

THE EPONYMS NAMED ON RHODIAN AMPHORA STAMPS

(PLATES 42-44)

LISTS of all Rhodian eponyms known from amphora stamps—as opposed to those appearing in particular sites or areas—have been assembled by F. Bleckmann, using his own and Nilsson's researches,¹ and most recently (1931) by Hiller von Gaertringen, with additions to Bleckmann's list drawn from later publications, including a fairly detailed summary of finds in south Russia published by E. Pridik in 1926.² Both of these lists include many names known only in readings made before the publication of the essential reference book, Nilsson's study which accompanies his Lindos catalogue cited in note 1. It is true that the more obviously impossible names figuring in some of these old publications had been weeded out (cf. Nilsson, p. 120), and are not listed by either Bleckmann or Hiller. But many more reasonable inventions have remained on the roster. Verification by reëxamination of particular handles alleged to bear doubted readings has almost never been attempted, a sufficient reason being that the usual storage, in a large bin or heap (cf. Pl. 44, bottom left), makes individual handles practically inaccessible. Often the published readings are almost as unavailable as the handles, being buried in back numbers of journals of small local circulation. It is, in effect, not possible to control the list by investigation of the citations: it is necessary to rewrite it as a whole, on a basis of verifiable data.

What is needed is of course a corpus publication of Rhodian stamps, in which type readings will be established by photographic illustration. It is likely to be some years before such a volume appears. But much of the material has been assembled, including a large body of controlled readings, the greater part being on file with photographs or rubbings or facsimiles. The mass of this material, and the geographical spread of its finding-places, seem sufficient to make suspect most eponyms' names not found in it. Therefore it is probably worth while to report the

¹ F. Bleckmann, "Zu den rhodischen Heliospriestern," *Klio*, XII, 1912, pp. 249 ff.; *idem.*, *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis*, Göttingen, 1907; M. P. Nilsson, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos*, in *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, V, Copenhagen, 1909.

² Hiller von Gaertringen, in the article *Rhodos* in Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband V, 1931, pp. 835-840; E. Pridik, "Zu den rhodischen Amphorenstempeln," *Klio*, XX, 1926, especially pp. 307-320. Hiller's list is the most recent known to me. But note that Pridik mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 320), as then under way, an extensive study by Boris Grakov on the chronology of Rhodian eponyms. I learned also in 1947 that Professor Gheorge Stefan of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest was preparing an index of amphora stamps; this would be of particular interest as including the finds from Rumania.

list which against this background now appears valid, although the evidence cannot be presented here.

The material on file includes about 12,500 unpublished Rhodian handles from Athens, Corinth, Delos, Alexandria, Cyprus, Antioch, and Samaria, and a few other places with smaller collections, also above 2000 readings taken from particularly meticulous and reliable publications.³ Nilsson's Lindos catalogue, about 3000 more handles, has not yet been incorporated into our files, but has been consulted in the construction of the new list. Reference has also been made to Pridik's summary of 4764 handles found in south Russia (cited in note 2), which, however, as he states, is based partly on copies made earlier by others. Finally, I have used a list, kindly given to me by Mr. Loukas Benachi, of eponyms occurring on his very large private collection of handles found in Alexandria, much of which is not yet on file with us.⁴

³ The greater part taken from publications come from two books: C. Schuchhardt, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, II, Berlin, 1895, pp. 423-499; and E. Pridik, *Inventory-catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of Amphorae, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection*, Petrograd, 1917, pp. 1-34, 132-136.

Except for the material from Samaria, the readings of unpublished stamps on file have been made and tabulated by myself or by others working with me, usually from the actual handles, though sometimes when this was not possible from photographs or rubbings. The readings from Samaria, 1150 or more, were made by Mrs. Silva Lake, who very kindly gave me photostats of her minuscule copies.

Readings of two doubted names, Aristion and Epicharmos, have been kindly supplied to me by Mr. George Dontas of the Archaeological Service in Rhodes, from handles found in excavations in Rhodes in 1952. I have not yet seen photographs or rubbings of these handles, hence list the names with stars; but I have no doubt that they should be included. Both names appear with the title "priest." The name Hippokles has also been added on the basis of information supplied by Mr. Dontas.

On the text figures of 12,500 handles on file and 25,000 handles which form the broader basis of our list, it will be remembered that only about half of these bear the names of eponyms, since ordinarily on Rhodian amphoras one handle has the eponym's name, the other the fabricant's: see Pl. 42.

⁴ Mr. Benachi's collection has not been counted. In the total of about 12,500 unpublished Rhodian handles stated to be on file, the figure for Alexandria is set at about 3500, and includes just under 700 Rhodian handles from the Museum collection, recorded by me in 1939 (the greater part with photographs), plus an estimated additional 2800 from the Benachi collection, tabulated at the Agora Excavations in Athens from excellent rubbings, sometimes also from photographs, sent to us by Mr. Benachi. I last saw his collection in December 1951, and consider that 6000 is a conservative estimate of his Rhodian handles, on which are based his lists of fabricants and of eponyms. Because there were certain names among the latter which I had not seen on handles, or on photographs or rubbings of the stamps, Mr. Benachi has, during the autumn of 1952, reexamined in the interests of our list most of his handles with the names of eponyms, and has sent me photographs establishing the actuality of a number of names: cf. Pl. 43, c and d (No. 26) and Pl. 44, b, d and e (Nos. 75, 118) for some of these.

On material found in Alexandria, I have checked also with Preisigke-Bilabel, *Sammelbuch Griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*, III, 1 (1926), 6320-6524, taken from Breccia's report of 1921. According to an estimate, again made in December 1951, the total number of Rhodian

For probably more than 25,000 stamps we thus have records which, while needing further illustration, verification, and study, are informed and as a whole reliable.

The list of eponyms which results is much reduced from Hiller's 309 plus sundry unnumbered tentative additions. A minor part of the difference is accounted for 1) by the listing by Hiller of a few eponyms from inscriptions whose names do not appear on handles, and 2) by his listing several names twice as each belonging to two different years. Names certainly did recur, and to a much greater extent than he suggests: for instance, we can distinguish at least three widely separated terms of eponyms named Pausanias.⁵ But this problem is part of that of the chronology in general; and much further study is necessary before a useful statement can be made. I have therefore omitted all indications of repeated names. Additions will be made to the new list in the course of time. Many names here listed, particularly those on handles of noticeably early or late fabric, are known in very few examples; so that it is quite probable that one or two names now known only from the old publications will turn out to have been based on correct readings. Whether the additions are completely new names or confirmations of some at present rejected, they should be supported by photographs. It is anticipated that a few new names will be drawn from among early stamps on which the eponym appears without the preposition, like those naming Philonidas and Peithiadas on Plate 42, I b and Plate 43, b; the present edition of the list includes only names with which the preposition does sometimes occur.

On the chronology, time does not permit the assembling here of existing evidence for the individual names, but some general statements may be made. The duration of the issue of Rhodian amphoras stamped with names (rather than merely devices unaccompanied by letters) seems to have been from about the last quarter of the 4th century to some time in the 1st century B.C. I am not as yet able to name a Rhodian stamped handle found in an excavation deposit to be dated certainly before 300 B.C. But the amphora of Zenon found in Thompson's Hellenistic Group B, datable early

handles in the Alexandria museum is somewhere about 13,000. These presumably include those reported by Breccia in 1921, but for most of them there apparently exist no controlled readings, or no readings at all. The bulk are kept in a long bin, and here the estimate is based on measurement, allowing 3000 handles to the cubic meter. I have guessed that the Rhodian will be 85 per cent of the total, as was the case with the 700 handles read by me in 1939.

On the importance of the Museum collection, and on its state of publication, the best comment remains that of Nilsson, in his long note, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44. It is hoped that means will be found in the next few years to make the adequate record of this collection which is essential to a proper corpus of Rhodian stamps.

⁵ Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 224-5, where two terms are distinguished, one in the third century and the other in the second quarter of the second. Two terms are now distinguishable in the third century, one at about the beginning, the other probably in the third quarter, in addition to the second-century term. Note that this eponym name, described by Hiller as the commonest of all, does not occur at all in the Pergamon deposit. On Kallikrates, another obviously repeated name, see *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, p. 525.

in the 3rd century,⁶ appears to be by no means at the beginning of the series as now understood. For the other end, a few Rhodian amphoras have been found in Sulla-destruction fills in the Athenian Agora, and a handle (CP 1812) of particularly late appearance has been found in Corinth, thus possibly indicating for Thrasymachos, the eponym named on it, a date of about 44 B.C., when the colony was founded.⁷ Excavation finds known to me do not suggest a date later than this for any Rhodian amphora stamps in which there are names. Individual dates have been proposed for the names occurring on Rhodian handles found in Tarsos⁸ and in Delos;⁹ see these publications also for an account of the general basis for dating Rhodian stamps. But these individual dates are not only more or less tentative, but also partial, because of the recurrence of the same names at various periods. Note that many of the guesses recorded in Hiller's list are now known to be wrong, though the date attributed to the Pergamon deposit, *ca.* 220-180, seems as a whole to stand. The appearance of stamp and handle—better still, of a whole jar, if such exists—are always to be taken into account in estimating a date. The direction of development is that sketched in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 214, with plate II, nos. 4 and 5; cf. also pp. 203-4. The reader may more conveniently refer to Plate 42 of the present article, where I have illustrated the jar (III) of Epikrates(?) dated in the term, hitherto unrecorded, of Bakchios(?); and a jar (I) of Hieroteles in the term of Philonidas, with stamps like that naming the new eponym Peithiadas (Pl. 43, b [No. 132]); and a jar (II) of Diskos in the term of Xenophanes, month Thesmophorios, which falls between the other two. Left to right, they are datable probably 1) late 4th century, 2) late 3rd century and 3) 1st century B.C.¹⁰ The widely recognized angular Rhodian handle begins in the latter

⁶ For the finding-place, see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 332. The Rhodian amphora is SS 370, published with photographs of stamp and jar in the same volume of *Hesperia*, p. 202, no. 5 (the jar) and p. 235, no. 77.

⁷ Eponyms on largely-preserved Rhodian amphoras from Sulla-destruction fills at the Agora are Archembrotos, on a jar (SS 8602 plus 8691) of Menandros, and Sokrates, on a jar (SS 6790) of which the fabricant stamp is not preserved. These two jars are at an appreciably earlier stage of development than that of the jar of Epikrates(?) illustrated on Pl. 42, III, having fuller bodies and the concomitant differences in size and profile of the handles. For objects found in Corinth, it has become clear that dates between 146 and 44 B.C. cannot be absolutely excluded, although the site as a whole must have lain in ruins during that period. Cf. *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 158, for ninety coins of the period found there; and I know of sixteen Knidian amphora handles found in Corinth which are datable at about 100 B.C.

⁸ Hetty Goldman and others, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*, Volume I, Princeton, 1950, pp. 135-148.

⁹ *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pp. 522-531. Of the 182 names in the present list, 122 occur at Delos, plus one additional name, Aristonikos, which appears to be that of an eponym, but is not known to me with the preposition.

¹⁰ Jar I is in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (inventory no. CMC 190). H. 0.80 m.; D. 0.354 m.; capacity 26,500 cc. Jar II is in the Museum in Rhodes, and is part of the Villanova find (A. Maiuri, *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica*, IV-V, 1921-1922, p. 256, XXI, no. 4534). H. 0.775 m.;

3rd century, and through the 2nd and 1st centuries the angle tends to sharpen, and handle and jar to be less carefully made. As the body of the jar narrows, in company with those of other jars of the period (Knidian, Coan, etc.), the top of the handle eventually decreases in size and shows increasing tilt, and the vertical portion is drawn in at the bottom and tends to bow out. From such unshapely vessels the eye returns with more satisfaction to the jar of Diskos, which, though apparently a factory discard, is an example of the Rhodian wine amphora at its period of greatest distinction.

These jars, evidently standard containers, now serve to date for us the eponyms by whom, when current, they were themselves dated. If, as has been assumed, these eponyms, sometimes called priests, are actually the priests of Halios, the dating authorities of the Rhodian state, then we may hope for much more precise and definite information on the chronology of early Rhodian stamps following the publication by L. Morricone of the fragmentary stele, found in Rhodes in 1944, on which is preserved part of the list of these priests.¹¹ In the notes on new eponyms which follow the present

D. 0.35 m.; capacity 25,200 cc. References for jar III are given in the note on the new eponym Bakchios (see p. 125). H. 0.827 m.; D. 0.294 m.; capacity 21,600 cc. (Capacity measurements have been taken from jars filled to the brim; but it is difficult to achieve consistent accuracy, and the figures should not be regarded as strictly reliable.) For permission to publish photographs of the three jars, I am obliged to the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus, to the Ephor of Antiquities of the Dodekanese, and to the University of Pennsylvania.

Note that months do not appear in button-shaped stamps (jar I), though they have been found (by Mrs. Lake in Samaria, and by Mr. Benachi in Alexandria) in separate stamps on the sides of handles having button stamps on top. On the button class, cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 151; many names can now be added to those there listed, including that of Peithiadas, Pl. 43, b.

The combination of names on jar II has also been found on the upper part of a jar at Tarsos: see *op. cit.*, pl. 115, no. 21 a and b; the text, p. 140, gives selected references, while in the index, p. 148, a date of 200-180 B.C. is proposed for the eponym, whom however I should now be inclined to put slightly earlier. The surface of the background in the two stamps here illustrated suggests the use of a die made of wood, as remarked by Maiuri, *loc. cit.*, but it has been pointed out to me by Mr. Peter Corbett, whose study of Attic stamped ware is shortly to appear in this journal, that an effect of wood grain might be produced by a rather summary smoothing, perhaps with a piece of wood, of a soft clay surface, prior to inscribing on it the letters of the die. On these two stamps I see no evidence of splintering, or of awkwardness in cutting curved lines in a hard material. The conspicuously ruled effect is one rarely met with on amphora stamps, and possibly it was actually unacceptable. Some study of the jars in the Villanova group in the autumn of 1949 has tended to confirm a theory (cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 217) that the "wall of amphorae" was made up of items that for one reason or another would not pass inspection. I hope to publish further on the group.

For photographs of other stamped Rhodian amphoras, in addition to the one cited in note 6, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pl. 19, no. 5; Pridik, *op. cit.* in note 3 above, p. 1, fig. 1 (apparently a fractional jar); *C.V.A. Sevres*, pl. 25, 72; *Classical Journal*, May 1947, p. 448, fig. 6, the second jar from the left (correction of the text p. 449), and p. 450, fig. 8. For profile drawings of some late stamped Rhodian jars, see *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, p. 471, nos. 17, 18, and p. 478, 56, the latter being accompanied by a number of unstamped late Rhodian jars, illustrated on the same page.

¹¹ I am very grateful to Dr. Morricone for giving me advance information on this highly important inscription, which has just been published in *Annuario*, N. S., XI-XII, 1949-1951, as Dr. Doro Levi informs me.

list, some attempt has been made at identification of stamp eponyms with persons otherwise on record. Systematic investigation of the list as a whole must await the establishment of a more detailed chronology of the stamps. Identifications proposed by others will be found through Hiller's list, and by consulting the index of Divinities and Heroes in Blinkenberg's *Lindos*, II,¹² *s. v.* Ἦλιος (p. 1176); on p. 23 of the latter work, note that Sosilas and Timarchidas depend on readings in Nilsson, and that the former is actually a fabricant, not an eponym (Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 483, no. 386), while Timarchidas in Nilsson's 404 may be a misreading of Timoklidas as in his 412, 3, in an exactly similar stamp. For some new epigraphical texts mentioning the names of priests of Halios I have been given references by Mr. Peter Fraser,¹³ at whose suggestion the present list was originally prepared.

In the following list, numbers preceded by H. are those of Hiller's list of eponyms (cf. note 2); those preceded by N. are numbers in Nilsson's catalogue of the Lindos collection (cf. note 1), where fabricants and eponyms are in a single alphabetical series, but with separate numbers for fabricants and eponyms bearing the same name. As noted above, in the present list no indication is given of repeated terms of office called by the same name; further, separate numbers are not given for spelling variations of the same name. Eponyms are known to me in photographs (mostly), or at least in rubbings, except for those marked with an asterisk.* These remain for the present more or less in doubt, although for each one there seemed to be grounds for including it tentatively in this list. For instance, Antimachos, Aristokrates, and Sosiphilos, though without much other support, are all read with little or no restoration in the Lindos catalogue. Aristokles is known to me in a reading only in a single example in an unreliable publication;¹⁴ but four examples, in a variety of types, are listed by Pridik from south Russia (*op. cit.* in note 2, p. 310). Polites is rejected by Nilsson (p. 95, note 3) from the Rhodian list, but without taking into account no. 1165 of the Pergamon catalogue (*op. cit.* in note 3), on which it seems to be read clearly. More dubious is Eudoros, which is possibly, wherever it is read, an error for Theudoros.¹⁵ Finally, the omission here (see above, p. 118) of names listed by Hiller which are known in inscriptions but not (to me at least) on handles cuts out from the present list the following known priests of Halios (I give Hiller's numbers): Antisthenes (45), Arcestratos (88), Diogenes (116), Diokles (117), Menes-

¹² C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions*, Berlin and Copenhagen, 1941.

¹³ P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands*, Oxford, 1953: Inscription no. 8 (p. 6) is dated in the term of Aristeidias; Inscription no. 15 (p. 24) in the term of Peisistratos; Inscription no. 16 (p. 28) in the term of Hagesippos. All these eponyms are in our list, and do appear on handles of dates sufficiently consistent with the dates proposed for the inscriptions with the same names. Note also the inscription of Hyllarima(?) in Caria, which apparently names the Rhodian eponym Agloumbrotos: see *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 353, on line 8; and L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937, p. 514, note 2. I should be grateful for references to other epigraphical or literary mentions of Rhodian eponyms, not to be found through Hiller's or Blinkenberg's works cited.

¹⁴ I. H. Hall, "The Greek Stamps on the Handles of Rhodian Amphorae, Found in Cyprus, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XI, 1885, p. 393, no. 5054. This amphora has not been identified in recent investigations; see *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 144-147.

¹⁵ I am grateful to Professor Henry S. Robinson for checking such an error for me in Delos.

theus (211), Xenotimos (230), Pythannas (253), and Phanostratos (297). Of these, Pythannas is too early to be found on stamps, while most of the rest are probably too late.

Eponyms included here that are not listed (or not numbered) by Hiller are marked with a †. On these, notes are given at the end, following the list.

1. (H. 2; N. 8)	¹ Αγέμαχος	36. (H. 57)	¹ Αρίσταρχος
2. (H. 3; N. 9)	¹ Αγέστρατος	37. (H. 59-60; N. 82)	¹ Αριστείδας
3. (H. 4)	¹ Αγήμων	38. (H. 61; N. 84)	¹ Αριστεύς
4. (H. 7)	¹ Αγησίλας *	39. (H. 64; N. 86)	¹ Αριστίων *
4. bis (H. 8)	¹ Αγησίλοχος	40. (H. 66; N. 94)	¹ Αριστόβουλος
5. (H. 10; N. 16)	¹ Αγήσιππος	41. (H. 67; N. 97)	¹ Αριστόγειτος
6. (H. 11)	¹ Αγησις	42. (H. 68-9; N. 98)	¹ Αριστογένης
7. (H. 12)	¹ Αγλούκριτος (¹ Αγλω-)	43. (H. 70; N. 99)	¹ Αριστόδαμος
8. (H. 13; N. 17)	¹ Αγλούμβροτος	44. (H. 72-3)	¹ Αριστοκλής *
(7.) (H. 14; N. 18)	¹ Αγλώκριτος	45. (H. 74; N. 102)	¹ Αριστοκράτης *
8. bis (H. 16)	¹ Αγλώχαρτος	46. (H. 75; N. 105)	¹ Αριστόμαχος
9. (H. 17; N. 20)	¹ Αγοράναξ	47. (H. 76; N. 106)	¹ Αριστομβροτίδας
10. (H. 18; N. 21)	¹ Αγριος	48. (H. 77; N. 108)	¹ Αριστομένης
11. (H. 19; N. 25)	¹ Αθανόδοτος	49. (H. 78; N. 109)	¹ Αριστόνομος
12.	¹ Αθανόωρος †	50. (H. 79; N. 111)	¹ Αριστόπολις
13. (H. 20; N. 27)	¹ Αθανόφιλος	51. (H. 80; N. 112)	¹ Αριστοφάνης *
14. (H. 22; N. 30)	¹ Αινησιδάμος	52. (H. 81; N. 113)	¹ Αρίστρατος
15. (H. 23; N. 31)	¹ Αινήτωρ	53. (H. 82; N. 115)	¹ Αρίστων
16. (H. 24; N. 33)	¹ Αισχίνας	54. (H. 83)	¹ Αριστωνίδα
17. (H. 25; N. 34)	¹ Αισχυλίνος	55. (H. 84; N. 120)	¹ Αρμοσίλας
18. (H. 26; N. 35)	¹ Άκεστίδας, οἱ ¹ Άκεστίαις	56. (H. 87; N. 131)	¹ Αρχέμβροτος
19. (H. 28; N. 37)	¹ Άλεξιάδας	57. (H. 89; N. 132)	¹ Αρχίβιος
20. (H. 30; N. 39)	¹ Άλεξίμαχος	58. (H. 90, 91; N. 133, 134)	¹ Αρχίδαμος
(22.) (N. 46, 9)	¹ Άνανδρος for ¹ Άν(άξ)άνδρος	59. (H. 93; N. 135)	¹ Αρχιλαΐδας
21. (H. 33; N. 45)	¹ Άναξαγόρας	60. (H. 94; N. 136)	¹ Αρχίνος
22. (H. 34; N. 46)	¹ Άνάξανδρος (¹ Άνανδρος)	61. (H. 97; N. 137)	¹ Αρχοκράτης
23. (H. 35; N. 47)	¹ Άναξίβουλος	62. (H. 100-1; N. 141)	¹ Άστνυμήδης
24. (H. 38; N. 49)	¹ Άνδρίας	63. (H. 102; N. 142)	¹ Άυτοκράτης
25. (H. 40-41; N. 52)	¹ Άνδρόνικος	64.	¹ Βάχ[ιος] †
26. (H.—not numbered)	¹ Άντιλέων †	65. (H. 105; N. 151)	¹ Γόργων
27. (H. 42; N. 54)	¹ Άντίλοχος	66. (H. 106; N. 156)	¹ Δαήμων
28. (H. 43; N. 56)	¹ Άντίμαχος *	67. (H. 107; N. 159)	¹ Δαμαίνετος
29. (H. 44; N. 58)	¹ Άντίπατρος	68. (H. 108)	¹ Δαμάτριος
30.	¹ Άπατο (ύριος) † *	69. (H. 109; N. 163)	¹ Δαμόθεμις
31. (H. 47)	¹ Άπολλώνιος *	70. (H. 110; N. 164b)	¹ Δαμοκλής
32. (H. 50; N. 68)	¹ Άρατοφάνης	71. (H. 111; N. 166)	¹ Δαμοκράτης
33. (H. 51; N. 70)	¹ Άρετακλής	71. bis (H. 112)	[Δα]μοσθένης
34. (H. 54-5; N. 76)	¹ Άρίστακος	72. (H. 115; N. 170)	¹ Δάμων
35. (H. 56; N. 78)	¹ Άριστάναξ	73. (H. 118; N. 178)	¹ Διονύσιος
		74. (H. 120; N. 183)	¹ Δορκυλίδας

75.	Δράκων †	111.	(H. 195; N. 278)	Κληνόστρατος (Κλενο-)
76. (H. 124)	Ἐξάκεστος	(107.)	(N. 279)	Κλιτόμαχος
76. bis (H. 126)	Ἐπίχαρμος *	112.	(H. 196; N. 282)	Κρατίδας
77. (H. 127-8; N. 199)	Ἐστιαῖος (Ἐστυεῖος, Ἴστυεῖος)	113.	(H. 198; N. 284)	Λαφείδης
78. (H. 129; N. 200)	Εὐάνωρ	114.	(H. 199; N. 285)	Λεοντίδας
79. (H. 130; N. 202)	Εὐδαμος	115.		Λύκων †
80. (H. 131)	Εὐδώρος *	116.	(H. 201; N. 287)	Λύσανδρος
81.	Εὐκλείδας Χάρμευς †	117.	(H. 217; N. 320)	Μυτίων
82. (H. 132-3; N. 205)	Εὐκλῆς	118.		Ναύσικος †
83. (H. 134; N. 207)	Εὐκράτης *	119.	(H. 218; N. 322)	Ναύσιππος
84. (H. 135; N. 209)	Εὐκρατίδας	120.	(H. 221; N. 329)	Νικασαγόρας
84. bis	Εὐπόλεμος †	121.	(H. 223; N. 332)	Νικόμαχος
85. (H. 139; N. 214)	Εὐφρανορίδας	122.	(H. 225; N. 333)	Νίκων
86. (H. 140; N. 212)	Εὐφράνωρ	123.	(H. 226; N. 335)	Ξενάρετος
87. (H. 143; N. 216)	Ἐχέβουλος	124.	(H. 228; N. 337)	Ξενοστρατος
88. (H. 144; N. 220)	Ζηνόδοτος	125.	(H. 231; N. 340)	Ξενοφάνης
89. (H. 145; N. 223)	Ἡραγόρας	126.	(H. 232)	Ξενοφάνης Ἰέρωνος
(92.) (H. 148; N. 227)	Θάρσανδρος	127.	(H. 233; N. 341)	Ξενοφάντος
90. (H. 149; N. 228)	Θαρσίπολις	128.	(H. 234; N. 342)	Ξενοφών
91. (H. 150; N. 229)	Θεαίδητος (Θήδητος)	129.	(H. 235; N. 344)	ἽΟνάσανδρος
92. (H. 155; N. 233)	Θέρσανδρος (Θάρσ-)	130.	(H. 238; N. 348)	Πασιφών
93. (H. 157; N. 236)	Θέστωρ	131.	(H. 239; N. 352)	Πανσανίας
94. (H. 158)	Θευγένης	132.		Πειθιάδας †
95. (H. 160; N. 238)	Θεύδωρος	133.	(H. 241; N. 353)	Πεισίστρατος
96. (H. 163; N. 240)	Θευφάνης	134.	(H. 243)	Πολίτης *
(91).	Θήδητος	135.	(H. 244; N. 357)	Πολύρατος
97. (H. 167; N. 244)	Θρασύδαμος	136.	(H. 247)	Πολυκλῆς
98. (H. 168)	Θρασύμαχος	137.	(H. 248; N. 358)	Πολυκράτης
99. (H. 172; N. 246)	Ἴασικράτης	138.	(H. 252)	Πολύχαρμος
100. (H. 173)	Ἴάσων	139.	(H. 253; N. 362)	Πρατοφάνης
101. (H. 176; N. 253)	Ἰέρων	140.		Πρωτογένης †
101. bis (H. 178)	Ἰπποκλῆς *	141.	(H. 254; N. 365)	Πυθογένης
(77.) (N. 257)	Ἰστυεῖος	142.	(H. 255; N. 367)	Πυθόδωρος
102. (H. 180; N. 262)	Καλλιάναξ	143.	(H. 256; N. 368)	Πυθόκριτος
103. (H. 181; N. 263)	Καλλικράτης	144.	(H. 257; N. 373)	Σθενέλας
104. (H. 182; N. 265)	Καλλικρατίδας	145.	(H. 258; N. 374)	Σιμίας
105. (H. 183; N. 267)	Καλλιξείνος	146.	(H. 259; N. 376)	Σιμυλῖνος
106. (H. 186; N. 272 bis)	Κλέαρχος	147.	(H. 262; N. 379)	Σύμμαχος
107. (H. 187, 188)	Κλειτόμαχος (Κλιτο-)	148.	(H. 263; N. 381)	Σώδαμος
(111.)	Κληνόστρατος	149.	(H. 264; N. 383)	Σωκράτης
(110.)	Κλεόνεμος	150.	(H. 267; N. 385)	Σωσικλῆς
108. (H. 190; N. 274)	Κλεῦδικος	151.	(H. 268; N. 389)	Σωσίφιλος *
109. (H. 191; N. 275)	Κλευκράτης	152.	(H. 269; N. 391)	Σώστρατος
109. bis	Κλεύτιμος †	153.	(H. 270; N. 396)	Σωχάρης
110. (H. 194; N. 277)	Κλεώνυμος (Κλεόνεμος)	(157.)		Τειμαγόρας
		(159.)		Τειμασαγόρας

154. (H. 271; N. 398)	Τεισαγόρας (Τισ-)	165. bis	Τιμώνας †
155. (H. 273; N. 418)	Τεισαμενός (Τισ-)	(154.)	Τισαγόρας
156. (H. 275)	Τελέσων	(155.)	Τισαμενός
157. (H. 276; N. 401)	Τιμαγόρας (Τειμ-)	166. (H. 293; N. 420)	Φαινίλας
158. (H. 279; N. 405)	Τίμαρχος	167. (H. 299)	Φιλίνος
159. (H. 280, 281; N. 406)	Τιμασαγόρας (Τειμ-)	168. (H. 301; N. 424)	Φιλόδαμος
160. (H. 284; N. 409)	Τιμόδικος	169. (H. 302; N. 426)	Φιλοκράτης
161. (H. 285; N. 411)	Τιμόθεος	170. (H. 303-4; N. 430-1)	Φιλώνδας, Φιλονίδας
162. (H. 286; N. 412)	Τιμοκλείδας	171. (H. 306; N. 436)	Χαρμοκλῆς
163. (H. 287; N. 413)	Τιμοκλῆς	171. bis	Χρυσάων †
164. (H. 291)	Τιμόστρατος	172. (H. 307)	Χρυσάωρ
165. (H. 292; N. 416)	Τιμούρροδος	173. (H. 309)	Χρυσόστρατος

† NEW EPONYMS

No pretence is made of exhaustive investigation of any of these names. Such investigations will shortly be much easier and more effective, since a Rhodian Prosopographia is being prepared and is to be published in a year or two by Pugliese Carratelli, as I have been informed by Dr. Doro Levi.

12. Athanodoros. Pl. 44. Single example known, Athens, Agora SS 4107, handle with part of the rim:

Ἐπὶ Ἄθανο
δῶρον de-
[vice]

The handle was not found in a closed deposit, but was accompanied by much early Roman pottery. Its fabric suggests the late 2nd century B.C. Although the name is not otherwise recorded on Rhodian stamps, it is well established as Rhodian: see C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions*, Berlin and Copenhagen 1941, in the index of Greek names, where a possible identification (so far as dates go) may be made with Ἄθανόδωρος Ἀγήμωνος, priest of Athana Lindia in 128 B.C. Mr. Peter Fraser proposes another possible identification, with Ἄθανόδωρος Εὐφράτου damiorgos of Kamiros in 146 B.C.: see J. Benedictsson, *Chronologie de deux Listes de Prêtres Kamiréens*, Copenhagen, 1940, p. 28. However,

the fabric of the handle, and, I should suppose, the letter forms, probably preclude a date earlier than the last quarter of the century for the eponym named on this handle.

26. Antileon. Pl. 43. Two handles impressed with the same stamp, in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

ιερεὺς
'Αντι
λέων
(retr.)

The style of handles and stamp suggests a date in the late 4th or early 3rd century. A better-known early eponym, Agrios, is named in a similar stamp, cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 357, no. 21. For the smooth breathing in the title, see Nilsson, p. 148; and Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* p. 62. Antileon is listed by Hiller, but not given a number. I have no record of the name on Rhodian stamps except from Alexandria.

30. Apato(urios). Single example, on a jar of Eukratidas of which the top with both stamped handles preserved was found in Rhodes: see Maiuri, *op. cit.*, p. 269 with figure 10 (drawings of the neck and handles and of both stamps). The name may have been omitted by Hiller because he doubted the Rhodian make of the amphora. But finds in Rhodes in 1952 (of which Dr. Kondis kindly permitted me to have photographs made) tend to confirm the attri-

bution. See also Maiuri's commentary; but the date should be 4th century in my opinion. Mr. Fraser remarks that the name is common in Kamiros, and suggests a possible identification with 'Απατούριος Φίλωνος, priest of Athana Polias in 311 B.C.: see Benediktsson, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Some doubt however attaches to Maiuri's reading, in view of a probable duplicate of his stamp found recently by Mr. Dontas in Rhodes, and read by him not 'Απατο but 'Αρατο which I would take to be an abbreviation of 'Αρατοφάνης. I have seen only the minuscule reading, with indication of the relative position of the letters and of the shape of the stamp. An eponym Aratophanes is not known to me on handles before the second century, but one cannot exclude the possibility of an earlier homonym.

64. Bakch[ios]. Pl. 42, III b. Single example, on a jar of Epikrates (?) illustrated Pl. 42, III, with its fabricant stamp Pl. 42, III a, inventory no. SH 48 of the Kourion Excavations in Cyprus. The two stamps may tentatively be read:

a.) 'Ἐπικρά[τεως] b.) 'Ε]πὶ Βακχ[ίου]
rose rose

The jar is from the necropolis of Ayios Er-moyenis, for which see G. H. McFadden, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 449-489, Tomb 5 (in which this jar was found) being mentioned on pp. 452, 454. The shape of the jar indicates probably the 1st century B.C.

The name is not otherwise known as that of a Rhodian eponym. It must therefore be considered uncertain until a more complete example is found; but it is difficult to see how else to restore the name in the photograph.

On Bakchios as a fabricant's name, cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 4. Although not common, it is well established by stamps in the Benachi collection, of several of which Mr. Benachi has sent me rubbings. They are rose stamps, but larger than that shown in Plate 43, IIIb, being 0.035 and more in diameter. A

published example turns out to be *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pl. XXIII, 29, which I misread in the text, p. 538: it actually reads [B]ακχίου; this name should be added to the list of Rhodian fabricants on p. 526, and *Αρχιος deleted. The fabricant Bakchios probably dates before the end of the second century B.C.

For record of a Rhodian Bakchios of the first century B.C., cf. *I.G.*, XII, 1, 46, 151.

75. Drakon. Pl. 44. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

[*Ε]πὶ Δράκοντο[ς]
[*Αγρια]γίου

The shape of the handle suggests a date in the 1st century B.C.: in profile it shows somewhat more rise and sharpness than does the handle naming Nausikos (Pl. 44, e). The name is rare in Rhodes. I have not seen the name cited in Rhodian documents earlier than the period of the handle. Mr. Fraser refers me to a considerably later priest of Helios of this name: see *Clara Rhodos*, II, pp. 217-18, the last inscription, datable in the second or third century after Christ.

81. Eukleidas Charmeus. Pl. 43. Two handles in the National Museum, Athens. Both seem to read, though with different arrangement,

'Ἐπὶ Εὐκλείδα τοῦ Χάρμευς

Note the Rhodian rose in one type, Plate 43, g. Plate 43 shows also the profile of the handle of f. Fabric suggests a date rather late in the 3rd century B.C.

The shape of these two handles, and the device shown on g., are characteristic Rhodian features, but the clay is not quite characteristic, being darker in color and somewhat micaceous. It seems possible that the jars were not actually Rhodian, but made in a subject state.

Note that a patronymic appears with only one other Rhodian eponym, No. 126 of the present list.

84 bis. Eupolemos. Photograph received too late to appear in this article. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως
Εὐπολέμ[ου]

The shape of the handle suggests a date in the 1st century B.C. Many persons of this name are listed by Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 1074, including one who was priest of Athana Lindia in 83 B.C.

109 bis. Kleutimos. Photograph received too late to appear in this article. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria:

Ἐπὶ Κλευ
τίμου
Σμινθίου

The appearance of the handle suggests a date in the latter 2nd century B.C. Several persons of this name are listed by Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 1094.

115. Lykon. Pl. 44, c which is SS 3727 of the Agora excavations, Athens:

Ἐπὶ Λύκω[ν]
ος Στύρα[ξ]

Two stamp types are known that name Lykon, in a total of four examples: (1) Agora SS 3440; (2) SS 2225, SS 3727, and a handle in the Benachi collection in Alexandria. The Agora handles were found in Late Roman or later fillings; their fabric suggests the (early) first century B.C. The type not illustrated contains only the preposition and the name of the eponym. Note that the name is not listed by Nilsson, p. 86. A Lykon is father of Aleximbrotidias and Philokrates, priests of Athana Lindia in 69 and 66 B.C.: see Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

118. Nausikos. Pl. 44, d and e. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria.

[Ἐπὶ] Ναυσίκο[ν]
[Πα]νάμουν

The shape of the handle suggests the 1st century B.C. Several Lindians of this name are listed by Blinkenberg, including one who was *archierothyas* in 74 B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 626, no. 299 C, 1. 23).

132. Peithiadas. Pl. 43, a and b, both handles from Athens, respectively Agora SS 7819, and Kerameikos 49. The latter is apparently from a jar of Hieroteles (cf. Pl. 42, I b) and bears the name in the nominative. SS 7819 reads:

Ἐπὶ Πειθιάδα (encircling)
Ἀξίου (horizontal)
monogram (incompletely preserved)

A stamp with the same two names has been found in Alexandria—cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 157, note 2 (with a comment on the stamps of Axios)—and I know of one from Samaria, and one from Delos (see *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pl. XXI, 16). A duplicate of Plate 43, b (No. 132) is in the Benachi collection. Two rectangular stamps from Samaria bear the eponym with preposition only. No dating is available from context of discovery, SS 7819 being a surface find from outside the area of the Agora excavations (from Hadrian Street). The fabric of known handles indicates an early date.

Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 653, comments on the rarity of the name.

With reference to Plate 43, b, permission has been given to me by Dr. Kübler to publish the stamps from the German excavations of the Athenian Kerameikos.

140. Protogenes. Pl. 43. Single example, Antioch P 6248-P 1592:

Ἐπὶ Προπογένεϋς
rose

The handle is known to me only in the photograph. It is described in the inventory as “transitional [pre-angular], small in size, greyish brown clay with lots of fine grits.” Protogenes, like Bakchios, must be considered uncertain until a better-preserved example is found.

For a brief summary of the stamped handles found at Antioch, see Hetty Goldman and others, *op. cit.*, p. 135, note 4.

165 bis. Timonax. Photograph not available in time to appear in this article. Handle in the Benachi collection, Alexandria.

Ἐπὶ ἱερέω[ς
Τιμόνακτ[ος
[]

I have as yet seen only a rubbing of the stamp. Mr. Benachi describes the handle as "very late," i. e. probably of the 1st century B.C., as is suggested also by the impression of the shape of its top shown by the rubbing. For the name, see Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 1000, no. 705, a list of names of unknown nature which the author dates tentatively in the middle of the 1st century B.C. Timonax occurs both as name and as patronymic, so that there is apparently a choice of two generations in the 1st century in which to find a possible identification with the priest named on the stamp. Blinkenberg's comment on no. 705 suggests that this stamp provides the best identification so far available of any of the names listed.

171 bis. Chrysaon. Photographs not available in time to appear in this article. Two examples known to me of apparently the same stamp, 1) on a handle in the Benachi collection, and 2) on a jar of Philostephanos now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (accession no. 28.15), but formerly part of the Cesnola collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York: see I. H. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 390, no. 5047. The readings on the two handles of the jar may be corrected from those made by Hall:

a.) Ἐπὶ Χρυσ	b.) herm
άονος Ὑα	Φιλό[σ]τεφ
κωθίου	[άου]

The name of the eponym was corrected to Chrysaor by Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 116, but in fact the *nu* is clear on the jar in Minneapolis and especially on Benachi's handle. It may of course be a graver's error. I know of no other occurrence of the name, whether or not on stamps, except that perhaps it should be restored in place of Hiller's no. 207, [Mach]aon. The jar in Minneapolis is datable by its shape in the second half of the 2nd century, rather earlier than the handles I have seen (not many) which name the established eponym Chrysaor.

ADDENDA

To the names of Rhodian eponyms appearing on stone, but not known on stamps (see above, p. 118), Mr. Fraser in a letter of February 23, 1953, adds three, subtracting one. The latter is Hiller's 116, D[ioge]nes, which he is inclined to replace with A[rte]mes, in agreement with P. Carratelli, *Studi Ciacere*, 1940, pp. 255 ff. The other two added are Aleximbrotidas, from *Clara Rhodos*, II, pp. 210-211, no. 48, l. 8 (early first century after Christ); and Lysistratos, from *ibid.*, p. 201, no. 33 (taken to be identical with the priest of Athana Lindia of 82 B.C.).

He also refers me to an appendix, Fraser and Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 173, devoted to the psilosis referred to under 26, p. 124 above.

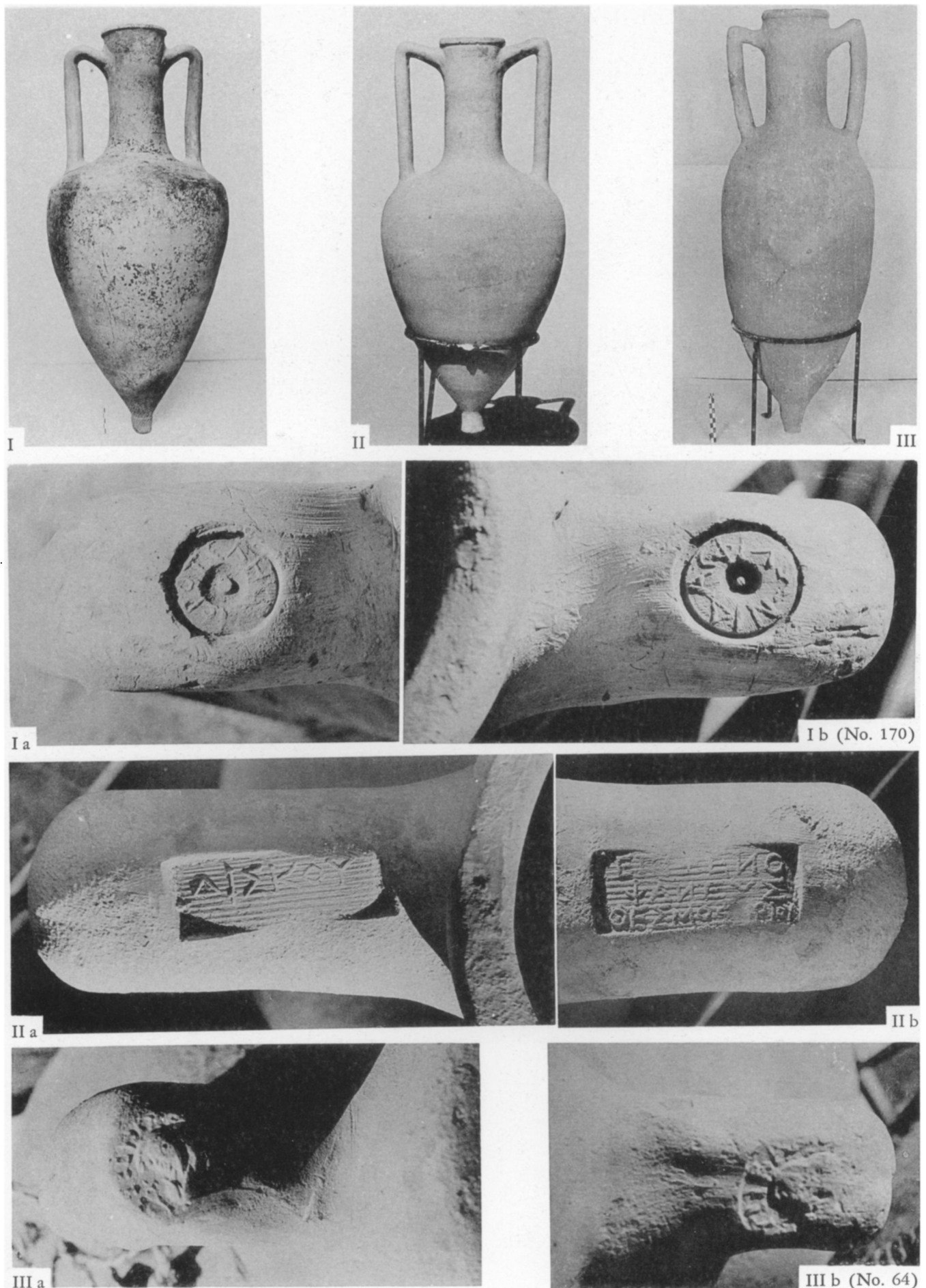
Note has been made of a corrected reading in *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952: see comment on 64. I call attention also to a remarkably close numismatic parallel to the unique stamp there published pl. XXI, 13: a series of Rhodian coins of the fourth

century B.C. which have to the left of the rose a small bunch of grapes, below which is a letter *epsilon*. Cf. *British Museum Catalogue Caria*, etc. (1897), pl. XXXVI, 5, 8, 9, 10, of which the first is a gold stater, the others silver didrachms. The stater and the first of the didrachms have the *epsilon* as a single letter, while the other two have in addition a *upsilon*. In the position of the *epsilon*, and the shape of the rose (together with the absence of the incuse square present on 5 and 8), the coin 10 is perhaps most similar to the stamp, on which however I have not read a *upsilon*.

A date in the fourth century, which had been indicated by the fabric of the handle from Delos, is thus confirmed by the numismatic parallel for its stamp. It has finally also become possible to cite a Rhodian stamped handle found in fourth century context: no. 70 in the publication, now in press, of the stamped wine jar fragments from the excavations of the Pnyx, to appear in *Hesperia*, Supplement X. The stamp names the fabricant Εὐφρων and an eponym Ἄγ[in one of the uncommon early combination types.

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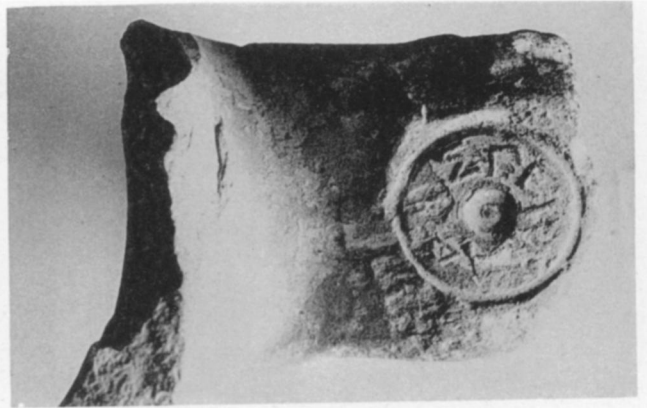


Development of the Rhodian Stamped Amphora: Late 4th Century, late 3rd Century, and 1st Century B.C.
The Stamps 1:1, the Jars 1:10.

VIRGINIA GRACE: THE EPONYMS NAMED ON RHODIAN AMPHORA STAMPS



a. (No. 132)



b. (No. 132)



c. (No. 26)



d. (No. 26)



e. (No. 140)



f. (No. 81)



g. (No. 81)

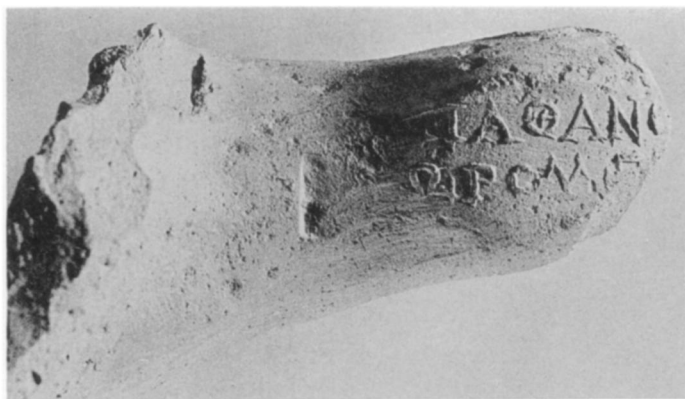


h. Profile of handle in f. (No. 81)

New Rhodian Eponyms of the Late 4th (?) and 3rd Centuries B.C.: Peithiadas, Antileon, Protogenes, and Eukleidas Charmeus.

a., b., f.-h. 1:1, the rest not at exact scale.

VIRGINIA GRACE: THE EPONYMS NAMED ON RHODIAN AMPHORA STAMPS



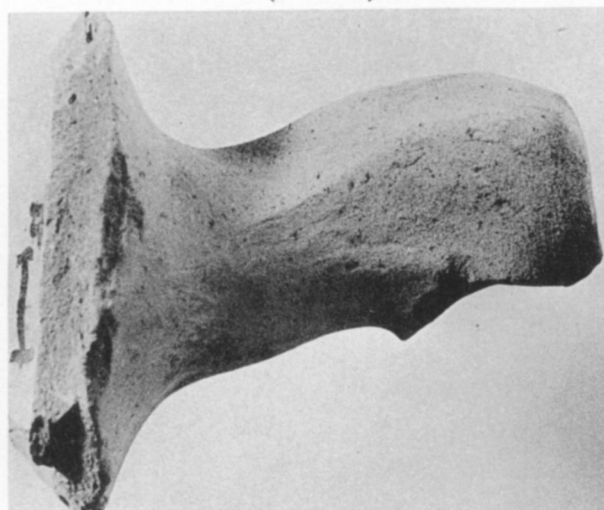
a. (No. 12)



d. (No. 118)



b. (No. 75)

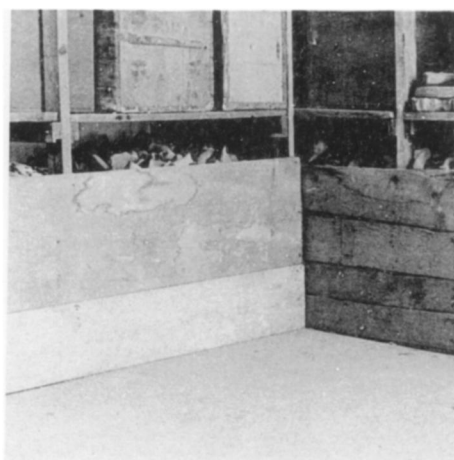


e. (No. 118)



c. (No. 115)

New Late Rhodian Eponyms, Athanodoros, Drakon, Lykon, and Nausikos.
a. and c. 1:1, the rest not at exact scale.



f.-h. Storage of Stamped Handles: at right, Method Adopted at the Agora Excavations, Athens, and by the French School of Athens for Finds from Delos.