking from</sup> fails quite on jarstamps.

The poor result achieved between 150 and 100 continues in the first century. There, too, we find only a minority of the priests, who occur in inscriptions, on jarhandles. And those, who we find <sup>in both places</sup> again, appear only once. The <sup>series</sup> now begins with <sup>Archestratos</sup> ~~Ἀρχεστράτος~~. "Kurz vor 100 BC, eher etwas jünger", calls Hiller the inscription, in which he occurs (DS<sup>2</sup> 610<sub>2</sub>). <sup>If one</sup> ~~he~~ looks at the picture that is published of it, <sup>one</sup> will indeed agree with that and fix this inscription in the first quarter of the first century.



To fix the date according to the <sup>letter forms</sup> writing is not too uncertain here, as just from this time <sup>that</sup> the most of the Rhodian inscriptions <sup>date</sup> origin. (p. 220). <sup>Andræstratos</sup> Ἀεχέστεατος, the here mentioned priest, is again total unknown to us from jarstamps.

Contents and <sup>letter forms</sup> writing of the inscriptions in which they are mentioned make it likewise probable, that the priests <sup>Thaenogenes</sup> Θευγένης <sup>Antilochoi</sup> Ἀντίλοχος (GDI 3800, 1), <sup>Antilochoi</sup> Ἀντίλοχος (GDI 3828g) and <sup>Rhodophaithes</sup> Ροδοπτείνης (GDI 4155) are from the same time, the beginning of the first century. <sup>Thaenogenes</sup> Θευγένης appears once on the handle of a jar (as Θεο-γένης, B<sup>n</sup> 231 n. 19), <sup>Antilochoi</sup> Ἀντίλοχος <sup>three times</sup> (L 54), <sup>Rhodophaithes</sup> Ροδοπτείνης not at all. There is more, even complete, certainty about the time of the priests <sup>Archelaos</sup> Ἀρχελαῶς, <sup>Harmodrotos</sup> Ἑρμοκράτης, <sup>Kritoboulos</sup> Κριτοβούλος and <sup>Charisios</sup> Χαρίσιος. An inscription from Naxos, already known to Boeckh (IG XII 5.38), which certainly is from one of the first years after <sup>Antony</sup> Antonius had presented the island to the Rhodians in the year 42 (App. B:C: V7; Sen. de Benef. V 16, 6), mentions them as contemporaries. ~~on~~ These four priests, who without doubt are from about 40, <sup>are the chief basis of the opinion</sup> ~~rely chiefly the meaning~~ that the Rhodian trade had fizzled out as early as the second half of the first century. None of these four occurs on any jarinscription and this fact surely does not point at prosperity. But in the century before - we just saw that - the majority of the <sup>priests mentioned</sup> in inscriptions mentioned <sup>do not occur</sup> priests does not return on jarhandles; moreover it <sup>we shall</sup> ~~now will ap-~~ <sup>now see</sup> ~~pear to us~~, that in the century, which follows, ~~now~~ a priest, <sup>whose name appears</sup> ~~from the emperor-period who is readen~~ in an inscription, also is found on the handle of a jar. We now namely three priests from the <sup>imperial</sup> ~~emperor~~ period through inscriptions. One of them is called Τίτος Φλαύιος Φαυοστρατος (GDI 3801<sub>2</sub>) and <sup>alone</sup> ~~only~~ by his name <sup>already</sup> is placed in the time of the Flavian Emperors. His



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father <sup>Diokles</sup> Διοκλῆς also was a priest of Helios (GDI 3804) and ~~only~~  
 lived <sup>about</sup> around 50 A.D. We do not have any stamp of the son, but we  
 do have one of <sup>Diokles</sup> Διοκλῆς, according to Nilsson (L p. 91). He  
 assumes that the enigmatical stamp <sup>Επι</sup> Διοϋ (N 237 n. 80)  
 must be read as <sup>Επι</sup> Διοκ- and explains <sup>this</sup> as an abbreviation of Διο-  
 κλῆς. He ~~did~~ <sup>was</sup> not convinced me, but it is certainly possible.  
 A contemporary of Diokles was Diogenes, <sup>contemporary of Diokles was Diogenes,</sup>  
 simultaneous with Διογενῆς, whose date is quite fixed, be-  
 cause Nero <sup>sent</sup> ~~sended~~ a letter to the Rhodians at the time of his  
 priesthood in the year 55 A.D. That letter is <sup>preserved</sup> kept in the inscrip-  
 tion DS<sup>2</sup> 373. Undoubtedly <sup>Diogenes</sup> Διογενῆς (note 22) appears on jar-  
 stamps: at Panticapaem is a stamp <sup>with his name was</sup> of him found (BA 99 n. 416),  
 an unchallengeable witness, that even in the <sup>imperial</sup> ~~emperor~~ period ex-  
 port trade existed. By assuming that the priest of 55 A.D. was ~~an~~  
<sup>different individual from</sup> other than the priest on the jarhandle, who must have lived ear-  
 lier in that case, <sup>an attempt is made</sup> it is ~~tried~~ to get rid of this annoying witness.  
 But, this <sup>distinction, questionable in itself, becomes</sup> on itself already doubtful splitting ~~gets~~ quite un-  
 acceptable, if it is <sup>one considers</sup> considered that had this stamp been ~~from~~  
 earlier date, it of course ~~should~~ have been written in the Rho-  
 dian dialect form <sup>Επι</sup> Διογενεύς, whereas Skorpil, its publisher,  
 reports that it appears in the <sup>form used in</sup> ~~the~~ Κοινῇ, ~~used, for Rhodes~~  
~~more recent form~~ <sup>Επι</sup> Διογενϋ, which belongs to a later  
 period in Rhodes.

Summarizing, we get <sup>e</sup> the following impression of the  
 Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. From the nearly two cen-  
 turies, which <sup>before 225</sup> can be considered as a possible period of  
 stamping of Rhodian jars, we know not more than two priests for  
 certain, a third is very doubtful. Of two of <sup>e</sup> those priests there  
 exist no stamps, <sup>only</sup> besides inscriptions; of the third, <sup>Eukles</sup> Εὐκλῆς, one  
 of the two certain priests, appear 16 stamps. If <sup>it is necessary</sup> ~~there absolute-~~  
<sup>to draw some conclusion</sup> ly has to be concluded something here, then it seems to me, that  
 trade



trade of some importance has to be supposed for this time. After 150 we know for the first half century three priests (p. 222), among <sup>whom</sup> ~~them~~ one is uncertain. Of ~~these~~ three, only one occurs on jarstamps, <sup>and</sup> ~~but~~ only once. Of the four priests between 100 and 50, all four rather uncertain, one appears on three jarinscriptions, another on two, two not at all. The four priests between 50 and the beginning of our era <sup>are all lacking</sup> ~~all fall~~ on jarstamps. One of the three known to us from the first century A.D., appears certainly on a stamp, one probably, one certainly not. Here the conclusion is the most acceptable, that on an average ~~the~~ trade at Rhodes after 150 never <sup>died out entirely</sup> ~~went quite down~~, but <sup>also became really lively</sup> ~~never was quite vivid too~~.

Still, for the <sup>date</sup> time being, we do not have ~~given~~ to fix <sup>more exactly</sup> the date of the 202 priests known to us ~~more exact~~, the priests who must belong to the periods 407 - 225 and 150 - 100 A.D.. But we are more fortunate with the other 67 priests. Without doubt we can place them between 225 and 150. And we are ~~not~~ less sure, that those 75 years represent the highest flourishing period of ~~the~~ Rhodian trade. Epigraphy and archaeology, those indispensable sister sciences of ~~the~~ history, have yet in the meantime <sup>taught</sup> ~~learned~~ us that at this investigation.



Van Gelder, p.208, note 11: (~~from Mrs. Tupper~~)

all

Bleckmann has made a list of ~~the total of~~ these instances, and he gets 63 cases. A 64th he missed: the complete jar from Vulci in Tuscany, most recently published by me in GDI 4245, 2. Two numbers of his list should be struck out. First, his no.4, the jar on which according to ~~Bong~~ the names Molpagoras ~~appear~~ and Alexandros appear. Nilsson has already shown (L.p.72, note 2) that this assertion is wrong. In the second place, the jar which he mentions in Klio (XII, 250) <sup>as</sup> bearing the names of the eponymous Aristarchos and the manufacturer Agathoboulos is a fiction. He ~~he~~ refers to Nilsson, but it is nowhere to be found in Nilsson; but on the contrary <sup>us</sup> Nilsson assures (L. p.116) that an eponymous Aristarchos is not known to him (nor to me either). So the total number of instances becomes 62.

Other

~~Atixix~~ small inaccuracies by Bleckmann in this list must be corrected. The priest of his no.5 is not called Phila/nios but Philainios, the manufacturer of his no.8 not Nanius but Nania, the priest of his no.40 not Harmosilas but Harmosidas, the manufacturer of his no.16 not Dion but Dios, the priest of his no.22 not Menesthes but Menestheus, the one of his no.33 not Androboulos but Agathoboulos (see L. p.160).

. . . note 13:

To wit: Alexiadas, Andrias, Andronikos, Antipatros, Aristakos, Aristokles, Aristratos (see for these priests L. p.116), Archembrotos, Autokrates, Thersandros, and Philainios. Bleckmann gives alphabetical lists of the eponymi and manufacturers found in Pergamon and Carthage (Bl.pp.34 ff.). With the aid of these, ~~showing~~ the proof for the priests Antipatros and Philainios is easily to be found. The date of Alexiadas is proved by the manufacturer Diokleia, who is found with him on one jar, and who is known at Pergamon (P 1002); her name however is forgotten in the list of Bleckmann.

(*comes from "Theaterabhang"*)



Andrias, Andronikos, Aristakos and Thersandros depend on the manufacturer Agathoboulos, who is mentioned on the same handles with them, who, however, appears neither at Pergamon nor at Carthage, but whose date is given because he appears on the same handle with Nikasagoras (L 329), an eponymos who occurs in Pergamon and Carthage. The date of Archembrotos and Aristatos is determined by the manufacturer Drakontidas, found with them on jars, who is unknown at Pergamon and Carthage, but is found on a handle with Alexiadas (Hall 393, no. 5043; cf L p.170). Aristokles is stamped with Midas on a complete jar; Midas, unknown at Pergamon and Carthage, appears, however, on a similar jar with the priest Aristogenes. This priest is known at Pergamon (P 894), however ["fundort unbekannt"] he also is missing from Bleckmann's list. Midas and so also the priest Aristokles belong in our period. Autokrates, who moreover had already been placed epigraphically (BCH 27, 234, 32) in about this time, depends on Hermaios, a Rhodian manufacturer appearing at Pergamon (P 1276), but again forgotten by Bleckmann [not listed as Rhodian by Schuchhardt].

Incidentally,

On the list of Rhodian eponymi drawn up by Bleckmann from the find at Pergamon are missing, beside Aristogenes, also the priests Archidas (P 956) [restoration not certain], Athanodotos, Daemon, and Lapheades, on the list of the manufacturers appearing at Pergamon besides Hermaios and Diokleia, also Agesonios, Kreon, Hegesias, (P 1299) and Imas (1240). The one called on his list Ageso is in fact Agemon. The "Molesius" is Molesis, the "Nanius" is Nanis.

1

The list of Rhodian eponymi which he has drawn up from the find at Carthage shows these three gaps: Aristonidas, (C 32), Onasandros (C 124) and Philodamos; the list of Rhodian manufacturers who are known from Carthage must be completed with the names Dionysios (C 65), Eirenidas (C 83) and maybe Aristakos (C 188a).



H. Van Gelder, "Over Rhodische Kruikstempels en hun Belang voor Onze Kennis van den Rhodischen Handel," in "Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen," V.1, 1915pp. 186 - 222.

English version made by a native of Holland, somewhat clarified and smoothed by V.G. Copied by two different typists, the change beginning with page 14.

Page numbers of the Dutch text appear in the translation, placed according to the beginning of each new page of the Dutch. These are set off at the beginning of the typed lines in the translation. The typists have broken the text where these occur: the reader is to disregard the gap thus caused.

Where footnote references were not clear as such in the typed copy, the numbers have been circled. The notes themselves have not been translated or copied except for notes 11 and 12, for which see the end of this manuscript.

The manuscript as a whole is intended to be used with the Dutch text, to which reference must be made for most footnotes, for the explanation of abbreviations, etc. However, a rather careful check (from text to copy of translation) has been made with of figures and references appearing in the text. Most of the Greek names in the text have been turned into English to cut down individual copying into the carbons.

A few inserts in square brackets toward the end are comments by V.G.

The translator's comment on the author's style: "Old fashioned Dutch, distinguished and polite."



H. Van Gelder, "On Rhodian Jar Stamps and their Importance  
for our Knowledge of Rhodian Commerce."

p. 186) The history of commerce in antiquity is still in statu nascendi. It has not the documents to hand which are so useful for the study of commerce in later times. It has also very little support from the ancient historians. In this field they almost abandon us. Thus it must be built up from the most unexpected sources. The study of the history of commerce of the island of Rhodes, which was once not unimportant in this respect, depends on discarded jars.

I will here speak mainly about the duration, the flowering of this commerce, and about the direction which it took. For this investigation, the written texts of the Greeks and Romans give us practically nothing. Certainly, everyone who has heard anything of Rhodes knows that it was a commercial republic; and if he searches he will easily find fifty passages in the works of the most various ancient classical writers, even a hundred, where this is stated. But hardly one goes any further, and gives any positive answer to the questions as to which were the centuries covered by this commerce, and when p. 187) was its most flourishing period, and with which countries it was carried on. In modern historical works, where the answer to these questions should certainly have been given, it has tacitly been taken for granted that political power and the flourishing of commerce went hand in hand; that in the Hellenistic period, the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., when Rhodes was at her most powerful, her commerce also must have flourished most. The question whether the flourishing of the commerce continued when political decay set in has been treated with reserve. It is thought that trade with Egypt must have been good, because Rhodes was so very friendly with the Ptolemys; and there is general reference to trade of Rhodes all about the Mediterranean. Although in these suppositions we have come very near to the truth, which was to be expected, it might have been otherwise. Often, for example - and one does not need to look far for this - the greatest flourishing of the trade of a state comes at a time when political decay has already set in. Anyway, scientific certainty is a different thing from supposition. And the study of the stamps of the handles of discarded Rhodian wine jars gives us here this certainty.

First, more particularly about these Greek stamped jars. In all the Mediterranean coastlands, especially of course where there were big cities, great numbers of sherds are found of



of large earthenware jars. All kinds of things were kept in these, fluids and non-fluids [literally fluids and things that were put in]. These sherds vary in color, the clay is finer or coarser, it is more or less well worked, in short they clearly point out their different places of origin. But which are these places? The supposition is not impossible that some of the fragments come from the places in which they are found. A Greek or even a non-Greek p. 188) town without any fabrication of pottery seems to me hardly possible. A very considerable part of the heaps found is, however, surely imported. This is proved by the stamps. Jars marked by these stamps are thus elevated to becoming sources of history; the unmarked are nothing to us but curiosities. The stamped were made at Rhodes, Knidos, and Thasos, probably in lots of other Greek towns, but of the other Greek towns we know mostly not even the names; because their production was extremely small. One or very few specimens found keep alive for us the memory of the pottery manufactures of Paros, Naxos, Colophon, Smyrna, and many still entirely unknown places of origin. However, more than 97% of the present total quantity come from the three towns mentioned. Of these, Rhodes has the lion's share, nearly 73% of the total. As to the number of handles gradually unearthed and found, that is much bigger than outsiders may think; counting for Rhodes I have already come to a total of 9860. Besides it must not be forgotten that many stamps of this kind still are still entirely unpublished (that is explicitly mentioned of quite a lot found on Delos, on Amorgos and at Gezer in Palestine<sup>(1)</sup>), that others have probably escaped my notice with the extreme spread of the publications, and that moreover I could not possibly get some Russian and other publications, which I found mentioned. Besides these 9860 Rhodian, there are also about 2100 Knidian and 1650 Thasian jar stamps. The Knidian and the Thasian handles have a somewhat different color tone from the Rhodian, a different kind of clay, a different way of stamping, so that the expert has no difficulty in distinguishing the three kinds when dealing with complete examples; also with the majority of incomplete p. 189) examples he succeeds mostly with enough certainty<sup>(2)</sup>.

From what has been said a few conclusions can be made which have already been deduced long ago. First, that the export-trade of Rhodes was much bigger than that of Knidos or Thasos, a fact that already a priori had been established. But also in the second place, that, just as in the middle ages and to some extent also in more recent times, certain towns were the headquarters of certain industries. In ancient Greece, cheap, simple amphoras for the export-trade properly speaking were made only in three places; a monopolizing of the production,



which as a matter of fact is sufficiently confirmed for other Greek industries, for the fabrication of clay vases, of bronze pottery, of woven materials, etc. These amphoras were used in the first place for the export of wine. Rhodes and Thasos were rich in wine; on page 427 of my Geschichte der alte Rhodier I have collected the references which prove that for Rhodes. There it is evident, that, of the products of that island, nothing is mentioned nearly as often as wine, grapes and raisins. They were also used for oil, for salt, for fruits, (3) for salted fish, also products of which Rhodes had a surplus; they certainly were also exported to foreign countries, because there was a demand for jars. The stamps impressed on the handles do not have anything to do with tax-collecting or with export control of the state, as was p. 190) generally suspected for rather a long time. (4) There were long and somewhat tiresome discussions, before the purpose of the stamping was cleared up; it appears to me that Nilsson's conclusions will not be shaken. (5) On every Greek jar, whatever its origin, are stamped the name of a manufacturer and a date. At Rhodes the dating tells you even the month. This stamping on the handles is an extension, probably a sequel, to the stamping on tiles. The stock on hand, and the tiles already set in place too, were stamped to protect them against theft and against being diverted in any other way from their proper purpose. On the tiles - it can be proved - was stamped the name of the building for which they were destined, also the name of the manufacturer who supplied them. For jars, the first item was excluded, the name of the manufacturer however was here valuable too. On both the exact date was stamped, the year in which they were baked. On Rhodian jars, the month, even, was mentioned. For mostly the owner of the factory left the execution of his affairs to his foreman or manager. The stamping with the month showed him an easy way to control the production of every month. (5) Through this means he had also a surer way of preventing the theft of newly made jars because it was his custom to sell the older ones first; for the stamp of the month marked them as still unsold, as stock. From fear of theft, the stamping with the name of the manufacturer soon became a means for advertising. For jars, this soon certainly became the primary purpose.

p. 191) So on each Rhodian jar three things are mentioned: 1. The name of the manufacturer, or of the firm, which ran the pottery; 2. to fix the year, the name of the eponymous priest of Helios at Rhodos; 3. the name of a month. These three indications are arbitrarily spread over the two handles of the jar (6). The name of the priest of Helios is always found with the preposition *ἐν*, so for example *ἐν Ἀγνέμαχου* at the time that Agemachos was eponymos; the names of the manufacturers and of the month are either in the genitive or in the nominative. The stamps are rectangular or round.



Before I begin to discuss how these stamps can tell us much about the direction and duration of Rhodian trade, a little digression about queer difficulties, which the reading and studying of their inscriptions entail. Many of these stamped handles are broken, less than half of the names of priests and manufacturers come to us complete. The happy finders who edit them have to guess and fill in the missing parts by conjecture. If they were all well-informed in these studies, if they knew all the names of the priests and manufacturers found up to their time, then they would at least have a basis to build further on. But mostly the case is as follows. Ten or even fifty Rhodian jar stamps are found. The finder knows almost nothing of the thousands of similar inscriptions already edited far and wide: the literature about the subject is indeed very difficult to gather completely, even for anybody. His specimens are damaged; so he restores as well as possible; often, however, he makes up something. Often the edition also is more or less intentionally careless; he is compelled to edit these things, because they have an antique origin, isn't he? but he does not understand that they p. 192) can be of any real use, and concentrates all his editorial care on more important inscriptions, which he has succeeded in finding. It is true that in the most recent decades there has been more careful work, since it has been realized how useful these stamped names are for history. But good editors excepted, many have delivered sad work. Indeed it is forgivable. Most of the inscriptions on the jars are not only broken or incomplete, but they are also often difficult to read. The manufacturers, who of course wanted to avoid expense, very often used dim and faint marks, with queer and ~~mr~~ wrongly drawn letters. The stamp-carvers too were partly dabbblers, who by mistake carved the wrong letters, who through ignorance made blunders against Greek spelling, who skipped parts of the names, carved other parts double, etc. So only if one has looked through all the material and has read all the 10000 stamps and has studied them, can one devote himself with success to correcting the readings which sometimes are so foolish and corrupt, and on the other hand make progress in this field. I mention here to their credit the names of Becker, Stephany, Kaibel, Schuchhardt, of Miller von Gärtringen, Bleckmann and Breccia, and above all of Nilsson, who in the last fifty years have acquired merit in this respect. Tens of corrections have already been made by them and others; but there still remain tens to make. I myself, who of course, at the time that I published the Rhodian Dialect-inscriptions in the collection of Collitz, made a contribution in this direction, found in the course of a renewed study of this subject for the sake of this lecture, once more a chance to suggest more than a hundred other readings. They will be published in an appendix.



At first now the direction of Rhodian commerce will be taken up; then follows a discussion of its flourishing period. p. 193) It is very easy to fix the direction. As I said, stamped jars with Rhodian, Knidian or Thasian origin are practically the only ones found. If for a region or town a calculation as exact as possible is made as to how many jar inscriptions are found there, and what percent of the total derived from each of these three places of origin, then you know the size of the Rhodian trade. To this method there is this objection, that Rhodes is compared with only two towns and not with other centers of commerce. We also learn nothing but the size of the trade in jars. But I consider it very likely that the jars in question were a very important export, if not the most important, for these three towns; it seems to me not less possible that the direction which the trade in jars took, was the same for other articles.

I will begin with an investigation of Sicily. Jarstamps from here were studied and published as early as 1558 (by Fazelli), moreover this is the country that already in the seventh century traded with Rhodes; for just there, so far from home, Rhodes built its biggest colonies, Gela and indirectly Agrigentum. Kaibel published the jarstamps of Sicily together with those of Italy (IG XIV 2393). He gives under 610 numbers 885 stamps, among them 602 Sicilian. What origin do these have? "Prae titulorum rhodiorum multitudo onidii parii thasii paucissimi vix apparent". So writes Kaibel justly in his preface. To be very precise, of the 602 jar inscriptions collected in Sicily, 4 are Knidian (S 170, 212, 239 and 253), none Thasian, none Parian and 30 or 40 are uncertain. The rest are certainly Rhodian. With this result one may say with a clear conscience that the import of Rhodian amphoras got practically no competition from Knidos and Thasos. p. 194) In Italy it is the same. Kaibel publishes 283 stamps, nearly all from Tarentum, Brundisium and Rhegium. He has forgotten 23 from Praeneste, which Henzen published in the BI 1865, pp. 72 ff. Of the 306 handles, three are Knidian (S 79, 120 and 339), about twenty uncertain, and the rest all Rhodian.

The preponderance of Rhodes comes to light more overwhelmingly in Carthage. Of the 331 stamps (to be found in G and BCT 1902, 1904 and 1907) about twenty are uncertain; the rest are Rhodian.

We have almost no stamps from southern France, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, no more from Cyrene, a town populated partly with Rhodian colonists.

So the result about the west of the Mediterranean is that Thasian amphora trade did not exist there, that the Knidian was extremely little, the Rhodian supreme.



Egypt, Syria, and Cyprus form again a unit. Although the trade from Rhodes is very preponderant here, it is not as dominating as in the west. From Alexandria (the rest of Egypt has supplied almost nothing up to the present) we know 479 stamps gathered by Stoddart from 1842-44 (Transactions Royal Society of Literature, Second Series III, 1-127; IV, 1-67), 970 which Neroutsos published in 1875 (N226 ff.), 82 published in the same year by Miller (Ra 1875, 378 ff.), 634 from several works of Botti, and about 200 more from scattered publications (A. pp. 74-85; Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien 1871, 125-129; 1874, 15-23; etc.). Botti certainly, Miller probably, Neroutsos perhaps, include stamps which had already been published earlier. So it is impossible to come here to a definite total number; presumably there are in total about 2100 specimens. Of that, + 30 are Thasian, about 350 Knidian, 100 uncertain and about 1620 Rhodian, that is, 80%.

The Syrian, or more precisely, the Palestinian stamps, p. 195) published by Macalister and others (in PEF 1900-1904; Clermont-Ganneau, Archæol. Recherches in Palestine II, 148 ff.), are 358 in number, the Cyprian 264 (in BI 1870, 202 ff.; Ra 1873, 317 ff.); Hall pp. 389-397; The Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, Descriptive Atlas III Suppl. Greek Inscriptions n. 72-104; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, A catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, Oxford 1899, 95 ff.). Of these 622 items, about 80%, are Rhodian, the rest are uncertain (anyway the very incomplete publications make this seem so to us); only a very few specimens are certainly Knidian or Thasian.

The island of Rhodes itself has supplied a huge number of stamps. In the first place there is the tremendous supply which was recently found at Lindos by the Danes and published in so exemplary a manner by Nilsson; further, the more than 1000 handles, which Newton transported from the City of Rhodes to the British Museum, and which Miss C. Aemilia Hutton listed and described (IG XII 1, 1065 ff.); further, the 212 stamps, also from the City of Rhodes, lately published by Johannes Paris in the Melanges Holleaux (pp. 153 ff.); finally, some smaller collections (among others AM 21, 57 ff.). Of the + 4300 specimens, there are less than 100 Knidian or uncertain, and in total there are only 8 Thasian. Of course this result was to be expected.

We have 882 jar stamps from Pergamum (P 766). Among them, 819 are Rhodian, 20 Thasian, 8 Knidian, 1 Parian, 2 from Smyrna, 32 uncertain. So again a preponderance in favor of Rhodes of more than 90%.

We have too few specimens from other towns on the coast of Asia Minor, from the Sporades and the Cyclades, to make conclusions here.

Up to this point, the figures have had a tedious monotony. The Rhodian amphora-commerce is nearly without a rival in the



western Mediterranean; in the East, and in the districts which surround Rhodes, p. 196) it is so preponderant that it draws up to 85 or 90% of the total. But quite another picture appears at once in Greece itself, at least in the only town of Greece from which we have more than a very few jar stamps--Athens. The number of this kind of inscriptions just there is very large: already in 1872 Dumont published there more than 2200 (*Inscriptions ceramiques de Grece, Paris 1872*). According to him there are 347 Rhodian among them. He was not competent to edit such a big collection; for he does not even know how properly to distinguish the Knidian from the Rhodian stamps. Yet roughly his report may be reliable: isn't he just as generous in declaring Rhodian what is Knidian, as in publishing a Knidian piece which is Rhodian? So here in Athens only 15% Rhodian stamps. The rest are Knidian, except for 124 Thasian and about 300 uncertain. Whoever after getting acquainted with Dumont's way of working wants to see some confirmation of his results should consider that much later a series of 98 stamps was sent from Attica to Dresden; Grundmann examined them (*Gr pp. 279 ff.*) and found that here too of the 98 stamps, only 14 are Rhodian. A little collection gathered six years later (*AM 21, 127 ff.*), gave again the same result. So it may be admitted that the Rhodian trade to Attica (and the rest of Greece) was of much less significance than that to the far districts to the west, east, or south.

There remains at last South Russia. More than 3000 amphora handles have appeared gradually among the ruins of the Greek towns on the north coast of the Black Sea. They are distributed over many government and private collections and published in a lot of periodicals and books. They are summed up in my "Rhodian Dialectinscriptions" (p. 571) and the newest supply in Nilsson (*L pp. 41, ff.*). The result is this, that of those + 3000 stamps (given the standard of some publications, it is here no more possible than in Alexandria, p. 197) Palestine, Cyprus or Athens, to give exact numbers), that of these more than 3000 stamps only about 1200 are Rhodian, 1500 Thasian, and 200 Knidian. About 100 uncertain. Here--and only here--the island of Thasos (which is very close by) comes strongly to the fore and surpasses Rhodes, though less than Knidos did at Athens.

With our knowledge on this subject, we can not state with certainty why the Rhodian trade to Greece and the countries on the shores of the Black Sea was less important than elsewhere. We can only guess. To me it is the most likely solution that Rhodes as a commercial state came rather late to prosperity. Earlier, Miletos, Chalcis, Corinth, Aegina, Athens, successively had been first in trade. For Rhodes, which moreover was situated in a remote corner of the antique Greek world, it was difficult to gain ground in districts where it was not known as a commercial country and where others already had settled themselves. Therefore it turned to far abroad and to the districts which beginning only with the fourth century were opened more and more.



Now comes the question what the course of Rhodian commerce was and when it developed most strongly. This question, as far as it is connected with the stamps on amphoras, is faced more or less seriously by Schuchhardt, later deliberately by Bleckmann in his book "De Inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis rhodiis," Göttingae 1907, and further in the article in *Klio* XII (1912), pp. 249-258. With this research, however, where the solidity of the building stones is not very reliable, there is a duty to be very exact, and the material must in the first place be brought together as completely as possible. Of course it must be taken as a fact that on each Rhodian jar is stamped the name of a priest, which indicates a fixed year. p. 198) An attempt must be made to fix chronologically as many as possible of those priests, in total 269, distributed on 10000 stamps. How are we to arrive at this? because none of these many appears in our Greek and Latin authors, not one name of a Rhodian priest of Helios, or one name of a manufacturer is mentioned. Searching in the endless supply of Greek inscriptions for political documents which are dated according to Rhodian eponymia ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ δεῖνα, at the time that this one or that one was a priest of Helios at Rhodes, one finds 28, of course mostly in inscriptions of the island itself. With a little knowledge of the subject, one succeeds in fixing the date of all these 28 rather exactly, of some even very precisely. Now if you search for as large as possible a find of Rhodian stamps belonging closely together, you will find the discovery at Pergamum, published by Carl Schuchhardt on p. 423 of Part II of the *Inscripfen von Pergamon*, 882 stamps, all found together as rubbish to support a house on sloping ground, and apparently all deposited at the same time. Indeed before this large discovery of material belonging together, an investigation of the present kind was impossible. Now it is important to fix as accurately as possible the time to which this discovery belongs. This can be done by tracing how many, and which, priests turn up at Pergamum of the 28 whose names appear in ordinary inscriptions, whose dates we mostly know. When an approximate date has been established in this way, then all priests of the discovery are to be counted. Then one must settle how many times each of these priests appear among all the 10000 Rhodian stamps, which we possess from far and near. If nearly all occur frequently among that mass, then of course the commerce of Rhodes was flourishing in their time; if the reverse is the case, then it was flagging at that time. Happily this investigation brings very clear results.

So the pivot on which everything turns, is the chronological fixing of the discovery at Pergamum. That discovery--as has been said--

p. 199) consists of 882 stamps. Of these, 519 are Rhodian, and on these 519 stamps are found 44 names of priests and 63 names of manufacturers. These priests are datable at most 60 or 70 years earlier than the date of the deposit; nobody postpones



longer the clearing away of old wine jars. When did they live? Schuchhardt supposed about 180; then, he said, Pergamum was most prosperous and most powerful, at that time Rhodes too was at the top of its glory. That the find dates from a time when there was considerable commercial traffic between Rhodes and Pergamum, follows among other things from the fact that the names of several priests turn up 10-20 times, even 25 times among those 819 stamps, so several years are represented 25 times.

All those who had to express their opinions after Schuchhardt agreed with his dating; however, it is not certain. Pergamum and Rhodes both existed and even flourished before and after that time. More certainty can be gathered along other roads. An inscription from Seleucia on the Calycadnus was found by Heberdey and Wilhelm, and recently published by me in the Greek Dialektinscriptions as n. 3751. The stone contains four Rhodian decrees in honor of Eudemos, the son of Nikon, a citizen of Seleucia and obviously an influential friend of a king Antiochus of Syria. The king has promised large presents to the Rhodians to support their fleet; Eudemos is stimulated to hasten the payments of those presents. This inscription according to the finders--and it appears to me that the copy which they give of it indicates the same--is definitely of the first half of the second century; then only two kings Antiochus can be taken into consideration, Antiochus the III, the Great (223-187), and Antiochus IV (175-163). The first, however, lived in feud and war with the Rhodians, the faithful allies of the Romans; so Antiochus IV remains. That means that the inscription is of the years between 175 and 163. Fortunately it is one of the very few Rhodian inscriptions with a date; it is namely from the year of the priest of Helios, Damokles, the son of Demas (*ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους τοῦ Δαμέου*). In the large p. 200) discovery of jarstamps at Pergamum there is almost no priest we meet so frequently as just this Damokles. Among the 819 R. stamps he appears not less than 21 times. Only 3 of the 44 surpass him in this respect (7). As it is obvious that when the fragments were swept together the amphoras of the most recent years were as a whole the most common of those still on hand, it must probably have happened soon after his priesthood, so the date of the clearing away must have been about 165.

Along another way we come to the same result. The most prominent Rhodian politicians of the second century are Theaidetos and his son, Astymedes. Both are mentioned again and again by Polybius (see the index in Hultsch), Astymedes for the first time in the year 171 and further as Rhodian ambassador in Rome in the years 167, 164, and 153. It is not stated in Polybius that he is a son of Theaidetos, but it appears almost certain from inscriptions (EAR 3, 69; GDI 42052; IG XII 1, 1634). Blinkenberg has taken it as a fact (EAR 3, 70),



and I agree readily with him. Now there exists a priest of Helios, Astymedes, a wellknown eponymus, for his name appears not less than 49 times on jarstamps. His name also appears in an inscription (IG XII 3, 103g), a passage which I have not found mentioned either in Blinkenberg or anywhere else. Is this priest of Helios now the same as the politician? Yes, says Blinkenberg, and it seems likely to me too. For the name, Astymedes is not common and the six or seven other bearers of this name at Rhodes (GDI 37512.5; 379186; 3791164; 38532; 38753; 415770; 419815) are still obscure. Along two ways, however, we know rather precisely the year of the priesthood of Astymedes, the priest of Helios. The p. 201) ~~just~~ inscription IG XII 3, 103 just mentioned is an epitaph with statue, erected by grieving grandchildren for a grandfather and made by Epicharmus of Soli. Epicharmus sculptured also as late as the first century (see GDI 379225; 380212; 420011). He was perquam iuvenis says Hiller von Gartringen, the publisher of this inscription, when he sculptured this statue, and I believe it gladly. But even in that case it can hardly have been before 140 or 130. The grandfather in question, whose career is glorified on the memorial, had risen to be στρατηγός, field officer, κατὰ πόλεμον τῶν Κρητικῶν ἐπὶ Ἀστυμῆδεως. Hiller assumes that by this war between Rhodes and Crete the one of 154-151 is meant, which Polybius describes in his 33<sup>d</sup> book. This guess is indeed very acceptable. So, ~~κἄν~~ then Astymedes was priest of Helios in 153 or thereabout. It becomes still more likely, when we consider that, again according to Polybius, (33, 15), just Astymedes was delegated to Rome by the Rhodians, to explain the quarrel between Rhodes and Crete in the senate. Who could be more properly considered for this post than the eponymus of the state? A second path leads to the same year 153. Blinkenberg mentions on the passage which I just quoted, that he has found an inscription at Lindos (he has not published it yet), that proves irrefutably how exactly in the year 154 Astymedes was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos. As a rule the priesthood of Helios at Rhodes and that of Athana at Lindos, these two highest attractions for Rhodian political ambition, were mostly attained by the same person. So, Astymedes was priest of Helios between 155-150. Now it is remarkable that of 49 jar stamps which we have with his name, not one appears in the big find of Pergamum. The readiest explanation is still that when these jars were cleared away, Astymedes had not yet been priest of Helios. He held this office, however, shortly after 155; the dating agrees with p. 202) this clearing away at about 165.

His father, Theaidetos, however, appears most positively on the jars at Pergamum. We know from Polybius (30, 22), that this politician died at Rome in the year 167, more than 80 years old. Further, this unpublished inscription of Blinkenberg which I just mentioned informs us that he was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos in 188. If he too obtained the priesthood of Helios,



then that was probably at about the same time. It is, however, unthinkable that a politician of his note should not have held that office. Moreover, we know a priest of Helios, Theaidetos, from 44 jar stamps. Is he the one? Of course, yes! For the name Theaidetos is so rare that we know elsewhere none, at Rhodes only two others of the same name, an ancestor (GDI 4154<sup>37</sup>) and a descendant (EAR 3, 73; GDI 3810 b<sub>1</sub>). In our editions of Polybius he is then also called obstinately *θεαίτητος*, wrong but more common, although no Rhodian inscriptions support this appellation (EAR 3, 69; GDI 42052; IG XII 1, 163<sub>2</sub>). Now we go again back with this Theaidetos to the find at Pergamum. If the discovery dates from about 165, and Theaidetos was priest of Helios in about 190, then he must appear several times on the Pergamum handles. Indeed, of the 44 stamps we possess of him, 12 come from Pergamum.

But, still more certain than the proof which Damokles or Astymedes or Theaidetos can produce for us, is that which is connected with the priest, Anchidamos. An inscription was found under the ruins of the temple of Zeus Panamarus near Stratonicea in Caria; the most accessible edition is the one of Michel 479. That inscription begins with the dating 'Επ' ἡμετέρας Ἀρχιδάμου. Just that dating by a Rhodian priest of Helios makes it certain that it originates from the time that Stratonicea was subject to Rhodes. The content, an honour-decree for a retired Rhodian *ἐμιστάτης*, p. 203) confirms that too, if necessary. ~~Kx~~ When, however, was Stratonicea subject to Rhodes? We know that exactly: in 188 the Romans presented the town to Rhodes, in 166 they took their gift back. Never before or after was this condition repeated. So Anchidamos was priest in one of the years between 188 and 166. Of this eponymus we have 56 jar inscriptions, among them the rather large number of 16 that appeared at Pergamum. Does that not beautifully harmonize with what we just found, that the stamps at Pergamum were cleared away in  $\pm 165$ ?

Because of the fact that it is of great importance to know as definitely as possible the exact date of the clearing away, I will also speak of five other priests who can be of use for this. First, Eukles. He appears in an inscription which, although it was published only two years ago, is now already famous, that is, the "Chronicle of Lindos". There we read (EAR 6, 340, D40), that the temple of Athana Lindia burned down, when Eukles the son of Astyanaktidas, ~~Kx~~ was priest of Helios

Blinkenberg in his comment on this inscription (op. cit., pp. 448 ff.) in an excellent argument, which is built up from several historical data, has practically proved that this fire took place in about 335. Whoever still doubts should read further EAR 2, 65 ff.; there Kinch develops on architectural grounds, long before the Chronicle of Lindos was known, that the newly constructed temple of Athana Lindia, now still existing in



ruins, dates from the second half of the fourth century. So Eukles was priest of Helios in about 335. I know 16 jar stamps of him<sup>(8)</sup>. None of these 16 are found at Pergamum. If this were otherwise, then this deposit could hardly date p. 204) from about 165. Now this is just the result which could be expected a priori.

This Eukles, in contrast with the four formerly mentioned, also does not appear on the stamps of the second large group discovery, the one at Carthage. Or can one speak of a large group, since the number of the Pergamon jar inscriptions is three times as big as the number of those found at Carthage? And above all--what is more important--can the Carthage find be called a connected group? The case is this. In the last twenty years of the 19th century successively 331 Greek jar stamps were found at Carthage. They were published in several numbers of the *Revue Tunisienne*, of the *Bulletin Archéologique du comité des travaux historiques*, of the *Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions* and of local periodicals which are inaccessible to me. Afterward they were combined by Dessau in 1904 in the IIIrd Supplement volume of the VIIIth part of the *GIL*, under N. 22639. Dessau gives 266 inscriptions, all Rhodian; at least, none can be proved not to be Rhodian. In the earliest announcements of the discovery it is claimed that the greater part of these stamps form a unit: Delattre describes in the *BCT* of 1894, (pp. 89 ff.) a wall of the period of Augustus with an interior filling of amphoras and amphora fragments. At the same time he points out (pp. 92 and 107) why they must be much older than Augustus and must derive from the time of the Punic Carthage. How many of the total 266 belong together, and which exactly, he does not mention, any more than anybody else. Fortunately the mutual connection can be proved from the stamps themselves. Bleckmann has already called attention to the fact that the stamps at Carthage and those at Pergamum apparently are from about the same time. Of the 42 priests of Helios which are mentioned on the jars at Carthage, 30 occur at Pergamum, while only p. 205) 14 Pergamum names are missing at Carthage<sup>(9)</sup>. Such a harmony between two masses of Rhodian jar stamps is nowhere else to be found. Which find is later, the one at Pergamum or the one at Carthage? To decide that, the priest of Helios, Astymedes, can again be useful, about whom we have just settled that he occupied the priesthood in 153 or thereabout. We possess 49 stamps of him. None of them was found at Pergamum; in the discovery of Carthage, however, which was less than a third the size, he appears twice. So, the stamps at Carthage fall partly after about 165 and of course do not reach further than 149, the year that must inevitably have finished all Rhodian importation into that town.



Now, after the Pergamum jars are, for these reasons, placed at 165 and those from Carthage as a whole somewhat later, for further confirmation of the results achieved I must mention the priest of Helios, Pratophanes, who appears as dating authority on the lengthy, fairly well-known inscription, the statement of the Rhodians in the age-old feud between Samos and Priene. They quarreled about the fortress τὸ Κασπίον and about the ground around it, and brought this case continually before different arbiters. The inscription in question, already several times dealt with, has at last found a worthy publisher in Hicks after its transportation to the British Museum. Hicks makes it appear likely for more than one reason that it dates from the first half of the second century. When I in turn worked on this inscription (GDI 3758), I added to his arguments that two of the respectable Rhodians who appear here as arbiters seem to be known to us from elsewhere. Agesandros, son of Eudamos, is probably the son of the Eudamos p. 206) mentioned by Livy who in 190 commanded the Rhodian squadron in the sea-battle at Myonnesos, while Timagoras, the son of Polemakles, is probably the admiral who, according to Polybius (27, 7<sub>14</sub>), fought against Perseus in 170. The inscription might then be from about 165. It is dated ἐπὶ ἱερέως Πρατο [φάνευς]. It is true that no more of his name is preserved than Πρατο; but the restoration is certain, as it seems to me, because there is no other, among all the 269 Rhodian priests, whose name begins with Πρατο. So the priest Pratophanes appears in an inscription from about 165. He is also found on jar stamps, in total on 24. Among these, two were found at Pergamum (P 1166 and 1167), but no less than 8 were found at Carthage (7 at C 137 - 143, 1 in the BCT 1904, 488, n. 35). Indeed, there is not a single Rhodian priest of whom more stamps were found at Carthage than of this Pratophanes. This result at Pergamum as well as at Carthage is exactly what was to be hoped of a priest at about 165. Damainetos, another eponymous priest, has already long been known through the inscription in honor of the ἀρχερονόμος Dionysodoros of Alexandria (GDI 3836). That is dated according to his priesthood. Kellermann, Frant, Boeckh, Hiller von Gartringen, all publishers of this inscription, agree that it dates from the second century. They dated it thus long before anything was known about the finds at Pergamum and Carthage. For this, Damainetos, (he is missing at Pergamum) appears twice at Carthage (C54; BCT 1902, 447 n. 1). In future he may be placed at about 160.

The priest Sosikles is in the same case. He appears in an inscription (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1270) that is placed by letter forms in the second century, maybe in the beginning of the first. The evidence of the jars agrees with that. For he is found p. 207) in Carthage (BCT 1904, 489 n. 41), not in Pergamum. So he too is from ± 160. He is found 37 times on jar stamps.



Finally the priest Aratophanes. He indicates the year on an inscription of the Rhodians in honor of the City of Cyzicus (now GDI n. 3752). Boeckh, the deserving publisher of this stone, places him in the second century B.C.; at the time I was not able to add anything in my edition to narrow somewhat this rather vague dating. Aratophanes appears also on jar stamps, 51 times. Among them 8 were found at Pergamum (P 867-874) and three at Carthage (C 1b and 28; BCT 1904, 484 n. 6). This agrees with Boeckh's dating of the Rhodian-Cyzician honor decree and with my dating of the Pergamum and Carthage finds. Now, however, Boeckh's dating can be limited and only the first half of the second century need be considered, to be more precise -- about the year 175.

"What does it help us, that we so searching and searching have estimated the date of the find at Pergamum rather precise, that we know about the time of the Carthagian stamps? Very much of course." For the 56 priests and 76 manufacturers mentioned at Pergamum and Carthage can now safely be placed at a time which at the most goes back 60 years before the Pergamum discovery; so they belong to the years between 225 and 149. After a moment it will be proved that literally all these priests and manufacturers appear extremely often in our common stamp supply of 10,000 pieces, so that the period of 225 to 150 must have been the great flourishing time of Rhodian trade. At first it is, however, possible to distribute them a little more precisely over the period in question and also to increase their number somewhat. For those among them who appear more than ten times at Pergamum, we can with great probability place between 190 and 165, and those who

p. 208) appear often or only at Carthage, seldom at Pergamum, may be from about 170 - 150. Those who are found sporadically at Pergamum, not at all at Carthage, must very likely be placed between 225 and 190. The results are here of course more certain for the priests than for the manufacturers: the names of the priests represent each only one year, the manufacturers' names a lifetime, maybe sometimes several lifetimes, the life of a firm.<sup>(10)</sup> As to the enlargement of the number of 56 priests and 76 manufacturers, that can also be attained along another way for the 75 years in question. A few complete Rhodian jars have been found; the names of priest and manufacturer which appear on them belong of course together, they lived at the same time. It also occurs, although very seldom, that on the same handle of a jar, the name of a priest and the name of a manufacturer are stamped next to each other. We know of these two categories together about 80 instances on 10,000 jarstamps. 62 are useful for our purpose <sup>(11)</sup>. On the rest of the complete jars the inscriptions are not sufficiently legible. (p. 209) They help us to learn the date of a few more priests and manufacturers. For example a complete jar was found in Cyprus, datable in the year  $\pm$  190, with the name of the priest Theaidetos, who kept us busy just now (Hall 391 n. 5060); on



one handle is his name, on the other the names of the manufacturer Hippokrates. So this Hippokrates lived also in about 190. He, in turn, appears again on another complete jar, which was excavated at Tell Sandahannah in Palestine (PEF 1903, 306), and also on one from Cyprus (Hall 391 n. 5041). The priests on these two jars are also again from about 190. The priest Nikasagoras, well-known at Pergamum and Carthage, so from about 175, appears on the same handle beside the manufacturer Agathoboulos (L 329, 5 and 6); so they lived at the same time. In this way you come from one result to another. Along this way (see footnotes for details) we get again for the period between 225 and 150 an increase of 11 priests<sup>(12)</sup> and 8 manufacturers<sup>(13)</sup>. (page 210). This brings the total to 67 priests and 84 manufacturers.

What does history know of the three-quarters of a century about which we speak here? That it was a period of great political prosperity for Rhodes, of the brightest outward splendour this state ever achieved. The period of prosperity, however, lasted twice as long, another three-quarters of a century preceded this one, almost equal in prosperity. There is no historian of Rhodes who does not date the beginning of the greatness of the town from the remarkable siege of 305-304 and close this period with 164, (p. 211) when the Roman weighed them down with disgrace heavy as lead and tried to transfer the Rhodian trade to Delos. Then begins the decline, slow for the time being, but continuous.

In those 140 years of greatness, Rhodes probably mustered the greatest internal strength between 304 and 225; in the 61 years after that, it was outwardly splendid. And this splendour seems also to affect the domain of Rhodian trade and traffic. For, scrutinizing the 10,000 stamps at our disposal, and tracing which of the names of the total of 269 known priests, and which of the names of 375 manufacturers, occur most in this material, we always find again those priests and manufacturers of whom we have learned that they lived between 225 and 150. A little bit of statistics will prove this. I have counted which names occur on 30 or more stamps. The number 30 has been taken arbitrarily; but in any case, they have to be those priests, during whose priesthood the export of jars was greatest, those manufacturers who contributed most to that export. In total it turns out that these are 60 priests and 39 manufacturers. I spare you the names; they are mentioned together with the number of their stamps in the note<sup>(14)</sup> (p. 212). Among these 60 most common priests are no less than 48 of the 67 known to us from the period 225-150; so there are only 12 left, 12 of 202 priests, for the remaining four centuries during which Rhodian amphoras were traded. For the manufacturers, the ratio is just as convincing: of 39 whose names occur on 30 or more handles, there are 34 who existed in the three quarters of a



century in question; whereas only 5 do not belong to that period. These statistics are eloquent in their soberness. They point very clearly to the zenith of Rhodian trade.

We are left with the problem of Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. Bleckmann has provided an answer here. As so many Rhodian stamps are known to us, he reasons, 10,000 in total, it is almost certain that of the period of stamping, i.e. the period of trade, we know practically all Rhodian eponyms. We know 260 of them; so the trading period was not much longer than that number of years. The beginning of it is 331, the year in which Alexander reestablished the free Rhodian Republic, the end around 50; for after that year not one priest occurring in inscriptions is mentioned on jarstamps. Therefore we possess from the 281 intervening years all except 21 eponyms. Against this (p. 213) seemingly beautiful theory there can be found serious objections: that the number of 260 eponyms known to us is not exact, that 331 is a very arbitrary starting point (15), and 50 certainly the wrong end point; for even one century afterwards we know - not to speak of uncertain cases - the priest Diogenes of 55 A.D. whose name occurs in an inscription as well as on a stamp. If the investigation is to be free and objective, then one must look in history for the earliest possible moment when the stamping may have begun and also for the most likely endpoint, without judging from the jarstamps. The earliest possible start is 407. Then the city of Rhodes was founded, the state Rhodes was organized, so of course then this state got eponyms and magistrates. Before they existed it was impossible to stamp their names; but there is no reason at all to dispute that there was export to foreign countries already at that time, so that already then the stamping had begun. When did Rhodian export trade stop? No one who is experienced in the history of this city and knows how soon she became a dead city in the imperial period, who remembers the lengthy evidence about this which Dio Chrysostomus and Aristides have left for us in their *Ῥοδῖαι*, can believe that in 100 A.D. there can have been anything worth mentioning left of an export trade which had almost spanned all coasts of the Mediterranean. So calculating the limits liberally, there is a possible export period



of stamped jars of about 500 years (407 -  $\pm$  100 A.D.). For this possible 500-year period we know as yet less than 300 priests. So it seems that in spite of the 10,000 Rhodian stamps, there still are quite a lot of eponyms who do not appear on them at all.

{p.214) In the first place let us make the list as exact as possible. Bleckmann gave this most recently (in *Klio* XII), and got a number of 260, among them 10, which were found only in inscriptions, not on jar handles (16). Hiller von Gärtringen supplied this catalogue in one of the most recent numbers of *Klio* (XIV 388-389) with 11 new names of priests. So the total became 271. Also after his contribution it is still possible to enlarge the number; I still found the priests Agathombrotos (17) (N 231 n. 3), Agastophanes (GDI 4245, 24), Agoranax (L 20), Athanophilos (L 27), Antigonos (R 1082), Ankedon (L 117), Amsipolis (L 1213; compare also the two stamps from Tell Sandahannah, mentioned on p. 244), Euphragoras (AM 21.57 n. 15) Kleustratos (L276), Menekrates (N 240 n. 130), Peithiadas (M 186) Praxiphanes (GDI 4245, 604 and 605), Sosiphilos (L 389) Charidamos (L 434). (18). So again 14 new names; the total becomes now 285. But scrutinizing, some must be crossed out from Bleckmann, even from Hiller. Hiller mentions a priest [Ματ]άων, of whose name only the last half is readable. A well-known hero was called so, mortal people however seldom. I would rather fill in [ΑΚΤ]άων, which name indeed is found on the handles of two jars (C 22), . . . but as the name of a manufacturer. So the best thing to do seems to me, to keep the restoration of -άων in uncertainty. In the second place I take exception to Hiller's priest Τεισομέννης. I do not think this name rightly formed; I believe it to be simply {p.215) a less exact reading of the well-known priestname Τεισομένης. In Bleckmann I protest in the first place against the name called by him Alexidamos. He does not quote a place where this priest occurs and I never could find him anywhere; my guess is that he came on the list by mistake. Further I do not believe in the priest Apollonios. "Selten", Bleckmann calls him; truthfully he only appears once, in the very unreliable Dumont (D 82 n. 41), and Nilsson already rightly also doubted his existence (L p. 91). The priest Astymedes II seems to me also an unreal person. At the time of his priesthood, as is mentioned on an epitaph (JOAI 4. 160), a respected Rhodian, an anonymous person for us, is distinguished with wreaths and honours. The inscription is "jünger als 100 B.C.," Hiller, the publisher, says, but he relies only on letter forms and orthography. If we settle it at 120 (and letter forms and orthography will certainly allow that), there is nothing against the hypothesis that the person who had just died had accepted his honours in 153, at the time of



Astymedes, the well-known son of Theaidetos, whose priesthood we just set at 153. Then the somewhat suspicious splitting into a priest Astymedes I and Astymedes II collapses. The so-called priest  $\Delta\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  of Bleckmann has already been changed into a  $\Lambda\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  by Nilsson (L p. 112), who also in the same place crossed out Demetrios from the list of Rhodian priests. By the crossing out of Demetrios two names are lost from Bleckmann; for he has included the Rhodian dialect form Damatrios of this non-existent Demetrios. Thersandros also appeared in the other writing Tharsandros on the list. Hestieios also occurs as Histieios, which spelling probably is better. The priest  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  is probably also imagination. "Nur Zweimal" writes Bleckmann, "bei M und Z". The stamp M 144 has already been interpreted correctly by Nilsson (L p. 114). I am very much afraid that the inscription inaccessible to me in Z (Zapiski Odesskago obščestva)  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\alpha\ \alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  (p. 216) and likewise is to be ascribed to the hypothetical priest  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ , instead of to a manufacturer  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$ . I have already pointed out the mythical priest Molpagoras in note 11. The priest Nikasiboulos must be crossed out, who according to Bleckmann occurs "nur zweimal bei R", that is, in IG XII 1, but in fact is found nowhere.  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \mu\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\varsigma$  appears only once (L 405), in an incomplete inscription which could as well be restored as  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\varsigma$  or  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\varsigma$ . And, almost more certainly, the Timomenes must go, who is based on a single stamp in Stephani's Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmerien (BC n. 23). In this publication, difficult of access, the picture of this stamp will immediately convince any reader of how little foundation there is for the tradition that here  $\tau\iota\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$  is to be read; what is the right name, Tisamenos, Timogenes or something still different, is more difficult to settle. Finally the priests Philondas and Philonidas are the same person. So, after this meddling with 16 names, there remain 269 of the list of 285 priests.

Of these 269, 67 are to be placed between 225 and 150. But how many of the remaining are known to us from other sources? From the literature none; but I have mentioned several times inscriptions in which eponymous priests occur. These must, laid beside the jar stamps, make the course of Rhodian trade clear to us. Unfortunately the material so far at hand is not at all sufficient. All taken together, only 28 priests of Helios are mentioned in inscriptions (19). Among them one is useless to us, i.e. Eukrates: his period is too uncertain. Collignon, the first publisher of the inscription in which his name occurs (GDI 37555), p. 217, says "que l'inscription ne saurait être d'une date antérieure au troisième siècle"; Hiller, on the other hand, asserts that it is "multo recentior". We know two priests from the fourth century, the century after 407, the first which can possibly be considered. One of them is Eukles, the



eponym of the burning of the temple of Athana at Lindos, whom we have set at about 335. Sixteen of his stamps are preserved, thus rather a large number. The other is Pythannas (EAR 6.341, D61), of whom a vision is mentioned in the Chronicle of Lindos, in which Athana reveals to him a sin-offering for her polluted temple. As this vision comes after an *ἐπιβαρσία* of the goddess in 490 and before a similar occurrence in 304, it probably happened between these two dates; then Pythannas was a priest of the fourth century. The whole story, for that matter, calls also for the rather early dating. But Pythannas does not appear on any jarstamp. It seems to me that there is not very much to conclude here. If Pythannas is taken into consideration, then it seems likely that there was no export trade in the fourth century; judging by Eukles, this trade is to be considered rather large. Anyhow, the 16 stamps with Eukles' name have force as evidence. If we had had, in continuation of them, the names of three or four priests of the third century who also all were represented by a rather large number of stamps, then there might be scientific proof of what seems likely a priori, that about 350 Rhodian trade began to stretch its wings, that it developed powerfully after 300, and then after 225 attained its zenith. But unfortunately we have not one priest as dating authority certainly datable in the third century, the pre-eminently great period of Rhodes. Antisthenes is placed at the end of this century, a priest who is known from the inscription GDI 3798, but who is entirely missing from jarhandles. According to Hiller, who edited this inscription most recently, and who saw it, Antisthenes is (P. 218) "insunte altero saeculo ante Christum natum vix recentior", so from 200 or a little earlier. Newton and Foucart, earlier publishers, who saw the stone in Rhodes, agree with that, though with hesitation. But all rely for fixing the date purely on the character of the letter forms of the inscription. And this criterion is deceptive by the nature of things, particularly because there really are very few Rhodian inscriptions with chronological certainty from about that time. So I would rather leave this so-called only witness for the third century out of reckoning.

Before the year 225 the results are very uncertain, but after 150 it is no better. In between are the epigraphically known priests Damokles, Theaidetos, Astymedes, Archidamos, Damainetos, Pratophanes, Sosikles and Aratophanes, already discussed. They are all from 190 to 150. They appear often on stamps, respectively 50, 44, 24, 47, 51, 37 and 49 times. The priest Autokrates is also to be placed in the first half of the second century because of the inscription from Tenos in which he is mentioned (IG XII 5. 824<sub>32</sub>); in note 12 I have already connected him with the discoveries at Pergamum and Carthage. He is to be found on 60 jarstamps. Agēstratos



occurs in the inscription DS<sup>2</sup> 450<sup>29</sup>. This inscription gives us no information about its date; but here the jarinscriptions inform us that this priest, appearing at Pergamum and Carthage, must be from about 180. He recurs on 50 stamps. So these are 10 eponyms from the first half of the second century.

By their many stamps they all point out the flourishing time of Rhodian trade, which has just been dated at this period. Did this prosperity decline soon after 150? Considering the severe measures which the Romans had taken against them in 164, was the competition of the commercial metropolis Delos, founded by the Romans, so great that already in the second half of that century a very noticeable slackening began? One would believe so, relying on the evidence of the rest of the Rhodian eponyms known from that century. (p. 219) For three other priests of the second century are handed down to us; but two of those three do not appear on jarinscriptions, the third only once. In the first place there are the two priests Xenoteimos and Menestheus who together with Astymedes act as dating authorities on the epitaph JOAI 4. 160. Astymedes is from 153, so Xenoteimos and Menestheus must also have been from that time, probably a little later. Menestheus occurs on the jarstamp R 1165 (20), Xenoteimos on none. The name Menestheus is very rare, so the priest here mentioned is very likely identical with the frequently recurrent manufacturer of that name, whom in note 13 I connected with the discovery at Carthage, and consequently is from the same time. Xenoteimos and Menestheus must be from about 150; the priest Epicharmos, though still from the second century, seems to come after them. The dating of the inscription which mentions him (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1269) relies however again only on the letter forms. This Epicharmos is entirely lacking from jarstamps.

The poor result achieved between 150 and 100 continues in the first century. There, too, of the priests who occur in inscriptions, we find only a minority on jarhandles. And those whom we find in both places appear only once. The series begins with Archestratos. "Kurz vor 100 BC, eher etwas jünger", Hiller calls the inscription in which he occurs (DS<sup>2</sup> 610<sub>3</sub>). If one looks at the picture that is published of it, one will indeed agree with that and fix this inscription in the first quarter of the first century. To fix the date according to the letter forms is not too uncertain here, as it is just from this time that most of the Rhodian inscriptions date.

(p. 220) Archestratos, the priest mentioned is again totally unknown to us from jarstamps.



Contents and letter forms of the inscription in which they are mentioned make it likewise probable that the priests Theogenes (21) (GDI 3800<sub>1</sub>), Antilocho (GDI 3828<sub>g</sub>) and Rhodopeithes (GDI 4155<sub>g</sub>) are from the same period, the beginning of the first century. Theogenes appears once on the handle of a jar (as θεογενής, B<sup>n</sup> 231 n. 19), Antilocho three times (L 54), Rhodopeithes not at all. There is more, even complete, certainty about the time of the priests Archeleos, Hermokrates, Kritoboulos and Charisios. An inscription from Naxos, already known to Boeckh (IG XII 5.38), which certainly is from one of the first years after Antony had presented the island to the Rhodians in the year 42 (App. B.C.V/7; Sen. de Benef. V 16, 6), mentions them as contemporaries. These four priests, who without doubt are from about 40, are the chief basis of the opinion that Rhodian trade had fizzled out as early as the second half of the first century. None of these four occurs on any jarinscription and this fact surely does not point at prosperity. But in the century before—we just saw that—the majority of the priests mentioned in inscriptions do not occur on jarhandles; moreover we shall now see that in the century which follows, a priest whose name appears in an inscription is also found on the handle of a jar. We know namely three priests from the imperial period through inscriptions. One of them is called τῆς φανίας πανόσητος (GDI 3801<sub>g</sub>) and by his name alone is already placed in the time of the Flavian Emperors. His father Diokles was also a priest of Helios (GDI 3801<sub>g</sub>) and lived about 50 A.D. We do not have any stamp of the son, but we do have one of Diokles, p. 221) according to Nilsson (Lpp. 91<sub>g</sub>). He assumes that the enigmatical stamp ἐπὶ Διοκ (N 237 n. 80) must be read as ἐπὶ Διοκ[ and explains this as an abbreviation of Διοκλεῖς. He has not convinced me, but it is certainly possible. A contemporary of Diokles was Diogenes, whose date is quite fixed, because Nero sent a letter to the Rhodians at the time of his priesthood in the year 55 A.D.. That letter is preserved in the inscription BS<sup>2</sup> 373. Undoubtedly Diogenes (22) appears on jarstamps: at Panticapaeum a stamp with his name was found (BA<sup>n</sup> 99<sub>n</sub>. 416), an unchallengeable witness that even in the imperial period export trade existed. By assuming that the priest of 55 A.D. was a different individual from the priest on the jarhandle, who must have lived earlier in that case, an attempt is made to get rid of this annoying witness. But this distinction, questionable in itself, becomes quite unacceptable if one considers that had this stamp been of earlier date, it would of course have been written in the Rhodian dialect form ἐπὶ Διογένειος, whereas Skorpil, its publisher, reports that it appears in the form used in the κοινή, ἐπὶ Διογένου, which belongs to a later period in Rhodes.



Summarizing, we get the following impression of the Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. From the nearly two centuries, which can be considered as a possible period of stamping of Rhodian jars before 225, we know not more than two priests for certain, a third is very doubtful. Of two of these priests there exist no stamps, only inscriptions; of the third, Eukles, one of the two certain priests, appear 16 stamps. If it is necessary to draw some conclusion here, then it seems to me that trade of some importance has to be supposed for this time. After 150 we know for the first half century three priests

(p. 222), among whom one is uncertain. Of these three, only one occurs on jarstamps, and only once. Of the four priests between 100 and 50, all four rather uncertain, one appears on three jarinscriptions, another on two, two not at all. The four priests between 50 and the beginning of our era are all lacking on jarstamps. One of the three known to us from the first century A.D. appears certainly on a stamp, one probably, one certainly not. Here the conclusion is the most acceptable, that on an average trade at Rhodes after 150 never died out entirely, but also never became really lively.

Still, for the time being, we do not have data to fix more recently the date of the 202 priests known to us, the priests who must belong to the periods 407 - 225 and 150 - 100 A.D.. But we are more fortunate with the other 67 priests. Without doubt we can place them between 225 and 150. And we are no less sure that those 75 years represent the highest flourishing period of Rhodian trade. Epigraphy and archaeology, those indispensable sister sciences of history, have yet in the meantime taught us that at this investigation.



Van Gelder, p. 208, note 11:

Bleckmann has made a list of all these instances, and he gets 63 cases. A 64th he missed: the complete jar from vulci in Tuscany, most recently published by me in GDI 4245, 2. Two numbers of his list should be struck out. First, his no. 4, the jar on which according to Berg the names Molpagoras and Alexandros appear. Nilsson has already shown (L.p. 72, note 2) that this assertion is wrong. In the second place, the jar which he mentions in *Klio* (XII, 250) as bearing the names of the eponymous Aristarchos and the manufacturer Agathoboulos is a fiction. He refers to Nilsson, but it is nowhere to be found in Nilsson; but on the contrary Nilsson assures us (L.p. 116) that an eponymous Aristarchos is not known to him (nor to me either). So the total number of instances becomes 62.

Other small inaccuracies by Bleckmann in this list must be corrected. The priest of his no. 5 is not called Philaios but Philainios, the manufacturer of his no. 8 not Nanius but Nanis, the priest of his no. 44 not Harmosilas but Harmosidas, the manufacturer of his no. 16 not Dion but Dios, the priest of his no. 22 not Menesthes but Menestheus, the one of his no. 33 not Androboulos but Agathoboulos (see L. p. 160).

. . . . . Note 12:

To wit: Alexiadas, Andrias, Andronikos, Antipatros, Aristakos, Aristokles, Aristratos (see for these priests L. p. 116), Archembrotos, Autokrates, Thersandros, and Philainios. Bleckmann gives alphabetical lists of the eponymi and manufacturers found in Pergamon and Carthage (Bl. pp. 34 ff.). With the aid of these, the proof for the priests Antipatros and Philainios is easily to be found. The date of Alexiadas is proved by the manufacturer Dickleia, who is found with him on one jar, and who is known at Pergamon (P 1002); her name however is forgotten in the list of Bleckmann. Andrias, Andronikos, Aristakos and Thersandros depend on the manufacturer Agathoboulos, who is mentioned on the same handles with them, who, however, appears neither at Pergamon nor at Carthage, but whose date is given because he appears on the same handle with Nikasagoras (L 329), an eponymos who occurs in Pergamon and Carthage, but is found on a handle with Alexiadas (Hall 393, no. 5043; cf L p. 140). Aristokles is stamped with Midas on a complete jar; Midas, unknown at Pergamon and Carthage, appears, however, on a similar jar with the priest Aristogenes. This priest is known at Pergamon (P 894), however he also is missing from Bleckmann's list ["undort unbekannt"]. Midas and so also the priest Aristokles belong in our period. Autokrates, who moreover had already been placed epigraphically (BCH 27, 234, 32) in about this time, depends on Hermaios, a Rhodian manufacturer appearing at



Pergamon (P 1276), but again forgotten by Bleckmann [not listed as Rhodian by Schuchhardt].

Incidentally, on the list of Rhodian eponymi drawn up by Bleckmann from the find at Pergamon are missing, besides Aristogenes, also the priests Archidas (P 956) [restoration not certain], Athanodotos, Daemon, and Lapheides, on the list of the manufacturers appearing at Pergamon besides Hermaios and Diokleia, also Agesonios, Kreon, Hegesias, (P 1299) and Imas (1240). The one called on his list Ageso is in fact Agemon. The "Molesius" is Molesis, the "Nanius" is Nanis.

The list of Rhodian eponymi which he has drawn up from the find at Carthage shows these three gaps: Aristonidas, (C 32), Onasandros (C 124) and Philodamos; the list of Rhodian manufacturers who are known from Carthage must be completed with the names Dionysios (C 65), Eirenidas (C 83), and maybe Aristakos (C 18Ba).



H. Van Gelder, "Over Rhodische Kruikstempels en hun Belang voor onze Kennis van den Rhodischen Handel," in Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, V.1, 1915pp. 186 - 222.

English version made by a native of Holland, somewhat clarified and smoothed by V.G. Copied by two different typists, the change beginning with page 14.

Page numbers of the Dutch text appear in the translation, placed according to the beginning of each new page of the Dutch. These are set off at the beginning of the typed lines in the translation. The typists have broken the text where these occur; the reader is to disregard the gap thus caused.

Where footnote references were not clear as such in the typed copy, the numbers have been circled. The notes themselves have not been translated or copied except for notes 11 and 12, for which see the end of this manuscript.

The manuscript as a whole is intended to be used with the Dutch text, to which reference must be made for most footnotes, for the explanation of abbreviations, etc. However, a rather careful check (from text to copy of translation) has been made with of figures and references appearing in the text. Most of the Greek names in the text have been turned into English to cut down individual copying into the carbons.

A few inserts in square brackets toward the end are comments by V.G.

The translator's comment on the author's style: "Old fashioned Dutch, distinguished and polite."



H. Van Gelder, "On Rhodian Jar Stamps and their Importance  
for our Knowledge of Rhodian Commerce."

p. 186) The history of commerce in antiquity is still in statu nascendi. It has not the documents to hand which are so useful for the study of commerce in later times. It has also very little support from the ancient historians. In this field they almost abandon us. Thus it must be built up from the most unexpected sources. The study of the history of commerce of the island of Rhodes, which was once not unimportant in this respect, depends on discarded jars.

I will here speak mainly about the duration, the flowering of this commerce, and about the direction which it took. For this investigation, the written texts of the Greeks and Romans give us practically nothing. Certainly, everyone who has heard anything of Rhodes knows that it was a commercial republic; and if he searches he will easily find fifty passages in the works of the most various ancient classical writers, even a hundred, where this is stated. But hardly one goes any further, and gives any positive answer to the questions as to which were the centuries covered by this commerce, and when p. 187) was its most flourishing period, and with which countries it was carried on. In modern historical works, where the answer to these questions should certainly have been given, it has tacitly been taken for granted that political power and the flourishing of commerce went hand in hand; that in the Hellenistic period, the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., when Rhodes was at her most powerful, her commerce also must have flourished most. The question whether the flourishing of the commerce continued when political decay set in has been treated with reserve. It is thought that trade with Egypt must have been good, because Rhodes was so very friendly with the Ptolemys; and there is general reference to trade of Rhodes all about the Mediterranean. Although in these suppositions we have come very near to the truth, which was to be expected, it might have been otherwise. Often, for example - and one does not need to look far for this - the greatest flourishing of the trade of a state comes at a time when political decay has already set in. Anyway, scientific certainty is a different thing from supposition. And the study of the stamps of the handles of discarded Rhodian wine jars gives us here this certainty.

First, more particularly about these Greek stamped jars. In all the Mediterranean coastlands, especially of course where there were big cities, great numbers of sherds are found of



of large earthenware jars. All kinds of things were kept in these, fluids and non-fluids [literally fluids and things that were put in]. These sherds vary in color, the clay is finer or coarser, it is more or less well worked, in short they clearly point out their different places of origin. But which are these places? The supposition is not impossible that some of the fragments come from the places in which they are found. A Greek or even a non-Greek p.188) town without any fabrication of pottery seems to me hardly possible. A very considerable part of the heaps found is, however, surely imported. This is proved by the stamps. Jars marked by these stamps are thus elevated to becoming sources of history; the unmarked are nothing to us but curiosities. The stamped were made at Rhodes, Knidos, and Thasos, probably in lots of other Greek towns, but of the other Greek towns we know mostly not even the names; because their production was extremely small. One or very few specimens found keep alive for us the memory of the pottery manufactures of Paros, Naxos, Colophon, Smyrna, and many still entirely unknown places of origin. However, more than 97% of the present total quantity come from the three towns mentioned. Of these, Rhodes has the lion's share, nearly 73% of the total. As to the number of handles gradually unearthed and found, that is much bigger than outsiders may think; counting for Rhodes I have already come to a total of 9860. Besides it must not be forgotten that many stamps of this kind still are still entirely unpublished (that is explicitly mentioned of quite a lot found on Delos, on Amorgos and at Gezer in Palestine<sup>(1)</sup>), that others have probably escaped my notice with the extremely spread of the publications, and that moreover I could not possibly get some Russian and other publications, which I found mentioned. Besides these 9860 Rhodian, there are also about 2100 Knidian and 1650 Thasian jar stamps. The Knidian and the Thasian handles have a somewhat different color tone from the Rhodian, a different kind of clay, a different way of stamping, so that the expert has no difficulty in distinguishing the three kinds when dealing with complete examples; also with the majority of incomplete p. 189) examples he succeeds mostly with enough certainty<sup>(2)</sup>.

From what has been said a few conclusions can be made which have already been deduced long ago. First, that the export-trade of Rhodes was much bigger than that of Knidos or Thasos, a fact that already a priori had been established. But also in the second place, that, just as in the middle ages and to some extent also in more recent times, certain towns were the headquarters of certain industries. In ancient Greece, cheap, simple amphoras for the export-trade properly speaking were made only in three places; a monopolizing of the production,



which as a matter of fact is sufficiently confirmed for other Greek industries, for the fabrication of clay vases, of bronze pottery, of woven materials, etc. These amphoras were used in the first place for the export of wine. Rhodes and Thasos were rich in wine; on page 427 of my Geschichte der alte Rhodier I have collected the references which prove that for Rhodes. There it is evident, that, of the products of that island, nothing is mentioned nearly as often as wine, grapes and raisins. They were also used for oil, for salt, for fruits, (3) for salted fish, also products of which Rhodes had a surplus; they certainly were also exported to foreign countries, because there was a demand for jars. The stamps impressed on the handles do not have anything to do with tax-collecting or with export control of the state, as was p. 190) generally suspected for rather a long time. (4) There were long and somewhat tiresome discussions, before the purpose of the stamping was cleared up; it appears to me that Nilsson's conclusions will not be shaken. On every Greek jar, whatever its origin, are stamped the name of a manufacturer and a date. At Rhodes the dating tells you even the month. This stamping on the handles is an extension, probably a sequel, to the stamping on tiles. The stock on hand, and the tiles already set in place too, were stamped to protect them against theft and against being diverted in any other way from their proper purpose. On the tiles - it can be proved - was stamped the name of the building for which they were destined, also the name of the manufacturer who supplied them. For jars, the first item was excluded, the name of the manufacturer however was here valuable too. On both the exact date was stamped, the year in which they were baked. On Rhodian jars, the month, even, was mentioned. For mostly the owner of the factory left the execution of his affairs to his foreman or manager. The stamping with the month showed him an easy way to control the production of every month. (5) Through this means he had also a surer way of preventing the theft of newly made jars because it was his custom to sell the older ones first; for the stamp of the month marked them as still unsold, as stock. From fear of theft, the stamping with the name of the manufacturer soon became a means for advertising. For jars, this soon certainly became the primary purpose.

p. 191) So on each Rhodian jar three things are mentioned: 1. The name of the manufacturer, or of the firm, which ran the pottery; 2. to fix the year, the name of the eponymous priest of Helios at Rhodos; 3. the name of a month. These three indications are arbitrarily spread over the two handles of the jar (6). The name of the priest of Helios is always found with the preposition *ἐκ*, so for example *ἐκ Ἀγμέμαχου* at the time that Agemachos was eponymos; the names of the manufacturers and of the month are either in the genitive or in the nominative. The stamps are rectangular or round.



Before I begin to discuss how these stamps can tell us much about the direction and duration of Rhodian trade, a little digression about queer difficulties, which the reading and studying of their inscriptions entail. Many of these stamped handles are broken, less than half of the names of priests and manufacturers come to us complete. The happy finders who edit them have to guess and fill in the missing parts by conjecture. If they were all well-informed in these studies, if they knew all the names of the priests and manufacturers found up to their time, then they would at least have a basis to build further on. But mostly the case is as follows. Ten or even fifty Rhodian jar stamps are found. The finder knows almost nothing of the thousands of similar inscriptions already edited far and wide; the literature about the subject is indeed very difficult to gather completely, even for anybody. His specimens are damaged; so he restores as well as possible; often, however, he makes up something. Often the edition also is more or less intentionally careless; he is compelled to edit these things, because they have an antique origin, isn't he? but he does not understand that they p. 192) can be of any real use, and concentrates all his editorial care on more important inscriptions, which he has succeeded in finding. It is true that in the most recent decades there has been more careful work, since it has been realized how useful these stamped names are for history. But good editors excepted, many have delivered sad work. Indeed it is forgivable. Most of the inscriptions on the jars are not only broken or incomplete, but they are also often difficult to read. The manufacturers, who of course wanted to avoid expense, very often used dim and faint marks, with queer and ~~xx~~ wrongly drawn letters. The stamp-carvers too were partly dabblers, who by mistake carved the wrong letters, who through ignorance made blunders against Greek spelling, who skipped parts of the names, carved other parts double, etc. So only if one has looked through all the material and has read all the 10000 stamps and has studied them, can one devote himself with success to correcting the readings which sometimes are so foolish and corrupt, and on the other hand make progress in this field. I mention here to their credit the names of Becker, Stephany, Kaibel, Schuchhardt, of Hiller von Gärtringen, Bleckmann and Breccia, and above all of Nilsson, who in the last fifty years have acquired merit in this respect. Tens of corrections have already been made by them and others; but there still remain tens to make. I myself, who of course, at the time that I published the Rhodian Dialect-inscriptions in the collection of Collitz, made a contribution in this direction, found in the course of a renewed study of this subject for the sake of this lecture, once more a chance to suggest more than a hundred other readings. They will be published in an appendix.



At first now the direction of Rhodian commerce will be taken up; then follows a discussion of its flourishing period. p. 193) It is very easy to fix the direction. As I said, stamped jars with Rhodian, Knidian or Thasian origin are practically the only ones found. If for a region or town a calculation as exact as possible is made as to how many jar inscriptions are found there, and what percent of the total derives from each of these three places of origin, then you know the size of the Rhodian trade. To this method there is this objection, that Rhodes is compared with only two towns and not with other centers of commerce. We also learn nothing but the size of the trade in jars. But I consider it very likely that the jars in question were a very important export, if not the most important, for these three towns; it seems to me not less possible that the direction which the trade in jars took, was the same for other articles.

I will begin with an investigation of Sicily. Jarstamps from here were studied and published as early as 1558 (by Fazelli), moreover this is the country that already in the seventh century traded with Rhodes; for just there, so far from home, Rhodes built its biggest colonies, Gela and indirectly Agrigentum. Kaibel published the jarstamps of Sicily together with those of Italy (IG XIV 2393). He gives under 610 numbers 685 stamps, among them 602 Sicilian. What origin do these have? "Prae titulorum Rhodiorum multitudine onidii parii thasii paucissimi vix apparent". So writes Kaibel justly in his preface. To be very precise, of the 602 jar inscriptions collected in Sicily, 4 are Knidian (s 170, 212, 239 and 253), none Thasian, none Parian and 30 or 40 are uncertain. The rest are certainly Rhodian. With this result one may say with a clear conscience that the import of Rhodian amphoras got practically no competition from Knidos and Thasos. p. 194) In Italy it is the same. Kaibel publishes 283 stamps, nearly all from Tarentum, Brundisium and Rhegium. He has forgotten 23 from Praeneste, which Henzen published in the BI 1865, pp. 72 ff. Of the 306 handles, three are Knidian (s 79, 120 and 339), about twenty uncertain, and the rest all Rhodian.

The preponderance of Rhodes comes to light more overwhelmingly in Carthage. Of the 331 stamps (to be found in C and BCT 1902, 1904 and 1907) about twenty are uncertain; the rest are Rhodian.

We have almost no stamps from southern France, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, no more from Cyrene, a town populated partly with Rhodian colonists.

So the result about the west of the Mediterranean is that Thasian amphora trade did not exist there, that the Knidian was extremely little, the Rhodian supreme.



Egypt, Syria, and Cyprus form again a unit. Although the trade from Rhodes is very preponderant here, it is not as dominating as in the west. From Alexandria (the rest of Egypt has supplied almost nothing up to the present) we know 479 stamps gathered by Stoddart from 1842-44 (Transactions Royal Society of Literature, Second Series III, 1-127; IV, 1-67), 970 which Neroutsos published in 1875 (N226 ff.), 82 published in the same year by Miller (Ra 1875, 378 ff.), 634 from several works of Botti, and about 200 more from scattered publications (A. pp. 74-85; Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien 1871, 125-129; 1874, 16-23; etc.). Botti certainly, Miller probably, Neroutsos perhaps, include stamps which had already been published earlier. So it is impossible to come here to a definite total number; presumably there are in total about 2100 specimens. Of that, 430 are Thasian, about 350 Knidian, 100 uncertain and about 1620 Rhodian, that is, 80%.

The Syrian, or more precisely, the Palestinian stamps, p. 195) published by Macalister and others (in PEF 1900-1904; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeol. Recherches in Palestine II*, 148 ff.), are 358 in number, the Cyprian 264 (in BI 1870, 202 ff.; Ra 1873, 317 ff.); Hall pp. 389-397; The Gesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, Descriptive Atlas III Suppl. Greek Inscriptions n. 72-104; Nyres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, A catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, Oxford 1899, 95 ff.). Of these 622 items, about 80%, are Rhodian, the rest are uncertain (anyway the very incomplete publications make this seem so to us); only a very few specimens are certainly Knidian or Thasian.

The island of Rhodes itself has supplied a huge number of stamps. In the first place there is the tremendous supply which was recently found at Lindos by the Danes and published in so exemplary a manner by Nilsson; further, the more than 1000 handles, which Newton transported from the city of Rhodes to the British Museum, and which Miss G. Aemilia Hutton listed and described (IG XII 1, 1065 ff.); further, the 212 stamps, also from the city of Rhodes, lately published by Johannes Paris in the *Melanges Holleaux* (pp. 153 ff.); finally, some smaller collections (among others AM 21, 57 ff.). Of the 4300 specimens, there are less than 100 Knidian or uncertain, and in total there are only 8 Thasian. Of course this result was to be expected.

We have 882 jar stamps from Pergamum (P 766). Among them, 819 are Rhodian, 20 Thasian, 8 Knidian, 1 Parian, 2 from Smyrna, 32 uncertain. So again a preponderance in favor of Rhodes of more than 90%.

We have too few specimens from other towns on the coast of Asia Minor, from the Sporades and the Cyclades, to make conclusions here.

Up to this point, the figures have had a tedious monotony. The Rhodian amphora-commerce is nearly without a rival in the



western Mediterranean, in the East, and in the districts which surround Rhodes, p. 196) it is so preponderant that it draws up to 85 or 90% of the total. But quite another picture appears at once in Greece itself, at least in the only town of Greece from which we have more than a very few jar stamps--Athens. The number of this kind of inscriptions just there is very large: already in 1872 Dumont published there more than 2200 (*Inscriptions ceramiques de Grece*, Paris 1872). According to him there are 347 Rhodian among them. He was not competent to edit such a big collection; for he does not even know how properly to distinguish the Knidian from the Rhodian stamps. Yet roughly his report may be reliable: isn't he just as generous in declaring Rhodian what is Knidian, as in publishing a Knidian piece which is Rhodian? So here in Athens only 15% Rhodian stamps. The rest are Knidian, except for 124 Thasian and about 300 uncertain. Whoever after getting acquainted with Dumont's way of working wants to see some confirmation of his results should consider that much later a series of 98 stamps was sent from Attica to Dresden; Grundmann examined them (Gr pp. 279 ff.) and found that here too of the 98 stamps, only 14 are Rhodian. A little collection gathered six years later (AM 21, 127 ff.), gave again the same result. So it may be admitted that the Rhodian trade to Attica (and the rest of Greece) was of much less significance than that to the far districts to the west, east, or south.

There remains at last South Russia. More than 3000 amphora handles have appeared gradually among the ruins of the Greek towns on the north coast of the Black Sea. They are distributed over many government and private collections and published in a lot of periodicals and books. They are summed up in my "Rhodian Dialectinscriptions" (p. 571) and the newest supply in Nilsson (L pp. 41, ff.). The result is this, that of those 3000 stamps (given the standard of some publications, it is here no more possible than in Alexandria, p. 197) Palestine, Cyprus or Athens, to give exact numbers), that of these more than 3000 stamps only about 1200 are Rhodian, 1500 Thasian, and 200 Knidian. About 100 uncertain. Here--and only here--the island of Thasos (which is very close by) comes strongly to the fore and surpasses Rhodes, though less than Knidos did at Athens.

With our knowledge on this subject, we can not state with certainty why the Rhodian trade to Greece and the countries on the shores of the Black Sea was less important than elsewhere. We can only guess. To me it is the most likely solution that Rhodes as a commercial state came rather late to prosperity. Earlier, Miletos, Chaleis, Corinth, Aegina, Athens, successively had been first in trade. For Rhodes, which moreover was situated in a remote corner of the antique Greek world, it was difficult to gain ground in districts where it was not known as a commercial country and where others already had settled themselves. Therefore it turned to far abroad and to the districts which beginning only with the fourth century were opened more and more.



Now comes the question what the course of Rhodian commerce was and when it developed most strongly. This question, as far as it is connected with the stamps on amphoras, is faced more or less seriously by Schuchhardt, later deliberately by Bleckmann in his book "De Inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis rhodiis," Göttingae 1907, and further in the article in *Klio* XII (1912), pp. 249-258. With this research, however, where the solidity of the building stones is not very reliable, there is a duty to be very exact, and the material must in the first place be brought together as completely as possible. Of course it must be taken as a fact that on each Rhodian jar is stamped the name of a priest, which indicates a fixed year. p. 198) An attempt must be made to fix chronologically as many as possible of those priests, in total 269, distributed on 10000 stamps. How are we to arrive at this? Because none of these many appears in our Greek and Latin authors, not one name of a Rhodian priest of Helios, or one name of a manufacturer is mentioned. Searching in the endless supply of Greek inscriptions for political documents which are dated according to Rhodian eponymy ἐπὶ ἡγερέως τοῦ δεῦρα, at the time that this one or that one was a priest of Helios at Rhodes, one finds 28, of course mostly in inscriptions of the island itself. With a little knowledge of the subject, one succeeds in fixing the date of all these 28 rather exactly, of some even very precisely. Now if you search for as large as possible a find of Rhodian stamps belonging closely together, you will find the discovery at Pergamum, published by Carl Schuchhardt on p. 423 of Part II of the *Inscripfen von Pergamon*, 882 stamps, all found together as rubbish to support a house on sloping ground, and apparently all deposited at the same time. Indeed before this large discovery of material belonging together, an investigation of the present kind was impossible. Now it is important to fix as accurately as possible the time to which this discovery belongs. This can be done by tracing how many, and which, priests turn up at Pergamum of the 28 whose names appear in ordinary inscriptions, whose dates we mostly know. When an approximate date has been established in this way, then all priests of the discovery are to be counted. Then one must settle how many times each of these priests appear among all the 10000 Rhodian stamps, which we possess from far and near. If nearly all occur frequently among that mass, then of course the commerce of Rhodes was flourishing in their time; if the reverse is the case, then it was flagging at that time. Happily this investigation brings very clear results.

So the pivot on which everything turns, is the chronological fixing of the discovery at Pergamum. That discovery--as has been said--

p. 199) consists of 882 stamps. Of these, 819 are Rhodian, and on these 819 stamps are found 44 names of priests and 63 names of manufacturers. These priests are datable at most 60 or 70 years earlier than the date of the deposit; nobody postpones



longer the clearing away of old wine jars. When did they live? Schuchhardt supposed about 180; then, he said, Pergamum was most prosperous and most powerful, at that time Rhodes too was at the top of its glory. That the find dates from a time when there was considerable commercial traffic between Rhodes and Pergamum, follows among other things from the fact that the names of several priests turn up 10-20 times, even 25 times among those 819 stamps, so several years are represented 25 times.

All those who had to express their opinions after Schuchhardt agreed with his dating; however, it is not certain. Pergamum and Rhodes both existed and even flourished before and after that time. More certainty can be gathered along other roads. An inscription from Seleucia on the Calycadnus was found by Heberdey and Wilhelm, and recently published by me in the Greek Dialektinscriptions as n. 3751. The stone contains four Rhodian decrees in honor of Eudemos, the son of Nikon, a citizen of Seleucia and obviously an influential friend of a king Antiochus of Syria. The king has promised large presents to the Rhodians to support their fleet; Eudemos is stimulated to hasten the payments of those presents. This inscription according to the finders--and it appears to me that the copy which they give of it indicates the same--is definitely of the first half of the second century; then only two kings Antiochus can be taken into consideration, Antiochus the III, the Great (223-187), and Antiochus IV (175-163). The first, however, lived in feud and war with the Rhodians, the faithful allies of the Romans; so Antiochus IV remains. That means that the inscription is one of the years between 175 and 163. Fortunately it is one of the very few Rhodian inscriptions with a date; it is namely from the year of the priest of Helios, Damokles, the son of Demeas (*ἐπὶ ἱερέως δαμοκλέους τοῦ δαμέου*). In the large p. 200) discovery of jarstamps at Pergamum there is almost no priest we meet so frequently as just this Damokles. Among the 819 R. stamps he appears not less than 21 times. Only 3 of the 44 surpass him in this respect<sup>(7)</sup>. As it is obvious that when the fragments were swept together the amphoras of the most recent years were as a whole the most common of those still on hand, it must probably have happened soon after his priesthood, so the date of the clearing away must have been about 165.

Along another way we come to the same result. The most prominent Rhodian politicians of the second century are Theaidetos and his son, Astymedes. Both are mentioned again and again by Polybius (see the index in Hultsch), Astymedes for the first time in the year 171 and further as Rhodian ambassador in Rome in the years 167, 164, and 153. It is not stated in Polybius that he is a son of Theaidetos, but it appears almost certain from inscriptions (EAR 3, 69; GDI 42052; IG XII 1, 1634). Blinkenberg has taken it as a fact (EAR 3, 70),



and I agree readily with him. Now there exists a priest of Helios, Astymedes, a wellknown eponymus, for his name appears not less than 49 times on jarstamps. His name also appears in an inscription (IG XII 3, 103g), a passage which I have not found mentioned either in Blinkenberg or anywhere else. Is this priest of Helios now the same as the politician? Yes, says Blinkenberg, and it seems likely to me too. For the name, Astymedes is not common and the six or seven other bearers of this name at Rhodes (GDI 37512.5; 379186; 3791164; 38532; 38753; 415770; 419815) are still obscure. Along two ways, however, we know rather precisely the year of the priesthood of Astymedes, the priest of Helios. The p. 201) ~~junk~~ inscription IG XII 3, 103 just mentioned is an epitaph with statue, erected by grieving grandchildren for a grandfather and made by Epicharmus of Soli. Epicharmus sculptured also as late as the first century (see GDI 379225; 380212; 420011). He was perquam iuvenis says Hiller von Gärtringen, the publisher of this inscription, when he sculptured this statue, and I believe it gladly. But even in that case it can hardly have been before 140 or 130. The grandfather in question, whose career is glorified on the memorial, had risen to be στρατηγός, field officer, κατὰ πόλεμον τοῦ Κρητικῶν ἐπὶ Ἀστυμεδέως. Hiller assumes that by this war between Rhodes and Crete the one of 154-151 is meant, which Polybius describes in his 33<sup>d</sup> book. This guess is indeed very acceptable. So, ~~then~~ then Astymedes ~~was~~ was priest of Helios in 153 or thereabout. It becomes still more likely, when we consider that, again according to Polybius, (33, 15), just Astymedes was delegated in 153 to Rome by the Rhodians, to explain the quarrel between Rhodes and Crete in the senate. Who could be more properly considered for this post than the eponymus of the state? A second path leads to the same year 153. Blinkenberg mentions on the passage which I just quoted, that he has found an inscription at Lindos (he has not published it yet), that proves irrefutably how exactly in the year 154 Astymedes was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos. As a rule the priesthood of Helios at Rhodes and that of Athana at Lindos, these two highest attractions for Rhodian political ambition, were mostly attained by the same person. So, Astymedes was priest of Helios <sup>in 153</sup> between 155-150. Now it is remarkable that of 49 jar stamps which we have with his name, not one appears in the big find of Pergamum. The readiest explanation is still that when these jars were cleared away, Astymedes had not yet been priest of Helios. He held this office, however, shortly after 155; the dating agrees with p. 202) this clearing away at about 165.

His father, Theaidetos, however, appears most positively on the jars at Pergamum. We know from Polybius (30, 22), that this politician died at Rome in the year 167, more than 80 years old. Further, this unpublished inscription of Blinkenberg which I just mentioned informs us that he was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos in 188. If he too obtained the priesthood of Helios,



then that was probably at about the same time. It is, however, unthinkable that a politician of his note should not have held that office. Moreover, we know a priest of Helios, Theaidetos, from 44 jar stamps. Is he the one? Of course, yes! For the name Theaidetos is so rare that we know elsewhere none, at Rhodes only two others of the same name, an ancestor (GDI 4154) and a descendant (EAR 3, 73; GDI 3810 b.). In our editions of Polybius he is then also called obstinately *Θεαίτητος*, wrong but more common, although no Rhodian inscriptions support this appellation (EAR 3, 69; GDI 42052; IG XII 1, 163). Now we go again back with this Theaidetos to the find at Pergamum. If the discovery dates from about 165, and Theaidetos was priest of Helios in about 190, then he must appear several times on the Pergamum handles. Indeed, of the 44 stamps we possess of him, 12 come from Pergamum.

But, still more certain than the proof which Damokles or Astymedes or Theaidetos can produce for us, is that which is connected with the priest, Anchidamos. An inscription was found under the ruins of the temple of Zeus Panamarus near Stratonicea in Caria; the most accessible edition is the one of Michel 479. That inscription begins with the dating 'Επ' ἱερέως Ἀρχιδάμου. Just that dating by a Rhodian priest of Helios makes it certain that it originates from the time that Stratonicea was subject to Rhodes. The content, an honour-decree for a retired Rhodian *ἐπιστάτης*, p. 203) confirms that too, if necessary. ~~But~~ When, however, was Stratonicea subject to Rhodes? We know that exactly: in 188 the Romans presented the town to Rhodes, in 166 they took their gift back. Never before or after was this condition repeated. So Anchidamos was priest in one of the years between 188 and 166. Of this eponymus we have 56 jar inscriptions, among them the rather large number of 16 that appeared at Pergamum. Does that not beautifully harmonize with what we just found, that the stamps at Pergamum were cleared away in ± 165?

Because of the fact that it is of great importance to know as definitely as possible the exact date of the clearing away, I will also speak of five other priests who can be of use for this. First, Eukles. He appears in an inscription which, although it was published only two years ago, is now already famous, that is, the "Chronicle of Lindos". There we read (EAR 6, 340, D<sup>40</sup>), that the temple of Athana Lindia burned down, when Eukles the son of Antyanaktidas, ~~he~~ was priest of Helios

Blinkenberg in his comment on this inscription (op. cit., pp. 448 ff.) in an excellent argument, which is built up from several historical data, has practically proved that this fire took place in about 335. Whoever still doubts should read further EAR 2, 65 ff.; there Kinch develops on architectonical grounds, long before the Chronicle of Lindos was known, that the newly constructed temple of Athana Lindia, now still existing in



ruins, dates from the second half of the fourth century. So Eukles was priest of Helios in about 335. I know 16 jar stamps of him<sup>(8)</sup>. None of these 16 are found at Pergamum. If this were otherwise, then this deposit could hardly date p. 204) from about 165. Now this is just the result which could be expected a priori.

This Eukles, in contrast with the four formerly mentioned, also does not appear on the stamps of the second large group discovery, the one at Carthage. Or can one speak of a large group, since the number of the Pergamon jar inscriptions is three times as big as the number of those found at Carthage? And above all---what is more important---can the Carthage find be called a connected group? The case is this. In the last twenty years of the 19th century successively 331 Greek jar stamps were found at Carthage. They were published in several numbers of the Revue Tunisienne, of the Bulletin Archéologique du comité des travaux historiques, of the Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions and of local periodicals which are inaccessible to me. Afterward they were combined by Dessau in 1904 in the IIIrd Supplement volume of the VIIIth part of the CIL, under N. 22639. Dessau gives 266 inscriptions, all Rhodian; at least, none can be proved not to be Rhodian. In the earliest announcements of the discovery it is claimed that the greater part of these stamps form a unit: Delattre describes in the BCT of 1894, (pp. 89 ff.) a wall of the period of Augustus with an interior filling of amphoras and amphora fragments. At the same time he points out (pp. 92 and 107) why they must be much older than Augustus and must derive from the time of the Punic Carthage. How many of the total 266 belong together, and which exactly, he does not mention, any more than anybody else. Fortunately the mutual connection can be proved from the stamps themselves. Bleckmann has already called attention to the fact that the stamps at Carthage and those at Pergamum apparently are from about the same time. Of the 42 priests of Helios which are mentioned on the jars at Carthage, 30 occur at Pergamum, while only p. 205) 14 Pergamum names are missing at Carthage<sup>(9)</sup>. Such a harmony between two masses of Rhodian jar stamps is nowhere else to be found. Which find is later, the one at Pergamum or the one at Carthage? To decide that, the priest of Helios, Astymedes, can again be useful, about whom we have just settled that he occupied the priesthood in 153 or thereabout. We possess 49 stamps of him. None of them was found at Pergamum; in the discovery of Carthage, however, which was less than a third the size, he appears twice. So, the stamps at Carthage fall partly after about 165 and of course do not reach further than 149, the year that must inevitably have finished all Rhodian importation into that town.



Now, after the Pergamum jars are, for these reasons, placed at 165 and those from Carthage as a whole somewhat later, for further confirmation of the results achieved I must mention the priest of Helios, Pratophanes, who appears as dating authority on the lengthy, fairly well-known inscription, the statement of the Rhodians in the age-old feud between Samos and Priene. They quarreled about the fortress *τὸ κάστρον* and about the ground around it, and brought this case continually before different arbiters. The inscription in question, already several times dealt with, has at last found a worthy publisher in Hicks after its transportation to the British Museum. Hicks makes it appear likely for more than one reason that it dates from the first half of the second century. When I in turn worked on this inscription (GDI 3758), I added to his arguments that two of the respectable Rhodians who appear here as arbiters seem to be known to us from elsewhere. Agesandros, son of Eudamos, is probably the son of the Eudamos p. 206) mentioned by Livy who in 190 commanded the Rhodian squadron in the sea-battle at Myonnesos, while Timagoras, the son of Polemakles, is probably the admiral who, according to Polybius (27, 7<sup>11</sup>), fought against Perseus in 170. The inscription might then be from about 165. It is dated *ἐν τῇ ἑπείκῃ* *Πρατοφάνου* [φάνου]. It is true that no more of his name is preserved than *Πρατο*; but the restoration is certain, as it seems to me, because there is no other, among all the 269 Rhodian priests, whose name begins with *Πρατο*. So the priest Pratophanes appears in an inscription from about 165. He is also found on jar stamps, in total on 24. Among these, two were found at Pergamum (P 1166 and 1167), but no less than 8 were found at Carthage (7 at C 137 - 143, 1 in the BGT 1904, 488, n. 35). Indeed, there is not a single Rhodian priest of whom more stamps were found at Carthage than of this Pratophanes. This result at Pergamum as well as at Carthage is exactly what was to be hoped of a priest at about 165. Damainetos, another eponymous priest, has already long been known through the inscription in honor of the *ἡγεμάντιος* Dionysodoros of Alexandria (GDI 3836). That is dated according to his priesthood. Kellermann, Frank, Boeckh, Hiller von Gartringen, all publishers of this inscription, agree that it dates from the second century. They dated it thus long before anything was known about the finds at Pergamum and Carthage. For this, Damainetos, (he is missing at Pergamum) appears twice at Carthage (C 54; BGT 1902, 447 n. 1). In future he may be placed at about 160.

The priest Sosikles is in the same case. He appears in an inscription (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1270) that is placed by letter forms in the second century, maybe in the beginning of the first. The evidence of the jars agrees with that. For he is found p. 207) in Carthage (BGT 1904, 489 n. 41), not in Pergamum. So he too is from — 160. He is found 37 times on jar stamps.



Finally the priest Aratophanes. He indicates the year on an inscription of the Rhodians in honor of the City of Cyzicus (now GDI n. 3752). Boeckh, the deserving publisher of this stone, places him in the second century B.C.; at the time I was not able to add anything in my edition to narrow somewhat this rather vague dating. Aratophanes appears also on jar stamps, 51 times. Among them 8 were found at Pergamum (P 867-874) and three at Carthage (C 1b and 28; BCT 1904, 484 n. 6). This agrees with Boeckh's dating of the Rhodian-Cyzician honor decree and with my dating of the Pergamum and Carthage finds. Now, however, Boeckh's dating can be limited and only the first half of the second century need be considered, to be more precise -- about the year 175.

"What does it help us, that we so searching and searching have estimated the date of the find at Pergamum rather precise, that we know about the time of the Carthagian stamps? Very much of course." For the 56 priests and 76 manufacturers mentioned at Pergamum and Carthage can now safely be placed at a time which at the most goes back 60 years before the Pergamum discovery; so they belong to the years between 225 and 149. After a moment it will be proved that literally all these priests and manufacturers appear extremely often in our common stamp supply of 10,000 pieces, so that the period of 225 to 150 must have been the great flourishing time of Rhodian trade. At first it is, however, possible to distribute them a little more precisely over the period in question and also to increase their number somewhat. For those among them who appear more than ten times at Pergamum, we can with great probability place between 190 and 165, and those who

p. 208) appear often or only at Carthage, seldom at Pergamum, may be from about 170 - 150. Those who are found sporadically at Pergamum, not at all at Carthage, must very likely be placed between 225 and 190. The results are here of course more certain for the priests than for the manufacturers: the names of the priests represent each only one year, the manufacturers' names a lifetime, maybe sometimes several lifetimes, the life of a firm.<sup>(1)</sup> As to the enlargement of the number of 56 priests and 76 manufacturers, that can also be attained along another way for the 75 years in question. A few complete Rhodian jars have been found; the names of priest and manufacturer which appear on them belong of course together, they lived at the same time. It also occurs, although very seldom, that on the same handle of a jar, the name of a priest and the name of a manufacturer are stamped next to each other. We know of these two categories together about 80 instances on 10,000 jarstamps. 62 are useful for our purpose <sup>(11)</sup>. On the rest of the complete jars the inscriptions are not sufficiently legible. (p. 209) They help us to learn the date of a few more priests and manufacturers. For example a complete jar was found in Cyprus, datable in the year = 190, with the name of the priest Theaidetos, who kept us busy just now (Hall 391 n. 5060); on



one handle is his name, on the other the names of the manufacturer Hippokrates. So this Hippokrates lived also in about 190. He, in turn, appears again on another complete jar, which was excavated at Tell Sandahannah in Palestine (PEF 1903, 306), and also on one from Cyprus (Hall 391 n. 5041). The priests on these two jars are also again from about 190. The priest Nikasagoras, well-known at Pergamum and Carthage, so from about 175, appears on the same handle beside the manufacturer Agathoboulos (L 329, 5 and 6); so they lived at the same time. In this way you come from one result to another. Along this way (see footnotes for details) we get again for the period between 225 and 150 an increase of 11 priests<sup>(12)</sup> and 8 manufacturers<sup>(13)</sup> (page 210). This brings the total to 67 priests and 84 manufacturers.

What does history know of the three-quarters of a century about which we speak here? That it was a period of great political prosperity for Rhodes, of the brightest outward splendour this state ever achieved. The period of prosperity, however, lasted twice as long, another three-quarters of a century preceded this one, almost equal in prosperity. There is no historian of Rhodes who does not date the beginning of the greatness of the town from the remarkable siege of 305 - 304 and close this period with 164, (p. 211) when the Roman weighed them down with disgrace heavy as lead and tried to transfer the Rhodian trade to Delos. Then begins the decline, slow for the time being, but continuous.

In those 140 years of greatness, Rhodes probably mustered the greatest internal strength between 304 and 225; in the 61 years after that, it was outwardly splendid. And this splendour seems also to affect the domain of Rhodian trade and traffic. For, scrutinizing the 10,000 stamps at our disposal, and tracing which of the names of the total of 269 known priests, and which of the names of 375 manufacturers, occur most in this material, we always find again those priests and manufacturers of whom we have learned that they lived between 225 and 150. A little bit of statistics will prove this. I have counted which names occur on 30 or more stamps. The number 30 has been taken arbitrarily; but in any case, they have to be those priests, during whose priesthood the export of jars was greatest, those manufacturers who contributed most to that export. In total it turns out that these are 60 priests and 39 manufacturers. I spare you the names; they are mentioned together with the number of their stamps in the note<sup>(14)</sup> (p. 212) Among these 60 most common priests are no less than 48 of the 67 known to us from the period 225 - 150; so there are only 12 left, 12 of 202 priests, for the remaining four centuries during which Rhodian amphorae were traded. For the manufacturers, the ratio is just as convincing: of 39 whose names occur on 30 or more handles, there are 34 who existed in the three quarters of a



century in question; whereas only 5 do not belong to that period. These statistics are eloquent in their soberness. They point very clearly to the zenith of Rhodian trade.

We are left with the problem of Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. Bleckmann has provided an answer here. As so many Rhodian stamps are known to us, he reasons, 10,000 in total, it is almost certain that of the period of stamping, i.e. the period of trade, we know practically all Rhodian eponyms. We know 260 of them; so the trading period was not much longer than that number of years. The beginning of it is 331, the year in which Alexander reestablished the free Rhodian Republic, the end around 50; for after that year not one priest occurring in inscriptions is mentioned on jarstamps. Therefore we possess from the 281 intervening years all except 21 eponyms. Against this (p. 213) seemingly beautiful theory there can be found serious objections: that the number of 260 eponyms known to us is not exact, that 331 is a very arbitrary starting point(15), and 50 certainly the wrong end point; for even one century afterwards we know - not to speak of uncertain cases - the priest Diogenes of 55 A.D. whose name occurs in an inscription as well as on a stamp. If the investigation is to be free and objective, then one must look in history for the earliest possible moment when the stamping may have begun and also for the most likely endpoint, without judging from the jarstamps. The earliest possible start is 407. Then the city of Rhodes was founded, the state Rhodes was organized, so of course then this state got eponyms and magistrates. Before they existed it was impossible to stamp their names; but there is no reason at all to dispute that there was export to foreign countries already at that time, so that already then the stamping had begun. When did Rhodian export trade stop? No one who is experienced in the history of this city and knows how soon she became a dead city in the imperial period, who remembers the lengthy evidence about this which Dio Chrysostomus and Aristides have left for us in their *ῥοδίακοι*, can believe that in 100 A.D. there can have been anything worth mentioning left of an export trade which had almost spanned all coasts of the Mediterranean. So calculating the limits liberally, there is a possible export period



of stamped jars of about 500 years (407 - = 100 A.D.). For this possible 500-year period we know as yet less than 300 priests. So it seems that in spite of the 10,000 Rhodian stamps, there still are quite a lot of eponyms who do not appear on them at all.

{p.214) In the first place let us make the list as exact as possible. Bleckmann gave this most recently (in Klio XII), and got a number of 260, among them 10, which were found only in inscriptions, not on jar handles (16). Hiller von Gärtringen supplied this catalogue in one of the most recent numbers of Klio (XIV 388-389) with 11 new names of priests. So the total became 271. Also after his contribution it is still possible to enlarge the number; I still found the priests Agathombrotos (17) (N 231 n. 3), Agastophanes (GDI 4245, 24), Agoranax (L 20), Athanophilos (L 27, Antigonos (R 1082), Ankedon (L 117), Axisipolis (L 121); compare also the two stamps from Tell Sandahannah, mentioned on p. 244), Euphragoras (AM 21.57 n. 15) Kleustratos (L276), Menekrates (N 240 n. 130), Peithiadas (M 186) Praxiphanes (GDI 4245, 604 and 605), Sosiphilos (L 389) Charidamos (L 434).

(18). So again 14 new names; the total becomes now 285. But scrutinizing, some must be crossed out from Bleckmann, even from Hiller. Hiller mentions a priest [Μαχ] α ω ν, of whose name only the last half is readable. A well-known hero was called so, mortal people however seldom. I would rather fill in [Ακτ] α ω ν, which name indeed is found on the handles of two jars (C 22), . . . but as the name of a manufacturer. So the best thing to do seems to me, to keep the restoration of - α ω ν in uncertainty. In the second place I take exception to Hiller's priest Τεισομένης. I do not think this name rightly formed; I believe it to be simply

{p.215) a less exact reading of the well-known priestname Τεισομένης. In Bleckmann I protest in the first place against the name called by him Alexidamos. He does not quote a place where this priest occurs and I never could find him anywhere; my guess is that he came on the list by mistake. Further I do not believe in the priest Apollonios. "Selten", Bleckmann calls him; truthfully he only appears once, in the very unreliable Dumont (D 82 n. 41), and Nilsson already rightly also doubted his existence (L p. 91). The priest Astymedes II seems to me also an unreal person. At the time of his priesthood, as is mentioned on an epitaph (JOAI 4. 160), a respected Rhodian, an anonymous person for us, is distinguished with wreaths and honours. The inscription is "jünger als 100 B.C.," Hiller, the publisher, says, but he relies only on letter forms and orthography. If we settle it at 120 (and letter forms and orthography will certainly allow that), there is nothing against the hypothesis that the person who had just died had accepted his honours in 153, at the time of



Astymedes, the well-known son of Theaidetos, whose priesthood we just set at 153. Then the somewhat suspicious splitting into a priest Astymedes I and Astymedes II collapses. The so-called priest Δαρσίδης of Bleckmann has already been changed into a Δαρσίδης by Nilsson (L p. 112), who also in the same place crossed out Demetrios from the list of Rhodian priests. By the crossing out of Demetrios two names are lost from Bleckmann; for he has included the Rhodian dialect form Damatrios of this non-existent Demetrios. Thersandros also appeared in the other writing Tharsandros on the list. Hestieios also occurs as Histieios, which spelling probably is better. The priest Κυσος is probably also imagination. "Nur Zweimal" writes Bleckmann, "bei M und Z". The stamp M 144 has already been interpreted correctly by Nilsson (1<sup>er</sup> p. 114). I am very much afraid that the inscription inaccessible to me in Z (Zapiski Odesskago obščestva) also is Ἐπικύδου (p. 216) and likewise is to be ascribed to the hypothetical priest Κυσος, instead of to a manufacturer Ἐπικύδης. I have already pointed out the mythical priest Molpagoras in note 11. The priest Nikasiboulos must be crossed out, who according to Bleckmann occurs "nur zweimal bei R", that is, in IG XII 1, but in fact is found nowhere. [Τι]μαρχος appears only once (L 405), in an incomplete inscription which could as well be restored as [Δά]μαρχος or [Κά]μαρχος. And, almost more certainly, the Timomenes must go, who is based on a single stamp in Stephani's Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmerien (BC n. 23). In this publication, difficult of access, the picture of this stamp will immediately convince any reader of how little foundation there is for the tradition that here Τι[μο]μέν[ης] is to be read; what is the right name, Tisamenos, Timogenes or something still different, is more difficult to settle. Finally the priests Philondas and Philonidas are the same person. So, after this meddling with 16 names, there remain 269 of the list of 285 priests.

Of these 269, 67 are to be placed between 225 and 150. But how many of the remaining are known to us from other sources? From the literature none; but I have mentioned several times inscriptions in which eponymous priests occur. These must, laid beside the jar stamps, make the course of Rhodian trade clear to us. Unfortunately the material so far at hand is not at all sufficient. All taken together, only 28 priests of Helios are mentioned in inscriptions (19). Among them one is useless to us, i. e. Eukrates: his period is too uncertain. Collignon, the first publisher of the inscription in which his name occurs (GDI 3755), (p. 217), says "que l'inscription ne saurait être d'une date antérieure au troisième siècle"; Miller, on the other hand, asserts that it is "multo recentior". We know two priests from the fourth century, the century after 407, the first which can possibly be considered. One of them is Eukles, the



eponym of the burning of the temple of Athana at Lindos, whom we have set at about 335. Sixteen of his stamps are preserved, thus rather a large number. The other is Pythannas (EAR 6.341, D61), of whom a vision is mentioned in the Chronicle of Lindos, in which Athana reveals to him a sin-offering for her polluted temple. As this vision comes after an *ἐπιφάνεια* of the goddess in 490 and before a similar occurrence in 304, it probably happened between these two dates; then Pythannas was a priest of the fourth century. The whole story, for that matter, calls also for the rather early dating. But Pythannas does not appear on any jarstamp. It seems to me that there is not very much to conclude here. If Pythannas is taken into consideration, then it seems likely that there was no export trade in the fourth century; judging by Eukles, this trade is to be considered rather large. Anyhow, the 16 stamps with Eukles' name have force as evidence. If we had had, in continuation of them, the names of three or four priests of the third century who also all were represented by a rather large number of stamps, then there might be scientific proof of what seems likely a priori, that about 350 Rhodian trade began to stretch its wings, that it developed powerfully after 300, and then after 225 attained its zenith. But unfortunately we have not one priest as dating authority certainly datable in the third century, the pre-eminently great period of Rhodes. Antisthenes is placed at the end of this century, a priest who is known from the inscription GDI 3798, but who is entirely missing from jarhandles. According to Miller, who edited this inscription most recently, and who saw it, Antisthenes is (p. 218) "ineunte altero saeculo ante Christum natum vix recentior", so from 200 or a little earlier. Newton and Foucart, earlier publishers, who saw the stone in Rhodes, agree with that, though with hesitation. But all rely for fixing the date purely on the character of the letter forms of the inscription. And this criterion is deceptive by the nature of things, particularly because there really are very few Rhodian inscriptions with chronological certainty from about that time. So I would rather leave this so-called only witness for the third century out of reckoning.

Before the year 225 the results are very uncertain, but after 150 it is no better. In between are the epigraphically known priests Damokles, Theaidetos, Astymedes, Archidamos, Damainetos, Pratophanes, Sosikles and Aratophanes, already discussed. They are all from 190 to 150. They appear often on stamps, respectively 50, 44, 24, 47, 51, 37 and 49 times. The priest Autokrates is also to be placed in the first half of the second century because of the inscription from Tenos in which he is mentioned (IG XII 5. 824<sub>32</sub>); in note 12 I have already connected him with the discoveries at Pergamum and Carthage. He is to be found on 60 jarstamps. Agēstratos



occurs in the inscription DS<sup>2</sup> 450<sup>29</sup>. This inscription gives us no information about its date; but here the jarinscriptions inform us that this priest, appearing at Pergamum and Carthage, must be from about 180. He recurs on 50 stamps. So these are 10 eponyms from the first half of the second century.

By their many stamps they all point out the flourishing time of Rhodian trade, which has just been dated at this period. Did this prosperity decline soon after 150? Considering the severe measures which the Romans had taken against them in 164, was the competition of the commercial metropolis Delos, founded by the Romans, so great that already in the second half of that century a very noticeable slackening began? One would believe so, relying on the evidence of the rest of the Rhodian eponyms known from that century. (p. 219) For three other priests of the second century are handed down to us; but two of those three do not appear on jarinscriptions, the third only once. In the first place there are the two priests Xenoteimos and Menestheus who together with Astymedes act as dating authorities on the epitaph JOAI 4. 160. Astymedes is from 153, so Xenoteimos and Menestheus must also have been from that time, probably a little later. Menestheus occurs on the jarstamp R 1165 (20), Xenoteimos on none. The name Menestheus is very rare, so the priest here mentioned is very likely identical with the frequently recurrent manufacturer of that name, whom in note 13 I connected with the discovery at Carthage, and consequently is from the same time. Xenoteimos and Menestheus must be from about 150; the priest Epicharmos, though still from the second century, seems to come after them. The dating of the inscription which mentions him (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1269) relies however again only on the letter forms. This Epicharmos is entirely lacking from jarstamps.

The poor result achieved between 150 and 100 continues in the first century. There, too, of the priests who occur in inscriptions, we find only a minority on jarhandles. And those whom we find in both places appear only once. The series begins with Archestratos. "Kurz vor 100 BC, eher etwas jünger", Hiller calls the inscription in which he occurs (DS<sup>2</sup> 610<sub>3</sub>). If one looks at the picture that is published of it, one will indeed agree with that and fix this inscription in the first quarter of the first century. To fix the date according to the letter forms is not too uncertain here, as it is just from this time that most of the Rhodian inscriptions date.

(p. 220) Archestratos, the priest mentioned is again totally unknown to us from jarstamps.



Contents and letter forms of the inscription in which they are mentioned make it likewise probable that the priests Theogenes<sup>(21)</sup> (GDI 3800<sub>1</sub>), Antilocho<sup>s</sup> (GDI 3828<sub>g</sub>) and Rhodopeithes (GDI 4155<sub>3</sub>) are from the same period, the beginning of the first century. Theogenes appears once on the handle of a jar (as Θεογένης, B<sup>n</sup> 231 n. 19), Antilocho<sup>s</sup> three times (L 54), Rhodopeithes not at all. There is more, even complete, certainty about the time of the priests Archeleos, Hermokrates, Kritoboulos and Charisios. An inscription from Naxos, already known to Boeckh (IG XII 5.38), which certainly is from one of the first years after Antony had presented the island to the Rhodians in the year 42 (App. B.C. 47; Sen. de Benef. V 16, 6), mentions them as contemporaries. These four priests, who without doubt are from about 40, are the chief basis of the opinion that Rhodian trade had fizzled out as early as the second half of the first century. None of these four occurs on any jarinscription and this fact surely does not point at prosperity. But in the century before we just saw that the majority of the priests mentioned in inscriptions do not occur on jarhandles; moreover we shall now see that in the century which follows, a priest whose name appears in an inscription is also found on the handle of a jar. We know namely three priests from the imperial period through inscriptions. One of them is called Τίτος Φαυστός Φαυστόπαιος (GDI 3801<sub>2</sub>) and by his name alone is already placed in the time of the Flavian Emperors. His father Diokles was also a priest of Helios (GDI 3801<sub>2</sub>) and lived about 50 A.D. We do not have any stamp of the son, but we do have one of Diokles, (p. 221) according to Nilsson (Lpp. 91<sub>h</sub>). He assumes that the enigmatical stamp 'Επι Δίου. (N 237 n. 80) must be read as 'Επι Διοκ[ ] and explains this as an abbreviation of Διοκλέους. He has not convinced me, but it is certainly possible. A contemporary of Diokles was Diogenes, whose date is quite fixed, because Nero sent a letter to the Rhodians at the time of his priesthood in the year 55 A.D.. That letter is preserved in the inscription DS<sup>2</sup> 373. Undoubtedly Diogenes<sup>(22)</sup> appears on jarstamps: at Panticapaeum a stamp with his name was found (BA 99n. 416), an unchallengeable witness that even in the imperial period export trade existed. By assuming that the priest of 55 A.D. was a different individual from the priest on the jarhandle, who must have lived earlier in that case, an attempt is made to get rid of this annoying witness. But this distinction, questionable in itself becomes quite unacceptable if one considers that had this stamp been of earlier date, it would of course have been written in the Rhodian dialect form 'Επι Διογέως, whereas Skorpi<sup>l</sup>, its publisher, reports that it appears in the form used in the Κοινῇ, 'Επι Διογέως, which belongs to a later period in Rhodes.



Summarizing, we get the following impression of the Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. From the nearly two centuries, which can be considered as a possible period of stamping of Rhodian jars before 225, we know not more than two priests for certain, a third is very doubtful. Of two of these priests there exist no stamps, only inscriptions; of the third, Eukles, one of the two certain priests, appear 16 stamps. If it is necessary to draw some conclusion here, then it seems to me that trade of some importance has to be supposed for this time. After 150 we know for the first half century three priests

(p. 222), among whom one is uncertain. Of these three, only one occurs on jarstamps, and only once. Of the four priests between 100 and 50, all four rather uncertain, one appears on three jarinscriptions, another on two, two not at all. The four priests between 50 and the beginning of our era are all lacking on jarstamps. One of the three known to us from the first century A.D. appears certainly on a stamp, one probably, one certainly not. Here the conclusion is the most acceptable, that on an average trade at Rhodes after 150 never died out entirely, but also never became really lively.

Still, for the time being, we do not have data to fix more recently the date of the 202 priests known to us, the priests who must belong to the periods 407 - 225 and 150 - 100 A.D.. But we are more fortunate with the other 67 priests. Without doubt we can place them between 225 and 150. And we are no less sure that these 75 years represent the highest flourishing period of Rhodian trade. Epigraphy and archaeology, those indispensable sister sciences of history, have yet in the meantime taught us that at this investigation.



Van Gelder, p. 208, note 11:

Bleckmann has made a list of all these instances, and he gets 63 cases. A 64th he missed: the complete jar from Vulci in Tuscany, most recently published by me in GDI 4245, 2. Two numbers of his list should be struck out. First, his no. 4, the jar on which according to Berg the names Molpagoras and Alexandros appear. Nilsson has already shown (L.p. 72, note 2) that this assertion is wrong. In the second place, the jar which he mentions in Klio (XII, 250) as bearing the names of the eponymous Aristarchos and the manufacturer Agathoboulos is a fiction. He refers to Nilsson, but it is nowhere to be found in Nilsson; ~~but~~ on the contrary Nilsson assures us (L.p. 116) that an eponymous Aristarchos is not known to him (nor to me either). So the total number of instances becomes 62.

Other small inaccuracies by Bleckmann in this list must be corrected. The priest of his no. 5 is not called Philanios but Philainios, the manufacturer of his no. 8 not Nanius but Nanis, the priest of his no. 40 not Harmosilas but Harmosidas, the manufacturer of his no. 16 not Dion but Dios, the priest of his no. 22 not Menesthes but Menestheus, the one of his no. 33 not Androboulos but Agathoboulos (see L. p. 160).

..... Note 12:

To wit: Alexiadas, Andrias, Andronikos, Antipatros, Aristakos, Aristokles, Aristratos (see for these priests L. p. 116), Archembrotos, Autokrates, Thersandros, and Philainios. Bleckmann gives alphabetical lists of the eponymi and manufacturers found in Pergamon and Carthage (Bl. pp. 34 ff.). With the aid of these, the proof for the priests Antipatros and Philainios is easily to be found. The date of Alexiadas is proved by the manufacturer Diokleia, who is found with him on one jar, and who is known at Pergamon (P 1002); her name however is forgotten in the list of Bleckmann. Andrias, Andronikos, Aristakos and Thersandros depend on the manufacturer Agathoboulos, who is mentioned on the same handles with them, who, however, appears neither at Pergamon nor at Carthage, but whose date is given because he appears on the same handle with Nikasagoras (L 329), an eponymos who occurs in Pergamon and Carthage, but is found on a handle with Alexiadas (Hall 393, no. 5043; cf L p. 116). Aristokles is stamped with Midas on a complete jar; Midas, unknown at Pergamon and Carthage, appears, however, on a similar jar with the priest Aristogenes. This priest is known at Pergamon (P 894), however he also is missing from Bleckmann's list ["fundort unbekannt"]. Midas and so also the priest Aristokles belong in our period. Autokrates, who moreover had already been placed epigraphically (BCH 27, 234, <sup>52</sup>) in about this time, depends on Hermaios, a Rhodian manufacturer appearing at



Pergamon (P 1276), but again forgotten by Bleckmann [not listed as Rhodian by Schuchhardt].

Incidentally, on the list of Rhodian eponymi drawn up by Bleckmann from the find at Pergamon are missing, besides Aristogenes, also the priests Archidas (P 956) [restoration not certain], Athanodotos, Daemon, and Lapheides, on the list of the manufacturers appearing at Pergamon besides Hermaios and Diokleia, also Agesonios, Kreon, Hegesias, (P 1299) and Imas (1240). The one called on his list Ageso is in fact Agemon. The "Molesius" is Molesis, the "Nanius" is Nanis.

The list of Rhodian eponymi which he has drawn up from the find at Carthage shows these three gaps: Aristonidas, (C 32), Onasandros (C 124) and Philodamos; the list of Rhodian manufacturers who are known from Carthage must be completed with the names Dionysios (C 65), Eirenidas (C 83), and maybe Aristakos (C 188a).



H. Van Gelder, "Over Rhodische Kruikstempels en hun Belang voor onze Kennis van den Rhodischen Handel," in Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, V, 1, 19:5pp. 186 - 222.

English version made by a native of Holland, somewhat clarified and smoothed by V.G. Copied by two different typists, the change beginning with page 14.

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shed and polite."

1. The first of these is the fact that the Government has not yet decided whether or not it will accept the offer of the United States to purchase the Panama Canal Zone. This is a very important question, and one which will have a great influence on the future of the Canal.

Institute — Advanced Study

June 22, 1948

...and one does not need to look far for this - the greatest flourishing of the trade of a state occurs at a time when political decay has already set in. Anyway, scientific certainty is a different thing from speculation. And the study of the stamps of the empires of Alexander the Great and the like gives us here the same certainty.



H. Van Gelder : Rhodoan Article

7.01



H. Van Gelder, "Over Rhodische Kruikstempels en hun Belang voor onze Kennis van den Rhodischen Handel," in "Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen," V.1, 1915pp. 186 - 222.

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The manuscript as a whole is intended to be used with the Dutch text, to which reference must be made for most footnotes, for the explanation of abbreviations, etc. However, a rather careful check (from text to copy of translation) has been made with of figures and references appearing in the text. Most of the Greek names in the text have been turned into English to cut down individual copying into the carbons.

A few inserts in square brackets toward the end are comments by V.G.

The translator's comment on the author's style: "Old fashioned Dutch, distinguished and polite."



H. Van Gelder, "On Rhodian Jar Stamps and their Importance for our Knowledge of Rhodian Commerce."

p. 186) The history of commerce in antiquity is still in statu nascendi. It has not the documents to hand which are so useful for the study of commerce in later times. It has also very little support from the ancient historians. In this field they almost abandon us. Thus it must be built up from the most unexpected sources. The study of the history of commerce of the island of Rhodes, which was once not unimportant in this respect, depends on discarded jars.

I will here speak mainly about the duration, the flowering of this commerce, and about the direction which it took. For this investigation, the written texts of the Greeks and Romans give us practically nothing. Certainly, everyone who has heard anything of Rhodes knows that it was a commercial republic; and if he searches he will easily find fifty passages in the works of the most various ancient classical writers, even a hundred, where this is stated. But hardly one goes any further, and gives any positive answer to the questions as to which were the centuries covered by this commerce, and when p. 187) was its most flourishing period, and with which countries it was carried on. In modern historical works, where the answer to these questions should certainly have been given, it has tacitly been taken for granted that political power and the flourishing of commerce went hand in hand; that in the Hellenistic period, the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., when Rhodes was at her most powerful, her commerce also must have flourished most. The question whether the flourishing of the commerce continued when political decay set in has been treated with reserve. It is thought that trade with Egypt must have been good, because Rhodes was so very friendly with the Ptolemys; and there is general reference to trade of Rhodes all about the Mediterranean. Although in these suppositions we have come very near to the truth, which was to be expected, it might have been otherwise. Often, for example - and one does not need to look far for this - the greatest flourishing of the trade of a state comes at a time when political decay has already set in. Anyway, scientific certainty is a different thing from supposition. And the study of the stamps of the handles of discarded Rhodian wine jars gives us here this certainty.

First, more particularly about these Greek stamped jars. In all the Mediterranean coastlands, especially of course where there were big cities, great numbers of sherds are found of



of large earthenware jars. All kinds of things were kept in these, fluids and non-fluids [literally fluids and things that were put in]. These sherds vary in color, the clay is finer or coarser, it is more or less well worked, in short they clearly point out their different places of origin. But which are these places? The supposition is not impossible that some of the fragments come from the places in which they are found. A Greek or even a non-Greek p.188) town without any fabrication of pottery seems to me hardly possible. A very considerable part of the heaps found is, however, surely imported. This is proved by the stamps. Jars marked by these stamps are thus elevated to becoming sources of history; the unmarked are nothing to us but curiosities. The stamped were made at Rhodes, Knidos, and Thasos, probably in lots of other Greek towns, but of the other Greek towns we know mostly not even the names; because their production was extremely small. One or very few specimens found keep alive for us the memory of the pottery manufactures of Paros, Naxos, Colophon, Smyrna, and many still entirely unknown places of origin. However, more than 97% of the present total quantity come from the three towns mentioned. Of these, Rhodes has the lion's share, nearly 73% of the total. As to the number of handles gradually unearthed and found, that is much bigger than outsiders may think; counting for Rhodes I have already come to a total of 9860. Besides it must not be forgotten that many stamps of this kind ~~still~~ are still entirely unpublished (that is explicitly mentioned of quite a lot found on Delos, on Amorgos and at Gezer in Palestine<sup>(1)</sup>), that others have probably escaped my notice with the extreme spread of the publications, and that moreover I could not possibly get some Russian and other publications, which I found mentioned. Besides these 9860 Rhodian, there are also about 2100 Knidian and 1650 Thasian jar stamps. The Knidian and the Thasian handles have a somewhat different color tone from the Rhodian, a different kind of clay, a different way of stamping, so that the expert has no difficulty in distinguishing the three kinds when dealing with complete examples; also with the majority of incomplete p. 189) examples he succeeds mostly with enough certainty<sup>(2)</sup>.

From what has been said a few conclusions can be made which have already been deduced long ago. First, that the export-trade of Rhodes was much bigger than that of Knidos or Thasos, a fact that already a priori had been established. But also in the second place, that, just as in the middle ages and to some extent also in more recent times, certain towns were the headquarters of certain industries. In ancient Greece, cheap, simple amphoras for the export-trade properly speaking were made only in three places; a monopolizing of the production,



which as a matter of fact is sufficiently confirmed for other Greek industries, for the fabrication of clay vases, of bronze pottery, of woven materials, etc. These amphoras were used in the first place for the export of wine. Rhodes and Thasos were rich in wine; on page 427 of my Geschichte der alte Rhodier I have collected the references which prove that for Rhodes. There it is evident, that, of the products of that island, nothing is mentioned nearly as often as wine, grapes and raisins. They were also used for oil, for salt, for fruits, (3) for salted fish, also products of which Rhodes had a surplus; they certainly were also exported to foreign countries, because there was a demand for jars. The stamps impressed on the handles do not have anything to do with tax-collecting or with export control of the state, as was p. 190) generally suspected for rather a long time. (4) There were long and somewhat tiresome discussions, before the purpose of the stamping was cleared up; it appears to me that Nilsson's conclusions will not be shaken. On every Greek jar, whatever its origin, are stamped the name of a manufacturer and a date. At Rhodes the dating tells you even the month. This stamping on the handles is an extension, probably a sequel, to the stamping on tiles. The stock on hand, and the tiles already set in place too, were stamped to protect them against theft and against being diverted in any other way from their proper purpose. On the tiles - it can be proved - was stamped the name of the building for which they were destined, also the name of the manufacturer who supplied them. For jars, the first item was excluded, the name of the manufacturer however was here valuable too. On both the exact date was stamped, the year in which they were baked. On Rhodian jars, the month, even, was mentioned. For mostly the owner of the factory left the execution of his affairs to his foreman or manager. The stamping with the month showed him an easy way to control the production of every month. (5) Through this means he had also a surer way of preventing the theft of newly made jars because it was his custom to sell the older ones first; for the stamp of the month marked them as still unsold, as stock. From fear of theft, the stamping with the name of the manufacturer soon became a means for advertising. For jars, this soon certainly became the primary purpose.

p. 191) So on each Rhodian jar three things are mentioned: 1. The name of the manufacturer, or of the firm, which ran the pottery; 2. to fix the year, the name of the eponymous priest of Helios at Rhodes; 3. the name of a month. These three indications are arbitrarily spread over the two handles of the jar (6). The name of the priest of Helios is always found with the preposition *ἐν*, so for example *ἐν Ἀγέμαχου* at the time that Agemachos was eponymos; the names of the manufacturers and of the month are either in the genitive or in the nominative. The stamps are rectangular or round.



Before I begin to discuss how these stamps can tell us much about the direction and duration of Rhodian trade, a little digression about queer difficulties, which the reading and studying of their inscriptions entail. Many of these stamped handles are broken, less than half of the names of priests and manufacturers come to us complete. The happy finders who edit them have to guess and fill in the missing parts by conjecture. If they were all well-informed in these studies, if they knew all the names of the priests and manufacturers found up to their time, then they would at least have a basis to build further on. But mostly the case is as follows. Ten or even fifty Rhodian jar stamps are found. The finder knows almost nothing of the thousands of similar inscriptions already edited far and wide: the literature about the subject is indeed very difficult to gather completely, even for anybody. His specimens are damaged; so he restores as well as possible; often, however, he makes up something. Often the edition also is more or less intentionally careless; he is compelled to edit these things, because they have an antique origin, isn't he? but he does not understand that they

p. 19<sup>2</sup>) can be of any real use, and concentrates all his editorial care on more important inscriptions, which he has succeeded in finding. It is true that in the most recent decades there has been more careful work, since it has been realized how useful these stamped names are for history. But good editors excepted, many have delivered sad work. Indeed it is forgivable. Most of the inscriptions on the jars are not only broken or incomplete, but they are also often difficult to read. The manufacturers, who of course wanted to avoid expense, very often used dim and faint marks, with queer and wrongly drawn letters. The stamp-carvers too were partly dabblers, who by mistake carved the wrong letters, who through ignorance made blunders against Greek spelling, who skipped parts of the names, carved other parts double, etc. So only if one has looked through all the material and has read all the 10000 stamps and has studied them, can one devote himself with success to correcting the readings which sometimes are so foolish and corrupt, and on the other hand make progress in this field. I mention here to their credit the names of Becker, Stephany, Kaibel, Schuchhardt, of Hiller von Gärtringen, Bleckmann and Breccia, and above all of Nilsson, who in the last fifty years have acquired merit in this respect. Tens of corrections have already been made by them and others; but there still remain tens to make. I myself, who of course, at the time that I published the Rhodian Dialect-inscriptions in the collection of Collitz, made a contribution in this direction, found in the course of a renewed study of this subject for the sake of this lecture, once more a chance to suggest more than a hundred other readings. They will be published in an appendix.



At first now the direction of Rhodian commerce will be taken up; then follows a discussion of its flourishing period. p. 193) It is very easy to fix the direction. As I said, stamped jars with Rhodian, Knidian or Thasian origin are practically the only ones found. If for a region or town a calculation as exact as possible is made as to how many jar inscriptions are found there, and what percent of the total derives from each of these three places of origin, then you know the size of the Rhodian trade. To this method there is this objection, that Rhodes is compared with only two towns and not with other centers of commerce. We also learn nothing but the size of the trade in jars. But I consider it very likely that the jars in question were a very important export, if not the most important, for these three towns; it seems to me not less possible that the direction which the trade in jars took, was the same for other articles.

I will begin with an investigation of Sicily. Jarstamps from here were studied and published as early as 1558 (by Fazellii), moreover this is the country that already in the seventh century traded with Rhodes; for just there, so far from home, Rhodes built its biggest colonies, Gela and indirectly Agrigentum. Kaibel published the jarstamps of Sicily together with those of Italy (IG XIV 2393). He gives under 610 numbers 885 stamps, among them 602 Sicilian. What origin do these have? "Prae titulorum rhodiorum multitudine knidii parii thasii paucissimi vix apparent". So writes Kaibel justly in his preface. To be very precise, of the 602 jar inscriptions collected in Sicily, 4 are Knidian (S 170, 212, 239 and 253), none Thasian, none Parian and 30 or 40 are uncertain. The rest are certainly Rhodian. With this result one may say with a clear conscience that the import of Rhodian amphoras got practically no competition from Knidos and Thasos. p. 194) In Italy it is the same. Kaibel publishes 283 stamps, nearly all from Tarentum, Brundisium and Rhegium. He has forgotten 23 from Praeneste, which Henzen published in the BI 1865, pp. 72 ff. Of the 306 handles, three are Knidian (S 79, 120 and 339), about twenty uncertain, and the rest all Rhodian.

The preponderance of Rhodes comes to light more overwhelmingly in Carthage. Of the 331 stamps (to be found in C and BCT 1902, 1904 and 1907) about twenty are uncertain; the rest are Rhodian.

We have almost no stamps from southern France, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, no more from Cyrene, a town populated partly with Rhodian colonists.

So the result about the west of the Mediterranean is that Thasian amphora trade did not exist there, that the Knidian was extremely little, the Rhodian supreme.



Egypt, Syria, and Cyprus form again a unit. Although the trade from Rhodes is very preponderant here, it is not as dominating as in the west. From Alexandria (the rest of Egypt has supplied almost nothing up to the present) we know 479 stamps gathered by Stoddart from 1842-44 (Transactions Royal Society of Literature, Second Series III, 1-127; IV, 1-67), 970 which Neroutsos published in 1875 (N226 ff.), 82 published in the same year by Miller (Ra 1875, 378 ff.), 634 from several works of Botti, and about 200 more from scattered publications (A. pp. 74-85; Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien 1871, 125-129; 1874, 16-23; etc.). Botti certainly, Miller probably, Neroutsos perhaps, include stamps which had already been published earlier. So it is impossible to come here to a definite total number; presumably there are in total about 2100 specimens. Of that, + 30 are Thasian, about 350 Knidian, 100 uncertain and about 1620 Rhodian, that is, 80%.

The Syrian, or more precisely, the Palestinian stamps, p. 195) published by Macalister and others (in PEF 1900-1904; Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeol. Recherches in Palestine II, 148 ff.), are 358 in number, the Cyprian 264 (in BI 1870, 202 ff.; Ra 1873, 317 ff.); Hall pp. 389-397; The Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities, Descriptive Atlas III Suppl. Greek Inscriptions n. 72-104; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, A catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, Oxford 1899, 95 ff.). Of these 622 items, about 80%, are Rhodian, the rest are uncertain (anyway the very incomplete publications make this seem so to us); only a very few specimens are certainly Knidian or Thasian.

The island of Rhodes itself has supplied a huge number of stamps. In the first place there is the tremendous supply which was recently found at Lindos by the Danes and published in so exemplary a manner by Nilsson; further, the more than 1000 handles, which Newton transported from the City of Rhodes to the British Museum, and which Miss C. Aemilia Hutton listed and described (IG XII 1, 1065 ff.); further, the 212 stamps, also from the City of Rhodes, lately published by Johannes Paris in the Melanges Holleaux (pp. 153 ff.); finally, some smaller collections (among others AM 21, 57 ff.). Of the + 4300 specimens, there are less than 100 Knidian or uncertain, and in total there are only 8 Thasian. Of course this result was to be expected.

We have 882 jar stamps from Pergamum (P 766). Among them, 819 are Rhodian, 20 Thasian, 8 Knidian, 1 Parian, 2 from Smyrna, 32 uncertain. So again a preponderance in favor of Rhodes of more than 90%.

We have too few specimens from other towns on the coast of Asia Minor, from the Sporades and the Cyclades, to make conclusions here.

Up to this point, the figures have had a tedious monotony. The Rhodian amphora-commerce is nearly without a rival in the



western Mediterranean; in the East, and in the districts which surround Rhodes, p. 196) it is so preponderant that it draws up to 85 or 90% of the total. But quite another picture appears at once in Greece itself, at least in the only town of Greece from which we have more than a very few jar stamps--Athens. The number of this kind of inscriptions just there is very large: already in 1872 Dumont published there more than 2200 (*Inscriptions ceramiques de Grece*, Paris 1872). According to him there are 347 Rhodian among them. He was not competent to edit such a big collection; for he does not even know how properly to distinguish the Knidian from the Rhodian stamps. Yet roughly his report may be reliable: isn't he just as generous in declaring Rhodian what is Knidian, as in publishing a Knidian piece which is Rhodian? So here in Athens only 15% Rhodian stamps. The rest are Knidian, except for 124 Thasian and about 300 uncertain. Whoever after getting acquainted with Dumont's way of working wants to see some confirmation of his results should consider that much later a series of 98 stamps was sent from Attica to Dresden; Grundmann examined them (*Gr pp. 279 ff.*) and found that here too of the 98 stamps, only 14 are Rhodian. A little collection gathered six years later (*AM 21, 127 ff.*), gave again the same result. So it may be admitted that the Rhodian trade to Attica (and the rest of Greece) was of much less significance than that to the far districts to the west, east, or south.

There remains at last South Russia. More than 3000 amphora handles have appeared gradually among the ruins of the Greek towns on the north coast of the Black Sea. They are distributed over many government and private collections and published in a lot of periodicals and books. They are summed up in my "*Rhodian Dialectinscriptions* (p. 571) and the newest supply in Nilsson (*L pp. 41, ff.*). The result is this, that of those + 3000 stamps (given the standard of some publications, it is here no more possible than in Alexandria, p. 197) Palestine, Cyprus or Athens, to give exact numbers), that of these more than 3000 stamps only about 1200 are Rhodian, 1500 Thasian, and 200 Knidian. About 100 uncertain. Here--and only here--the island of Thasos (which is very close by) comes strongly to the fore and surpasses Rhodes, though less than Knidos did at Athens.

With our knowledge on this subject, we can not state with certainty why the Rhodian trade to Greece and the countries on the shores of the Black Sea was less important than elsewhere. We can only guess. To me it is the most likely solution that Rhodes as a commercial state came rather late to prosperity. Earlier, Miletos, Chalcis, Corinth, Aegina, Athens, successively had been first in trade. For Rhodes, which moreover was situated in a remote corner of the antique Greek world, it was difficult to gain ground in districts where it was not known as a commercial country and where others already had settled themselves. Therefore it turned to far abroad and to the districts which beginning only with the fourth century were opened more and more.



Now comes the question what the course of Rhodian commerce was and when it developed most strongly. This question, as far as it is connected with the stamps on amphoras, is faced more or less seriously by Schuchhardt, later deliberately by Bleckmann in his book "De Inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis rhodiis," Göttingae 1907, and further in the article in *Klio* XII (1912), pp. 249-258. With this research, however, where the solidity of the building stones is not very reliable, there is a duty to be very exact, and the material must in the first place be brought together as completely as possible. Of course it must be taken as a fact that on each Rhodian jar is stamped the name of a priest, which indicates a fixed year. p. 198) An attempt must be made to fix chronologically as many as possible of those priests, in total 269, distributed on 10000 stamps. How are we to arrive at this? because none of these many appears in our Greek and Latin authors, not one name of a Rhodian priest of Helios, or one name of a manufacturer is mentioned. Searching in the endless supply of Greek inscriptions for political documents which are dated according to Rhodian eponymia ἐν ἱερέως τοῦ δεῖνα, at the time that this one or that one was a priest of Helios at Rhodes, one finds 28, of course mostly in inscriptions of the island itself. With a little knowledge of the subject, one succeeds in fixing the date of all these 28 rather exactly, of some even very precisely. Now if you search for as large as possible a find of Rhodian stamps belonging closely together, you will find the discovery at Pergamum, published by Carl Schuchhardt on p. 423 of Part II of the *Inscripfen von Pergamon*, 882 stamps, all found together as rubbish to support a house on sloping ground, and apparently all deposited at the same time. Indeed before this large discovery of material belonging together, an investigation of the present kind was impossible. Now it is important to fix as accurately as possible the time to which this discovery belongs. This can be done by tracing how many, and which, priests turn up at Pergamum of the 28 whose names appear in ordinary inscriptions, whose dates we mostly know. When an approximate date has been established in this way, then all priests of the discovery are to be counted. Then one must settle how many times each of these priests appear among all the 10000 Rhodian stamps, which we possess from far and near. If nearly all occur frequently among that mass, then of course the commerce of Rhodes was flourishing in their time; if the reverse is the case, then it was flagging at that time. Happily this investigation brings very clear results.

So the pivot on which everything turns, is the chronological fixing of the discovery at Pergamum. That discovery--as has been said--

p. 199) consists of 882 stamps. Of these, 819 are Rhodian, and on these 819 stamps are found 44 names of priests and 63 names of manufacturers. These priests are datable at most 60 or 70 years earlier than the date of the deposit; nobody postpones



longer the clearing away of old wine jars. When did they live? Schuchhardt supposed about 180; then, he said, Pergamum was most prosperous and most powerful, at that time Rhodes too was at the top of its glory. That the find dates from a time when there was considerable commercial traffic between Rhodes and Pergamum, follows among other things from the fact that the names of several priests turn up 10-20 times, even 25 times among those 819 stamps, so several years are represented 25 times.

All those who had to express their opinions after Schuchhardt agreed with his dating; however, it is not certain. Pergamum and Rhodes both existed and even flourished before and after that time. More certainty can be gathered along other roads. An inscription from Seleucia on the Calycadnus was found by Heberdey and Wilhelm, and recently published by me in the Greek Dialektinscriptions as n. 3751. The stone contains four Rhodian decrees in honor of Eudemos, the son of Nikon, a citizen of Seleucia and obviously an influential friend of a king Antiochus of Syria. The king has promised large presents to the Rhodians to support their fleet; Eudemos is stimulated to hasten the payments of those presents. This inscription according to the finders--and it appears to me that the copy which they give of it indicates the same--is definitely of the first half of the second century; then only two kings Antiochus can be taken into consideration, Antiochus the III, the Great (223-187), and Antiochus IV (175-163). The first, however, lived in feud and war with the Rhodians, the faithful allies of the Romans; so Antiochus IV remains. That means that the inscription is one of the years between 175 and 163. Fortunately it is one of the very few Rhodian inscriptions with a date; it is namely from the year of the priest of Helios, Damokles, the son of Dameas (*ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους τοῦ Δαμεῶν*). In the large p. 200) discovery of jarstamps at Pergamum there is almost no priest we meet so frequently as just this Damokles. Among the 819 R. stamps he appears not less than 21 times. Only 3 of the 44 surpass him in this respect (7). As it is obvious that when the fragments were swept together the amphoras of the most recent years were as a whole the most common of those still on hand, it must probably have happened soon after his priesthood, so the date of the clearing away must have been about 165.

Along another way we come to the same result. The most prominent Rhodian politicians of the second century are Theaidetos and his son, Astymedes. Both are mentioned again and again by Polybius (see the index in Hultsch), Astymedes for the first time in the year 171 and further as Rhodian ambassador in Rome in the years 167, 164, and 153. It is not stated in Polybius that he is a son of Theaidetos, but it appears almost certain from inscriptions (EAR 3, 69; GDI 42052; IG XII 1, 1634). Blinkenberg has taken it as a fact (EAR 3, 70),



and I agree readily with him. Now there exists a priest of Helios, Astymedes, a wellknown eponymus, for his name appears not less than 49 times on jarstamps. His name also appears in an inscription (IG XII 3, 103g), a passage which I have not found mentioned either in Blinkenberg or anywhere else. Is this priest of Helios now the same as the politician? Yes, says Blinkenberg, and it seems likely to me too. For the name, Astymedes is not common and the six or seven other bearers of this name at Rhodes (GDI 3751<sup>2.5</sup>; 3791<sup>86</sup>; 3791<sup>164</sup>; 3853<sup>2</sup>; 3875<sup>3</sup>; 4157<sup>70</sup>; 4198<sup>15</sup>) are still obscure. Along two ways, however, we know rather precisely the year of the priesthood of Astymedes, the priest of Helios. The p. 201) ~~just~~ inscription IG XII 3, 103 just mentioned is an epitaph with statue, erected by grieving grandchildren for a grandfather and made by Epicharmus of Soli. Epicharmus sculptured also as late as the first century (see GDI 3792<sup>25</sup>; 3802<sup>12</sup>; 4200<sup>11</sup>). He was perquam iuvenis says Hiller von Gärtringen, the publisher of this inscription, when he sculptured this statue, and I believe it gladly. But even in that case it can hardly have been before 140 or 130. The grandfather in question, whose career is glorified on the memorial, had risen to be στρατηγός, field officer, *κατὰ πόλεμον τοῦ Κρητικῶν ἐπὶ Ἀστυμέδους*. Hiller assumes that by this war between Rhodes and Crete the one of 154-151 is meant, which Polybius describes in his 33<sup>d</sup> book. This guess is indeed very acceptable. So, ~~then~~ then Astymedes <sup>was</sup> priest of Helios in 153 or thereabout. It becomes still more likely, when we consider that, again according to Polybius, (33, 15<sup>3</sup>), just Astymedes was delegated to Rome by the Rhodians, to explain the quarrel between Rhodes and Crete in the senate. Who could be more properly considered for this post than the eponymus of the state? A second path leads to the same year 153. Blinkenberg mentions on the passage which I just quoted, that he has found an inscription at Lindos (he has not published it yet), that proves irrefutably how exactly in the year 154 Astymedes was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos. As a rule the priesthood of Helios at Rhodes and that of Athana at Lindos, these two highest attractions for Rhodian political ambition, were mostly attained by the same person. So, Astymedes was priest of Helios between 155-150. Now it is remarkable that of 49 jar stamps which we have with his name, not one appears in the big find of Pergamum. The readiest explanation is still that when these jars were cleared away, Astymedes had not yet been priest of Helios. He held this office, however, shortly after 155; the dating agrees with p. 202) this clearing away at about 165.

His father, Theaidetos, however, appears most positively on the jars at Pergamum. We know from Polybius (30, 22<sup>2</sup>), that this politician died at Rome in the year 167, more than 80 years old. Further, this unpublished inscriptions of Blinkenberg which I just mentioned informs us that he was priest of Athana Lindia at Lindos in 188. If he too obtained the priesthood of Helios,



then that was probably at about the same time. It is, however, unthinkable that a politician of his note should not have held that office. Moreover, we know a priest of Helios, Theaidetos, from 44 jar stamps. Is he the one? Of course, yes! For the name Theaidetos is so rare that we know elsewhere none, at Rhodes only two others of the same name, an ancestor (GDI 4154) and a descendant (EAR 3, 73: GDI 3810 b<sub>1</sub>). In our editions of Polybius he is then also called obstinately *εκαίτητος*, wrong but more common, although no Rhodian inscriptions support this appellation (EAR 3, 69; GDI 4205<sub>2</sub>; IG XII 1, 163<sub>3</sub>). Now we go again back with this Theaidetos to the find at Pergamum. If the discovery dates from about 165, and Theaidetos was priest of Helios in about 190, then he must appear several times on the Pergamum handles. Indeed, of the 44 stamps we possess of him, 12 come from Pergamum.

But, still more certain than the proof which Damokles or Astymedes or Theaidetos can produce for us, is that which is connected with the priest, Anchidamos. An inscription was found under the ruins of the temple of Zeus Panamarus near Stratonicea in Caria; the most accessible edition is the one of Michel 479. That inscription begins with the dating *ἐπὶ ἡγεμῶν Ἀρχιδάμου*. Just that dating by a Rhodian priest of Helios makes it certain that it originates from the time that Stratonicea was subject to Rhodes. The content, an honour-decree for a retired Rhodian *ἐκστράτης*, p. 203) confirms that too, if necessary. ~~But~~ When, however, was Stratonicea subject to Rhodes? We know that exactly: in 188 the Romans presented the town to Rhodes, in 166 they took their gift back. Never before or after was this condition repeated. So Anchidamos was priest in one of the years between 188 and 166. Of this eponymus we have 56 jar inscriptions, among them the rather large number of 16 that appeared at Pergamum. Does that not beautifully harmonize with what we just found, that the stamps at Pergamum were cleared away in  $\pm 165$ ?

Because of the fact that it is of great importance to know as definitely as possible the exact date of the clearing away, I will also speak of five other priests who can be of use for this. First, Eukles. He appears in an inscription which, although it was published only two years ago, is now already famous, that is, the "Chronicle of Lindos". There we read (EAR 6, 340, D40), that the temple of Athana Lindia burned down, when Eukles the son of Astyanaktidas, ~~he~~ was priest of Helios

Blinkenberg in his comment on this inscription (op. cit., pp. 448 ff.) in an excellent argument, which is built up from several historical data, has practically proved that this fire took place in about 335. Whoever still doubts should read further EAR 2, 65 ff.; there Kinch develops on architectonical grounds, long before the Chronicle of Lindos was known, that the newly constructed temple of Athana Lindia, now still existing in



ruins, dates from the second half of the fourth century. So Eukles was priest of Helios in about 335. I know 16 jar stamps of him<sup>(8)</sup>. None of these 16 are found at Pergamum. If this were otherwise, then this deposit could hardly date p. 204) from about 165. Now this is just the result which could be expected a priori.

This Eukles, in contrast with the four formerly mentioned, also does not appear on the stamps of the second large group discovery, the one at Carthage. Or can one speak of a large group, since the number of the Pergamon jar inscriptions is three times as big as the number of those found at Carthage? And above all--what is more important--can the Carthage find be called a connected group? The case is this. In the last twenty years of the 19th century successively 331 Greek jar stamps were found at Carthage. They were published in several numbers of the Revue Tunisienne, of the Bulletin Archéologique du comité des travaux historiques, of the Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions and of local periodicals which are inaccessible to me. Afterward they were combined by Dessau in 1904 in the IIIrd Supplement volume of the VIIth part of the GIL, under N. 22639. Dessau gives 266 inscriptions, all Rhodian; at least, none can be proved not to be Rhodian. In the earliest announcements of the discovery it is claimed that the greater part of these stamps form a unit: Delattre describes in the BGT of 1894, (pp. 89 ff.) a wall of the period of Augustus with an interior filling of amphoras and amphora fragments. At the same time he points out (pp. 92 and 107) why they must be much older than Augustus and must derive from the time of the Punic Carthage. How many of the total 266 belong together, and which exactly, he does not mention, any more than anybody else. Fortunately the mutual connection can be proved from the stamps themselves. Bleckmann has already called attention to the fact that the stamps at Carthage and those at Pergamum apparently are from about the same time. Of the 42 priests of Helios which are mentioned on the jars at Carthage, 30 occur at Pergamum, while only p. 205) 14 Pergamum names are missing at Carthage<sup>(9)</sup>. Such a harmony between two masses of Rhodian jar stamps is nowhere else to be found. Which find is later, the one at Pergamum or the one at Carthage? To decide that, the priest of Helios, Astymedes, can again be useful, about whom we have just settled that he occupied the priesthood in 153 or thereabout. We possess 49 stamps of him. None of them was found at Pergamum; in the discovery of Carthage, however, which was less than a third the size, he appears twice. So, the stamps at Carthage fall partly after about 165 and of course do not reach further than 149, the year that must inevitably have finished all Rhodian importation into that town.



Now, after the Pergamum jars are, for these reasons, placed at 165 and those from Carthage as a whole somewhat later, for further confirmation of the results achieved I must mention the priest of Helios, Pratophanes, who appears as dating authority on the lengthy, fairly well-known inscription, the statement of the Rhodians in the age-old feud between Samos and Priene. They quarreled about the fortress τὰ Κάριον and about the ground around it, and brought this case continually before different arbiters. The inscription in question, already several times dealt with, has at last found a worthy publisher in Hicks after its transportation to the British Museum. Hicks makes it appear likely for more than one reason that it dates from the first half of the second century. When I in turn worked on this inscription (GDI 3758), I added to his arguments that two of the respectable Rhodians who appear here as arbiters seem to be known to us from elsewhere. Agesandros, son of Eudamos, is probably the son of the Eudamos p. 206) mentioned by Livy who in 190 commanded the Rhodian 37. 12, squadron in the sea-battle at Myonnesos, while Timagoras, the son of Polenakles, is probably the admiral who, according to Polybius (27, 714), fought against Perseus in 170. The inscription might then be from about 165. It is dated ἐπὶ ἱερέως Πρατο [φάνεως]. It is true that no more of his name is preserved than Πρατο; but the restoration is certain, as it seems to me, because there is no other, among all the 269 Rhodian priests, whose name begins with Πρατο. So the priest Pratophanes appears in an inscription from about 165. He is also found on jar stamps, in total on 24. Among these, two were found at Pergamum (P 1166 and 1167), but no less than 8 were found at Carthage (7 at C 137 - 143, 1 in the BCT 1904, 488, n. 35). Indeed, there is not a single Rhodian priest of whom more stamps were found at Carthage than of this Pratophanes. This result at Pergamum as well as at Carthage is exactly what was to be hoped of a priest at about 165. Damainetos, another eponymous priest, has already long been known through the inscription in honor of the ὑπερανίστας Dionysodoros of Alexandria (GDI 3836). That is dated according to his priesthood. Kellermann, Franz, Boeckh, Hiller von Gartringen, all publishers of this inscription, agree that it dates from the second century. They dated it thus long before anything was known about the finds at Pergamum and Carthage. For this, Damainetos, (he is missing at Pergamum) appears twice at Carthage (C54; BCT 1902. 447 n. 1). In future he may be placed at about 160.

The priest Sosikles is in the same case. He appears in an inscription (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1270) that is placed by letter forms in the second century, maybe in the beginning of the first. The evidence of the jars agrees with that. For he is found p. 207) in Carthage (BCT 1904, 489 n. 41), not in Pergamum. So he too is from ± 160. He is found 37 times on jar stamps.



Finally the priest Aratophanes. He indicates the year on an inscription of the Rhodians in honor of the City of Cyzicus (now GDI n. 3752). Boeckh, the deserving publisher of this stone, places him in the second century B.C.; at the time I was not able to add anything in my edition to narrow somewhat this rather vague dating. Aratophanes appears also on jar stamps, 51 times. Among them 8 were found at Pergamum (P 867-874) and three at Carthage (C 1b and 28; BCT 1904, 484 n. 6). This agrees with Boeckh's dating of the Rhodian-Cyzician honor decree and with my dating of the Pergamum and Carthage finds. Now, however, Boeckh's dating can be limited and only the first half of the second century need be considered, to be more precise -- about the year 175.

"What does it help us, that we so searching and searching have estimated the date of the find at Pergamum rather precise, that we know about the time of the Carthagian stamps? Very much of course." For the 56 priests and 76 manufacturers mentioned at Pergamum and Carthage can now safely be placed at a time which at the most goes back 60 years before the Pergamum discovery; so they belong to the years between 225 and 149. After a moment it will be proved that literally all these priests and manufacturers appear extremely often in our common stamp supply of 10,000 pieces, so that the period of 225 to 150 must have been the great flourishing time of Rhodian trade. At first it is, however, possible to distribute them a little more precisely over the period in question and also to increase their number somewhat. For those among them who appear more than ten times at Pergamum, we can with great probability place between 190 and 165, and those who

p. 208) appear often or only at Carthage, seldom at Pergamum, may be from about 170 - 150. Those who are found sporadically at Pergamum, not at all at Carthage, must very likely be placed between 225 and 190. The results are here of course more certain for the priests than for the manufacturers: the names of the priests represent each only one year, the manufacturers' names a lifetime, maybe sometimes several lifetimes, the life of a firm.<sup>(11)</sup> As to the enlargement of the number of 56 priests and 76 manufacturers, that can also be attained along another way for the 75 years in question. A few complete Rhodian jars have been found; the names of priest and manufacturer which appear on them belong of course together, they lived at the same time. It also occurs, although very seldom, that on the same handle of a jar, the name of a priest and the name of a manufacturer are stamped next to each other. We know of these two categories together about 80 instances on 10,000 jarstamps. 62 are useful for our purpose <sup>(11)</sup>. On the rest of the complete jars the inscriptions are not sufficiently legible. (p. 209) They help us to learn the date of a few more priests and manufacturers. For example a complete jar was found in Cyprus, datable in the year  $\pm$  190, with the name of the priest Theaidetos, who kept us busy just now (Hall 391 n. 5060); on



one handle is his name, on the other the names of the manufacturer Hippokrates. So this Hippokrates lived also in about 190. He, in turn, appears again on another complete jar, which was excavated at Tell Sandahannah in Palestine (PEF 1903, 306), and also on one from Cyprus (Hall 391 n. 5041). The priests on these two jars are also again from about 190. The priest Nikasagoras, well-known at Pergamum and Carthage, so from about 175, appears on the same handle beside the manufacturer Agathoboulos (L 329, 5 and 6); so they lived at the same time. In this way you come from one result to another. Along this way (see footnotes for details) we get again for the period between 225 and 150 an increase of 11 priests<sup>(12)</sup> and 8 manufacturers<sup>(13)</sup> (page 210). This brings the total to 67 priests and 84 manufacturers.

What does history know of the three-quarters of a century about which we speak here? That it was a period of great political prosperity for Rhodes, of the brightest outward splendour this state ever achieved. The period of prosperity, however, lasted twice as long, another three-quarters of a century preceded this one, almost equal in prosperity. There is no historian of Rhodes who does not date the beginning of the greatness of the town from the remarkable siege of 305 - 304 and close this period with 164, (p. 211) when the Roman weighed them down with disgrace heavy as lead and tried to transfer the Rhodian trade to Delos. Then begins the decline, slow for the time being, but continuous.

In those 140 years of greatness, Rhodes probably mustered the greatest internal strength between 304 and 225; in the 61 years after that, it was outwardly splendid. And this splendour seems also to affect the domain of Rhodian trade and traffic. For, scrutinizing the 10,000 stamps at our disposal, and tracing which of the names of the total of 269 known priests, and which of the names of 375 manufacturers, occur most in this material, we always find again those priests and manufacturers of whom we have learned that they lived between 225 and 150. A little bit of statistics will prove this. I have counted which names occur on 30 or more stamps. The number 30 has been taken arbitrarily; but in any case, they have to be those priests, during whose priesthood the export of jars was greatest, those manufacturers who contributed most to that export. In total it turns out that these are 60 priests and 39 manufacturers. I spare you the names; they are mentioned together with the number of their stamps in the note<sup>(14)</sup> (p. 212). Among these 60 most common priests are no less than 48 of the 67 known to us from the period 225 - 150; so there are only 12 left, 12 of 202 priests, for the remaining four centuries during which Rhodian amphorae were traded. For the manufacturers, the ratio is just as convincing: of 39 whose names occur on 30 or more handles, there are 34 who existed in the three quarters of a



century in question; whereas only 5 do not belong to that period. These statistics are eloquent in their soberness. They point very clearly to the zenith of Rhodian trade.

We are left with the problem of Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. Bleckmann has provided an answer here. As so many Rhodian stamps are known to us, he reasons, 10,000 in total, it is almost certain that of the period of stamping, i.e. the period of trade, we know practically all Rhodian eponyms. We know 260 of them; so the trading period was not much longer than that number of years. The beginning of it is 331, the year in which Alexander reestablished the free Rhodian Republic, the end around 50; for after that year not one priest occurring in inscriptions is mentioned on jarstamps. Therefore we possess from the 281 intervening years all except 21 eponyms. Against this (p. 213) seemingly beautiful theory there can be found serious objections: that the number of 260 eponyms known to us is not exact, that 331 is a very arbitrary starting point (15), and 50 certainly the wrong end point; for even one century afterwards we know - not to speak of uncertain cases - the priest Diogenes of 55 A.D. whose name occurs in an inscription as well as on a stamp. If the investigation is to be free and objective, then one must look in history for the earliest possible moment when the stamping may have begun and also for the most likely endpoint, without judging from the jarstamps. The earliest possible start is 407. Then the city of Rhodes was founded, the state Rhodes was organized, so of course then this state got eponyms and magistrates. Before they existed it was impossible to stamp their names; but there is no reason at all to dispute that there was export to foreign countries already at that time, so that already then the stamping had begun. When did Rhodian export trade stop? No one who is experienced in the history of this city and knows how soon she became a dead city in the imperial period, who remembers the lengthy evidence about this which Dio Chrysostomus and Aristides have left for us in their *Ροδίακοί*, can believe that in 100 A.D. there can have been anything worth mentioning left of an export trade which had almost spanned all coasts of the Mediterranean. So calculating the limits liberally, there is a possible export period



of stamped jars of about 500 years (407 -  $\pm$  100 A.D.). For this possible 500-year period we know as yet less than 300 priests. So it seems that in spite of the 10,000 Rhodian stamps, there still are quite a lot of eponyms who do not appear on them at all.

{p.214) In the first place let us make the list as exact as possible. Bleckmann gave this most recently (in *Klio* XII), and got a number of 260, among them 10, which were found only in inscriptions, not on jar handles (16). Hiller von Gärtringen supplied this catalogue in one of the most recent numbers of *Klio* (XIV 388-389) with 11 new names of priests. So the total became 271. Also after his contribution it is still possible to enlarge the number; I still found the priests Agathombrotos (17) (N 231 n. 3), Agastophanes (GDI 4245, 24), Agoranax (L 20), Athanophilos (L 27), Antigonos (R 1082), Ankedon (L 117), Aysipolis (L 121); compare also the two stamps from Tell Sandahannh, mentioned on p. 244), Euphragoras (AM 21.57 n. 15) Kleustratos (L276), Menekrates (N 240 n. 130), Peithiadas (M 186) Praxiphanes (GDI 4245, 604 and 605), Sosiphilos (L 389) Charidamos (L 434). (18). So again 14 new names; the total becomes now 285. But scrutinizing, some must be crossed out from Bleckmann, even from Hiller. Hiller mentions a priest [Max]άων, of whose name only the last half is readable. A well-known hero was called so, mortal people however seldom. I would rather fill in [Ακτ]άων, which name indeed is found on the handles of two jars (C 22), . . . but as the name of a manufacturer. So the best thing to do seems to me, to keep the restoration of -άων in uncertainty. In the second place I take exception to Hiller's priest Τεισομένης. I do not think this name rightly formed; I believe it to be simply {p.215) a less exact reading of the well-known priestname Τεισαμένης. In Bleckmann I protest in the first place against the name called by him Alexidamos. He does not quote a place where this priest occurs and I never could find him anywhere; my guess is that he came on the list by mistake. Further I do not believe in the priest Apollonios. "Selten", Bleckmann calls him; truthfully he only appears once, in the very unreliable Dumont (D 82 n. 41), and Nilsson already rightly also doubted his existence (L p. 91). The priest Astymedes II seems to me also an unreal person. At the time of his priesthood, as is mentioned on an epitaph (JOAI 4. 160), a respected Rhodian, an anonymous person for us, is distinguished with wreaths and honours. The inscription is "jünger als 100 B.C.," Hiller, the publisher, says, but he relies only on letter forms and orthography. If we settle it at 120 (and letter forms and orthography will certainly allow that), there is nothing against the hypothesis that the person who had just died had accepted his honours in 153, at the time of



Astymedes, the well-known son of Theaidetos, whose priesthood we just set at 153. Then the somewhat suspicious splitting into a priest Astymedes I and Astymedes II collapses. The so-called priest  $\Delta\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  of Bleckmann has already been changed into a  $\Lambda\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  by Nilsson (L p. 112), who also in the same place crossed out Demetrios from the list of Rhodian priests. By the crossing out of Demetrios two names are lost from Bleckmann; for he has included the Rhodian dialect form Damatrios of this non-existent Demetrios. Thersandros also appeared in the other writing Tharsandros on the list. Hestielos also occurs as Histielos, which spelling probably is better. The priest  $\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is probably also imagination. "Nur Zweimal" writes Bleckmann, "bei M und Z". The stamp M 144 has already been interpreted correctly by Nilsson (LFP. 114)). I am very much afraid that the inscription inaccessible to me in Z (Zapiski Odesskago obščestva) also is  $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 216) and likewise is to be ascribed to the hypothetical priest  $\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ , instead of to a manufacturer  $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\eta\varsigma$ . I have already pointed out the mythical priest Molpagoras in note 11. The priest Nikasiboulos must be crossed out, who according to Bleckmann occurs "nur zweimal bei R", that is, in IG XII 1, but in fact is found nowhere.  $\tau\iota\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$  appears only once (L 405), in an incomplete inscription which could as well be restored as  $[\Delta\acute{\alpha}]\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$  or  $[\kappa\tilde{\omega}]\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ . And, almost more certainly, the Timomenes must go, who is based on a single stamp in Stephani's Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmerien (BC n. 23). In this publication, difficult of access, the picture of this stamp will immediately convince any reader of how little foundation there is for the tradition that here  $\tau\iota\mu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$  is to be read; what is the right name, Tisamenos, Timogenes or something still different, is more difficult to settle. Finally the priests Philondas and Philonidas are the same person. So, after this meddling with 16 names, there remain 269 of the list of 285 priests.

Of these 269, 67 are to be placed between 225 and 150. But how many of the remaining are known to us from other sources?

None; but I have mentioned several inscriptions in which eponymous priests occur. These must, laid beside the jar stamps, make the course of Rhodian trade clear to us. Unfortunately the material so far at hand is not at all sufficient. All taken together, only 28 priests of Helios are mentioned in inscriptions (19). Among them one is useless to us, i.e. Eukrates: his period is too uncertain. Collignon, the first publisher of the inscription in which his name occurs (GDI 37555),

(p. 217), says "que l'inscription ne saurait être d'une date antérieure au troisième siècle"; Hiller, on the other hand, asserts that it is "multo recentior". We know two priests from the fourth century, the century after 407, the first which can possibly be considered. One of them is Eukles, the



eponym of the burning of the temple of Athana at Lindos, whom we have set at about 335. Sixteen of his stamps are preserved, thus rather a large number. The other is Pythannas (EAR 6.341, D61), of whom a vision is mentioned in the Chronicle of Lindos, in which Athana reveals to him a sin-offering for her polluted temple. As this vision comes after an *ἐπιφάνεια* of the goddess in 490 and before a similar occurrence in 304, it probably happened between these two dates; then Pythannas was a priest of the fourth century. The whole story, for that matter, calls also for the rather early dating. But Pythannas does not appear on any jarstamp. It seems to me that there is not very much to conclude here. If Pythannas is taken into consideration, then it seems likely that there was no export trade in the fourth century; judging by Eukles, this trade is to be considered rather large. Anyhow, the 16 stamps with Eukles' name have force as evidence. If we had had, in continuation of them, the names of three or four priests of the third century who also all were represented by a rather large number of stamps, then there might be scientific proof of what seems likely a priori, that about 350 Rhodian trade began to stretch its wings, that it developed powerfully after 300, and then after 225 attained its zenith. But unfortunately we have not one priest as dating authority certainly datable in the third century, the pre-eminently great period of Rhodes. Antisthenes is placed at the end of this century, a priest who is known from the inscription GDI 3798, but who is entirely missing from jarhandles. According to Hiller, who edited this inscription most recently, and who saw it, Antisthenes is (P<sup>2</sup> 218) "ineunte altero saeculo ante Christum natum vix recentior", so from 200 or a little earlier. Newton and Foucart, earlier publishers, who saw the stone in Rhodes, agree with that, though with hesitation. But all rely for fixing the date purely on the character of the letter forms of the inscription. And this criterion is deceptive by the nature of things, particularly because there really are very few Rhodian inscriptions with chronological certainty from about that time. So I would rather leave this so-called only witness for the third century out of reckoning.

Before the year 225 the results are very uncertain, but after 150 it is no better. In between are the epigraphically known priests Damokles, Theaidetos, Astymedes, Archidamos, Damainetos, Pratophanes, Sosikles and Aratophanes, already discussed. They are all from 190 to 150. They appear often on stamps, respectively 50, 44, 24, 47, 51, 37 and 49 times. The priest Autokrates is also to be placed in the first half of the second century because of the inscription from Tenos in which he is mentioned (IG XII 5. 824<sub>32</sub>); in note 12 I have already connected him with the discoveries at Pergamum and Carthage. He is to be found on 60 jarstamps. Agēstratos



occurs in the inscription DS<sup>2</sup> 450<sup>29</sup>. This inscription gives us no information about its date; but here the jarinscriptions inform us that this priest, appearing at Pergamum and Carthage, must be from about 180. He recurs on 50 stamps. So these are 10 eponyms from the first half of the second century.

By their many stamps they all point out the flourishing time of Rhodian trade, which has just been dated at this period. Did this prosperity decline soon after 150? Considering the severe measures which the Romans had taken against them in 164, was the competition of the commercial metropolis Delos, founded by the Romans, so great that already in the second half of that century a very noticeable slackening began? One would believe so, relying on the evidence of the rest of the Rhodian eponyms known from that century. §p. 219) For three other priests of the second century are handed down to us; but two of those three do not appear on jarinscriptions, the third only once. In the first place there are the two priests Xenoteimos and Menestheus who together with Astymedes act as dating authorities on the epitaph JOAI 4. 160. Astymedes is from 153, so Xenoteimos and Menestheus must also have been from that time, probably a little later. Menestheus occurs on the jarstamp R 1165 (20), Xenoteimos on none. The name Menestheus is very rare, so the priest here mentioned is very likely identical with the frequently recurrent manufacturer of that name, whom in note 13 I connected with the discovery at Carthage, and consequently is from the same time. Xenoteimos and Menestheus must be from about 150; the priest Epicharmos, though still from the second century, seems to come after them. The dating of the inscription which mentions him (IG XII 3 suppl. n. 1269) relies however again only on the letter forms. This Epicharmos is entirely lacking from jarstamps.

The poor result achieved between 150 and 100 continues in the first century. There, too, of the priests who occur in inscriptions, we find only a minority on jarhandles. And those whom we find in both places appear only once. The series begins with Archestratos. "Kurz vor 100 BC, eher etwas jünger", Hiller calls the inscription in which he occurs (DS<sup>2</sup> 610<sub>3</sub>). If one looks at the picture that is published of it, one will indeed agree with that and fix this inscription in the first quarter of the first century. To fix the date according to the letter forms is not too uncertain here, as it is just from this time that most of the Rhodian inscriptions date. §p. 220) Archestratos, the priest mentioned is again totally unknown to us from jarstamps.



Contents and letter forms of the inscription in which they are mentioned make it likewise probable that the priests Theogenes (21) (GDI 3800<sub>1</sub>), Antilocho (GDI 3828<sub>g</sub>) and Rhodopeithes (GDI 4155<sub>3</sub>) are from the same period, the beginning of the first century. Theogenes appears once on the handle of a jar (as Θεογένης, B<sup>n</sup> 231 n. 19), Antilocho three times (L 54), Rhodopeithes not at all. There is more, even complete, certainty about the time of the priests Archeleos, Hermokrates, Kritoboulos and Charisios. An inscription from Naxos, already known to Boeckh (IG XII 5.38), which certainly is from one of the first years after Antony had presented the island to the Rhodians in the year 42 (App. B.C.V/7; Sen. de Benef. V 16, 6), mentions them as contemporaries. These four priests, who without doubt are from about 40, are the chief basis of the opinion that Rhodian trade had fizzled out as early as the second half of the first century. None of these four occurs on any jarinscription and this fact surely does not point at prosperity. But in the century before we just saw that the majority of the priests mentioned in inscriptions do not occur on jarhandles; moreover we shall now see that in the century which follows, a priest whose name appears in an inscription is also found on the handle of a jar. We know namely three priests from the imperial period through inscriptions. One of them is called Τίτος Φλαύιος Φανόστρατος (GDI 3801<sub>2</sub>) and by his name alone is already placed in the time of the Flavian Emperors. His father Diokles was also a priest of Helios (GDI 3801<sub>3</sub>) and lived about 50 A.D. We do not have any stamp of the son, but we do have one of Diokles, p. 221 according to Nilsson (Lpp. 91<sub>1</sub>). He assumes that the enigmatical stamp 'Επι Δίου (N 237 n. 80) must be read as 'Επι Διοκ[ and explains this as an abbreviation of Διοκλεῦς. He has not convinced me, but it is certainly possible. A contemporary of Diokles was Diogenes, whose date is quite fixed, because Nero sent a letter to the Rhodians at the time of his priesthood in the year 55 A.D.. That letter is preserved in the inscription DS<sup>2</sup> 373. Undoubtedly Diogenes (22) appears on jarstamps: at Panticapaeum a stamp with his name was found (BA<sup>n</sup> 99/n. 416), an unchallengeable witness that even in the imperial period export trade existed. By assuming that the priest of 55 A.D. was a different individual from the priest on the jarhandle, who must have lived earlier in that case, an attempt is made to get rid of this annoying witness. But this distinction, questionable in itself, becomes quite unacceptable if one considers that had this stamp been of earlier date, it would of course have been written in the Rhodian dialect form 'Επι Διογένους, whereas Skorpil, its publisher, reports that it appears in the form used in the Κοινή, 'Επι Διογέου, which belongs to a later period in Rhodes.



Summarizing, we get the following impression of the Rhodian trade before 225 and after 150. From the nearly two centuries, which can be considered as a possible period of stamping of Rhodian jars before 225, we know not more than two priests for certain, a third is very doubtful. Of two of these priests there exist no stamps, only inscriptions; of the third, Eukles, one of the two certain priests, appear 16 stamps. If it is necessary to draw some conclusion here, then it seems to me that trade of some importance has to be supposed for this time. After 150 we know for the first half century three priests

(p.222), among whom one is uncertain. Of these three, only one occurs on jarstamps, and only once. Of the four priests between 100 and 50, all four rather uncertain, one appears on three jarinscriptions, another on two, two not at all. The four priests between 50 and the beginning of our era are all lacking on jarstamps. One of the three known to us from the first century A.D. appears certainly on a stamp, one probably, one certainly not. Here the conclusion is the most acceptable, that on an average trade at Rhodes after 150 never died out entirely, but also never became really lively.

Still, for the time being, we do not have data to fix more recently the date of the 202 priests known to us, the priests who must belong to the periods 407 - 225 and 150 - 100 A.D.. But we are more fortunate with the other 67 priests. Without doubt we can place them between 225 and 150. And we are no less sure that those 75 years represent the highest flourishing period of Rhodian trade. Epigraphy and archaeology, those indispensable sister sciences of history, have yet in the meantime taught us that at this investigation.



Van Gelder, p. 208, note 11:

Bleckmann has made a list of all these instances, and he gets 63 cases. A 64th he missed: the complete jar from Vulci in Tuscany, most recently published by me in GDI 4245, 2. Two numbers of his list should be struck out. First, his no. 4, the jar on which according to Berg the names Molpagoras and Alexandros appear. Nilsson has already shown (L.p. 72, note 2) that this assertion is wrong. In the second place, the jar which he mentions in *Klio* (XII, 250) as bearing the names of the eponymous Aristarchos and the manufacturer Agathoboulos is a fiction. He refers to Nilsson, but it is nowhere to be found in Nilsson; ~~but~~ on the contrary Nilsson assures us (L.p. 116) that an eponymous Aristarchos is not known to him (nor to me either). So the total number of instances becomes 62.

Other small inaccuracies by Bleckmann in this list must be corrected. The priest of his no. 5 is not called Philanios but Philainios, the manufacturer of his no. 8 not Nanius but Nanis, the priest of his no. 10 not Harmosilas but Harmosidas, the manufacturer of his no. 16 not Dion but Dios, the priest of his no. 22 not Menesthes but Menestheus, the one of his no. 33 not Androboulos but Agathoboulos (see L. p. 180).

. . . . . Note 12:

To wit: Alexiadas, Andrias, Andronikos, Antipatros, Aristakos, Aristokles, Aristratos (see for these priests L. p. 116), Archembrotos, Autokrates, Thersandros, and Philainios. Bleckmann gives alphabetical lists of the eponymi and manufacturers found in Pergamon and Carthage (Bl. pp. 34 ff.). With the aid of these, the proof for the priests Antipatros and Philainios is easily to be found. The date of Alexiadas is proved by the manufacturer Diokleia, who is found with him on one jar, and who is known at Pergamon (P 1002); her name however is forgotten in the list of Bleckmann. Andrias, Andronikos, Aristakos and Thersandros depend on the manufacturer Agathoboulos, who is mentioned on the same handles with them, who, however, appears neither at Pergamon nor at Carthage, but whose date is given because he appears on the same handle with Nikasagoras (L 329), an eponymos who occurs in Pergamon and Carthage, but is found on a handle with Alexiadas (Hall 393, no. 5043; cf L p. 176). Aristokles is stamped with Midas on a complete jar; Midas, unknown at Pergamon and Carthage, appears, however, on a similar jar with the priest Aristogenes. This priest is known at Pergamon (P 894), however he also is missing from Bleckmann's list ["Fundort unbekannt"]. Midas and so also the priest Aristokles belong in our period. Autokrates, who moreover had already been placed epigraphically (BCH 27, 234, 32) in about this time, depends on Hermaios, a Rhodian manufacturer appearing at



Pergamon (P 1276), but again forgotten by Bleckmann (not listed as Rhodian by Schuchhardt).

Incidentally, on the list of Rhodian eponymi drawn up by Bleckmann from the find at Pergamon are missing, besides Aristogenes, also the priests Archidas (P 956) [restoration not certain], Athanodotos, Daemon, and Lapheides, on the list of the manufacturers appearing at Pergamon besides Hermaios and Diokleia, also Agesonios, Kreon, Hegesias, (P 1299) and Imas (1240). The one called on his list Ageso is in fact Agemon. The "Molesius" is Molesis, the "Nanius" is Nanis.

The list of Rhodian eponymi which he has drawn up from the find at Carthage shows these three gaps: Aristonidas, (C 32), Onasandros (C 124) and Philodamos; the list of Rhodian manufacturers who are known from Carthage must be completed with the names Dionysios (C 65), Eirenidas (C 83), and maybe Aristakos (C 188a).



VAN GELDER, "ON RHODIAN STAMPS..." (Translation)

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